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Reviews

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Ricardo Padrón, *The Spacious Word: Cartography, Literature, and Empire in Early Modern Spain* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2004), pp. xv + 287, $35.00; £24.50, hb.

The Spacious Word examines the conceptions of space articulated in sixteenth-century Spanish cartographical descriptions of the New World as it was being explored and conquered. Padrón's capacious definition of 'cartographic literature' extends to both visual and textual statements: if temporality and spatiality, he suggests, are attributes not only of texts but also of images, then both texts and images can be examined as spatial statements. This allows him to compare materials from a variety of genres and registers that include portolan charts, itineraries and the new geometrical maps arising from the rediscovery of Ptolemy's *Geography*, with literary works that have not traditionally been read primarily as geographical statements, such as Hernán Cortés's 'Second Letter from Mexico' (written in 1520 and published in 1522), Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo's *Historia general y natural de las Indias* (1535), Francisco López de Gómara's *Historia general de las Indias* (1552), Bartolomé de las Casas's *Brevíssima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (1542), and Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga's epic poem *La Araucana* (1569–90). All these works shared a core preoccupation with the mastery of geographical and political space and the constitution of territory and authority.

Padrón argues that the concepts of space expressed in such texts about the New World were as intimately connected to the emergence of Spain as a global empire as they were to the emergence of new cartographic styles. Padrón links Edmundo O'Gorman's brilliant idea of America as a territory that was not so much discovered as invented to the development of the early modern map, and the practical and symbolic roles of both geographical and ideological mappings to the emergence of Spain as a global empire and its own self-consciousness as such. For Padrón, the cultural, political and intellectual European transformation that O'Gorman described as a consequence of the invention of America can not be understood without taking into account the Renaissance cartographic revolution. If America was invented by Europeans, then cartography, like literature, was a creative process and not merely a descriptive one. The linguistic and cartographical meanings of 'space' and 'map,' the author explains, were radically transformed over the early modern period, with a medieval notion of linear space that incorporated time and focused on the experience of traversing a territory (as in the textual or visual description of an itinerary) giving way to a notion of space that was abstracted, geometrical, homogeneous, and universal (exemplified by the bird's-eye map). For Padrón these new maps constitute not merely a new representational technique but also evidence of a new spatiality that made universalist claims. Hence, Spanish cartographers were not only exploring the geography of the Americas, they were also exploring the role of the New World vis-à-vis the Old World, and in this way making political claims as much as geographical ones. The cartographic shift, Padrón rightly points out, was

gradual, partial, and by no means monolithic. The two understandings of space coexisted, often in the work of a single person or even in a single work. For the most part, the new culture of abstract space remained restricted to a few technical specialists. The majority of men involved in the discovery, conquest and colonisation of the New World, Padrón reminds us, did not need to imagine the world through geometrical abstraction in order to carry out their tasks. 'Far from fueling the origins of colonialism', the author concludes, 'the culture of abstraction begins to look like a rationalization after the fact' (p. 235).

The book is an ambitious and accomplished combination of literature, history and geography. Its most successful passages are those where Padrón zeroes in on literary works, demonstrating his sharp and imaginative skills at analysing and interpreting texts and situating them historically – for example, in his masterfully reading of Cortés's second letter. Visual material, unfortunately, does not receive comparable attention, and the book's handsome thirty-six images could be discussed in greater detail. This is a shame in a work that argues so convincingly for the importance of taking visual statements as seriously as texts inasmuch as they constitute authored representations of geographic and political space. Although the author rightly insists on expanding the definition of 'map' to include textual narratives about space, the choice of collapsing visual and textual representations into a single category obscures important and illuminating differences in the ways in which narratives and images were produced and used. The author's main interest lies in expressions of spatial imagination, that is, in the notions of space and authority embodied in both pictorial and textual records, much more than in those materials in themselves. This is a book more about mappings than about maps, about imaginaries rather than practices, cartographical or imperial, and at points the reader is left wanting to know more about the wonderful materials the author analyses and the practices associated with them, for instance the methods for compiling the information necessary to generate geographical statements, the process and circumstances of producing printed texts or images, the way in which they were used, or the role of cartographical statements in the daily practices of colonial governance. These unanswered questions are less indicative of any serious shortcomings than of the author's ability to bring things together suggestively, to draw connections, and to make the reader curious about the details and implications of the connections between politics, history, and cartographical statements.

University of Southern California DANIELA BLEICHMAR

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Roland Greene, *Unrequited Conquests: Love and Empire in the Colonial Americas* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), pp. xii + 289, £33.00, £13.00 pb; $47.00, $18.00 pb.

This book is an exhilarating read. Its brilliant thesis is that, if Petrarchan love poetry was so popular throughout the sixteenth century, on both sides of the Atlantic, it is because its emphasis on unrequitedness allowed expressions of the imperial encounter that were not triumphalist but acknowledged a lack of reciprocity. Greene insists that the Petrarchan tradition of love poetry has wrongly been seen as the exclusive expression of an individual self by critics who anachronistically apply to it

the conventions of the Romantic lyric (one could add that this is a reading derived from English and German Romanticism, given that Spanish Romantic poetry is highly political). The strength of Greene's book is not just that he insists on seeing poetic discourse as inseparable from political discourses of the time, but also that his approach is resolutely comparativist: his discussion includes writers in Spanish, Portuguese, English, French and Italian, with the occasional work in German thrown in. It also offers a resolutely Atlanticist perspective, insisting on the continuous two-way traffic of cultural conventions as well as that of material goods and persons. In addition to tying poetic discourse into its contemporary political context, it also insists on the importance of relating literary production to its authors' biographies. He meticulously traces the complex pan-European family networks that bind his writers of diverse nationalities together. The inclusion of the reconstructed genealogical table of 'An Early Modern Transatlantic Family' (beginning with the Hurtado de Mendoza family and branching out to include Philip Sidney as well as the Inca Garcilaso) tracks a kind of biographical unconscious that one could productively add to Fredric Jameson's notion of the political unconscious. Never has the question of who was whose son, the nephew of whose great-great-great-grandmother or whose great-uncle (p. 212) been made so interesting (the person in question is the pro-Jewish Cardinal Pedro González de Mendoza, son of the Marqués de Santillana who introduced Petrarchan poetry to Castile, nephew of the great-great-great-grandmother of the Inca Garcilaso, and great-uncle of the Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza and the poet Diego Hurtado de Mendoza). This is, then, a book that makes major statements about the methodology and objectives of literary criticism, as well as about its subject matter.

The introduction sets out Greene's views on sixteenth-century love poetry as an expression of 'The Unrequitedness of Conquest', insisting that Petrarchism is 'one of the original colonial discourses' (p. 1). In the process he claims that a political reading of this poetic production gives us access to more complex emotional responses to colonial conquest than have previously been recognised. That is, it shows that Europeans had an awareness of the resistance to conquest of the objects of their colonial desires; indeed, that such resistance was the norm rather than the exception in the daily experience of empire. Love poetry thus allows a space for acknowledgement of the point of view of the (resisting) colonial other; its appropriation by those born in the New World (such as the mixed-race Inca Garcilaso) was thus more complex than simple adoption of the coloniser's voice. Greene goes on to argue that, for the early discoverers, the difficulty of making sense of the New World gave it a kind of self-reflexivity; and that, at the same time, this resistance to meaning could wrap the European poet in a self-reflexive discourse of his own, since his expression of love found no reciprocation to make it dialogical – although its monologuism always remained punctuated by the motivating presence of the resistant love object. It is interesting to relate Greene's colonial reading of sixteenth-century love poetry to Luisa Passerini's perception, in her book published in the same year – *Europe in Love, Love in Europe: Imagination and Politics between the Wars* (London, 2000) – that the discourse on courtly and Romantic (that is, unrequited) love that has been elaborated in Europe over the centuries is a discourse on the superiority of Europeanness, since only Europeans are deemed capable of such refined and altruistic forms of loving. Greene is more concerned with Petrarchan love poetry as an ethical recognition of the limits of the European self, but his point

that unrequitedness can wrap the European lover in a self-reflexive amorous construction comes close to Passerini's caveat about Eurocentrism.

Greene's various chapters discuss the recourse to Petrarchan tropes in Columbus's diary; colonial discourse about Brazil which, he argues, obeys a mercantile rather than conqueror's logic, being concerned primarily with the resistance of the country's material resources; a cross-cultural reading of the poetry of Sir Thomas Wyatt the Elder, Louise Labé and the Mexican-born Gutierre de Cetina, paying particular attention to the negotiation of difference through the deployment of terms of colour; Philip Sidney, exploring the references to slavery; and finally the Inca Garcilaso's translation of Leo Hebraeus's *Dialoghi d'amore*, in the light of whose amorous tropes he reads his better known *Comentarios reales*. This is a book to which it is hard to do justice in a short review. Anyone looking for a text that shows students the political benefits of studying apparently irrelevant literary material need look no further. This is also a book that can show students of history and politics the importance of emotions for the study of empire, since this love poetry reveals the various parties to have had a complex awareness of the mutual dependence of desire and resistance; that is, an awareness of the necessary incompleteness – unrequitedness – of any imperial project.

University of Southampton JO LABANYI

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Susan M. Deeds, *Defiance and Deference in Mexico's Colonial North: Indians under Spanish Rule in Nueva Vizcaya* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2003), pp. xiii + 300, $55.00, $24.95 pb.

Recent works on the ethnohistory of native peoples in the Mexican north during the colonial period have reached a level of sophistication similar to studies of the Mesoamerican heartland, embracing the Nahuas, Tarascans, Zapotecs, Mixtecs, Mayas and other groups. Susan Deeds's book on the Spanish colonial experience of indigenous groups in the sprawling province of Nueva Vizcaya, made up of large chunks of the present-day Mexican states of Sinaloa, Durango and Chihuahua, is an excellent example of this evolution. One major difference between the two bodies of work, of course, is the lack of native-language sources for the north, so that the indigenous experience is even more coloured by the Spanish documentation, and therefore harder to recover, than in areas where Indian cultures had generated codices and other sorts of texts before the conquest, and, after it, where they learned to set down their own languages in European writing after it. This means that forms of native resistance and Spanish institutions necessarily take much of centre stage because those contexts generated documents. The title of Deeds' book reflects this, as does her substantial emphasis on indigenous resistance movements and the role of Jesuit missions as economic institutions and zones of acculturation. The author has circumvented this problem as well as can be expected through her judiciousness, clear writing and admirably adept use of the documentary evidence, producing a book that throws much new light on cultural processes in this vast area over the course of two centuries.

Deeds' central question is how to explain the persistence of ethnic identity in some indigenous groups and not in others under conditions of conquest, evangelisation, and severe exploitation. She has produced a differential historical

ethnography of five semi- and non-sedentary native groups – the Acaxees, Xiximes, Tepehuanes, Tarahumaras and Conchos – between the late sixteenth and mid-eighteenth centuries. The motor of the regional economy was the Parral mining district, which continued to expand production through the middle of the seventeenth century, stimulating the complementary development of large haciendas to supply the mines with meat, transport and traction animals, and other agro-pastoral products. Economic growth created a tremendous need for labour, satisfied for the most part by Indians under coercion – outright slavery (sanctioned and unsanctioned), remarkably long-lived *encomiendas*, and informal sorts of pressure –, but also through the development of a wage-labour market. Spanish miners, missionaries and *encomenderos* made inroads among native peoples through a mix of gifts, coercion, collusion with native leaders and evangelisation. These disruptive forces were sometimes turned by indigenous people to their own advantage (as with the selective acquisition of European goods), but also provoked a series of 'first-generation' uprisings against Spanish rule. Some of these movements were extremely violent and of an explicitly messianic-millenarian character, but all were doomed to burn out under massive Spanish military repression, so that large-scale revolts had disappeared by about the 1690s even though Spanish control of many areas remained tenuous. Deeds' narrative is necessarily framed by the Jesuit missionary project that touched almost all indigenous lives in Nueva Vizcaya. She traces with great subtlety the increasing ethnic blending that occurred in the missions from about 1700 onward, the rapid expansion of the mission field to embrace a score of establishments scattered widely across the province, and the decline of the missions in the eighteenth century. The Bourbon regalism already in evidence earlier in the century foreshadowed first the secularisation of the missions around 1750, then the expulsion from the Spanish realms of the Jesuits themselves in 1767, by which time they had already moved on to what they viewed as the more promising mission field of Alta California. In her account of the missionary project Deeds illuminates a number of issues quite fascinatingly, among them the symbiosis between the missionaries and the silver mining sector, and the ways in which this collaboration came into conflict both materially and morally with the cure of Indian souls.

A very striking feature of the story Deeds tells is its similarity to rather than its difference, in many respects, from the course of Spanish-native interaction further south. The same elements played themselves out in Nueva Vizcaya – massive native population loss, ruthless Spanish resource extraction, the harsh exploitation of native labour, inter-ethnic contact within a structure of asymmetrical power relations, and so forth – but in the context of a hostile environment, very different native cultures, and distinct adaptation processes. Deeds is particularly good on distinguishing among the five indigenous groups and the ways in which their cultures positioned them to maintain their ethnic identities (the Tarahumaras and eastern Tepehuanes) or fade into historical limbo (the Acaxees, Xiximes and Conchos). Keeping all these narrative balls in the air at the same time is a difficult feat, in fact, and the tacking back and forth between them over more than 150 years sometimes creates confusion, but it is difficult to see how else the author might have handled this. In the end this is a small price to pay for a work of such descriptive power and methodological skill.

University of California, San Diego ERIC VAN YOUNG

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Mark Thurner and Andrés Guerrero (eds.), *After Spanish Rule: Postcolonial Predicaments of the Americas* (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2004), pp. xv + 357, £69.00, £17.50 pb.

This is a fine and timely volume of essays which seeks to construct a dialogue between the (mostly Anglophone) premises of postcolonial theory and Latin American experiences and histories of postcoloniality. Unlike many collected essays that are the fruit of conferences and workshops, *After Spanish Rule* is both intellectually coherent and full of lively discussion between contributors. There is a real sense of the distinct essays communicating with each other, and the reader would be well advised to read the whole book. It is a valuable critical addition to the slowly growing field of postcolonial studies in the Americas.

The volume is organised so as to provide both an exploration of the 'theory' of postcolonialism and what this might signify in a Latin American context, as well as providing various examples of scholars working with the tools of postcolonial thought to investigate a wide range of subjects. These are organised broadly into the categories 'poética' and 'política'. The ambition of the book is apparent here as the subjects examined are commendably broad. Temporally, the essays range from the late eighteenth century through to the contemporary period; geographically the sweep is also large, from the Andean region to the Caribbean.

The methodological perspective of contributors tends to be historical or anthropological, but there is a strong influence of literary theoretical tools that are the most obvious borrowing from the Anglophone postcolonial 'school'. For the most part, though not in the essays dealing specifically with methodology, the volume is free of the jargon that tends to disfigure much Anglophone writing on postcolonialism. This kind of 'reading' of history and culture is relatively unusual in the Latin American context, and it means that although the subjects raised by most contributors have been the staples of academic study in their respective fields – notions of 'identity', 'nation', 'indigenous' – in *After Spanish Rule* they are reformulated in exciting and sometimes disquieting ways. On of the most shocking discoveries, reiterated in various essays in different fashions, is how obviously the liberal projects of independence, the formation of nation states in the nineteenth century, and the twentieth-century states established after this process, have sabotaged many of the ideals they claim to enshrine.

From eighteenth-century travel writing to contemporary carnival, the contributors to *After Spanish Rule* use the tools of postcolonial theory to illuminate subject areas; but they also do more. Perhaps the most important aspect of this book lies in the degree to which every essay asks both what postcolonial theory can contribute to the subject at hand, and what the subject itself does to modify/question the premises of that very theory.

After Spanish Rule provides a lucid and detailed challenge to the universalism of postcolonial theory. It also however points out the value to Spanish American studies of entertaining a postcolonial perspective and, more radically, of transforming the 'discipline' of postcolonial studies through the particular experiences of Spanish America. In his forward to the volume Shahid Amin raises the problem of 'theory' travelling faster than 'particular histories', and the contributors to *After Spanish Rule* have done an admirable job of trying to resolve this. The essays in this volume thus provide not only theoretical insights but also particular analyses which

will be of interest and use to readers both 'peripherical' and 'central' to the field of Spanish American Studies.

King's College London ELISA SAMPSON VERA TUDELA

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **37** (2005). doi:10.1017/S0022216X05259357

Diego Armus (ed.), *Disease in the History of Modern Latin America: From Malaria to AIDS* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), pp. viii + 326, $64.95, $21.95 pb.

Reviewing this book presents difficulties because the material is so diverse. Containing eleven essays, it describes ailments such as malaria, hysteria, Chagas' disease, tuberculosis, leprosy, hookworm, syphilis, psychiatric problems, cholera and AIDS – as manifested in seven countries. Not all the articles discuss a specific illness and its cure. In one essay, the volume's editor attempts to demonstrate that the writers of tangos and milgonas depicted tuberculosis as the punishment which befell young women who abandoned their barrios for Buenos Aires' bright lights. While a novel interpretation, it is not really a study of a disease but a morality tale writ large. Happily, most of the remaining articles concentrate on a specific ailment.

Distressed by syphilis's genetic havoc, first the Porfirian government and then Mexico's Revolutionary regimes attempted to limit the disease's spread by regulating bordellos. Medical inspections did not stop the disease because large numbers of prostitutes, operating as independent contractors, escaped the health net. The Mexican Revolution inadvertently encouraged prostitution by displacing women from the countryside to the cities where some could only earn a living as a sex worker. With venereal illness reaching almost epidemic proportions, the government launched an ambitious educational programme to convince men not to frequent prostitutes and women from indulging in pre-marital relations. Neither sex complied. Not until the advent of antibiotics could Mexico limit the disease.

Revolutionary Mexico also tried to improve the lot of foundlings or children whom government health officials took from 'unworthy' parents to raise in the recently refurbished *Casa de Cuna*. Surprisingly, children reared in hygienic conditions and with medical supervision perished, while those who had returned to their underprivileged families prospered. Noting this paradox, Dr Federico Gómez, the physician in charge of the government foundling home, called this condition 'hospitalism', children perishing because the staff of the *Cuna* failed to provide a loving environment for the infants. Gómez's study and his leadership demonstrated the prowess of so-called 'developing world' physicians and provided the impetus for the Mexican government to alter its infant care programmes.

A prominent Brazilian scientist, Dr Carlos Chagas, discovered a parasitic, sometimes fatal, disease, vectored by insects. Arguing that the ailment occurred because of poor housing conditions, Chagas hoped to halt its spread by calling for the state to establish minimum housing standards. Unfortunately, few scientists would validate Chagas' research until the late 1920s and early 1930s. Here it is argued, not always successfully, that Brazilians saw treating Chagas' disease as part of a quest for national identity and that this movement originated without foreign involvement. This was not true of malaria, as Nancy Stepan noted, which the Brazilian government and certain American health organisations, hoped to eradicate. In the attempt to destroy the mosquito's breeding ground, the authorities rarely consulted local people, thus alienating potential patients. Although the US scientist,

Fred Soper, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Vargas government reduced dramatically the number of cases, the development of the Amazon has permitted the mosquito to flourish and with it the disease.

Diana Obregón charges that the Colombian government's created an anti-leprosy programme as part of a campaign to improve the nation's image. Given the fact that no one knew precisely the disease's etiology, quarantine seemed a logical response. Yet, the author complains that the Colombian government had embraced 'procedures like those devised by Western nations in their colonial possessions', and that the policy of isolating the lepers was oppressive and abusive (p. 151). In truth, quarantine was a time-honoured method of limiting the spread of the disease and Norway, not known as an imperialist power, started the policy of isolating lepers. Ann-Emanuelle Birn argues that imperialism, this time operating as the Rockefeller Foundation, convinced the Mexican government to give a high priority to eradicating hookworm. Using two photographs of Mexican peasants' 'bewildered faces and tense limbs', the author attempts to prove that the USA really wanted to replace *curanderos* and local nosology (p. 163).

Psychiatry had few practitioners in Bolivia if for no other reason that the nation faced far more pressing medical problems. But, as Ann Zulawski indicates, some Bolivians suffered from schizophrenia, epilepsy, and malaria-related psychosis, which she ascribes to 'conditions essentially related to poverty: lack of other treatment facilities for those with seizure disorders and inadequate health measures against malaria' (p. 243). She also faults physicians for not employing Andean cosmology (p. 256) to assess the reality of a patient's world, for relying on standardised forms, which left little room for patient's thoughts, and for using gender to shape diagnosis (p. 258). In short, she makes broad generalisations about European prejudices (p. 261) without offering much evidence to substantiate her claims.

Gabriela Nouzelies' essay on hysteria also falls into the trap of oversimplification. In the late nineteenth century, hysteria became a catchall phrase to describe a multitude of psychological pathologies – not unlike the use of 'fever', night sweats, and 'miasmas' to describe physical diseases. Rather than seeing the notion of hysteria as a very complex, multilayered, and interpenetrating phenomena, Nouzelies classed doctors' attempts to deal with aberrant behaviour as patriarchial plot.

Although the Peruvian medical system managed to limit the impact of a 1991 cholera epidemic, the lack of potable water and sewerage treatment remained a problem. In his zeal to blame the government, Marcos Cueto links 'the vulnerability of the poor to the cholera and malnutrition, polluted environments, scarce economic resources, and difficult access to education' (pp. 280–1), claiming that 'the official discourse advanced by the government stressing individual hygiene became hegemonic' (p. 283). Patrick Larvie rejects the notions that heterosexuality, homosexuality or bisexuality are applicable to Brazil's rural or urban culture (p. 303). Arguing for a new category where gender identity remains unmarked effectively precludes the formation of US-style homosexual community organisations, but at least capitalises on Brazil's sexual distinctiveness as a means of combating AIDS.

This book suffers from some serious flaws. Rather than deal with the issues of disease, many of the authors utilise the latest social science jargon to belittle modern medicine while presumably demonstrating 'both the heterogeneity and the shared neo-colonial condition, with multiple and shifting metropolitan references, that have marked each national history over the past two centuries' (pp. 1–2). Since many of the essays favour more ideologically-correct solutions over scientific

medicine as practised in the West, including Latin America, those interested in the history of disease could skip this volume with an easy conscience.

California State University, Long Beach WILLIAM F. SATER

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Carlos A. Forment, *Democracy in Latin America, 1760–1900: Vol. 1, Civic Selfhood and Public Life in Mexico and Peru* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), pp. xxix + 454, £24.50, hb.

This book is the first instalment of a diptych that tries 'to understand why Latin Americans practise democracy more readily and intensely in some terrains than in others' (p. 20). The first volume deals with Mexico and Peru; the second volume, not yet published, will deal with Argentina and Cuba. This volume (as, presumably, the next) has at its core a number of historical chapters, largely based on a trawl through various Latin American *hemerotecas*, flanked by a theoretical discussion which sees Forment – to continue the fishing metaphor – angling in varied theoretical rivers from his 'Tocquevillian perch' (p. 6). Thus the book (1) is said to be in 'conversation' (p. 31) and 'dialogue' (p. 33) with the work of Partha Chaterjee and Mahmood Mamdami; (2) takes issue with the 'sociologists and political scientists [who] have been scrambling across the continent chasing after late-breaking events in order to develop a "theory" of "democratization"' (p. 6) as well as studies that interpret the emergence and development of democratic life in Latin America as a 'structural by-product of "state-building", "economic development" and "modernization"' (p. 29); and (3) is inspired by Michael Walzer's 'little book on social criticism' (p. 21), which, strangely, convinced Forment to accord nineteenth-century Latin Americans 'the very same authority that I had previously been willing to grant only to contemporary scholars in the field of Latin American Studies' (p. 12). In so doing, Forment claims to have 'unearthed' a specifically Latin American democratic tradition distinct from 'state and market-centred forms of life' (p. xii).

Forment calls the democratic tradition he has 'unearthed' Civic Catholicism. Unfortunately, what he understands this to be is never made fully explicit. Despite the centrality of Civic Catholicism to his study, we have to wait some 200 pages before the term receives some discussion (prior to this point it is merely alluded to) and even that discussion is far from clear. We are told that Civic Catholicism is a 'new vocabulary' and that 'central to this new narrative was the religious colonial dichotomy of "passion-reason", and the new civic concern for "association" and "personal liberty"' (p. 208) and that 'citizens used Civic Catholicism in order to make sense of themselves and each other in civil society, economic society, political society and the public sphere itself' (p. 209). In the last chapter of the book Forment introduces a distinction between 'Neo-Colonial Catholicism' and 'Civic Catholicism' but the meaning of both terms is again left vague. From the discussion he offers they would seem to be rhetorical substitutes for the ideas associated in much of the literature on nineteenth-century Latin America with 'Conservatives' and 'Liberals', but this can only be a supposition. It is surprising that in a book that deals with 'democracy' in nineteenth century Latin America there is no index entry for either 'Liberal', 'liberalism', 'Conservative' or 'Conservatism', or, indeed, any discussion of these terms and how they, presumably, are inadequate or unsuitable to the argument put forward by the author.

According to Forment, Civic Catholicism took root in Mexico as early as the 1840s, as witnessed by the proliferation of associations of various types and discussions in newspapers, but was less successful in Peru. Unfortunately, Forment does not attempt to explain the differences between the two countries. He notes the differences on several occasions ('in contrast to Mexicans, the overwhelming majority of Peruvians remained attached to their old authoritarian habits' (p. 130); 'associative life in Peru nevertheless remained embryonic, and it was not nearly as stable as it had been in Mexico in the first half of the century' (p. 285)), and he signals some of the factors that may explain the divergence (enduring militarism and racism in Peru), but he does not explore them to any satisfactory degree. Equally problematic is the fact that Forment appears to view the development of associations or, to use his jargon, 'associative life', as evidence of democratisation and the associations as democratic in themselves (as 'models of and models for democratic life' (p. xi)), in contradistinction to governments, which he sees as inherently anti-democratic, thus leading to the conclusion: 'democratic life had become rooted throughout public life except in political society, which remained under the control of authoritarian groups' (p. 440). How this squares, for Peru at least, with the fact that 'the vast majority of voluntary groups in the country excluded indigenous peoples, blacks, and Chinese, marginalized mixed bloods, and remained relatively hierarchical in terms of the practice of democracy in daily life' (p. 285) is left unexplored beyond noting that 'in Latin America, the citizenry's habits pertaining to marginalized groups remained the least changed (most mechanistic)' (p. 437).

The theoretical shortcomings are matched by organisational and methodological weaknesses. In the core section of the book, Forment marshals considerable 'historical evidence' to support his thesis. However, the organisation and presentation of this evidence is unimaginative and, more important, unconvincing. Every chapter has a similar structure, with a brief presentation of the author's data on varied forms of associations in tabular and graph form (and some maps) accompanied by a lapidary sentence the function of which, one assumes, is to summarise the chapter but which is often far from clear. Such sentences include: 'public life remained moribund during the occupation' (p. 100); 'public life remained relatively stable' (p. 241); 'public life remained relatively flat and one dimensional throughout the decade' (p. 340). The chapters on civic associations, electoral clubs and debates in the press are not uninteresting, but they are almost exclusively descriptive. Although Forment does group his examples into different categories (say, 'Associative practices in Civil Society', 'Associative practices in Economic Society', etc.), the telegraphic style employed – Forment favours the term '"semi-thick" description' (p. xx) – gives one the impression of reading the author's note cards. Too often he takes his evidence at face value. He rarely interrogates his sources and, on occasions, infers too much from them. Or, at least, that is the impression produced by the style. In covering so much ground, it would seem, Forment is forced to paint with too broad a brush, so that many subjects in his canvas are only implied and sometimes become unrecognisable.

In his introduction, Forment rails against 'the abstracted empiricism, hyper-presentism, jargonistic cant and scientism that passes for common sense in Latin American Studies' (p. 11), but he is himself guilty of some glib and muddled reasoning. Sentences such as 'like a jazz musician who improvises a new melody from an old tune, Latin Americans used their own judgment to reconcile their own vision of the future with their memory of the past in terms of the constraints and

opportunities they faced in the present' (p. 428) are common. The noun/verb 'practice' is rendered almost nonsensical by its careless use: 'the practice of anti-politics weakened democratic life' (p. 359), and 'Peruvians adopted a Jacobin notion of politics and construed themselves as "the nation-at-arms", which led them to practice democracy primarily in guerrilla groups' (p. 365). The impression of methodological and rhetorical sloppiness is not helped by the fact that some translations are poor (in one quote Abajo el Puente, the popular name of Lima's Rímac district on the other side of the Rímac river, becomes 'underneath the bridge' (p. 222)); some typos have crept in (the city of Tumbes becomes Tumber (p. 378), the district of Chorrillos becomes Chorrillo (p. 381)); and there are a number of errors in the footnotes (the author of 'El probabilismo en el Perú en el siglo XVIII' is Pablo Macera, not Luis Macera (p. 87 fn 72)).

Forment makes some bold claims for his book, both at a theoretical and at a political level. This study, he suggests, contributes to a 'new science of politics' (p. xxviii). Readers are invited to consider 'whether I have also succeeded in reviving the democratic tradition in Latin America' (p. 12). In a sea infested by Tocquevillian 'egoists' – his short hand for 'guerrilla socialists' and 'neoliberals', who now control all positions of power in Latin America, 'like a pearl diver' (p. 14) the author heroically plunges into 'the breach that now exists in the democratic tradition with the goal of salvaging whatever treasures remain scattered in the wreckage that is Latin American public life' (p. 13). He ends his book in a celebratory tone and states that 'the most enduring contribution Latin Americans have made to the theory and practice of modern democracy is their faith in civic democracy' (p. 422).

Forment seems to want to provide Latin Americans with 'what Albert Hischmann calls possibilistic accounts of democratic life in the region' (p. 8) to counteract their '[diminished] capacity to imagine and practice democracy' (p. 4). Perhaps this flows from his contention that 'it was in the twentieth century, not the nineteenth, that authoritarianism became rooted in the region' (p. 36). He seems to suggest that, contrary to received wisdom, Latin Americans have a democratic tradition. It just happens to be different to democracy in the core countries: 'In contrast to New Englanders, who relied on *doux commerce* (economic society), and French Republicans, who relied on state governance (political society), Latin Americans relied on sociability (civil society)' (p. 431). Forment brings together a large body of evidence to back up his argument but his treatment of the historical evidence is unconvincing and his failure to address the fact that, as he himself admits, 'Latin Americans practiced democracy in daily life and ranked each other accordingly, except in the case of indigenous peoples, blacks, mixed-bloods and women' (p. 435) raises the question of whether there is much to celebrate about Latin America's democratic tradition.

University of Leeds PAULO DRINOT

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **37** (2005). doi:10.1017/S0022216X0527935X

Nancy Priscilla Naro (ed.), *Blacks, Coloureds and National Identity in Nineteenth-Century Latin America* (London: Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London, 2003), pp. viii + 162, £14.95, pb.

The ninth in the ILAS Nineteenth-Century Latin America Series, this collection of seven essays and a brief introduction by the editor maintains the high standards

established by the series. Lauren Derby, in 'Race, National Identity and the Idea of Value on the Island of Hispaniola', reconsiders the role of Haiti in establishing a racialised sense of national identity in the Dominican Republic. While accepting the view that the Haitian occupation of 1822–44 was a factor in racialising national identity in the Dominican Republic, Derby argues that Dominicans defined themselves in contrast to Haitians even earlier, when the French colony was a rich and powerful neighbour based on slavery and sugar production, 'the virtual embodiment of commodity value' (p. 34), in contrast to the Spanish colony. David Geggus describes various influences exercised by the Haitian Revolution on people of African descent in Latin America and the Caribbean. The 'meaning of Haiti' was quite different for whites and blacks, and many blacks reacted 'with subdued pride or open belligerence' (p. 42), but Geggus points out that 'not all in the non-white population responded enthusiastically to the Haitian spectacle of slave emancipation and black power' (p. 52). He concludes that the influence of the revolution 'was often ambiguous, its repercussions contradictory' (p. 59) in relation to slave resistance, race relations, and debates about slavery, but he does not spell out the implications for racial identities.

Carmen Bernand's more anthropological essay, '*Entre pueblo y plebe*', examines the changing meanings of central concepts, such as *gente de color*, *negro*, *africano*, *pueblo* and *nación*, as they appear in various laws and regulations in colonial and post-Independence Argentina between 1790 and 1852. She discloses how social elites perceived and categorised the 'people' as the national identity developed. Franklin W. Knight, in 'Blacks and the Forging of National Identity in the Caribbean, 1840–1900', argues that 'Blacks in the Caribbean constituted a diaspora community long before the description became fashionable' (p. 94). In a complex process that was linked to their search for collective recognition, respect and rights, strong local identities were forged, along with a larger pan-African identity, even while some British West Indian blacks identified with the empire.

Jean Stubbs focuses on Mariana Grajales Cuello and her family, including her famous sons Antonio and José Maceo, in order to explore the intersection of race, gender and national identity among Cuban 'free browns' who joined the independence struggle. Integrating demographic data with family history, Stubbs skilfully traces the dimensions of race and gender in national politics. Her observation that anti-colonial and anti-slavery alliances included slaves, free coloureds and whites is reinforced by Jonathan Curry-Machado who argues in 'Catalysts in the Crucible' that black British West Indians, some of whom were free and some kidnapped into slavery, and a handful of white British machinists who operated steam engines and related machines were catalysts in the aborted Cuban revolution in 1843–44, and 'may well have played a crucial part in the overcoming of racial differences within the Cuban working class' (p. 141). The far-reaching claim of this conclusion is interesting but not adequately supported by his limited data.

Finally, Nancy Priscilla Naro evaluates various arguments that informed the gradual process that ended slavery in Brazil in her essay, 'Antislavery and Abolitionism: Thinkers and Doers in Imperial Brazil'. She concludes that, although the emancipation struggle was advanced by abolitionists and sympathisers and by the enslaved themselves, 'the ideal of equality for all citizens was compromised in the face of concerns on the part of the State to preserve national unity and to safeguard the monarchy' (p. 143). Naro makes good use of comparisons with the United States and Cuba when she examines perceptions of race and class in the

development of national identity and rights of citizenship. The struggle for racial and social equality, she reminds us, did not end with formal emancipation anywhere in the Americas. Naro, by including these comparisons, extends the meaning of her analysis beyond her particular 'case' in ways that could have benefited some of the other chapters.

This volume increases our knowledge and broadens our understanding of the dynamics and variations that occurred in the relations between race and national identity during the nineteenth century in several societies. It demonstrates that studies in this field by Ada Ferrer, Verena Martínez-Alier, Jay Kinsbruner and Aline Helg, to mention just a few of those who have addressed these questions in the Caribbean, need to be augmented by more detailed and more comparative studies throughout the Americas. This topic, after all, was salient not only in the nineteenth but also throughout the twentieth century. Indeed, the significance of the role and place of people of African descent in shaping national identities, and the complexity and often the ambiguity of their own identities, remains important in this century. In the French *départements d'outre mer*, for example, black intellectuals in Martinique, Guadeloupe and French Guiana may identify themselves as both French and West Indian, even while they contribute to ideas of *négritude*, *antillanité* and *créolité*. The complexity of the identities of people of African descent would be more completely comprehended, moreover, if connections were made between the study of national identities and patterns of migration. Knight argues that 'black people created multiple identities to suit their political situations' (p. 94), but the circumstances of many black people throughout the Americas varied not only because political situations changed in their societies but also because they migrated between societies, creating new identities and 'transnational' families, and influencing ideas of race in their adopted countries. No book could consider all the societies where this topic is important or all the aspects that are related to this topic, but this one includes some original and stimulating contributions.

Colgate University O. NIGEL BOLLAND

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **37** (2005). doi:10.1017/S0022216X05289356

Sara Castro-Klarén and John Charles Chasteen (eds.), *Beyond Imagined Communities: Reading and Writing the Nation in Nineteenth-Century Latin America* (Washington, DC: The Woodrow Wilson Center Press, and Baltimore, MD, and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), pp. xxv + 252, £33.50, £17.00 pb.

No one currently studying Latin American nationalism writes more than a few paragraphs without reference to Benedict Anderson. His famous book of 1983 was crucial in stimulating a wide range of new research into phenomena that had hitherto either been subsumed into discussions of state-building or studied in terms of a threat to US interests. Literary critics have been particularly receptive to Anderson, welcoming his emphasis on the role of printed goods in creating nationalist consciousness. In the process of making their own valuable contribution to the topic, the critics have also stimulated historians into expanding their horizons beyond the state. A consensus has built up among Latin Americanists that although Anderson was to be applauded for being one of the very few comparative historians to take Latin America seriously, he still did not understand it and was wrong in almost all

the particulars of what he said about the history of independence. Equally, however, there is wide acknowledgement of the suggestive potential of his emphasis on the significance of the imagination and the emotions in understanding how national identities continually recreate themselves in Renan's daily plebiscite. His analysis may not bear the causative weight he attached to it, but it certainly helps to explain how and why nation-states have persisted in Latin America despite the absence of factors (such as linguistic distinctiveness) conventionally associated with them. In short, while there may have been any number of devils in the detail, Anderson's overall interpretation was received by Latin Americanists as being on the side of the angels.

Beyond Imagined Communities, disappointingly perhaps, does nothing to challenge that general consensus about Anderson's work, although its endorsement derives from a far more careful and direct engagement with his arguments than is often displayed. Based on a conference held in 2000 to bring together historians and literary critics, it is divided into two parts along these disciplinary lines, with four essays in each. All of the chapters are stimulated by an Anderson theme, which the authors then go on to qualify and/or develop in order to explore their specific topics. Thus, in the historians' section, François-Xavier Guerra demonstrates how illuminating it can be to extend Anderson's focus on print to a wide variety of manuscript sources and to the interpretation of ceremonies, both civil and religious, as texts; Tulio Halperín-Donghi looks at how political factions and parties in Argentina competed with the nation as contenders for collective loyalties; Sarah C. Chambers explores the intermediate space between public and private where women wove tangible communication networks through which they received and challenged abstractions such as 'nation'; and Andrew J. Kirkendall builds on Angel Rama's work as well as Anderson's to analyse the role of the 'lettered city' in the transition from colony to nation (his is the only chapter to include a substantial discussion of Brazil). In the critics' part, Fernando Unzueta discusses not only the writing but also the reading of Romantic novels; Sara Castro-Klarén analyses representations of the ruins of the pre-Columbian past in Mexico and Peru; Gustavo Verdesio illustrates how the construction of a model of expert knowledge contributed to erasure of the indigenous past in Uruguay; and Beatriz González-Stephan argues that 'showcases of consumption' – exhibitions and museums – are revealing about how ideas of nationhood are not only encoded in print but embodied in images. It all adds up to a collection of highly valuable work, although one caveat is that the delay of three years in publication has created some problems with the framework of the book. Most notably, there is no engagement with Claudio Lomnitz's thoughtful assessment of Anderson's theory in relation to Latin America (included in Miguel Angel Centeno and Fernando López-Alves (eds.), *The Other Mirror: Grand Theory through the Lens of Latin America* (Princeton, 2001)). Lomnitz went right to the core of Anderson's conception of nationalism, challenging his claim that it implied fraternal ties of equality by marshalling a lot of evidence from Latin America that vertical loyalties – 'bends of dependence' – were not only perfectly compatible with nationalism but also an intrinsic part of it. There is no space to rehearse his argument fully here, but the editors of this book really should have done so.

The book has been very well edited in that a high quality is maintained throughout the essays. Like so many edited volumes, however, it cries out for a conclusion. We all understand the pressures of time that lie behind such decisions, but it does seem

particularly regrettable in this case. It would have been highly valuable to read the editors' views on how the evidence from Latin America compels a broad reappraisal not only of Anderson's work but also of other theories of nationalism, which have tended to be almost entirely Eurocentric in approach. These issues are certainly raised in the introduction, but they invite a far more comprehensive analysis. Thus the opportunity has been lost to persuade an audience beyond the Latin Americanist community of what is arguably the key legacy of Anderson's work, namely the idea that Latin American experiences need to be taken into account by all historians of nationalism.

There is a bit too much diversity fetishism in this book, and a tendency to overestimate the extent to which difference necessarily entails hostility or conflict. A cumulative picture is built up of so much fragmentation and so many competing claims on loyalties that it becomes hard to see how *any* kind of nations, however defined, could possibly have emerged from the mêlée. Yet José Martí had a point when he argued in 1891 that: 'Never in history [had] such advanced and compact nations been created in such a short space of time.' Cultural experiences may have been highly divergent, but increasingly through the nineteenth century political and historical experiences came to be shared. Scholars of Latin American nationalism do need, I would suggest, to bring the state back in, albeit taking care to keep in sight the complexity not only of how it operated but also of how it was conceived. It is in the interactions between institutions and imaginings, mediated of course by discourse but also by power, that the key to understanding Latin American nationhood lies. It is an ambitious project, but all scholars of nationalism need to aim at sustaining the counterpoint between state and nation that is achieved by some of the contributors to this book.

University College London NICOLA MILLER

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **37** (2005). doi:10.1017/S0022216X05299352

Richard W. Slatta and Jane Lucas De Grummond, *Simón Bolívar's Quest for Glory* (College Station, TX: Texas A & M University, 2003), pp. xii + 344, £30.50, hb.

Simón Bolívar is one of the most fascinating and complex leaders, political thinkers and statesmen of early independent Latin America, and probably the only one who continues to inspire politicians today. To some, he was a democrat who envisaged a united Latin America against the United States of Uncle Sam. To others, he personifies ambition and dictatorship. To some, he understood the social, racial and ethnic diversity of Latin America and attempted to create a political system that would overcome differences. To others, he clung to his colonial elite privileges and aimed at keeping the popular classes in check. To some, he was a liberator of slaves who understood that national independence could not be achieved without abolition. To others, he betrayed his promise to Haiti's president Alexandre Pétion to free the slaves in return for Haiti's help when he allowed Gran Colombia's constituent assembly to keep the slaves in bondage. In fact, Bolívar was all this and more, and a close reading of his letters and manifestos unveils a man full of vision, genius, contradictions and arrogance. Yet, unfortunately, this biography does not fully acknowledge Bolívar's complexity nor does it bring new information on his life and a new interpretation of his destiny, except by rapidly diagnosing him with 'bipolar disorder' on the basis of a definition available on the web (p. 148).

According to its preface, the book is a posthumous collaboration between Jane Lucas De Grummond, a pioneer professor of Latin American history at Louisiana State University, and Richard W. Slatta, who revised and updated her unfinished manuscript after her death in 1991, at the request of her brother.

Principally based on anthologies of Bolívar's writings, published testimonies by his contemporaries, and existing scholarship, the book is a chronological narrative of Bolívar's life (1783–1830). After a first section on his youth and education, parts II to V follow the beginning of the independence struggle until 1813; Spain's reconquest, Bolívar's exile in Jamaica and Haiti, and his return to the mainland in 1816; the second, triumphant phase of the war starting from the Venezuelan *llanos* in 1818 and ending in Peru in 1825; and the problems and ultimately separation of Gran Colombia, leading to the decline and death of the Liberator in 1830. A final chapter titled 'From Demagogue to Demigod' briefly looks at the evolution of contemporary sentiments about Bolívar, from rancour in the early 1830s to adulation and the forging of a cult to the Liberator later on (including the more recent appropriation of his legacy by guerrilla groups and Venezuelan president Hugo Chávez).

Controversial episodes or turning points in Bolívar's life are given little more importance than the day by day events of the war and immediately after independence, which makes the reading at time monotonous. As the book's title indicates, one of the points the authors seek to convey is that the Liberator was guided, above all, by his quest for glory. But this thesis is not fully pursued in the narrative. Notably, the book does not mention the many conflicts Bolívar's quest for glory – the legacy and image of himself he wanted to leave to history – and his refusal to see his power challenged by others – the earthy and sometimes discreditable necessities of autocracy – generated in his consciousness. For example, the authors say almost nothing of Bolívar's fear of a replica of the Haitian Revolution in Venezuela and Colombia, which led him to support the execution of the two most popular mulatto patriots – Manuel Piar in 1817 and José Padilla in 1828. Yet, after the latter's death, a repentant Bolívar recognised 'the just clamour with which those of the class of Piar and Padilla will complain', and he confessed, 'Things have reached a point that keeps me wrestling with myself, with my ideas and with my glory … This exasperates me, so that I don't know what to do with myself (Simón Bolívar to José Antonio Páez, 16 Nov. 1828).

Perhaps what has prevented the authors from grasping the intense nature of the Liberator is that, curiously, they did not use a collection of his complete works as a primary source, but only anthologies, which tend to summarise and simplify, thus to erase internal contradictions. Regrettable too is the fact that quotations are given without reference – there is not a single note in the whole book. Nor do the illustrations have captions telling who painted them and when, or where, they come from. Although, at the beginning, political maps of Colombia, Venezuela, Bolivia and Haiti help to locate events, they would have been more meaningful with the itinerary of Bolívar's campaigns.

In sum, this book will be more useful to those interested in a descriptive history of the life of the Liberator than to those seeking new answers to old questions.

Université de Genève ALINE HELG

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **37** (2005). doi:10.1017/S0022216X05309357

John Hemming, *Die If You Must: Brazilian Indians in the Twentieth Century* (London: Macmillan, 2003), pp. xxxiv + 855, £30.00, hb.

With *Die If You Must* Hemming completes a distinguished trilogy (*Red Gold; Amazon Frontier*) that recounts the decline of the native peoples of Brazil since first contact with Europeans in the sixteenth century. As with the earlier volumes, this is an ambitious undertaking.

Die If You Must covers the period during which Brazilian Indians came to be subjects not only of systematic anthropological scrutiny (vastly increasing what was known about Indian societies and providing a new political platform) but also subjects of a new kind of political administration, one in which state pressure for the assimilation of Indians was contested and complemented by diverse forces. These included not only human sciences – arguing, broadly, for the rights of Indians *qua* Indians – but also new configurations of missionary forces (mainly Protestant, in various guises), frontier entrepreneurs, the military, multi-national financial institutions, large-scale public works, adventurers and researchers.

The device used by Hemming to link these various modern challenges to (and to a lesser degree, opportunities for) Amerindian life in Brazilian Amazonia is the career of Lieutenant-Colonel Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon of the Indian Protection Service (SPI). The SPI, whose scandalous record led to its being transmuted into the National Indian Foundation, with little substantive consequence, had been charged with face-to-face administration of Indians since 1910. Its motto, 'Die if You Must', reflects Rondon's belief that it was the role of the state to treat Indians as wards of the state, not as combatants. While this aspect of the state agency's attitude and conduct towards Indians has some real content, and many SPI/FUNAI employees have admirably pursued the Indian cause, it is also the case that the SPI and its successor FUNAI have failed miserably, presiding over a systematic degradation of Indian societies. The destruction of Brazilian Indians – chronicled in detail in this volume – presents a revolting spectacle, one which the state – some acts of its Indian agencies notwithstanding – witnessed, documented (in part) and encouraged surreptitiously and overtly. It is not simply that Indians in Brazil were the unintended victims of a 'history out of control', subject to the casual defects of benign neglect; they have very clearly been the targeted victims.

Stylistically, the new volume differs little from its predecessors: a descriptive, well-referenced approach relatively undistracted by the sometimes vituperative disagreements concerning readings of the historical, pre-historical and ethnographic records (disputes over pre-Conquest populations, for example, or the status of archaeological evidence indicating proto-state formation). Unsurprisingly, given the time frame, modern anthropological studies feature prominently and the dramatic upsurge in pan-Indian political resistance in recent decades is highlighted without being romanticised. The grounding in what are, in effect, case studies of those relatively few peoples who have survived the twentieth century lends an immediacy to the discussion often missing in recent broad-brush Amazonian literature.

While Rondon's career (and the efforts of parallel agents such as the Villas Boas brothers) provides a narrative structure that serves as a useful reference for the period 1910–1945, thereafter – and in keeping with the modernisation ambitions of Kubitschek – the state's role as official mediator between Indians and Brazil lost much of what authority it ever had. Colonial, then imperial, then state authorities

had competed over Indians with religious orders and private interests from the time of conquest, and the post-World War II period increased the number of antagonists. After the war, SPI/FUNAI's role became even more severely compromised, and Rondon's influence – symbolic and concrete – become decreasingly significant. As the destruction of the Brazilian Indians proceeded, giving rise to Darcy Ribeiro's widely cited claim that they would not survive the twentieth century, the title of the volume assumes an ironic connotation: well, ok, if you can't survive, then die if you must.

Rondon's early expeditions combined military purpose (the establishment of telegraphic links with the Amazon interior) and Indian protection, but with attacks on modern Indians on multiple fronts, the Rondon/SPI/FUNAI theme becomes less illuminating and Hemming usefully moves to a regional/tribal grouping unit of analysis. Sometimes and in some ways the case studies are chronologically linked to the development of the state Indian agencies (and other federal entities responsible for recolonising Amazonia), but just as often they are free-standing. Much of the early chapters concerns early official contacts with Indians and culminates in Chapter 9, 'The Rise and Fall of the Indian Protection Service'. The subsequent two chapters deal with threats posed by missionary enterprises and military/modernisation interests. These are unflattering portraits. The subsequent chapters are detailed accounts of particular Indian groups' accommodations to 'national integration' combined with discussion of shifts within Brazilian policy toward its vast internal colony (hence, the Rondonia frontier; Kayapo and Shavante militancy; the resurgence of Indians in the Northeast; and so on).

The amount of material is enormous and although not encyclopaedic, *DIYM* provides the most complete survey of material on modern Brazil Indians widely available. It joins Carneiro da Cunha (ed.), *História dos Índios no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1992), Gomes *Os Índios eo Brasil* (Petrópolis, 1988 [in English, 2000]), and Saloman and Schwartz (eds.), *Cambridge History of Native Peoples of the Americas* (Cambridge, 1999) as a standard modern reference. The brief concluding chapter ('Present and Future') gives a surprisingly upbeat assessment. While it is the case that a significant amount of land demarcation has occurred, this is far from a resolved issue, and the onus is on Indians to continue – under straitened and threatening conditions – to pursue organised action. The state continues to resist vigorously. The recorded increase in Indian population is, perhaps, a positive indicator, but while an increase from 50–100,000 to 350,000 in 50 years is not a bad sign, against long-term historical trends (decline from 5–15 million) it appears slight. The establishment of biological reserves (and various forms of protected forest) also represents a significant policy shift that may benefit Indians, but Hemming is overly generous in evaluating symptomatic indicators. The claim that Brazilians as a whole are positively disposed towards Indians (p. 646), with the implication that an important corner has been turned, is hardly consistent with the highly visible and extensively documented persecution and demonisation of Indians (as discussed at length by Hemming himself in his treatment of Paulo Payakan). This is not to dismiss Hemming's reading of the larger political landscape, for Indian resistance to the concerted assault of the state has achieved measurable gains, but the forces mustered in the name of pressing Indians into a form tolerable by Brazil and its allies in Amazonian modernisation are considerable and their record of brutality forbidding. *Die if You Must* is a pan-Amazonian historical account that, uniquely, provides for a specialist and non-specialist audience an authoritative overview of Brazilian Indians in the

twentieth century. Hemming is aware of the many contradictions facing Indians in the twenty-first century as their claims for territorial (and other forms of) sovereignty are challenged by numerous environmental and resource-driven agendas, and it would be nice to believe that his optimism is warranted. While some might take issue with aspects of the collective portrayal of Brazilian Indians, this is an authoritative volume and, with 13 maps, 86 photographs and over 120 pages of notes and references, an indispensable contribution to the literature.

Goldsmiths College, University of London STEPHEN NUGENT

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **37** (2005). doi:10.1017/S0022216X05319353

Jerry Dávila, *Diploma of Whiteness: Race and Social Policy in Brazil, 1917–1945* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 2003), pp. xii + 292, £16.95, pb.

The way the country's intelligentsia thought about Brazil changed thoroughly between the 1920s and 1940s. Leaving behind an obsession with race purity and degeneracy the intellectual elite preferred to eulogise national authenticity, *mestiçagem* and anthropophagic culturalism. In racial terms, their ideal moved from whitening (*embranquecimento*) towards racial democracy. Jerry Dávila chooses this scenario for his book focusing on the changing policies on public education and the emergence of the 'New School' movement in Rio de Janeiro. Dávila, however, does not stress the more obvious ruptures with the past, perhaps taking them as conventional wisdom, disdainful of the current interpretation of Brazilian contemporary history. The main argument is resumed in the epilogue of his book in the following way: 'Eugenics lost scientific legitimacy in the aftermath of the Second World War, but the institutions, practices, and assumptions it gave rise to – indeed, its spirit – lives on.' The author's aim is to unveil the invisible mechanisms through which a racial democracy reproduces racism and racial inequalities.

Instead of stressing the many changes of meaning occurred in half a century of human history, Dávila puts himself to the arduous and sometimes unconscious task of reconstructing continuities of language, values and biographies that permits him to read the entire Brazilian period 1917–1945 through the dull lenses of white hegemony, eugenics and nineteenth-century racism. The effect is ambiguous. Sometimes his analysis convincingly shows the permanence of eugenics ideals, even in the post-Vargas education and health policies, disclosing the biomedically- and social psychologically-inspired techniques of the Brazilian public apparatus and the eugenicist formation of their elites (could the results be different if he was studying any other country in the Western hemisphere?). More frequently, however, the reader becomes tired of reading again and again the same story about eugenics, even when Dávila's analysis clearly suggests other central themes weaving through the social tissue of the years preceding and succeeding World War II in Brazil: the liberal and universalistic impulses of the New School movement; the cultural scientificism of the new generation of sociologists and anthropologists; the tension between liberalism, socialism and fascism in the framing of Brazilian nationalism.

Refusing to discuss more thoroughly the elites' dismissal of scientific racism, Dávila pretends to ignore the fact that something is rapidly changing and that this change is not purely cosmetic. 'Race', for example, became increasingly used in political discourse as a synonym for 'people', eugenic techniques were used not to

separate those individuals already considered superior from the contamination of inferiors but to transform the people 'decayed' by poverty into 'superiors' or to select those individuals in the cusp of the bell curve of intelligence fitted to leadership. How those IQ tests and coefficients were contaminated by social position and racial discrimination has been pointed out since then by following generations (as well as by Dávila), but those who used them at that time did not have the slightest chance of knowing it. On the contrary, the cultural inferiority attributed to blacks was perceived as a national handicap to be overcome through education and scientific planning. Here one encounters the authentic grandeur of that generation. Dávila's treatment of key figures of Brazilian intelligentsia: Fernando de Azevedo, Anisio Teixeira, Arthur Ramos, Heitor Villa-Lobos – is superficial and sometimes faulty, emphasising only their supposedly eugenics-driven, colonised or racist attitudes. There are plenty of US-politically-correct values in some key chapters here, most visibly in the introduction, impeding the author from a true measure of the key figures of his book in the context of their time, judging them only by the choices they made between the possible courses of actions open to them.

These remarks notwithstanding, Dávila has achieved an important and laudable goal: his book is very well documented, presenting new archival data. Furthermore, his interpretation – even when we disagree with him – counters long-established views which have tried to obscure the importance of race in Brazil. The estrangement created by these two effects makes *Diploma of Whiteness* a pleasant if challenging reading. If the reader shares the moral values of the author without previous knowledge of Brazil s(he) will gain a very simplistic understanding of this very complex society. The book is polemical but informative, scholarly and politically-engaged at the same time. It can be read by anyone interested in Brazilian history or in this period of Latin American civilisation; but it is not a book which renders a consensual story. It should therefore be approached with a very open and critical spirit and preferably by readers with a knowledge of Brazilian intellectual history.

University of São Paulo ANTONIO SÉRGIO ALFREDO GUIMARÃES

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **37** (2005). doi:10.1017/S0022216X0532935X

Bryan McCann, *Hello Hello Brazil: Popular Music in the Making of Modern Brazil* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 2004), pp. ix + 296, £17.50, pb.

Bryan McCann's new study of popular music and culture in Brazil during the period from the late 1920s until the mid 1950s investigates a number of inter-related issues that are synthesised into an entertaining and convincing work that provides new insights on an area of study that has become increasingly familiar in recent years. Taking the rise and fall in influence of Brazilian radio as his central reference point, McCann argues that the period in question witnessed a radical re-evaluation of the significance of popular music in Brazil as it became the subject of various conflicting factors such as political nationalism, modernisation, urbanisation and the rise of the mass media. By focusing on the medium of radio, the author illustrates the changing fortunes of Brazilian popular music (at home and abroad) and demonstrates that radio was used as an experimental space in which to develop popular music in Brazil, as well as acting as the primary conduit by which the nation was 'unified' under the administrations of Getúlio Vargas.

McCann's stated intention is to offer an analysis that allows for a more profound linkage between politics and economics with the field of popular culture than has previously been attempted by scholars of this era (p. 11). To that end, he provides evidence of the complex, frequently symbiotic relationships that often existed between performer, audience, the state (particularly under Vargas) and commerce. The shadow of Vargas dominates this book, and while McCann acknowledges the effect of the regime's 'centralising energy' on popular culture, he nevertheless argues that Vargas's cultural propaganda often failed to achieve its objectives. The author highlights the impact of nationalistic attitudes that were concerned to identify the essence of *brasilidade* within popular culture, and which also provided an underlying element of cultural protectionism and preservationism throughout this era. However, and this is one of the major attributes of the book, McCann also demonstrates that there is ample evidence within the fields of cinema and popular music of artists experimenting with cross-cultural themes and forms that reveal complex and ambiguous attitudes towards North American culture.

The book's opening chapter charts the rise of the radio industry under Vargas and shows how the fortunes of the nascent record industry were linked to the success of the broadcasting industry. The following chapter on samba and national identity covers some material that will already be familiar to some readers. Nevertheless, it provides interesting information on the importance of the radio programme *Programa Casé* as a forum for musical experimentation, and also a fascinating section on the rebirth of critical samba through the work of Geraldo Pereira and Wilson Batista in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Utilising aptly chosen quotations from song lyrics, McCann shows that both these songwriters provided surprisingly acid commentaries on issues of race and class, and that Pereira's sambas in particular provided an early precursor to the debates about the 'myth of racial democracy' that only started in academic circles in Brazil in the late 1950s. The following chapter on the rise of north-eastern regionalism is refreshing, focussing as it does on the symbolic influence of Luiz Gonzaga and Dorival Caymmi, two major figures of Brazilian popular music who have received less academic attention than they deserve. McCann reveals how both came to be viewed as foundational figures of regional identity due to the intense interest in folklore studies in Brazil at the time, but also primarily because both were eminently marketable and knew how to manipulate the media. McCann provides a particularly excellent evaluation of the appeal of Dorival Caymmi to the establishment, and how the singer/songwriter has been projected (and accepted without criticism) as an almost mythical and timeless symbol of regional authenticity.

McCann then moves on to analyse the love-hate relationship that existed between Brazilian popular music and the United States during the 1930s and 1940s. Through a reading of the work of songwriters such as Lamartine Babo and Assis Valente, he convincingly argues that several of their compositions that have traditionally been viewed as either lyrically nonsensical or uncritical homages to US culture, can actually be seen to represent a subtle, provocative, and creative dialogue with foreign music and international culture. Evidence is also provided of the unheralded contribution of North American producers working in Brazil who were fundamental in stimulating innovation in the fields of national popular music and cinema.

The following chapter charts the nationalistic inspiration behind the *choro* revival of the 1950s, a movement fundamental to the invention of a tradition of musical

'authenticity' that still has implications in Brazil to this day. A further chapter on fan clubs and auditorium programmes reveals the deep class divide that differentiated these programmes (that attracted an essentially lower-class audience) and the output of the state-sponsored Rádio Nacional that catered for a more 'sophisticated' audience. This section is particularly welcome because it provides something often lacking in academic studies on Brazilian popular music – an analysis through the words of the fans themselves of what the music actually means to them. Unfortunately, the concluding chapter on the role of advertising suffers by comparison and has the feeling of being an afterthought.

McCann's study is a thoughtful analysis of the 'golden age' of Brazilian radio, an era that was brought to a close by the inexorable rise of television in the 1960s. His strength is to use the central focus of radio to draw links to other material that is already familiar (on samba, for example) and to skilfully contextualise the whole. The book is eloquently written in a lively style that will almost certainly appeal to anyone interested in this fascinating period of Brazilian history.

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Uki Goñi, *The Real Odessa: How Perón Brought the Nazi War Criminals to Argentina* (London: Granta, 2002), pp. xviii + 282, £20.00, hb.

Goñi's worst possible scenarios on Perón and the Nazis are at the centre of this heavily footnoted volume. A combination of investigative journalism and other genres, this book seeks to advance on his earlier *Perón y los alemanes*.

Goñi seeks to justify Washington's draconian measures against Buenos Aires' wartime recalcitrance to align itself with the USA, in sharp contrast with the UK, one of whose attachés, Sidney Robertson, wrote that Argentine neutrality posed no threat to the allied cause. On another level, Goñi tries to vindicate some Argentine diplomats, whether ancestors of his or Ambassador Eduardo de Labougle, covering up for some of their misdeeds. Consider, for instance, the latter, described by researchers of Argentina's Jewish political body (DAIA) as informing from Berlin on the exclusive basis of Nazi sources. Readers of *Perón y los alemanes* will recall Goñi pronouncing his father, Santos Goñi Demarchi, an alliedophile. This in no way erases the apparent traces of Judeophobia in Goñi Demarchi, and Goñi grandfather, the latter uncovered by Fernando Devoto for Argentina's Commission of Inquiry into Nazi Activities (CEANA). Indeed, Michael Marrus reminds us of non-Judeophilic expressions by Churchill and Roosevelt, which show that anti-Jewishness and alliedophilia can blossom together.

With a broader table of contents than his earlier volume, *The Real Odessa* has ingredients that may turn it into the best Spanish-language journalistic book on this theme. For example, Goñi is doubtful about Evita's rumoured European meetings in 1947 with Otto Skorzeny and Father Krunoslav Draganovic (pp. 136, 261). In contrast to Jorge Camarasa and Juan Gasparini, he states that such encounters are difficult to confirm (p. 137). He also brings down the number of Nazi and collaborationist war criminals who settled in Argentina from 60,000, a Simon Wiesenthal overstatement, to 0.5 per cent of that figure. Such a downward revision is even more dramatic when reading Goñi's 1998 piece in *Time* magazine's Latin America edition, with its reference to not less than 180 war criminals.

However, there are questions concerning the book's credibility, which displays a notably selective attitude towards primary and secondary sources, and Goñi's conspiracy theories, non-acknowledged borrowings, and important factual errors.

Concerning exclusions and omissions there is Goñi's treatment of Perón's 1949 amnesty for inhabitants who had entered Argentina irregularly. Goñi refers to this measure, intended to tie up a 'particular loose end of his [Perón's] Nazi immigration policy', without the data proving that 'the real beneficiaries' were 'the Nazi fugitives' (pp. 261–2). A more rigorous approach would recognise that they were neither the only, nor the principal beneficiaries: at least 10,000 Jews normalised their situation due to the amnesty. According to Peronist and other sources linked to the successor government's vice-presidential National Commission of Investigations (CNI), the number of Jewish beneficiaries were many more. Paradoxically, this throws light on a related topic: Argentina, the last Latin American state to break diplomatic ties with the Axis and to declare war on Germany, was also the destination for up to 45,000 Jews during 1933–45, a number unequalled by the two pro-allied belligerent nations and any other country south of the USA. Undeniably, half of them landed in Argentina surreptitiously. Yet it is too facile to posit, just as it is impossible to prove, that the remainder did so by exploiting the venality of Argentine and other officialdom (p. 37).

Among the book's factual errors, Goñi is wrong to identify Gustav Mueller (p. 135) as the sole or main leader of the Peronist Movement of the Foreigners (MPE). Indeed, here Goñi fails to register Elías Richa's presidency of the MPE. Unlike Richa, German-descended Mueller might make the otherwise dated Nazi-Peronist sobriquet more credible. This was coined by Stalin envoy Vittorio Codovilla in respect of the military lodge within which Perón rose to power. Still, not only were the MPE's Italian and Croatian sections more important than the German one, but also Richa's Lebanese origin and Peronist credentials did not prevent his son from entering an exogamic marriage with a Jewish spouse. In other words, Goñi's allegation concerning Mueller's importance within MPE circles apparently rests on his insistence in equating Peronism and Nazism. If renowned anti-Peronist academics such as Gino Germani have dismissed the notion that Peronism was akin to Fascism, to equate it with Nazism is certainly questionable at best.

Regarding unattributed borrowings, a form of flattery of other authors' research, CEANA academic vicepresident Robert Potash has pointed out Goñi's annexation of Matteo Sanfilippo's earlier discovery for CEANA of Cardinal Tisserant's intercession with the Argentine ambassador in Rome in support of Argentine visas for some Vichy collaborationists. Finally, there are the conspiracy theories, in part the consequence of the long lasting culture of official secrecy. Here, Goñi should be given some benefit of the doubt. However, his birth in the USA and lengthy stays abroad impel readers to expect more of him. Evidence of such theories, for instance, is Goñi's insinuation that the Middle East-inspired bombing of the Israeli embassy in Buenos Aires had its genesis in a rightwing Peronist grouplet's recommendation: a reprisal for Israel's kidnapping of Eichmann 32 years earlier. This was the source of a futile Interpol investigation, yet such prolonged periods of grace are usually alien to the settlement of political debts.

Unfortunately, a 50-page list of footnotes, of published as well as unpublished sources, is no definitive guarantee of investigative rigour, nor does it automatically bestow credibility on the book, even less so when such footnotes and bibliography do not always back up the text.

When Argentine author Tomás Eloy Martínez was invited by London's Institute of Latin American Studies to speak on *La novela de Perón*, he emphasised the fact that writing anything about Perón was a difficult business, as a single factual error could consign the entire work to the dustbin of history. Hence, Martínez used his extensive interviews with Perón in the interests of a novel that portrays the former Argentine president, like Sarmiento's *Facundo*, not as he really was, but as he fictionalised him. In this book Goñi ultimately entertains the same hope.

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David Brown, *Santería Enthroned: Art, Ritual, and Innovation in an Afro-Cuban Religion* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), pp. xx + 413, $38.00, pb.

Johan Wedel, *Santería Healing: a Journey into the Afro-Cuban World of Divinities, Spirits and Sorcery* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2004), pp. xiv + 209, $55.00, hb.

The ethnography of Cuba has for long been a Cold War victim. Following the debacle over the expulsion from the island of Oscar Lewis and his team in the early 1970s with innuendos about his supposed collusion with the CIA, the Cuban government effectively shut the door on Western fieldworkers, and, as Cuban intellectuals today attest, the very word 'anthropology' became politically suspicious. In the 1970s and '80s ethnographic studies of Cuban society and culture were conducted only by Cuban researchers under government monitoring. Indeed, the Marxist-Leninist overtones that one still encounters in the local literature are perhaps best interpreted as remnants of that period, when the scholarly task of understanding Cuban society and culture was inextricably linked with the political one of changing it. Similarly, the emphasis in Cuban scholarship on historical documentation and 'folklorist' data collection may be due partly to the strong influence of the Soviet school of 'ethnology', although the enduring influence of the pre-revolutionary master Fernando Ortiz, with his abiding interest in documenting processes of creole 'transculturation', may have also played its part. Studies in the Euro-American ethnographic tradition – emphasising holistic research based more on participant observation than 'normative' data collection – have only begun to be possible recently, with the island's piecemeal openings to the West following the collapse of the USSR. Indeed, following pioneering studies by Daniel on rumba music and Rosenthal on political organisation, it may be fair to say that the ethnography of Cuba is still lacking a definitive monograph.

The field of Afro-Cuban religion, to which both books reviewed here belong, is the most likely to produce such a qualitative leap. With Cuban institutions such as the Conjunto Folklórico Nacional, the Centro de Antropología, the Fundación Fernando Ortiz and some university faculties now keen to co-opt funded Western researchers in the study of the more dazzling expressions of the 'cultura nacional', a new generation of Europeans and North Americans (many of them PhD students) were able to conduct fieldwork among religious practitioners from the mid-1990s onwards. As a result, the past five years have seen the publication of the first

English-speaking studies of Afro-Cuban religion on the island since the works of William Bascom in the 1940s and '50s. While none of them has the scope and depth of a definitive ethnography, these works, including the two reviewed here, are invaluable additions to a literature that had thus far consisted of accounts of the practice of Santería and other Afro-Cuban religions in the USA, often written by practitioners with a view to the New Age market.

Johan Wedel's *Santería Healing* is the first book-length monograph in English to provide a systematic ethnographic account of Santería practice in contemporary Cuba. Based on the author's doctoral fieldwork in Matanzas, a city well known for its Santería tradition, the book is focused on the medicinal aspects of cult practice. But in placing notions of affliction and healing within the broader context of Santería cosmology and ritual, the book also offers an overview of the main aspects of worship, including a description of the pantheon, accounts of divination and initiation rituals, the role of music and possession, as well as the relationship of Santería with other Afro-Cuban cults, including the 'darker' practices of sorcery. The central claim of the book is that while the remedies that Santería claims to offer may not necessarily 'cure' the sick (in a biomedical sense), they can contribute to 'healing'. Healing, here, is understood as a process that allows the experience of illness to be transformed for the better, by redefining the illness in terms of the sufferer's relationships to particular deities and to his or her social and physical surroundings more generally. Initiation ceremonies, argues Wedel, are particularly effective in this respect, since they place the sick neophyte in a series of relationships with deities (and, by extension, the physical and social features with which each deity is associated), that from then on provide the terms with which the sufferer may conceptualise his or her condition and its prospects. Adopting what he calls a 'phenomenological' approach, Wedel builds his case mainly on accounts given to him by a number of sufferers, showing how the experience of illness is formed through personal narratives about worship.

From an ethnographic point of view, the weaknesses of Wedel's book are those of a pioneering work conducted by a young scholar (the book is rather evidently based on the author's doctoral dissertation). Valuable though it is, his attempt to embed sufferers' narratives of illness within a comprehensive account of Santería worship does not quite work. His overview of Santería practice is spread too thinly, failing to provide a sufficiently integrated context for the repetitive narratives of his informants, which often appear anecdotal. Wedel's account is at its most sophisticated when sufferers' narratives are countered by the critical commentaries of people who see Santería as 'exploitation', thus placing Santería healing in the contrasting context of the socio-economic difficulties Cubans have been facing in the post-Soviet era. In fact, his theoretical attempt to make sense of Santería 'healing' can be seen as an attempt to 'defend' it, and particularly to fend off Western misconceptions of Santería as a 'primitive' equivalent to Western medicine. The strategy is fair, and well-established in the field of medical anthropology. Nevertheless, the distinction between 'healing' and 'curing' is not sufficiently powerful to expose the radically different assumptions that underlie Santería and biomedicine. For, as it stands in the book, the point about healing does not amount to much more than the claim that Santería makes sufferers feel better about their illness by providing them with a fanciful aetiology, involving spirits and the like. More analytical work would be needed to distinguish Santería from what medics like to call 'quack' medicine.

Unlike Wedel's work, David Brown's *Santería Enthroned* is not intended as an ethnographic monograph in the classical anthropological sense. The objective here is not so much to give a sense of practitioners' experience of worship, but rather to provide a scholarly account of the history and contemporary practice of Santería, based on twenty years' fieldwork among practitioners in the USA as well as Cuba. With his background in American Studies, Brown draws on the methods of performance studies, art history, folklore studies, as well as anthropology, to produce the most comprehensive account of Santería to date.

The book is divided into two parts. The first consists of three chapters that document, respectively, the transition of worship from West Africa to slavery in Cuba in the nineteenth century, the gradual formalisation of distinct ritual protocols during the course of the twentieth century (also within Ifá, the male diviner cult associated with Santería), and the complex processes – political as well as intellectual – through which contemporary Santería cosmology has been forged. Brown has something to say on just about every aspect of what is an extraordinarily complicated story of transformation. But the emphasis is on the role of particular authoritative initiates who, veering for influence and prestige, have been able to develop distinct versions of 'authenticity' by painting ritual and cosmological innovations onto putatively 'traditional' canvasses, such as the practices of ritual ancestors, influences of 'Africa', and the authority of the deities themselves, as revealed through divination.

In the second part, the focus narrows onto the imagery of Santería worship, illustrating the argument about the role of innovation in the field of ritual iconography. With effective use of visual illustrations, Brown shows how central tropes of Santería cosmology and ritual (the contrast between regal and warrior deities, the hierarchical structure of divine power, the dialectic of secrecy and revelation in worship, notions of initiation as the 'birth of a king', etc.) are rendered in aesthetic forms that amalgamate a complex historical trajectory of 'cultural borrowings'. Anchored in a close description of the *día del medio* – the ceremonial display of neophytes and their enthroned deities during initiation – this is a highly nuanced account of a 'creole aesthetic' that creates meaning by fusing the tropes of West African myth with the baroque lavishness of a European past.

Brown's tome is a definitive work of scholarship and should become a standard reference for anyone interested in the diaspora of West African religion. While the guiding argument about the invented character of tradition is well rehearsed in anthropology, what makes this book so impressive is the subtlety and richness with which this process is described for Santería. Indeed, having taken my review copy to Cuba on a recent fieldtrip, it became apparent that the book is bound to offer a recursive example of the feedback loops Brown so fascinatingly describes, whereby academic accounts of the religion are utilised by practitioners themselves as sources of knowledge and authority. Initiates pored over the book's photographs of famous ancestors, getting me to translate passages, which were then discussed and criticised. Since it was from their own ranks that this information was drawn in the first place, it seems to me imperative – as it does to them – that the book be made available in Spanish at a price appropriate for a Cuban audience.

University College London MARTIN HOLBRAAD

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Volker Skierka, *Fidel Castro: A Biography* (Cambridge: Polity, 2004), pp. xxiv + 440, £25.00; $29.95, hb.

In this sensitive, extraordinarily well-written and researched account, Volker Skierka takes us from Fidel Castro's childhood and early days as a revolutionary to the present day. It is a fascinating journey. Who would have imagined when Castro landed with his ragtag band in Oriente province in December of 1956 to begin his guerrilla struggle against the Batista dictatorship that he would not only win but still be on the world stage almost half a century later, even though he had to stand up to the worst the United States, the most powerful nation in the world, could throw at him? Against all odds, he has faced and won out against ten US presidents. Not only that, he has survived the collapse of the Soviet Union itself and, indeed, the world communist system as a whole. The Comintern and the Warsaw Pact have disappeared, but Fidel Castro and his version of socialism are still standing.

Essentially, as Skierka points out, it is Castro's successful defiance of the United States that is at the core of his myth. And it is the virtually unrelenting and futile US effort to bring him down which has assured continued life to the myth. Certainly, it is this that explains his strong and enduring popularity in Latin America. It is not that Argentines, Brazilians or Mexicans wish to adopt the Cuban system. They see its shortcomings. But whenever Castro visits a Latin American capital, as in Buenos Aires in May 2002 for the inauguration of President Néstor Kirchner, he is greeted by enthusiastic thousands. They cheer him not so much for what he has done in Cuba, but for standing up to the United States, something they wish their own governments could do more often and openly.

Skierka's account of the supposed confrontation between Fidel and Che Guevara upon the latter's return in March 1965 from a trip through Africa is the most thorough I've seen and makes fascinating reading. While in Africa, Guevara had scathingly criticised the Soviets, saying, in effect, that they were little better than the imperialists in their treatment of the developing countries. It stands to reason that Castro would have been pressured by the Soviets to discipline his wayward companion. But this came in the midst of deep disagreements between Castro himself and the Soviets, largely over whether or not to pursue armed struggle, i.e., guerrilla warfare, in the developing world, or the popular front tactics preferred by Moscow, largely a matter of trying to win over more converts to the orthodox communist parties and play for eventual victory (even if that retreated into the distant future).

I was on the Cuban Desk in the Department of State at the time and we watched expectantly to see what Castro would do. Would he applaud or reprimand? He met Guevara at the airport, an event covered fully by the Cuban press, but Guevara was then never again seen in public. He, in effect, went on to other revolutions and other lands.

But did this mean a sharp disagreement – or break – between Castro and Guevara? Skierka quotes sources within the inner circle as saying that Castro 'energetically reprimanded' Guevara for indiscipline, that is, for saying nasty things about the Soviets without authorisation.

Perhaps, but let us remember that every nasty word about the Soviets uttered by Guevara in Africa had been fully reported by the Cuban press, and this would not have happened without Castro's approval. Certainly Castro did not change his own

tactics, even though they clashed sharply with Moscow's. He continued to call for armed struggle, as had Guevara.

A year later, at the Tri-Continental Conference held in Havana in January of 1966, as Skierka tells us, Castro emphasised anew the need for armed struggle and heaped scorn on the orthodox parties, and by inference, the Soviet Union, for not pursuing it.

This Cuban–Soviet conflict came to a head finally over the so-called 'Prague Spring' in Czechoslovakia, where Dubcek was trying to assert a certain independence for the Czech Communist Party. That was directly in line with Castro's own position, and he fully supported Dubcek. But the outcome was inevitable. Moscow might tolerate disagreements over tactics in the developing countries. It would not tolerate a challenge to the leadership of the CPSU. On August 21 of 1968, it invaded Czechoslovakia.

Skierka gives us a good account of the Cuba reaction. I would quibble, however, with his assertion that this offered Castro 'an unexpected and spectacular opportunity to return to the Moscow fold'.

In fact, Castro had little choice. He had supported the right of the Czech Party to assert independence, and Cuba initially deplored the invasion. Saul Landau, the well-known documentary filmmaker and Cuba expert, was in Havana at that point at saw placards that had been prepared for Castro's speech – placards which denounced the Soviet invasion.

But clearly, Soviet patience had run out. Skierka reports a conversation between the Soviet and East German ambassadors in Havana in which the former raises the possibility that Soviet aid to Cuba will not continue. Obviously, that message was delivered to Castro as well. And so, when he gave his speech on 23 August, he deplored the need for the invasion but ended up saying it was necessary, given the efforts of the imperialists to take advantage of the situation in Czechoslovakia. From that point forward, Cuba–Soviet relations entered their most harmonious period – until the collapse of the Soviet Union itself.

Perhaps Skierka's most valuable contribution is his careful and unemotional assessment of Castro the man and leader, and his predictions regarding Cuba's future in the post-Castro era.

On the first count, he sees Castro as a man dedicated to egalitarian principles who has done much good for his country in terms of education and health care for all and a greater equality, though given the economic problems of the post-Soviet period, life may be grim. But he also sees him as authoritarian to the core, a man who has little use for either a free press or free expression. Castro is convinced that he knows the correct path to nirvana and so is not much interested in the views of the man in the street.

On the second, Skierka expects Castro to die with his boots on, not to be overthrown. As Skierka points out, the internal opposition is in fact quite weak and is not likely to become less so. And when Castro passes from the scene, Skierka would expect something of a collective leadership, officials drawn from within the present system, to take over. The exiles in Miami will have little if anything to do with the outcome. I would fully agree with that, only adding that if the new leadership wants to retain the support of the Cuban people, it will have to move ahead rapidly toward economic reforms. Castro may have the moral authority to hold out against change, but no one else would. And the Cuban people do want change, and a higher standard of living.

One thing is certain, as Skierka says, Castro 'will go down in history as one of the few revolutionaries who remained true to his principles'.

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Steve Ellner and Daniel Hellinger (eds.), *Venezuelan Politics in the Chávez Era: Class, Polarization and Conflict* (Boulder, CO and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002), pp. x + 259, £41.50, hb.

Most outside academics and journalists have shunned Venezuela since the 1950s. Its apparently functioning democracy and its comfortable oil income left little space for the unstable politics that made other Latin American countries such a popular area of study. The eruption onto the scene of Colonel Hugo Chávez, first as coup leader in 1992 and then as elected president in 1998, has changed this perception, and some of those dedicated scholars who worked on Venezuela when nobody much cared about it have at last got an audience for their work. This timely volume, edited by Steve Ellner and Daniel Hellinger, long-term labourers in the Venezuelan vineyard, is an excellent introduction to the Chávez phenomenon, the most fascinating and significant development in Latin America in the early years of the twenty-first century.

The book's initial aim is to explain why Chávez received such a ready reception when he first appeared, and why it took so long for anyone to realise that Venezuela's apparently stable institutions were riddled with termites. Although the contributors have some useful thoughts about the early years of the Chávez presidency (and the book ends with the attempted coup of April 2002, when Chávez was miraculously returned to power by an alliance between radical officers and a radicalised population in the shanty-towns), their broad thrust is directed towards developments in the 1990s, a period about which many of them had already done considerable research.

Venezuela had been changing far more rapidly under the surface than anyone had detected at the time. As factors in the crisis, Kenneth Roberts points to the numerical decline of the industrial as well as the agricultural workforce, the pronounced increase in the service sector, and the mass migration to the cities over a very short period (600,000 people in the neo-liberal heyday from 1989 to 1992).

The publishers perceive this to be a 'revisionist' work, and the claim is justified in two senses: the contributors reject the general belief that all was well in Venezuela before Chávez arrived, and they also treat Chávez himself as a normal political actor, if original and unusual, rather than as the irrational (and possibly fascistic) 'firebrand' depicted by much of the local and international media at the time. The result is an intelligent, if uneven, assessment by ten contributors of the various factors that led to the collapse of the old order at the elections of 1998.

Daniel Hellinger produces a straightforward account of the disintegration of '*punto-fijismo*', the long-lasting political deal originally agreed at Rafael Caldera's house in 1958, and he takes the reader through the '*Caracazo*' of 1989, the rise of the anti-systemic 'La Causa R', and the growing discontent within the military. He goes on to give a rather bleak description of Chávez's first three years in government, that reflects the generally pessimistic view taken by the academic community at that time. By contrast, the concluding chapter, by Hellinger and his fellow editor Steve Ellner

(written presumably after the April coup of 2002 had been crushed), is considerably more upbeat. Chávez is perceived as 'a rather unique and complex phenomenon', who was able to mobilise 'subaltern sentiments deeply ingrained in Venezuelan national identity'.

In this context, Hellinger touches obliquely on the vexed question of race, digging up a revealing quotation from Humberto Celli, a leader of Acción Democrática, at the time of Chávez's inauguration: 'When I saw Chávez … greeting the multitude, and the TV cameras focused on those delirious faces, I said to myself "My God, those are the *negritos* of Acción Democrática".' The people once regarded as electoral cannon-fodder had been turned by Chávez's campaign into front-line protagonists in the political struggle.

The most original contribution comes from Bernard Mommer, perhaps the best-informed analyst of the Venezuelan oil industry, and here he recounts the intriguing tale of subversion within the national oil company. Many writers have referred to *Petróleos de Venezuela* as 'a state within a state', but Mommer fleshes out the indictment, explaining how Venezuelan oil executives in the 1980s shared the outlook of the international oil companies, undermined nationalisation, and embarked on their own strategy of 'internationalisation' as early as 1982. This involved relocating profits abroad (through transfer pricing), and keeping them well beyond the reach of the government. The company's foreign investments included a refinery in Germany and 14,000 gasoline stations in the United States. Although the company was still nominally nationalised in the 1990s, its executives were in the vanguard of neoliberal orthodoxy, advocating lower levels of taxation as well as eventual privatisation.

Chávez put a stop to all that, although more by chance than intention. Mommer reveals that he had no specific agenda of his own for oil in the early years – beyond a more nationalistic approach and a desire to orchestrate the revival of Opec. He had a wise adviser, in the shape of Ali Rodríguez, who put muscle into the ministry of energy and mines and used it as a battering ram against the company. Soon the company's foreign affiliates were obliged to pay dividends, and it was itself ordered to pay a hefty 30 per cent royalty rate. With fresh money beginning to flow into the government's coffers, the basis was created for the health and education 'missions' that were to become a defining characteristic of the more recent Chávez era. From Mommer's account it is easy to see why the oil company became the strategic nerve-centre of the opposition to Chávez, both during the coup attempt of April 1992, and in the attempted 'economic coup' of December the same year.

Julia Buxton has some useful additional comments on the new government's economic policy, pointing out that, in spite of the radical rhetoric, Chávez never went much beyond a classic social democratic approach. In the same vein, Steve Ellner provides a convincing explanation of why Chávez was uninterested in gaining control of organised labour, perceiving them to be corrupted by their connection with the discredited political parties. Deborah Norden makes a stab at trying to explain the role of the military, one of the most significant topics in the book, although she does not get much beyond the newspaper cuttings. Academic investigations into the military are difficult in all countries in Latin America, and Venezuela is no exception.

Most of the contributors have found it difficult to come to terms with the sheer novelty of the Chávez experience, to which earlier models, or those from other countries, provide no guide. To have an overtly left-wing president who is hostile to

political parties and trade unions goes against the received wisdom of most social scientists, who tend to believe that such institutions are an essential part of the fabric of modern society. Casting around for parallels, several of the writers here refer to the examples of Alberto Fujimori or Juan Perón. Yet in retrospect, it has not proved illuminating to compare them with the Chávez government.

Although the book includes a couple of chapters on 'civil society' and on opinion in the shanty towns, it lacks a serious analysis of the groups making up the opposition. This, and a proper look at the behaviour of the media, domestic and foreign, would be necessary components of a further updated volume (much to be hoped for) that would examine the development of the Chávez government after the April coup.

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

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **37** (2005). doi:10.1017/S0022216X05379351

Michael McCaughan, *The Battle of Venezuela* (London: Latin America Bureau, 2004), pp. ix + 166, £7.99, pb.

This journalistic account of the Venezuelan government of Hugo Chávez provides rich details of the main events beginning with his presidential election in December 1998 and including the drafting and ratification of the Constitution in 1999 and the coup attempt of April 2002. McCaughan ends the book with a discussion of the campaign to collect signatures for the presidential recall in 2003, which he places in the context of referendums held the same year in Bolivia and Colombia. The author does a thorough job in confirming the accuracy of specific information, which for the most part is derived from interviews, periodicals and on-site observation.

Throughout the book, McCaughan heavily criticises the media both in Venezuela and abroad for biased coverage. He accuses Venezuela's four private TV channels of orchestrating the conflicts leading up to the April coup. The author argues that in the event's aftermath they 'continued to operate as an opposition party rather than a channel of information' (p. 103), and adds that the media has come to represent 'the single greatest obstacle to reconciliation in this divided nation' (p. 112). McCaughan is also critical of the international media, claiming that it was irritated by 'Venezuela's emerging political order' (p. 60). Along these lines, he cites a *New York Times* editorial that scolds the Chávez government for showing 'little respect for the compromises necessary in democracy' (p. 60).

This lack of impartiality is reason enough to justify the publication of a book that focuses on detail. Indeed, much of the information in the book has not been available from other sources. Thus, for instance, the author spells out the main features of the controversial 'Ley de Tierra' passed in November 2001. McCaughan shows that the law ruled out confiscation and that its principal objective was to discourage the maintenance of idle agricultural land. At the time, opposition leaders conjured up images of the Cubanisation of Venezuelan agriculture, and neither they nor pro-government spokesmen made an effort to educate the public regarding the law's specific content.

Nevertheless, McCaughan does not hide his sympathy for most of Chávez's policies, which he claims have brought Venezuela's marginalised poor into the political arena. He does, however, express apprehension of extreme positions on

both sides. Thus he points to the extremist implications of the pro-Chávez slogan '*Hungry and Unemployed, I'm Sticking with Chávez all the Way*'. According to the author, this 'hopeless rallying cry' revealed that 'an element of hardline *chavismo*, just like the hardline opposition ranged against it, would sooner see the country sink into the sea rather than hand over power' (p. 159).

McCaughan also condemns the extremist positions assumed by the opposition, such as the 'establishment of a permanent rebel army camp at a busy city centre plaza' (p. 121) by dissident military officers, which set the stage for the indefinite general strike in December 2002. Nevertheless, the author refrains from distinguishing between the right-wing 'extremist' faction of the opposition (including ex-President Carlos Andrés Pérez) that has openly called for a military coup and for the use of violence, on the one hand, and an allegedly moderate 'democratic' element, on the other. McCaughan is thus implicitly at odds with anti-Chávez commentators such as journalist Patricia Poleo who attributed the April 2002 coup debacle to a small cabal led by provisional president Pedro Carmona. Poleo claims that Carmona 'hijacked' the movement against Chávez while ignoring the advice of allegedly moderate opposition leaders. McCaughan evidently adheres to the opposing view that the entire opposition is to blame for the coup, the general strike and other fiascos, which called to question the anti-*chavista* movement's democratic credentials.

Although good on detail, this descriptive account of the Chávez government fails to pose broader questions regarding the future directions of the Chávez government and movement. This is no easy task for several reasons. In the first place, Chávez's Fifth Republic Party (MVR) has found itself in an ongoing emergency situation since its founding in 1997, with no breathing space to define long-term strategy or goals. During its first four years of existence, it participated in seven electoral contests, and then faced the coup and the ten-week general strike in 2002 and 2003 and more recently the recall campaign. In the second place, many MVR leaders have expressed in private their preference for the process in which confrontation and conflict, rather than a blueprint for far-reaching change, generates radicalisation. The examination of the internal currents of both the *chavista* and opposition movements by the author, however, would have provided clues to future developments. This shortage notwithstanding, the book provides useful information and should thus be read by specialists and non-specialists alike in order to enhance understanding of the first five years of Chávez's controversial presidency.

Georgetown University STEVE ELLNER

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **37** (2005). doi:10.1017/S0022216X05389358

Simone Remijnse, *Memories of Violence: Civil Patrols and the Legacy of Conflict in Joyabaj, Guatemala* (Amsterdam: Rozenberg Publishers, Thela Latin American Series, 2002), pp. 335, €22.50, pb.

There have been numerous studies of the roots and legacies of the violence of Guatemala's 36-year civil war and the military repression that accompanied it. Most conspicuous are the two important reports on the violence, *Guatemala: memoria del silencio* by the *Comisión para el Esclarecimiento Histórico* and the Report of the Human Rights Office of the Archdiocese of Guatemala, *Guatemala: Nunca Más*. As important as these and other studies have been in detailing the level of violence and its effects

at the national level, their usefulness in detailing that legacy in particular *locales* has been limited by their lack of local rootedness. This is especially true for general discussions about the nature of and effects of civil patrols; for while founded as part of a general military strategy to confront the guerrilla and control rural Guatemala, civil patrols took on distinct shape in rural communities, moulding themselves to local contours of conflict and co-operation.

Simone Reminjse's superb study of civil patrols and the legacy of violence in Joyabaj, a municipality in the southeast corner of the department of El Quiché, joins a small group of detailed studies that help us reconstruct what the violence has meant, and the role of civil patrols in fostering that violence, in specific communities. Her work is the result of six years of anthropological research in the community. Like other works in the Thela Latin American Series, it is a publication of her doctoral dissertation for the University of Utrecht. It demonstrates the advantages provided in good doctoral dissertations – the result of a long and intense period of field research – while, thankfully, avoiding some of the narrowness of vision that sometimes accompanies such theses. Moreover, her work focuses on a community located in the heart of the worst violence and one in which the civil patrols have played an important, indeed notorious, role in fostering that violence.

This work is important and informative on a number of levels. The author provides an interesting and useful theoretical discussion to begin the study, assessing the role and importance of memory, surveillance, obedience and terror in constructing social groups. While one can always cite works that might have been consulted and theoretical approaches that might have been explored, this introduction is both sufficient and useful for framing the research. The author also provides a very interesting history of ethnic relations and increasing polarisation in Joyabaj, concentrating on the years from the 1944 'revolution' to the formation of civil patrols. In this section the work does an especially good job outlining both the ethnic and other social divisions that existed in the municipality as well as the growing political tensions that surrounded them. For example, her discussion of how Catholic Action in the 1970s helped foster a 'clustering of power' (82) among young indigenous members of outlying *aldeas* and how this in turn led to tensions between these *aldeas* and municipal capital and between indigenous members of the municipality and ladinos is particularly interesting. Her assessment of the growing tensions with the army, especially around the military's control and misuse of international assistance following the earthquake of 1976 is also informative.

The slow collapse of democratic decision-making and the increasing opacity of local decision making as the violence began to descend on Joyabaj and the military took control are also clearly and evocatively expressed. The municipal council stopped making important decisions and its records became increasingly irrelevant. The author shows how in the early 1980s the *Libro de Actas* barely mentions the growing violence and how, by 1982, the council simply ceased to exist.

The core of the book, and the most impressive part of it, deals with the military and civil patrol violence in Joyabaj in the mid-1980s, and its legacy. This is all superbly outlined. The author succeeds well in differentiating the roles of civil patrols in the various geographic locales in the municipality, showing how some patrols were notorious for their violence while others seemed seldom to engage in violent activity. She relates these differences effectively to the history of ethnic and other relations among various components of the municipality and to the influence of powerful individuals. In contrast to some authors, she makes it clear that there

was no monopoly of violence on either side of Guatemala's ethnic divide; indigenous civil patrollers were as likely to use their positions in the civil patrols to foster violence against ladinos as was the opposite case. However, she does indicate how powerful ladino families used their close relationships to the military to increase their power and wealth, and she shows how specific individual or family feuds were played out in the context of the military inspired violence. The author indicates the similarities that existed throughout the municipality: the increasing inability of civil patrols to refrain from violence in the face of military pressure to 'prove' their loyalty, and the rapidly diminishing power of 'traditional' authority as people stopped paying attention to the *alcaldía*, both in the municipal capital and in the outlying aldeas. She notes how in the *Comunidad Indígena de Santa María Joyabaj* people stopped paying taxes to the *alcaldía* and even began to sell community land.

The author's discussion of attempts to demilitarise Joyabaj and to recover from the violence is equally impressive in the ways it draws complex pictures of the activities of various actors in the municipality. She is most evocative, however, in her discussions of the determined efforts of some in the community to recover power from the military and their allies and to begin to account for the dead and mourn their passing; a determination marked by remarkable bravery in the face of continuing violence. For anyone interested in understanding the complex path that led to the need for such determination, this book is highly recommended.

University of Saskatchewan JIM HANDY

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June Carolyn Erlick, *Disappeared: A Journalist Silenced – The Irma Flaquer Story* (Emeryville, CA: Seal Press, Avalon Publishing Group, 2004), pp. xiii + 355, $16.95, pb.

Guatemala's tragedy has spawned an abundance of literature in English on the suffering of its people. It is hard to believe that it is now over twenty years ago that Verso had the foresight to translate and publish 'I … Rigoberta'. Since then, the supply has seldom abated: last year Dianna Ortiz, the American nun who survived her kidnapping in 1989, was moved to publish nearly 500 pages on her ordeal. In between several other books have adopted different literary approaches to what are essentially gruesome tales of state-sponsored terrorism. So it is important that this book does not get lost in the multitude. 'Disappeared' is a remarkable story about a remarkable woman.

Irma Flaquer became a *cause célèbre* among human rights circles inside and outside of Guatemala after her forced disappearance in October 1980, at the height of the worst urban repression under General Lucas García. But this is not simply a case of a courageous and principled journalist, deeply committed to freedom of expression, being targeted for penning articles critical of the government. Only after the peace agreement in 1996 did it emerge that Irma Flaquer had in fact been recruited by the FAR (*Fuerzas Armadas Rebeldes*), one of the members of the guerrilla umbrella group the URNG (*Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca*), as early as 1978.

This is surprising. Most of her life Irma had essentially been an establishment figure, at least in political terms. To be sure, she had suffered a number of physical attacks on her, the worst being a car bomb in 1969 that left her body riddled with shrapnel. But she had supported Ydígoras Fuentes and Peralta Azurdía, both

military men, and served in the government of Méndez Montenegro in the late '60s. She was a close friend of Donaldo Alvárez, the interior minister under Lucas García who was among those approving death lists. Indeed, she held three minor government posts at the time of her kidnap.

Her politics were moderately leftist, but her concern for the poor did not extend to supporting the early guerrilla movement or Fidel Castro. Violent social change, she wrote, was both useless and power-hungry. So what changed? As for so many Guatemalans at the time, and as Erlick rightly conjectures, through her involvement with the popular organisations and the unions whose leaders were being murdered in the late 1970s, 'she began to believe that she had no choice other than to collaborate to overthrow the regime'.

Irma's political odyssey is not the only fascinating aspect of her life. She did not fit any obvious Guatemalan paradigm. Her parents were both members of a travelling theatre group, and she spent her early life on the road. She was a divorced single mother of two who believed in the right to abortion and the use of birth control. She was best known for her column, '*lo que otros callan*', in which she fearlessly railed against corruption and repression. But she also used her diverse interests in spirituality, psychology and the arts to write about a wide variety of topics.

Erlick draws on extensive interviews with Irma's relatives and friends to bring alive her nervy, feisty character. Erlick started the research as the investigator for the Miami-based Inter American Press Association. Their work helped to ensure an unusual 'friendly agreement' in 2001 by which the Guatemalan government signed up to a 12-point settlement, including financial reparations to Irma's family.

Even though the state accepted some responsibility, it is still not completely clear who got rid of Irma Flaquer. As Erlick writes, '… the truth is, both sides of the conflict had Irma on their death lists. The question is who got to her first.' The FAR may have been concerned that Irma would talk. One former FAR member suspects they were responsible, but the FAR's leader, Pablo Monsanto, has denied it. The weight of evidence suggests that it was the top ranks of the government, not least because Donaldo Alvárez was pleading with Irma to leave. If so, this would support the thesis that the intelligence services had already heavily infiltrated the urban guerrilla presence, which contributed to its rapid decline as a serious force.

Erlick's discussion of the issue is sensible, but it may have been more helpful to place Irma's collaboration with the FAR earlier in the narrative. It would have explained her sudden interest in taking lessons in Marxism. The Guatemalan Human Rights Commission (CDHG), which Irma founded in 1980, was close to the FAR, and one wonders if she was already following instructions. It would also have explained earlier why she did not leave Guatemala (she was waiting for orders), and perhaps her obsessive training on a workout bicycle (would she have to go to the mountains?).

Erlick's style will probably annoy the more scholarly-minded, not least because of the passages of reconstructed dialogue. But the narrative rattles along at a racy pace, as Erlick deftly supplies enough historical context to understand the key moments in Irma's life. Indeed, much of the appeal of the book lies in the personal bringing to life the political. This book deserves to get a wider readership beyond the circle of Guatemala-philes, not least because Irma Flaquer was remarkably prescient about the importance of combating impunity. It is horribly poignant that no one has been tried for her disappearance.

BBC World Service JAMES PAINTER

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Richard Weiner, *Race, Nation, and Market: Economic Culture in Porfirian Mexico* (Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 2004), pp. xi + 167, $39.95, hb.

The central premise of this unassuming book is that scholarship on Latin America has examined the economy in a vacuum, ignoring the cultural milieu in which it is shaped. In a detailed study of the economic thought of the business class and government in the late *Porfiriato*, Richard Weiner seeks to uncover what discourses about the market advocated for Mexico beyond their purely economic prescriptions. His principal interest is the 'cultural-economic' agenda of Porfirian liberals, for whom the market acted as midwife to the birth of a new, industrious culture and so shaped debates about social identity. These liberals were social engineers exhorting the need for foreign values to rectify Mexico's cultural shortcomings. The contribution made by *Race, Nation, and Market* is that it refines, champions and supports with evidence the argument that one can extrapolate from the ideas informing political economy to wider cultural themes – an argument that strips economic doctrine of scientific pretensions and treats it as ideology.

Weiner begins by examining liberal discourses about the market and its effects on social groups seen as obstacles to development, such as Indians and *hacendados*. He then explores discourses about the international market that competed with the vision of the Porfirian liberals, such as those of social Catholicism and of the Partido Liberal Mexicano. The nineteenth century was a period in which liberal attitudes towards the market oscillated between the doctrinaire, which expounded individualism, free trade, comparative advantage and rejected corporatism, to the pragmatic, which sought to develop Mexico's industrial base with the aid of state intervention and embraced the corporate order. As political stability was achieved by the late *Porfiriato*, however, doctrinaire liberalism and its celebration of free markets lost force and the state gained greater prominence in economic thinking. The focus shifted radically to economy and sidelined the egalitarian strand of the *Reforma*, stressing wealth creation over distribution. Alongside this 'developmentalist liberalism' the social question gained coherent form. The explanation for this shift, according to Weiner, was the convergence of new economic, social and ideological developments during a period of unparalleled expansion in the international economy. In particular, he highlights the influences upon Porfirian economic thinking of corporatist trends from Europe and that heady cocktail of positivism, social Darwinism and racial determinism that was so potent in the period.

This shift in focus had important implications. As it became clear in Mexico's rapidly developing economy that Indians would be needed to fill labour requirements, race gained in prominence as a theme, informing a debate about the quality and capacity of the workforce and contradicting earlier liberal emphasis upon the individual as the basis of the social order. Liberals used racial explanations to account for low Indian productivity, denigrating Mexico's existing racial stock, and praised foreigners for offering industrious virtues. This legitimised the use of coercion against Indians and policies promoting foreign immigration. The new climate was also one of growing fear about Mexico's survival in a world now dominated by the economic powers. Discourse about the international economy concentrated upon the implications for national sovereignty of monopoly capitalism, engendering a nationalist critique of US economic power. In these ways, liberal discourses on race and sovereignty influenced their understanding of national identity, fuelling hostility

to the culture they had inherited. Yet the paradox behind liberal positions was their embrace of foreign values: national survival depended upon carefully managed foreign elements. Liberals worshipped Euro-American perspectives, yet remained intensely nationalist.

Weiner's approach is a straightforward interpretive reconstruction from material published in the press, official publications and pamphlets of the ways market rhetoric allowed rival ideologues to establish their political identities. He has undertaken this labour-intensive task with careful attention to detail, creating a strongly grounded species of intellectual history in which the term discourse is used pragmatically, avoiding linguistic abstractions. As the author points out: 'I analyze discourse, which is not the same thing as engaging in discourse analysis.'

While the risk of linking economic thought to cultural construction is that it can lead into the cul-de-sac of functionalism, clearly the relationship between the modernising visions of *camarillas* in Mexico cannot be separated from their cultural critiques. The explanation for this proximity lies in the effect induced by accelerated bursts of market reform upon a political tradition that has admitted of little real alternation in power. As politics has been relegated as a source of identity, economic thought has taken its place.

One is struck in Weiner's work by the similarities between the vision of Mexico that he attributes to the developmentalist liberals of the *Porfiriato* and that of the later neoliberals whose philosophy of change went far beyond the minutiae of economic problem-solving. It is not sufficient reflexively to describe the neoliberals who opened the Mexican economy to the world in the late 1980s as mere cosmopolitans who had embraced uncritically the saws of globalisation: like their developmentalist kin, their reservations about Mexico were accompanied by a nationalist commitment to it.

Weiner suggests the need for a revision of conventional wisdom about the degree to which Porfirian liberals embraced *laissez faire* and individualism derived from foreign blueprints. He argues that Porfirian economic thought was, in fact, characterised by an emphasis upon the collective being, racial hierarchy and the role of the state in development – the image of the free market was largely invisible. The discourse of the neoliberals of the 1980s and '90s also revealed compromises about *laissez faire*, the individual and a vision of economic man. Yet for them, the market was a dominant symbol; concealed within their discourse were reservations about the Mexican character, a love of things foreign and fears for national sovereignty in an international economic battle for survival. Weiner's work calls attention to the need for a concerted study from the *Porfiriato* to the present of this relationship between the ideas informing political economy among Mexican elites and the evolution of political identity.

Queen Mary, University of London GAVIN O'TOOLE

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **37** (2005). doi:10.1017/S0022216X05419355

Patience A. Schell, *Church and State Education in Revolutionary Mexico City* (Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 2003), pp. xxv + 253, $50.00, hb.

In *Church and State Education in Revolutionary Mexico City* Patience A. Schell, lecturer in Latin American Cultural Studies at the University of Manchester, offers a vivid portrait of the ideologies, debates, difficulties and triumphs that surrounded the

effort to educate children and workers in Mexico's capital between 1917 and 1926. Noting reformers' claims that education should serve as a tool for revolutionising the skills, manners and mores of the popular classes, Schell reveals the gender and class specific nature of the curricula and activities schools offered and concludes that education programmes, whether publicly-funded or religious in orientation, rarely envisaged radically different social roles for children and adults from working communities; rather, course-work was intended largely to improve students' potential to become economically secure within the social settings into which they had been born. Focusing on municipal, federal and Catholic education programmes, Schell argues that despite the anticlerical nature of the revolutionary constitution, there was, at least between its implementation in 1918 and the government's confrontation with the Catholic Church in 1926, considerable overlap in the programmes the government and Catholic organisations offered their students. In this well-written volume Schell disputes older arguments that Catholic activists, especially the members of the Unión de Damas Católicas Mexicanas, sought to disrupt the revolution. Instead, she suggests that, at least in the early 1920s, Catholic education services were integral to some of the revolution's early successes in the areas of reducing illiteracy and promoting worker training. Her analysis of school curricula, teachers' lives, students' views, and cultural activities adds a welcome dimension to the growing historiography on *capitalinos*' experience of the revolution.

Schell has organised her study of church and state education in revolutionary Mexico City into eight chapters. The first serves to provide a brief and helpful background regarding church-state relations in Mexico and offers an orientation to developments in education in the nineteenth century and during the waning years of the *Porfiriato*. Reviewing institutional data and the legal infrastructure that supported the expansion of educational opportunities for Mexicans in the late-nineteenth century, Schell demonstrates that even before the revolution women held the majority of teaching positions in the republic and that policy-makers had already subscribed to the notion that centralised schools could serve as vehicles of modernisation and national integration. At the same time, she shows, Catholic ideologues began to conceive of adult education as an effective 'response to the "social question"', a term reformers employed to talk about the disease, ignorance and vice they associated with rapid industrialisation and urbanisation. In Chapters Two and Three Schell describes developments in municipal, federal and Catholic education with respect to primary schools and adult-oriented vocational education, using an examination of curricula to demonstrate that the public and religious agendas were often similar. Her description of the ways in which the programmes offered by the Unión de Damas Católicas Mexicanas diverged from the church hierarchy's teachings with respect to the proper themes for educating young women is particularly interesting and demonstrates the sometimes 'revolutionary' nature of that conservative women's group.

Chapter Four offers a poignant portrayal of the difficult lives faced by teachers, who heard their profession exalted in political rhetoric but who rarely saw such high-level praise affect their pay and who were frequently asked to relinquish part of their salaries to fund school feeding programmes. In this section Schell reviews the municipal and federal restrictions on the employment of married women and the frequent dismissal of pregnant teachers to show that broader societal debates about sexuality, reproduction and the roles of women within the family in Mexico politicised even primary school classrooms. Chapter Five further develops this theme,

and here Schell emphasises the messages about safety, morality and hygiene that underpinned lectures and student activities. Finally, Schell considers adults' motivations for entering night schools, the Damas' labour organisation projects that began to pit unionised Catholics against government-affiliated unions, and the broader community activities sponsored by the Secretaría de Educación Pública in the diverse municipalities in the Federal District. In Chapter Eight she turns to the circumstances that brought the Church and the state into conflict in the context of the Calles administration's efforts to implement Article 3 of the national constitution.

Church and State Education in Revolutionary Mexico City is a pleasure to read because it is clearly written, well-organised and vividly rendered. Schell uses colourful examples drawn from archived letters, publications, and institutional memoranda to paint a detailed portrait of the debates over whether to teach young women how to make European pastries or Mexican (nationalistic) delicacies, for example, or the scandal that erupted when a rumour spread that teachers at a night school were instructing girl students regarding the purpose and use of birth control devices. Because the chapters – and their subsections – are organised thematically rather than chronologically, however, the volume sometimes requires the reader to review the basic institutional history of education programmes and church-state conflicts while reading through the specific chapters. Fortunately the first chapter's background section and orientation to the issues provides a useful reference. At the same time, the discussion raises questions about the extent of international influences on education agendas and it would have been interesting to learn what Mexican participants thought about the papers they heard at regional and international conferences on schooling or child development. The influence of psychology on pedagogical initiatives might also have been considered.

These small criticisms aside, *Church and State Education in Revolutionary Mexico City* offers a welcome addition to the work on revolutionary reformism and does an admirable job of integrating discussions of church and state, so often discussed separately, into one study. It will be of considerable interest to historians working on revolution, education, Mexico City, cultural reform and women's activism in the early twentieth century.

University of Massachusetts KATHERINE BLISS

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Michael Chibnik, *Crafting Tradition: The Making and Marketing of Oaxacan Wood Carvings* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2003), pp. xiv + 266, $50.00, $22.95 pb; £17.50 pb.

Oaxacan wood carvings will be familiar to anyone who has visited Mexican craft markets in recent years, or who has shopped for 'folk art' in the USA. As the title of this excellent book makes clear, however, they constitute an 'invented tradition'. They exist to meet the demands of consumers who live in industrialised countries, but value the 'authenticity' of handmade and individualised objects. Michael Chibnik offers a scholarly study of the history, production and marketing of these imaginative and brightly painted figures. The makers live in the Central Valleys of Oaxaca. Here, 'traditional' arts and crafts (such as rug-weaving, blouse-embroidery and pot-making) have been promoted by government agencies for much of the

twentieth century. Although wooden masks and toys have been made in this region for centuries, the craft of wood-carving was transformed after the 1960s.

Manuel Jiménez (who went from being an occasional to a full-time carver in the late 1950s) is usually credited with the commercialisation of Oaxacan wood carving. Because he is comparatively well known, his work sells today for hundreds of US dollars; tourists seek him out at his home in Arrazola. Yet, as Chibnik reminds us, we should not overlook the innovative role played by other wood-carvers – not just in Arrazola, but also in San Martín Tilcajete and La Unión Tejalpan. The rise of the wood-carving trade, with its successes and inevitable rivalries, is meticulously researched. Some of the anecdotes are amusing as well as illuminating. Miguel Santiago, now a prosperous carver, taught himself the craft during the 1980s. Beset by technical problems, he wanted to learn what kind of paint was used by Manuel Jiménez, so he searched the ravines outside Arrazola for empty paint-cans discarded by his secretive neighbour.

Working methods are described through in-depth case studies. In 1985, there were perhaps ten full-time carvers in the entire state of Oaxaca. During the 'boom' years (1986–1990), wood carving was taken up by entire families who had relied on farming or on remittances from migrant workers in the USA. The transition from zompantle wood to copal wood, and from water-based aniline paints to house paints, was accompanied by rising production levels. In some households, electric drills and electric saws were added to the basic range of tools. By 1990 some 200 families in Arrazola and San Martín Tilcajete were enjoying improved living conditions. Although sales then levelled off, they rose again in the mid- and late 1990s. The book ends with a massive downturn in 2002.

Chibnik provides a comprehensive analysis of labour organisation and economic strategies in the chief wood-carving communities. While a few 'high-end' carvers kept discerning buyers and collectors supplied with 'original' work, 'low-end' carvers provided vast quantities of inexpensive pieces for the mass market. To meet the demands of wholesalers during the 1990s, new forms of production developed. In Arrazola, some entrepreneurs operated workshops with hired labour. Unpainted carvings from satellite communities were increasingly bought in by producers in San Martín Tilcajete. Despite these 'capitalistic' forms of labour organisation, however, most wood carvings are still made in family workshops. Chibnik also discusses the role of women. Although carving is a male activity, women are often responsible for painting the finished figures. This work contributes greatly to the salability of pieces, yet (with one notable exception) the input of women is consistently undervalued within their own communities.

Of course, as Chibnik ably demonstrates, the livelihoods of wood-carving families are dependent on the prosperity and changing tastes of societies thousands of miles away. The purchasing power of tourists who visit Oaxaca is one factor in the commodity chain, and Chibnik (after interviewing a number of shop owners) devotes a very valuable chapter to the history of craft outlets in Oaxaca. Sales to tourists are only a small part of the craft trade, however. The majority of carvings are bought by intermediaries from Mexico and the USA. Again using case studies, Chibnik presents an insightful view of a volatile market: he includes interviews with importers and sellers in the USA, and describes his visits to gift-stores, museum shops, trade fairs and internet sites. Every phase of the journey taken by Oaxacan wood carvings, from their creation to the point of sale, is covered here and costed. For Chibnik, trading on the internet 'epitomises a transnational, globalised commodity

chain in which the market for pieces made in a rural Mexican community is determined by the whim of consumers in the industrialized world'.

The marketing of 'ethnic arts' often gives amusement (coupled with irritation) to those with inside knowledge. The promoters quoted here stress the 'whimsicality' of carvings from picture-postcard villages, and promise purchasers that these 'treasured collectibles' will add 'spice to your decor'. Some advertising goes further, emphasising the Zapotec ethnicity of the makers, although, as Chibnik points out, the makers no longer speak Zapotec. Promoters targeting 'New-Age' purchasers focus on the 'indigenous spirituality' of the carvings. In one instance, we are told that each carver examines the wood and 'frees its spirit as he carves'. The trade in wood carvings is thus driven by romantic misrepresentation. In his concluding chapter, Chibnik asks: 'Why is it necessary to portray the wood-carvers as noble Indians practicing an ancient craft? Is not a realistic story of ingenious men and women inventing an imaginative, appealing art form more interesting?'

Few books about Mexican arts and crafts offer so much carefully substantiated information. Forty years (the approximate span of Oaxacan wood-carving) is a long time in the rapidly mutating world of *arte popular*. 'Realistic stories' soon become obscured by hearsay. Readers with an interest in Mexican ethnography will welcome and greatly value Chibnik's work, which is illustrated with photographs of makers and carvings. On a more general level, this book can be read as a thoughtful and thought-provoking examination of the double-edged effects of globalisation.

University of the Arts, London CHLOE SAYER

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Miguel F. Lengyel and Vivianne Ventura-Dias (eds.), *Trade Policy Reforms in Latin America: Multilateral Rules and Domestic Institutions* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. xvi + 239, £55.00, hb.

Trade Policy Reforms in Latin America offers a useful analysis of the politico-economic reasons behind the shortcomings of unilateral and multilateral trade liberalisation. The book focuses on the domestic economic and political responses to the changing trade conditions at the regional and multilateral level. In particular, it addresses the following questions. How have export and foreign investment levels evolved in Latin America during the 1990s? What has been the impact of the Uruguay Round in such economic outcomes? How do the commitments reached within the WTO interplay with the process of open regionalism? How have states' institutional structure and relations with the private sector changed as a result of these new external conditions?

These questions are answered through case studies for eight countries: Chile, Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Colombia, Venezuela and Peru. The comparison of country experiences successfully illustrates the common effects of trade liberalisation, particularly of WTO new regulations, in Latin America, as well as tracing the different characteristics that the process has taken in distinct countries. Four central conclusions are derived from a careful reading of the case studies.

First, the record of trade liberalisation in Latin America during the 1990s has been quite disappointing when measured in terms of the volume and composition of exports. Only Chile and Mexico have been able to achieve sustained rates of export growth. Chile has achieved this by deepening its specialisation in primary goods,

while Mexico has done it within an increasingly dualistic economic structure in which exports are not sufficiently linked with the rest of the economy (see UNCTAD's *Trade and Investment Report*, 2003).

Second, the Uruguay Round Agreement (URA) has reinforced the disappointing effects of trade liberalisation in Latin America. The URA consolidated and strengthened the process of unilateral tariff reductions that had already began in most countries during the late 1980s. The effects of URA in all countries went, however, much further. By prohibiting many subsidies for export and industrial promotion, and by imposing onerous restrictions on independent regulation of intellectual property rights, URA and the WTO forced countries to adopt measures with uncertain effects on economic development. Limited advances in market access to developed countries in sectors such as agriculture has only made matters worse. The situation has been particularly dramatic in countries such as Argentina, where the URA limited the development of the local pharmaceutical industry through the Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs), while leading to disappointing advances in market access. Chile, despite its general neoliberal policy environment, was forced to adapt its successful system of export subsidies. Other countries have suffered less, because of their preexisting regulatory regime (Mexico) or because they have used loopholes in the URA to maintain various promotion schemes (local requirements in automotive sector and minimum prices in agriculture in Colombia and Venezuela).

Third, free trade agreements at the regional level have complemented and reinforced the results of the URA. However, regional agreements have usually been more relevant and beneficial, resulting in further market access gains. Free trade agreements have been at the heart of Mexico and Chile's export expansion. In Argentina, Mercosur facilitated the expansion of the automobile industry and the growth of intra-regional trade. Mercosur was also a useful instrument to increase Uruguay's exports and strengthen its international bargaining position in trade negotiations. Regional integration agreements have also benefited from a more active participation by the private sector in their design than through WTO negotiations. While Latin American domestic capital has regarded multilateral negotiations as a distant process, it has been rather active at the regional level. In Mexico, interactions between the private and public sectors were particularly intense during the negotiation of NAFTA; in Chile, business associations have increased their participation in each succeeding trade agreement. These positive features of the regional integration should not obscure the slow advance of processes such as Mercosur and the Andean Pact.

Fourth, institutional responses to the new global policy environment have been rather inconsistent (new institutions have been created, but dispersion in decision making still exists), and governments have been slow in integrating the interests of the private sector in a formal way. As a result, dominant groups within the private sector have remained particularly influential in policy design. The Brazilian experience is paradigmatic in this regard; the same sectors that benefited from import substitution are now benefiting from discriminatory trade liberalisation.

The final chapter, which draws some conclusions from the case studies and proposes alternative mechanisms to design and implement trade policy, is particularly interesting. Its suggestion of increasing Latin America's policy freedom while expanding domestic participation in policy design is particularly welcome. However, the chapter, like the rest of the book, is limited by two key shortcomings. First, the

different cases, which sometimes lack detail, are not sufficiently subject to contrast to determine the reasons behind country particularities in policy implementation, institutional structures and export performance. The book stresses the importance of state structures and state-society interactions, but there are not enough examples to illustrate such claim.

Second, transnational corporations (TNCs) are absent from most of the analysis. It is impossible, however, to understand trade policy and economic restructuring in Latin American without taking into consideration the changing productive strategy of TNCs. Policy reform proposals that concentrate on the institutional arena (both international and domestic) alone are also bound to fail, unless the increasing political and economic role of global firms is taken into consideration.

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Enrique Bour, Daniel Heymann and Fernando Navajas (eds.), *Latin American Economic Crises: Trade and Labour* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. xxiii + 269, £55.00, hb.

This book is a collection of 15 papers on Latin American issues, plus an introduction to the essays by the editors, presented at the Twelfth World Congress of the International Economic Association (23–27 August 1999, Buenos Aires). It addresses three areas of great policy relevance for Latin America which are subject to active academic research: (1) Currency and financial crises – theory and episode analysis; (2) Trade negotiations and exchange rate policy issues; (3) Labour issues and income distribution.

The chapters in the first section on currency crises overlap in different ways. The chapters by Hamada and Fratzscher compare the Asian and Latin American currency crises of the 1990s and discuss the usefulness of different models of balance of payments crises to explain these episodes. Hamada compares countries that adopted capital controls (Malaysia, Chile) and those that adopted a currency board (Hong Kong and Argentina) while Fratzscher focuses on the factors responsible for the spread of currency crises in Asia and Latin America, concluding that weak fundamentals and unsustainable policies alone cannot explain the spread of the crises. Rather, high financial integration and close trade integration were central in the transmission of the crises. Calvo's chapter also presents models of contagion that look at factors behind the diffusion of the 1998 Russian crisis. He concludes that due to problems of asymmetric information, such that rational but uninformed individuals can react very strongly to signals emitted by informed investors, emerging markets can become the 'innocent victims' of shocks outside their control. In these models, 'sudden stop effects' can give rise to the existence of multiple equilibria and multiplier effects. Corbo's contribution examines the effects of the 1997 Asian crisis on Latin American economies (sharp drop in the terms of trade, substantial increase in borrowing spreads and sudden reduction of capital inflows) and discusses also the choice of exchange rate and monetary regimes in Latin America. Garcia-Herrero presents a description of the banking crises in Argentina (1995), Paraguay (1995) and Venezuela (1994) that complements the analysis by Fratzscher and Calvo.

In the second section on trade and exchange rate policy, the papers by Srinivasan and Urquidi address regional and multilateral trade issues from different perspectives. Srinivasan provides a vigorous defence of free multilateral trade arguing that preferential trade agreements have significant trade diversion effects while their benefits can be obtained through the multilateral process. He also restates the case for outward orientation in development strategy and discusses the agenda for the WTO from the perspective of developing countries. Urquidi reviews early and recent economic integration attempts in Latin America and argues that Latin American regional integration is no longer possible in the present context of globalisation. Rather, integration should rely on strong subregional agreements. Rincón, Iscan and Ferreira and Sansó provide econometric analyses on the effects of exchange rate movements. Rincón focuses on trade balance effects in Colombia finding support for the elasticities approach to the balance of payments. Iscan looks at reallocation effects (between tradables and non tradables sectors) of both terms of trade movements and real devaluations in Mexico showing that real devaluations have contractionary short run effects and important reallocation effects by reducing output in the non tradables sector. Ferreira and Sansó consider the effects on the competitiveness of Brazilian manufacturing exports. They find that variations in the exchange rate have a limited impact on the foreign price of manufactured exports and are thus reflected mainly in the profit margins of exporters. Finally, Miotti, Quenan and Winograd analyse Argentina's trade performance since 1960. They conclude that periods of high protection witnessed declines in the comparative disadvantage of the manufacturing sector while in periods of trade liberalisation the comparative advantage of primary sectors was reinforced. These trends appear to have changed during the liberalisation of the 1990s when manufacturing comparative advantage began to rise.

The third section on labour and income distribution is probably the most heterogeneous and also the most innovative of the book. Kugler examines the impact of the 1990 labour market reform – in particular the effects of the reduction of firing costs on exit rates into and out of unemployment. She finds that reform contributed to a lower rate of unemployment (by, however, a small amount) due to both greater flows out of than into unemployment and a reallocation towards the formal sector of the labour market. Navajas presents one of the few attempts to evaluate the distribution effects of price changes associated to the 1990s structural reforms in Argentina, obtaining results that, despite the increase in inequality during the 1990s, contradict the idea that price changes reduced welfare or contained a negative distributive bias. Cigno and Pinal look at the relationships between decisions on births, the cost of raising children and the observed child survival rate in the province of Salta in Argentina. They find support for a theoretical model in which the increase in the survival rate induces parents to spend more on each child born, and reduces the number of births. Finally, Ray investigates the determinants of child participation in the Peruvian labour market and schooling finding, unlike research for other countries, an absence of a strong link between poverty and child labour.

Overall this volume is a collection of valuable though heterogeneous contributions to topics that have been at the top of the policy and research agenda for the past two decades.

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Scott Mainwaring and Christopher Welna, *Democratic Accountability in Latin America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. xv + 343, £50.00, £25.00 pb.

The rigorously structured volume edited by Scott Mainwaring and Christopher Welna is an important landmark in the comparative study of political systems. It constitutes a leap forward in our understanding of the challenges of political accountability in presidential systems and the contribution of institutional engineering to the consolidation of democratic governance. Taking forward the seminal work by Guillermo O'Donnell on the distinction between vertical and horizontal mechanisms of accountability, it combines theoretical discussions of the concept of accountability with its application to concrete instances of institutional reform. In particular, it explores the institutional factors determining the effectiveness of intra-state accountability and the quality of the state's self restraint mechanisms in 'delegative democracies'. This is essential reading for all those seeking to better understand the contribution of political institutions to economic governance and democratic consolidation.

The volume is structured in three main sections. A first set of articles discusses the theoretical controversies surrounding the concept of democratic accountability, and in particular the distinction between different types of accountability. Intra-state horizontal accountability, according the now classical definition offered by O'Donnell refers to the 'existence of state agencies that span from routine oversight to criminal sanctions or impeachment in relation to actions or omission by other agents or agencies of the state that may be qualified as unlawful' (p. 34). Henceforth, horizontal accountability is 'the legal institutionalisation of mistrust' (p. 35). A key controversy relates to whether or not horizontal accountability requires sanctioning authority.

Mainwaring and Charles Kenney make an important distinction between direct and indirect sanctioning powers: as Mainwaring argues, while 'accountability cannot exist with *no* sanctioning power', it 'does not require direct, legally ascribed sanctioning power' (p. 13). This distinction is key for understanding the dynamics of horizontal accountability and the limitations of state oversight mechanisms. Ultimately, accountability is an integrated system of control where the effectiveness of each oversight agency depends on that of the other institutions part of the network of checks and balances. Realistic expectations about the effectiveness of each institution of accountability taken individually and acting in isolation are thus warranted.

A second section discusses the contribution of parliaments in fostering government accountability. Erika Moreno, Brian Crisp and Matthew Shugart consider sanctioning authority to be a definitional characteristic of an accountability relationship. They thus argue that accountability mechanisms are necessarily vertical relationships in a principal-agent framework: 'agents cannot hold other agents accountable, only their principals can' (p. 117). The proliferation of non-elected oversight agencies with no direct sanctioning authority, such as supreme courts, constitutional tribunals, public defenders, attorney generals and controller generals, are not institutions of accountability as such, but rather 'superintendence agencies' (p. 90) tasked with assisting in the resolution of principal-agent relationships by reducing information asymmetries. Moreno et al. argue that for accountability to

work, parliaments ought to take a more active role in enforcing it, in 'making vertical accountability right' (p. 109). Candidate procedures and electoral rules play a critical role in determining the incentives of legislators to provide effective collective oversight of the executive.

The subsequent two chapters on legislative oversight break new ground in the analysis of executive-legislative relation in economic governance and public budgeting. They constitute important contributions to the growing literature on political economics by focusing on the role of parliaments in the strengthening of accountability in government financial management. Scott Morgenstern and Luigi Manzetti investigate the political motivations and incentives that explain why the United States has gradually strengthened its capacities for effective legislative oversight of public finances, and why Argentina has failed to do so. They argue that legislative budget oversight depends on the 'degree to which the legislative branch has developed the technocratic institutions necessary for ensuring the financial and administrative accountability of the president and executive-controlled bureaucratic agencies' (p. 135), which itself depends on legislators having the political incentives to use them effectively. In other words, for accountability to be effective, the legislature needs both the means and motives for effective oversight. Legislative budget oversight institutions such as legislative budget offices and external audit agencies thus act as what James Madison referred to as 'auxiliary agencies' supporting the oversight performed by the legislature.

In her discussions on Brazil, Argelina Cheibub Figueiredo further delves into what explains the effectiveness of the mechanisms of horizontal accountability in government finance management. She argues that, although the 1988 constitution provides 'an extensive array of oversight mechanisms and an adequate legal apparatus to sanction the government', these favourable institutional conditions are not sufficient for effective oversight. Congress's legal ability to take on oversight initiatives is much greater that its capacity to achieve actual results (p. 173). Nevertheless, the information generated by legislative oversight mechanisms such as parliamentary inquiry commissions or routine oversight mechanisms (standing committees, budget committees, general audit office) is critical for 'groups in society to activate other accountability mechanisms' (p. 173). Henceforth, the means (technical capacities) and motives (political incentives) for horizontal accountability and legislative oversight are intrinsically linked.

A further set of articles investigates the role of the judiciary in enforcing the rule of law under separation of powers. A first chapter investigates the contribution of a recent institutional innovation in Brazil, the public ministry and public prosecutor's office, in enforcing integrity and probity in public administration in Brazil. A second article evaluates judicial reform efforts in Central America, underscoring the centrality of judicial independence to anchor the rule of law. The third discusses the newfound role of the Mexican Supreme Court in the architecture of democratic accountability and rule of law after the defeat of the long-time ruling party in 1997 legislative elections.

Democratic Accountability in Latin America helps us to clarify the interactions between the vertical and horizontal forms of accountability. It aptly demonstrates that the effectiveness of the institutions of horizontal accountability is largely dependent on the efficacy of the mechanisms of vertical accountability. In their important contribution to the debate, Catalina Smulovitz and Enrique Peruzzotti argue that accountability mechanisms embedded in society are critical both to support and

activate horizontal mechanisms within the state. The promising concept of societal accountability underscores that democratic accountability is an integral system of control and oversight.

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Katharina Müller, *Privatising Old-Age Security: Latin America and Eastern Europe Compared* (Cheltenham, and Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, 2003), pp. xiv + 175, £39.95, hb.

This book provides an insightful comparative analysis of the process by which pension reform came to be adopted in eight countries in Latin America and Eastern Europe: Argentina, Uruguay, Peru, Bolivia, Hungary, Poland, Croatia and Bulgaria. Pension reform enjoys a paradigmatic role in structural reforms in Latin America and Eastern Europe. It changes, in quite fundamental ways, the balance of public and private provision of security, while at the same time reducing public sector deficits, enhancing private insurance markets, strengthening personal saving and self-provision, supporting privatisation, and developing capital markets. Whilst the rights and wrongs of the analytical and policy perspectives behind pension reform, and the assessment of actual and potential outcomes, have generated a large literature, the associated policy processes have been under-researched (but see C. Mesa Lago and K. Müller [2002] 'The Politics of Pension Reform in Latin America', in volume 34 of this Journal). This book contributes to filling that large gap in the literature.

The approach adopted by the author is to construct case studies for each the countries selected, outlining the main features of the process leading up to pension reform, and then to draw out common threads as well as differences. The case studies are short but grounded on a careful study of country sources and direct contact with key players. The list of references, running at over 30 pages, reflects the thoroughness of this research and provides an excellent map for further work in the area. A more extended chapter then brings together the main threads from the case studies. The author finds there are commonalities in the process of pension reform in the countries studies, all benefited with a steep decline in confidence in the sustainability of existing pension plans, all benefited from the 'demonstration' effect reflecting the apparently successful pension reform in Chile in the early 1980s, and all were driven to an important extent by policy transfers sponsored by international financial institutions. Having said this, country specific elements survived. Another finding is that crises strongly facilitated the reforms, strengthening the hand of groups of policy makers in each of the countries committed to the reforms and linked to international financial institutions. In a majority of countries, top down policy making and weaker legislatures facilitated the process.

The author should be congratulated for the contribution the book makes to our understanding of policy reform transfers, the spread of neoliberalism, and the politics of pension reform. In places, the argumentation in the book suggests important questions for further research. The author confines her analysis to the key policy makers: international financial institutions, leading government figures, technocratic elites. This assumes a specific view of the policy process. References to popular movements and grass-roots organisations are scarce. That begs the question

whether, in the countries studied, these organisations were effectively excluded from the policy process – perhaps this is another parallel between Eastern European and Latin American countries? It also raises the interesting issue as to whether older people, and those close to retirement age, have any political influence. It is also interesting to speculate whether the policy process unveiled in the book contains any lessons for pension reform in developed countries. These should not be taken to detract from the strengths of the book, but one complaint is that the Conclusions, at just two and a bit pages, are meagre.

This book should be required reading for social policy, pensions, and Latin American and Eastern Europe specialists. It is an accomplished contribution to sorely needed comparative research.

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Kurt Weyland (ed.), *Learning from Foreign Models in Latin American Policy Reform* (Washington, DC: The Woodrow Wilson Center Press, and Baltimore, MD, and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), pp. xiii + 302, $60.00, $22.95 pb; £43.00, £16.50 pb.

This collection by academics, policy-makers, and officials addresses a critical issue in the recent history of Latin America: the importation and application of social policy models. The main areas covered are: pension systems – Gustavo Demarco writes about the Argentine, Vinícius C. Pinheiro about Brazil; unemployment insurance – José Paulo Zeetano Chahad on Brazil, Louise Haagh and David Bravo on Chile; health care – Juan Pablo Uribe on Colombia, Carlos Cruz and Elena Carrerra on Mexico. Kurt Weyland, Joan M. Nelson, and Sarah M. Brooks provide chapters on foreign policy models, the politics of social sector reform, and the diffusion of foreign models of social security reform, respectively, across the whole range of policy areas covered.

Weyland is exercised by the process through which substantive changes in one country can become normative: how experiment in one country emerges as a template for policy innovation elsewhere. Not that policy importation is a recent phenomenon nor, indeed, peculiar to Latin America. As contributors observe, late-developing economies like Meiji Japan, Imperial Germany, and South Korea opted for an eclectic mix of policy import and learning-by-doing. The Vargas Labour Code in Brazil was based upon the Carta di Lavoro of fascist Italy. Chile imported Reagan/Thatcher economics and exported a model of pension restructuring. Appraising mechanisms by which models are imported and applied necessitates an evaluation of the balance between domestic and external factors: does policy diffusion derive from autonomous learning or inducements offered by foreign actors; how much room for manoeuvre do policy-practitioners enjoy? Why is one set of policy goals selected in preference to another; are the 'right' (or 'invalid') lessons learnt when borrowing models? Why have some countries in Latin America proved better able than others at combining neoliberal and social democratic strategies, and What are the implications of policy importation for state sovereignty and regime survival? This is a challenging agenda confronting contributors.

'Model' implies coherent design and focus on a particular problem – an innovative, bold solution to an old problem that results in rupture with the past. As

several authors indicate, foreign models tend to attract attention in the wake of a general shift in the policy paradigm after periods of confusion and uncertainty during which long-established approaches appear inefficient, insufficient or ineffective. Clarity and coherence of a model tends to facilitate diffusion. Similarly, 'status' of the exporting country and assumptions of shared problems and needs between exporting and importing countries may encourage policy transfer and embedding. Notwithstanding assumptions of model 'hegemony' and the influence of the international financial institutions, most contributors argue that absorption and application of policy was always conditioned by domestic circumstances and that domestic political actors retained considerable latitude. This was manifest in the selection of available options and in the timing and pace of reform.

A major strength of the book derives from the combination of policy-practitioner insight and academic analysis. Officials and administrators (for example, Demarco, Pinheiro and Uribe) identify domestic expectations determining policy model imports, the selective application of strategies, and technical and political pressures responsible for design modification. Other contributors (Bravo, Carrera, Chahad and Cruz), sometime advisors in ministries across the continent, offer information on the theoretical evaluation of imported models. The well-worked field of restructuring the social insurance regime receives considerable attention. Nevertheless, the volume highlights substantial variation in the absorption and application of the 'Chilean model', and the fact that policy-makers in Latin America were aware of the relevance of the Chilean experience/model before it was vaunted by Washington as the solution to the crisis in social insurance funding. Arguably, the chapters on unemployment insurance constitute one of the most innovative parts of the book. Haagh and Bravo examine the protracted debate in Chile preceding the introduction of a much-needed system of unemployment insurance in a society in which virtually all other forms of worker protection had been swept away. The debate confirms the primacy of market ideology, and a general resistance to pragmatic learning. Chahad charts the development of unemployment insurance in Brazil, highlighting distortions and problems. Given informality, and the coexistence of other formal sector social rights such as severance pay, unemployment insurance replicated existing inequality, and had a negative impact on labour market efficiency. According to Uriba, Cruz and Carerra, Colombian and Mexican healthcare planners were less captivated by a single model. Pragmatism may have resulted in an impressive growth in access to health care in the two countries.

This controversial volume is an informed corrective to works that portray social policy reform in Latin America as largely influenced by the international financial institutions. Contributors demonstrate that although the Washington agencies appear to promote a 'hegemonic' model of social policy change, 'advice' was not always consistent. For example, while the World Bank was pressing for a rapid overhaul of pay-as-you-go social insurance regimes as part of a broader strategy of privatisation, the IMF was advising caution as the transitional costs of pension privatisation would have strained public finances. Contributors also show that there was a large degree of domestic 'ownership', and that technocrats (not least those committed to the Washington Consensus) were often unable to resist internal political pressure to change key elements of policy design. There was, too, considerable autonomous learning: the international agencies might have lectured, but domestic proponents of reform learnt from the process of implementing policy change – and were informed by the experiences of neighbouring countries. It is a moot point

whether the accommodation of those pressures resulted in a 'pick-and-mix' policy regime that embedded reform strategies, or emasculated them. Yet the conclusion of the volume is clear: eclecticism diversifies the risk of failure, and permits compromises and trade-offs that yield policy measure better attuned to local needs.

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Stephen Hart and Richard Young (eds.), *Contemporary Latin American Cultural Studies* (London: Arnold, 2003), pp. xiv + 348, £50.00, £16.99 pb.

John Beverley's contribution to this volume is entitled '*Adiós*', and it articulates the author's disenchantment with Latin American Cultural Studies, or rather with the attempts to yoke Latin American Studies and Cultural Studies. He describes the debates that have surrounded these attempts as 'signally unproductive' (p. 56), though he admits that 'this kind of melancholy or *desengaño* [...] is not necessarily shared by our younger colleagues, who bring new energies, new experiences, and new imaginaries to the field' (p. 58). That Beverley's view is not necessarily shared by his colleagues (younger or older) can be confirmed by the fact that 250 pages of this collection of 'Contemporary Latin American Cultural Studies' still lie ahead after his '*adiós*'; whether or not those pages bring 'new energies, new experiences, and new imaginaries' is less certain.

The essays that make up the bulk of this book cover what is by now the canon of Latin American Cultural Studies: Mexican *telenovelas*, Brazilian cinema, Central American *testimonio*, Southern Cone post-dictatorship fiction, Chicana cultural theory, and nineteenth-century intellectual history, spiced up with articles also on football, music, comics, food, and dance. This is, to be sure, a varied canon; but it is still a predictable one, as all canons necessarily are. To be fair, the volume's editors make no claims to be setting a new agenda: they offer, rather, 'a comprehensive introduction' to a pre-existing field (p. 9). There remains, however, a strange slippage between the book's opening, theoretical, section whose dominant tone is mournful (with Beverley), critical (with William Rowe and Beatriz Sarlo), or at best cautious (with Nestor García Canclini), and the subsequent sections in which on the whole we find Cultural Studies business going on as usual. Indeed, once we are past all the regular caveats about (in David William Foster's words) 'patriarchal hegemony,' 'neofascist dictatorships,' and the like (p. 261), the business of Cultural Studies seems happy enough. No wonder if, again as Foster suggests, 'down towards the bottom flatland of popular culture, the reins of the patriarchy are slack' (p. 254): delving down to such a liberating flatland would soon put anybody in a good mood.

No contributor is more deeply attached to their subject than Floyd Merrell, whose breathless praise of Capoeira ends with the suggestion that the Capoeira arena, 'the *roda*[,] is the world; it is life. [...] That's because you're living Capoeira: it is you and you are it' (288). A general sense of enthusiasm pervades many of these essays: they often read like fan fiction, glowing with the zeal of conversion to a vibrancy or subversion they claim to find within or beneath almost every Latin American cultural practice. Thus, for instance, the end of Francesca Denegri's otherwise measured article on '*Testimonio* and its Discontents' reveals that Denegri herself, for reasons never fully explained, is not among those discontented with the genre she is examining. For these critics, as much as for the consumers from whom they are

seldom much distanced, popular culture serves endlessly either as 'solace' (to pick up Nicola Miller's characterisation of popular icons [p. 62]) or as possible site of redemption, as (in Amaryll Chanady's description of *mestizaje*) 'a necessary utopia for the future in a particularly heterogeneous society' (p. 202).

For all the complexity of the terminology that tends to be deployed, the relationship between the cultural critics represented here and the culture they are examining is often more sympathetic than critical, more immediate than distanced, more affective than theoretical. Indeed, it is surprising how atheoretical so much of this work is: though terms such as 'hegemony' or 'resistance' are found throughout, these tend to be simply terms that advance the discourse elaborated around the chosen object of study, rather than concepts to be themselves interrogated and rethought. To put this another way: it is rare indeed that the cultural readings here undertaken provide any surprises for the theoretical framework within which they are set; too many of the analyses serve simply to prove the set of assumptions with which the analyst first approached the subject under discussion. Take the example of Richard Young's article on the representation of the city in novels by César Aira, Fogwill and Ana María Shua: we are told initially, thanks to Lefebvre, Davis, Sarlo and others, that space is socially constructed and that the postmodern city is increasingly transformed and fragmented; lo and behold, we find that our chosen novels demonstrate space's social constructedness and the postmodern city's increasing fragmentation. While Geoffrey Kantaris's thematically similar reading of recent urban films is an honourable exception to this critical circularity, otherwise the general impression is of Latin American culture as a rather contradictory conjunction of the vaguely subversive but also the vaguely familiar.

In short, Latin American Cultural Studies as here exemplified suffers from the fact that it mimics rather than contests the relation to culture that is itself dominant: these critics too often look to popular culture for a little novelty, a little relief, and a little comfort. This need not be so. I share Beverley's sense of ennui with *this* Latin American Cultural Studies, but also his belief that elsewhere, and not simply among 'younger colleagues', (in the work for instance of John Kraniauskas, Alberto Moreiras, Gabriela Nouzeilles and Nelly Richard) something more interesting though less comforting is afoot.

University of British Columbia JON BEASLEY-MURRAY