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From the Selected Works of Robert Andrew Nickson

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Review of "Paraguay and the United States:
Distant Allies" by Mora, F. O. & Cooney, J

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Book Reviews

Palmer, David Scott (2006) *U.S. Relations with Latin America during the Clinton Years: Opportunities Lost or Opportunities Squandered?*, University Press of Florida (Gainesville, FL), xv + 125 pp. \$24.95 pbk.

In a concise examination of United States–Latin American relations during the Clinton era, Palmer asserts that after eight years of Clinton’s tenure, these relations ‘were largely adrift, and the openings once present had closed’ (p. xi). Changing international relations – marked by the end of the Cold War, the rise of democratic governments and the turn towards market-driven reforms in Latin America – provides the wider context for his analysis. But the centrality of his argument rests on George H. W. Bush’s shift towards a ‘less unilateral, less security-driven, and more consultative’ approach to foreign policy that ‘contributed in various ways to improve inter-American relations’ (p. 19) In turn, the Clinton administration failed to seize this critical moment ‘to exploit fully the opening available for expanding or deepening a new post-cold war approach’ (p. 8).

Overall, the book is informative, makes for easy reading and the analysis is quite accessible. Applying the ‘constraints’ approach, Palmer proceeds with a ‘broad-brushed portrait’ of Clinton’s Latin American policies, then explores in greater detail several specific cases to gain an understanding of the policy process and outcomes. Longitudinal data is used to provide measures of successes and failures based on the four principal objectives laid out at the first Summit of the Americas (SOA) – deepening democratic practice, achieving economic growth and improved income redistribution within market economies, eliminating poverty and discrimination, and securing environmentally sustainable development (pp. 2–3). Accordingly, Clinton is lauded for his achievement in the ratification of NAFTA, the Mexican peso bailout, the historic Summit of Americas and the Ecuador–Peru border dispute. However, he is indicted for the Haiti policy and the ‘Harlan County debacle’, the failure of Robert Pastor’s nomination, Cuba policy and the Helms–Burton Act, failure to secure fast track and policy tensions derived from simultaneously promoting democracy and counter-narcotics in Peru.

Palmer claims the reasons for the administration’s failure are contextual as well as structural in nature. There is some weight in his claims that Clinton placed more emphasis on domestic compared to foreign concerns. He also makes valid points about the dwindling interests and resources in relation to the region, and the dynamics of the institutional milieu coupled with the shift to a Republican-controlled Congress after the 1994 mid-term elections. However, the cursory treatment accorded to some of the case studies raises some doubts about the basis for evaluating the success and failure of particular policies.

To compound the issue, Palmer further concludes that ‘by squandering the opening provided by the felicitous convergence of forces ... President Clinton and his advisors

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3 contributed to renewed disquiet in the region ...' (p. 95). One could question the prism
4 through which the changing global environment and US foreign policy are interpreted.
5 There are some grey areas that need to be explored, and which may not be easily or
6 adequately measured by longitudinal and macroeconomic data. For one, the growing
7 disquiet has to be placed within the wider context of the general effects of globalisation
8 and structural adjustment policies that rest in the terrain of neoliberalism. The domi-
9 nance and influence of neoliberalism gained steam during the Reagan administration,
10 expanded under Bush, and carried through to the 1990s. However, by the end of the
11 Clinton era, there was the deterioration of the Washington Consensus that 'reinforced
12 support for the Bush administration trade, investment, and debt initiatives, thereby
13 increasing their chances for success' (p. 18) So, the neoliberal emphasis in foreign pol-
14 icy continued by Clinton began to take its toll on US–Latin American relations as new
15 patterns of power, inequality and social polarisation emerged across the region.

16 Palmer's main contention with the Clinton's administration was its inability to
17 construct a coherent and comprehensive policy toward Latin America. Interestingly,
18 Palmer does not offer a blueprint for such a policy – and surely one could argue that
19 it is beyond the scope of the book. However, this assertion certainly engenders some
20 large questions about what should inform or represent a coherent and comprehensive
21 policy in order to ensure some degree of success. What should be the framework for
22 this policy in light of the changing global environment and the Clinton SOA vision?
23 Given the constraints that are inherent to the policy process (as Palmer points out),
24 what would a proactive foreign policy for the Latin American region look like? What
25 are the available options given the growing number and influence of non-state actors
26 that increasingly shape US foreign policy? What is the nature of the convergences (if
27 any) between the interests of the US and those of the Latin American countries, and
28 how does Latin American diplomacy factor into this? Palmer definitely provides some
29 balanced and pertinent answers to the challenges that plagued the Clinton years. How-
30 ever, the analysis of US relations with Latin American relations could be further
31 enriched by a full treatment of the deeper issues that extend beyond the nuances and
32 leadership of a particular president.

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34 Dorith Grant-Wisdom
35 *University of Maryland*

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39 Golinger, Eva (2008) *Bush Versus Chávez: Washington's War on Venezuela*, Monthly
40 Review Press (New York), 175 pp. \$58.00 hbk, \$15.96 pbk.

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42 Eva Golinger has become well known as a passionate and indefatigable defender of
43 Venezuela's Bolivarian Revolution, particularly through her research to expose in detail
44 the persistent attempts by the USA to destroy it. Her work relies considerably on US
45 government documents obtained through the Freedom of Information Act, and the first
46 major result was the publication in 2005 of *The Chávez Code: Cracking U.S. Interven-
47 tion in Venezuela* (see below), which focused especially on US involvement in the failed
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3 coup against the Chávez government on 11 April 2002. This latest book uses the same
4 methodology to update that research. It examines the ongoing efforts of the Bush ad-
5 ministration to bring about regime change in Venezuela, not least through its continued
6 support for the same anti-Chávez groups that were directly or indirectly involved in the
7 2002 coup, and that supported the short-lived Presidency of Pedro Carmona, who,
8 upon being sworn in, dissolved most of Venezuela's democratic institutions.

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10 In the opening sections of the book, Golinger concisely explains the background to
11 recent US intervention in Venezuela. She shows how the methods employed by the
12 Bush administration can be traced back to Chile in the 1970s and Nicaragua in the
13 1980s, and how many of the same individuals who were involved in US Latin Ameri-
14 can policy in those decades – well known names such as Otto Reich, Charles Shapiro
15 and John Negroponte – have been instrumental in foreign policy development for the
16 Bush government in recent years. However, the failure to repeat in Venezuela the
17 regime change brought about in those two countries has meant that the USA has had
18 to steadily modify those methods. After the collapse of the 2002 coup attempt, the Bush
19 government supported the efforts of the Venezuelan opposition to bring down Chávez
20 through both economic measures, particularly through the general strike, or bosses'
21 lock-out, organised in 2002, and political tactics, with a referendum to impeach Chávez
22 held in 2004. Golinger argues that the failure of all these measures to bring about the
23 desired result has led to US policy towards Venezuela becoming notably more hostile
24 and openly aggressive in the last two or three years. Somewhat dramatically, she de-
25 scribes this change as signifying a shift 'from mere "intervention" to "war"' (p. 15),
26 and the ten chapters that follow examine how this US policy operates, on the financial,
27 diplomatic and military fronts, and the organisations it employs for the purpose.

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29 The book provides particularly detailed information of the role of the two main
30 institutions used to channel funds to anti-Chávez groups: the National Endowment for
31 Democracy (NED) and the US Agency for International Development (USAID). Both
32 have received huge increases in funding for use in Venezuela since 2001, and Golinger
33 clearly demonstrates the political purposes to which it has been directed, despite claims
34 by the two institutions that their objective is to simply support social welfare pro-
35 grammes, good corporate practice and the protection of human rights. That some of
36 the groups funded in Venezuela 'may occasionally pursue decent projects that have
37 minor benefits on a local level' (p. 78) is Golinger's only concession. Her argument is
38 that NED and USAID have a crucial influence on the ideology that guides the activities
39 of the groups and the way in which their projects are implemented. A striking example
40 is the organisation Súmate, the subject of Chapter 4. Formed specifically to achieve
41 and organise the recall referendum against Chávez, it has been a major recipient of
42 NED and USAID funding.

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44 The US diplomatic strategy of isolating Chávez internationally has had little suc-
45 cess, despite, as Golinger explains, the considerable effort put into it. Few governments
46 in Latin America or beyond have been convinced by the claims of the Bush government
47 that Chávez represents a serious threat to democracy and stability in the region, and
48 has failed to combat drug trafficking and terrorism. Golinger convincingly exposes the
49 falsity of such assertions, but argues that within the US itself such anti-Chávez propa-
ganda, diffused via the media and websites, has had a significant impact on public

opinion, convincing many that the Venezuelan regime threatens US security and preparing them for more aggressive action against it. However, it is perhaps US military activity in the Caribbean that is most disturbing. Chapters 5 and 6 describe the training exercises that have simulated military action against Venezuela and the build-up of US forces and military equipment in the region, notably in Curaçao. What makes the book particularly powerful and persuasive is the way in which it lays bare the hypocrisy at the heart of Bush foreign policy, claiming to promote democracy in Venezuela and stability in the region while supporting anti-democratic activity in the country and raising tension in the Caribbean.

With her combative style, Golinger has produced a very readable, informative and thought-provoking book that will be valuable not only to those interested in present-day Venezuela, but to all those with an interest in US–Latin American relations.

Mark Dinneen
University of Southampton

Gollinger, Eva (2007) *The Chávez Code: Cracking US Intervention in Venezuela*, Pluto Press (London), xv + 224 pp. £17.95 pbk.

The Chávez Code comes to English-speaking readers with an established reputation among Venezuela watchers. The book presents convincing evidence, gleaned from documents released under the United States Freedom of Information Act, of US political interference in Venezuela against the Chávez government. Golinger, a young Venezuelan-American attorney based in New York, places the book firmly within the historical context of US interference in Latin America. It was there that the US perfected a particular strategy for such interference based around ‘democracy promotion’. This strategy, she points out, is mostly organised and funded through the bi-partisan National Endowment for Democracy, the US international cooperation agency USAID, with support, of course, from the CIA.

The Cold War between the USA and Venezuela dates from Chávez’s condemnation of the US-led invasion of Afghanistan in October 2001. It is from this moment, Golinger relates, that the USA realised that ‘[t]he new Venezuelan government had no plans to be subservient to US interests’ (P. 35). From then on interference through the NED and USAID is ratcheted up, through three main US-funded and encouraged opposition attempts to get rid of Chávez: the April 2002 coup, the late 2002/early 2003 management lock-out and oil strike, and the 2004 revocatory referendum against the Chávez mandate. All the organisations that received funds had one thing in common, Golinger points out: ‘a public aversion to President Chávez’ (p. 51).

Golinger provides much evidence to support the case that the USA knew of and encouraged the April 2002 coup against Chávez: numerous meetings between US officials, including Otto Reich, and leading opposition figures; a concerted campaign of ‘intelligence’ briefings and false media reports to discredit Chávez; public support for the coup and its leaders; and a refusal to condemn the coup when it failed. These

activities and omissions bring Golinger to declare that ‘the highest levels of the US government knew’ of the coup (p. 63).

With the failure of the coup, a newly established USAID Office of Transition Initiatives (OIT), and a shady ‘private’ consulting firm Development Alternatives Inc. (DAI), with a combined budget of \$17m in 2002, facilitated the formation of a pan anti-Chávez front in the Democratic Coordinator (DC) consisting of all the main NED/USAID-funded organisations. The DC spearheaded the two-month lock-out and oil stoppage, which when it ended in February 2003, had cost the Venezuelan people approximately \$10 billion in economic damage.

DAI also funded training on the use of the media, which contributed to the appalling opposition psych-op campaign during the lock-out. The private media, abandoning regular broadcasting, devoted all its airtime to covering the lock-out. It also pumped out, free of charge, 700 pro-lock-out infomercials daily during the 64 day stoppage (p. 96). It is ironic that the television station RCTV, despite such activities and its support of the April 2002 coup, was defended vociferously by many ‘democracy’ lovers and human rights organisations, many of them also funded by NED, when the Venezuelan government revoked its licence in May 2007.

The next attempt at overthrowing the Chávez government was led by the NED-funded organisation Súmate. This organisation was at the forefront of the 2004 revocatory referendum against Chávez’s mandate, whose certified win by NED-funded observers the OAS and the Carter Center was as Golinger underlines a ‘huge setback for the United States’ (p. 123). Subsequent attempts by the Venezuelan judiciary to hold Súmate to account for accepting foreign funding for a domestic popular consultation, which is against Venezuelan law, were met by violence, when Danilo Anderson, the state prosecutor responsible for the Súmate case, was assassinated on 18 November 2004, prompting memories of some of the more violent tactics of the Pinochet government.

Golinger provides a compelling indictment of US intervention in Venezuela supporting Chávez’s repeated accusations and warnings of US interference. The fact that she does this using documentation obtained, not without difficulty, from US government organisations, provided in two appendices in the book as well as on the website <http://www.venezuelafoia.info>, makes the book even more compelling. It is therefore an important contribution to the growing literature on US intervention in Venezuela and in Latin America. It also points quite graphically to the sophistication, ubiquity and variety of this intervention, not to mention the ease, nonchalance and hypocrisy with which the US defends these actions.

The book also raises the important question of the nature and meaning of democracy in our contemporary world and the way in which the USA and Europe are attempting to hegemonise the concept while simultaneously rendering it devoid of any content that can remotely be considered democratic. The book indeed provides an illustrative example of the new model of ‘democracy promotion’ subversion practised by the USA on regimes that it does not like, as detailed by authors such as William I. Robinson. As the title of Saul Landau’s foreword suggests, it is ‘the shape of things to come’.

Barry Cannon
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Mora, Frank O. and Cooney, Jerry W. (2007) *Paraguay and the United States: Distant Allies*, The University of Georgia Press (Athens, GA), xiv + 333 pp. \$59.95 hbk, \$24.95 pbk.

This book provides an overview of relations between Paraguay and the USA from Independence to 2003. The authors show how Paraguay was 'off the US radar' until the Second World War, presenting an informative account of relations between the two countries up to then. By contrast, their view that democratisation was an underlying goal of US foreign policy towards Paraguay during the post-1945 period is questionable. They ignore US complicity in the genesis of Colorado rule after the 1947 civil war and in preparing the ground for the Stroessner regime (1954–1989). The US military cultivated Stroessner from the early 1950s with an official visit to the USA in 1953 when he was given 'royal' treatment (p. 128). Given this contact, the statement that Stroessner staged a coup in May 1954 'without US knowledge' (p. 125) beggars belief.

The authors do acknowledge the role of US support for regime consolidation from 1954–1960 in exchange for rampant anti-communism when Paraguay was the third largest recipient of US aid in Latin America (p. 141). Surprisingly, they ignore evidence of gross US complicity in human rights abuses. The *Archivo del Terror*, discovered in 1992, shows that US Colonel Robert Thierry established the Dirección Nacional de Asuntos Técnicos (DNAT) inside the police headquarters during 1956 to 1958. This became the nerve centre for torture of dissidents throughout the Stroessner era.

Only token reforms were introduced during the 1960s in exchange for Alliance for Progress (AfP) aid and much more of this aid was squandered than the authors recognise. Road-building was heralded as its major achievement, yet the authors reveal that the length of paved road in the country only increased from 91 km in 1954 to 261 km by 1968 – an increase of 12 km per year! Hence, the assertion that AfP aid 'contributed to the modernisation of Paraguay's infrastructure and economy providing the base (i.e. road network) from which Paraguay's economic boom of the 1970s flourished' (p. 168) is questionable. In fact, the construction of the Itaipú hydroelectric plant caused the 1970s boom. The 'relative liberalisation' (p. 170) of the mid-1960s was orchestrated simply to grant legitimacy to the new 1967 Constitution, whose sole purpose was to enable Stroessner to rule for a further two terms. Not just 'the left wing' of the opposition Liberal Party continued to reject the legitimacy of the regime (p. 171). In fact, the majority of Liberals did so.

The authors portray US officials as leading the struggle for human rights in the later decades of the regime. Thanks to Ambassador White (1977–1979), 'Stroessner freed hundreds of political prisoners, many of whom might have died were it not for the ambassador'. But those released in 1977–1978 were held at the Emboscada prison, where access by the Red Cross precluded the possibility of extra-judicial killings. The disappearances had taken place during earlier waves of repression – in November 1974, November 1975 and April–May 1976. The authors say that in the late 1970s, many officers of the US military mission served 'as facilitators or liaisons for Paraguayan human rights activists' (p. 201) and credit two 1977 Amnesty International reports to 'encouragement' by the US State Department (p. 202). They tell us that

6 towards the end of the dictatorship, 'Admiration for the US Embassy and the US people and society, a product of decades of economic and technical assistance at the grassroots level, was widespread throughout Paraguayan society, from Asunción streets and universities to the countryside' (p. 218). Such strong assertions and quotes are strewn throughout the text but are unsupported by references – a flaw that reduces the strength of their argument.

They exaggerate the political impact of the 'massive and nearly concerted effort to expose the Paraguayan government' (p. 211) by the US media during 1984–1987. Ironically, the involvement of General Andrés Rodríguez, Stroessner's right-hand man, in narcotics smuggling featured prominently in these exposés, leading to him being denied entry to the USA. Yet in November 1988, this ended abruptly when General Woerner, head of SOUTHCOM, met him in Paraguay. Two months later, on 2–3 February 1989, Rodríguez led the *putsch* that overthrew Stroessner and the US quickly endorsed Rodríguez as president (1989–2003). The authors offer no explanation for this contradiction (that is, rehabilitating a narcotics-tainted general in pursuit of democratisation). In fact, this US support for Rodríguez only delayed the democratisation process by prolonging the corrupt rule of the Partido Colorado for twenty years until President Lugo took office in 2008. The authors' tracing of the switches in US foreign policy towards Paraguay from one presidential administration to another provides a mine of interesting information. However, they fail to address the underlying continuity of US support for right-wing governments in Paraguay during the post-1945 period and the obstacle that this has posed for democratisation. If the authors had included a conclusion, they could have addressed this uncomfortable issue.

Andrew Nickson
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Crawley, Andrew (2007) *Somoza and Roosevelt: Good Neighbour Diplomacy in Nicaragua, 1933–1945*, Oxford University Press (Oxford), 288 pp. £55.00 hbk.

Crawley's study of US-Nicaraguan relations during Roosevelt's 'Good Neighbour' policy provides a fascinating account of one of Latin America's longest-lasting dictatorships and questions the common accusation that the establishment of the Somoza dictatorship was the direct outcome of US policy towards Nicaragua. Through an analysis of diplomatic correspondence held in the US National Archives, the US attitude towards the regime of Anastasio Somoza is seen as being characterised by antipathy. Contrary to the common view that the USA had engineered Somoza's rise to power, Crawley shows the dictatorship to be the result of specific circumstances prevailing at the time: the interaction between Roosevelt's 'Good Neighbour' policy, the rise of the Axis powers and the political machinations of Nicaraguan politicians.

The 'Good Neighbour' policy signalled an end to the pattern of US intervention characteristic of US–Nicaraguan relations during the previous 25 years. It was the product of two related factors: the US marine campaign against the Sandino rebellion

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3 in Nicaragua (1927–1933) and growing pressure from the larger southern Latin American
4 republics to keep out of their affairs. Given the cost of the marine’s campaign
5 against Sandino, and the anti-American sentiments it gave rise to throughout Latin
6 America, US policy coalesced around the idea of ‘good neighbourism’, interpreted as
7 both non-intervention and non-interference in the affairs of sister American republics.
8 Crawley suggests that the policy represented a ‘one-size-fits-all’ approach that did not
9 take into account the very different historical experience shared by the smaller republics
10 of the Central American isthmus, whose fractious political elites had always looked
11 to foreign intervention to stabilise the domestic political environment.

12 It was in the new context of ‘good neighbourism’ that Somoza rose to power in
13 1937. Using his position as Commander-in-Chief of the National Guard, Somoza easily
14 undermined the politically inept figure of Nicaragua’s incumbent president, Juan
15 Bautista Sacasa. Sacasa did what so many Nicaraguan presidents had done before him
16 and asked the USA to intervene, only to be told that this was no longer an option.
17 Unsurprisingly, this ‘diplomacy of silence’ that had left the way clear for Somoza to
18 become president was taken as evidence that the USA endorsed Somoza’s rise to power,
19 a perception that Somoza eagerly exploited.

20 Disputing this latter point, Crawley reveals a significant degree of antipathy and
21 even opposition to Somoza amongst US diplomats, especially Arthur Bliss Lane, the
22 head of the US legation to Managua. However, the situation changed with the onset
23 of war in Europe. In his endeavours to secure stability in Latin America, Roosevelt
24 made it clear that the USA would do what it had to in order to prevent Axis interference
25 in the Western Hemisphere. This turned out to be extremely propitious for Somoza
26 who, by 1942, was facing increasing opposition from within his own Nationalist
27 Liberal Party and the National Guard. As Crawley points out, by force of circumstances,
28 the USA was once again perceived to have aided Somoza at a time when his
29 fortunes were uncertain. Somoza’s anti-Nazism was rewarded with generous military
30 aid, bolstering his position vis-à-vis the National Guard and reinforcing his image
31 nationally as a close friend of Roosevelt.

32 Through an extremely well researched and documented analysis of US attitudes towards
33 Somoza, as well as the actions of the inner circles of his government and the
34 National Guard, Crawley comprehensively deconstructs the image of a well-entrenched
35 dictatorship enjoying the full confidence of the US State Department. Somoza is seen
36 as an opportunist who proved himself better able to exploit the political environment
37 than any of the other political rogues vying for Nicaragua’s presidency. Sandino’s
38 assassination in 1934 by the National Guard ended any genuinely nationalist alternative
39 to Nicaragua’s status as a dependent US client. Whether deliberate or not, by 1936 US
40 intervention in Nicaragua had led to a political scene characterised by figures who
41 lacked any kind of political programme beyond a desire to become Nicaragua’s next
42 president and who held a collective belief that the best way of achieving this desire
43 was to ingratiate themselves with the US State Department. In this sense, US policy
44 had established the possibility of ‘good neighbourism’, because it had ensured that
45 whoever occupied the presidential office, no threat would be posed to US interests.
46 Crawley shows how, under these conditions, Somoza successfully employed an eclectic
47 mix of coercion and opportunism, which, combined with the ineptitude of his
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opponents, allowed him to gain the presidency. Once in office, his efforts to maintain his precarious grip on power were inadvertently assisted by the doctrine of non-intervention encapsulated by Roosevelt's 'Good Neighbour' policy. In demonstrating these points, Crawley provides us with an intricate account of US-Nicaraguan relations during the Roosevelt administration that is an invaluable addition to our knowledge of the regime of Anastasio Somoza García.

Luciano Baracco
University of Huddersfield

White, Christopher M. (2007) *Creating a Third World: Mexico, Cuba and the United States during the Castro Era*, University of New Mexico Press (Albuquerque), xiv + 250 pp. \$24.95 pbk.

The thesis of this book is simple: the so-called 'special relationship' between Mexico and Cuba that was widely seen as coming to an abrupt end with the election of Vicente Fox and his PAN party in 2000, was in fact not so special after all. Christopher White draws upon newly declassified files as well as his own assiduous reading of already published material to illustrate that while ostensibly supporting Cuba's right to self-determination and, alone in Latin America, resisting US pressure to cut off relations with Castro, successive PRI governments secretly provided Washington with information regarding Cuba and its involvement in revolutionary politics in region.

Indeed, White has even discovered that during the Kennedy administration, the US was actually in favour of Mexico continuing its relations with Cuba so that she could be Washington's 'eyes and ears' in Havana. At one point, during the 1980s, Mexico was even a go-between for the two estranged neighbours. Thus, argues White, far from being Cuba's staunchest ally, Mexico was in fact a somewhat duplicitous cohort in Washington's Cold War struggle with the Soviet Union.

White therefore intends to critique what he describes as the carefully manufactured myth of Mexico and Cuba as two peoples 'united by history'. This, he says, is an idea fostered by those on the left (Fidel Castro and successive PRI presidents) with an interest in imagining it to be an overarching truth. In fact, he argues, both Cuba and Mexico used their respective places as minor powers in the orbits of the rival superpowers to extend their influence and their own agendas. Hence the title: 'Creating a Third World.'

White supports his arguments with copious research and a commendable thoroughness that illuminates a complex interrelationship hitherto neglected in the English language. For that, scholars will be grateful. His analysis of the popular press and way in which public opinion in Mexico was completely convinced of the 'special relationship' is particularly enlightening.

However, as far as his thesis is concerned, one is left not entirely satisfied. The question that repeatedly arose in the mind of this reader was: 'So what?' What does it matter if Mexico informed on Cuba in private if it maintained a consistent front of

solidarity with the Revolution in international fora? Is this not the way that weaker powers are obliged to behave in relations with hegemons? (Canada, Washington's northern neighbour and not a member of the 'Third World' behaved in much the same way as Mexico, but White makes no comparison.) Is it really so surprising that countries should act in their own interests when outwardly expressing altruistic motives?

Another caveat is that there seems to be implicit in White's viewpoint an uncritical acceptance of the official history of the Cold War. He accepts unconditionally the notion that US policy was driven by a rational fear of a truly expansionist Soviet Union. There is no recognition at all for the convincing revisionist arguments that the Cold War and anti-Communist ideology were tools if not entirely constructs of the US foreign policy establishment that served as convenient justifications for policies of intervention and domination in the region. There is no discussion, for example, of Guatemala in 1954 when the US overthrew a social democratic and elected regime, or of the intervention in the Dominican Republic in 1965, or for that matter Reagan's policies towards the Sandinistas and Grenada, all of which were interventions in Mexico's neighbourhood and were justified in terms of defeating 'Soviet influence' in the hemisphere when in fact there was no link with Moscow whatsoever.

Perhaps the most telling contradiction is Chapter 1, by far the best written in the book, where White makes an excellent précis of the history of Mexican-Cuban relations up to the Castro revolution. It is ironic that while White's central thesis is to contest the idea that these two peoples have a 'uniquely shared history' he should in 28 tersely constructed pages so very eloquently explain exactly why they do.

Stephen Wilkinson
London Metropolitan University

Delpar, Helen (2008) *Looking South: The Evolution of Latin Americanist Scholarship in the United States, 1850–1975*, The University of Alabama Press (Tuscaloosa), xiii + 241 pp. £50.00 pbk.

Looking South is indeed a book about looking at Latin America from the USA. It traces the development of interest in the region from early in the nineteenth century until the last quarter of the twentieth. In a well-organised fashion, Delpar takes us through the work of the early amateur scholars, the emergence of American graduate institutions and their impact on the teaching of Latin American topics, and scholarly activities through the First World War period. This is the time that she calls 'Laying the Foundations', which is followed by a second part, 'Maturity and Institutionalisation', that describes the ups and downs, but in the end steady expansion of Latin American Studies until 1975, with some coverage of what comes after that time.

Just in terms of scope and organisation, this is an indispensable book for anyone interested in the development of Latin American Studies in the USA. It provides useful detail about the practitioners, the institutions, the challenges, the disciplines and themes, the place of languages, the role of the US government and private funding

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3 institutions, and a host of other important factors that played a part in this history.
4 Two main theses can be discerned through the mass of detail and anecdote, namely,
5 that during the period covered, the concerns of Latin Americanists have been funda-
6 mentally about American issues, in the form of internal politics or debates about the
7 role of the USA in the world; and, to some extent related, that from a commonality
8 of interest between the US government and the academic community, the field grew
9 increasingly separate, if not critical, of US Latin American policy after the Cuban revo-
10 lution in 1959.

11 This is also a book about individual scholars who made fundamental contributions
12 to the field. The volume is in fact dedicated to two important practitioners, Lewis
13 4 Hanke and Howard Cline, but it recognises the role of many others, often providing
14 hitherto unknown biographical information culled from a variety of archives. The
15 picture is far from celebratory, and in fact Delpar casts an unflinching eye upon the
16 follies and prejudices of many Latin Americanists who cared little beyond their narrow
17 academic interests, who indulged in petty and invidious struggles with colleagues, and
18 who spent time in Latin America giving nothing back to it. In some notorious cases,
19 she shows, they took quite a lot, even illegally, as was the case with various pre-
20 Columbian artefacts. But the author is not engaged in a revisionist history: while
21 recognising the provincialism of US academics, she also shows the courage, calmness,
22 and vision of many scholars who, especially during the convulsions of the 1960s and
23 1970s, tried to preserve a space for reasoned argument and civility. Memorable are
24 the words of Lewis Hanke regarding the often contentious political resolutions of the
25 Latin American Studies Association: 'I continue to believe that [they] are generally
26 counterproductive, that they imply a superior moral position which we have no right
27 to assume, and that they may even be at times a kind of patronising intervention which
28 a number of our colleagues in Latin America will not welcome'. While recognising
29 the sincere motivations of many radical academics, Delpar pays tribute to those who
30 did not go with the political flow, and who advocated a less partisan approach to
31 the region.

32 The book is rich in information well beyond individual scholars: it provides data
33 on the entire paraphernalia of academic life. Delpar acknowledges that much progress
34 has been made in these areas, but demonstrates that the field started from shaky begin-
35 nings, that is, enjoying very little respect in their home institutions. During the period
36 under study, Latin American subjects were not universally accepted as legitimate fields
37 of inquiry by the traditional disciplines. One particularly myopic history department
38 chair at the University of Texas made it clear in 1907 that 'neither southwestern nor
39 Latin American history had a future in Texas' (p. 41), thus causing Herbert Bolton
40 to leave for Stanford and then Berkeley, where he launched one of the most distinguis-
41 hed careers in the field. Speaking of disciplines, Delpar shows that history and anthro-
42 pology attracted the largest number of scholars since the very beginning, but that
43 during the twentieth century there was significant and growing representation in political
44 science, economics, sociology, and Spanish (as well as Portuguese) language and
45 literature. Still, she shows, academic acceptance has been slow and uneven.

46 While the bibliography of this book is useful, readers are advised to rely more on
47 the notes, for important sources are cited there that do not appear in the final listing.

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2
3 Readers must also be reminded that since coverage ends in 1975, more needs to be
4 done to understand the evolution of the field. However, with this book we now know
5 much more about how Latin American scholarship developed in the USA. The author
6 ought to be commended for her contribution.

7
8 Iván Jaksic

9 *Stanford University and Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile*

10
11
12 Soluri, John (2006) *Banana Cultures: Agriculture, Consumption and Environmental*
13 *Change in Honduras and the United States*, University of Texas Press (Austin, TX)
14 337 pp. \$60.00 hbk, \$21.95 pbk.

15
16 This is an elegant book, well suited for classroom use, that weaves together environ-
17 mental, labour and consumer histories. It takes as its subject bananas grown on the
18 North Coast of Honduras, which ‘probably shipped more export bananas between
19 1870 and 1950 than any other place in the world’ (p. 8). The region comes alive in
20 the chapter addressing working conditions. During the frenzied harvesting, the day
21 started at 3 am and every hour of it was intensely supervised. Skilled cutters selected
22 the stems; the haulers’ backs were pounded by falling bunches of bananas; mule-drivers
23 and workers were plastered in mud and pelted by rains. Fruit company administrators
24 made a science of pitting workers against each other. In the 1920s and 1930s, mestizo
25 Hondurans, regardless of class, leapt to exclude Blacks and immigrants (though we
26 don’t really get a sense of these racial identities). Workers went home to sordid barracks
27 and contracted tuberculosis with stunning regularity, at which point they were shipped
28 out of the region. A lesser scourge was malaria, afflicting one in four patients in company
29 hospitals (p. 140).

30 Soluri also makes regional elites and small-scale cultivators visible. They protested
31 the rerouting of water sources and the felling of hardwood forests. Droughts followed.
32 Ranchers claimed that soils planted with bananas were made useless even for grazing.
33 Increasingly, small farmers struggled against lower prices for bananas. Managers
34 meanwhile enforced ‘layoffs and deep wage cuts’, persuading the government to de-
35 clare martial law (p. 82). The crisis of the 1930s brought on a wave of worker
36 resistance.

37 Central to Soluri’s story are plant diseases that turned disastrous as a result of
38 plantation agriculture. Smaller, multi-crop farming had prevented their spread. The
39 corporate fruit chains viewed mixed cropping as a lazy man’s approach to farming,
40 re-inscribing histories of racism. To combat Panama disease the companies ceased
41 planting entire regions. Company scientists also adopted a spray of copper sulphate
42 and lime, which leached into soil and human lungs, and involved a 40% increase in
43 production costs (p. 108). Hazards associated with spraying pale by comparison to the
44 illnesses caused by the new chemical inputs of the Green Revolution. ‘By the early
45 1970s virtually every phase of production’ involved chemicals (p. 195) that had effects
46 such as vomiting and diarrhoea in workers while killing off ‘fish, shrimp, opossum,
47 and skunks’ (pp. 210–211). The author reports medical and managerial opinions at
48

face value, but seems hesitant to accept the workers' 'memories of blue-green brains, beds, and sweat' (p. 127), though the workers' versions corroborate the laboratory research. In one example, a manager's recognition of the danger of pesticides is presented without comment: one worker who failed to wear his mask 'fell to the ground with blood running from his nose, ears, and eyes' (p. 193). That said, maybe we should question a convention increasingly common in social science scholarship, the stylistic device of inventing a single protagonist based on collective versions (pp. 128–129) – it is a troubling strategy in an age when television conglomerates use footage from one country or event to illustrate another's breaking news.

Fans of US popular culture will appreciate the chapter on the fantasy creations of the advertising industry, Miss Chiquita Banana and Carmen Miranda. Imbedded in this unlikely location, the reader will find a page-turning account of the general strike of 1954 that led to an Agrarian Reform Law, Labour Code and social security legislation. Outraged, the companies transitioned to Cavendish bananas, which are more resistant to Panama disease, and transformed production by packing individual bunches in cardboard boxes. Incentives to slash labour costs drove this decision that earlier generations of managers had sworn was unacceptable to US consumers. Packing plants of mostly female workers emerged. Women in the plants immersed their arms in carcinogenic solutions to keep the fruit attractive for US housewives. Meanwhile a new plant disease deadlier than any before broke out, Black Sigatoka, named for a black streak on the leaf (by corporate managers saturated with racism). Soluri comments in his understated way, 'the history of Sigatoka and Black Sigatoka control on banana export farms calls into question the widely held notion that post-World War II innovations in chemical pesticides reduced economic losses from pests and pathogens in commercial agriculture' (p. 200). His book has proven precisely the opposite.

Soluri closes with a comparative history of sugar, coffee, bananas and California fruits. He underscores the danger of production driven solely by profit. Chemicals, dyes and fillers contaminated the products. Financial markets set future prices in a sort of legal numbers game. As often as not, workers harvesting food crops are denied basic labour rights at best and legal status at worst, suffering new versions of servitude in transnational contexts. Soluri deftly shows that our national blinders and existing typologies have obscured as much as they have revealed. This excellent book deserves a wide readership.

Cindy Forster
Scripps College

Horton, Lynn R. (2007) *Grassroots Struggles for Sustainability in Central America*, University Press of Colorado (Boulder), xi + 215 pp. \$55.00 hbk.

Horton's study addresses the issue of sustainable development using a qualitative investigation of case studies from Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Panama. The book acknowledges the growing usage of the term 'sustainability' in the development discourses

of a heterogeneous range of actors with conflicting interests: international financial institutions (IFIs), national states and grassroots community and indigenous groups. In so doing, Horton exposes the ways in which the concept has been consciously deployed as a new political strategy to achieve long-standing objectives by these different actors. Thus, while a number of IFIs promote a *dominant discourse* of sustainable development designed to achieve environmental protection while facilitating the penetration of a globalised neoliberal economic model in Central America, an *alternative discourse* of sustainability has emerged at the grassroots level that seeks to construct a broader definition of sustainability that encompasses social and political issues.

All the cases cited in Horton's study received external funding from IFIs for sustainable development projects, with national states and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) playing a mediating role between international institutions and local communities. Both the Nicaraguan case of Miraflores, which focuses on the establishment of shrimp farming, and the Costa Rican case of Osa, which focuses on the establishment of eco-tourism, provide examples of non-traditional, market-based sustainable development projects linked to the global market. These projects received praise from IFIs for bringing economic benefits to local communities in a way that is less damaging to the environment than traditional forms of economic activity, especially logging. However, this positive assessment has been strongly contested, with communities pointing out that the main beneficiary of these projects has been multinational capital, which has the resources, and technical and cultural knowledge to better exploit the commercial potential offered by shrimp farming and eco-tourism. Any job creation consequent from these projects appeared to be limited and the nature of such employment was generally seen as low skilled and low paid. There was also a significant degree of resentment by the inhabitants of Miraflores and the Osa peninsular at the prohibitions placed on the use of local resources. Here the local community constructed an alternative discourse that presented their own use of environmental resources for subsistence as far more sustainable than the commercially orientated shrimp farming.

The Panamanian case presents a more positive outcome. It focused on an indigenous Kuna community in Ipetí, located in the Comarca of Madungandí, a tract of semi-autonomous indigenous territory. The Kuna have maintained a strong indigenous identity, resisting both the developmentalist tendencies of the national state and the colonisation of the Comarca by mestizos whose economic activities have threatened both the integrity of Kuna identity and the local environment. While the Kuna's environmental concerns were ignored during the 1970s, by the 1990s they began to concur with the theme of sustainability emanating from IFIs, donor governments and NGOs. This emerging consensus proved to be extremely empowering, enabling the Kuna to garner international pressure to persuade the Panamanian state to remove mestizo colonists from the Comarca. Horton is clear, however, that the empowering impact of sustainable development discourses emanating at the global level only added to existing indigenous mobilisation at the grassroots level. The Kuna's historical experience of violent resistance coupled with sophisticated political lobbying allowed them to exploit the emerging discourses on sustainability in their struggle to achieve long-standing objectives.

Horton's illuminating study draws our attention to an ongoing and increasingly contentious debate about the impact of externally funded development projects more generally. Despite the near universal embrace of sustainable development amongst IFIs, NGOs and academics, the concept is clearly not a panacea for the problems facing communities in the south and its impact in terms of empowering local communities and elevating poverty is questionable. While being portrayed by NGOs and academics as an alternative to the top-down development strategies of previous decades, the dominant discourse on sustainability remains a discourse of the north about the south, which is assisting the spread of global neo-liberal market relations with all its concomitant problems of political and economic inequality. Sustainable development is not inherently empowering or particularly successful at bringing benefits to the poorest members of a community. It is in the analysis of the interaction between local communities and externally funded sustainable development initiatives that we can see how such initiatives can either empower or disempower the local communities; differential outcomes depend on local factors, especially the ability of a community to mobilise politically and militantly, as in the case of the Kuna. Horton's case studies provide a clear demonstration that the outcome of sustainable development projects depends on each community's ability to refashion them to address problems that they themselves have recognised long ago without the well-meaning assistance of other actors. Indeed, Horton's study suggests that it is only when these communities have successfully challenged the goals imposed by such external actors that sustainable development projects have any genuine chance of addressing poverty and disempowerment.

Luciano Baracco
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Eakin, Hallie (2006) *Weathering Risk in Rural Mexico: Climatic, Institutional, and Economic Change*, University of Arizona Press (Tucson), xi + 242 pp. \$50.00 hbk.

This is an excellent book that will appeal broadly to anyone interested in climate change, neoliberal economics and agrarian studies. Hallie Eakin, a geographer at the University of California, Santa Barbara, examines what made Mexican farmers in the late 1990s more – and less – vulnerable to the simultaneous forces of economic globalisation and climatic variability. Specifically, she focuses on the Puebla-Tlaxcala Valley east of Mexico City to understand how farmers responded, on the one hand, to the frosts, droughts and rainfall variability associated with the 1997–1998 El Niño and, on the other hand, to post-NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement of 1994) economic changes, such as market fluctuations, rural industrialisation through factory construction, labour patterns, migration, credit availability and land reform. Eakin offers a fresh approach and an important case study that intertwines the analysis of global economic and environmental change at the household, local and regional levels. The book is accessible, engaging and clearly presented.

The book's contributions to scholarship on climate change, risk and weather-related vulnerability are particularly compelling. The social science literature on climatic hazards – even when it exists in the first place, because environmental scientists carry out most climate research – tends to focus on societies more broadly, rather than on individuals or local concerns. *Weathering Risk in Rural Mexico* thus provides a much-needed societal analysis of weather while also examining under-explored, ground-level human responses to climatic variability.

Weathering Risk in Rural Mexico focuses on three case-study communities in the Puebla-Tlaxcala Valley: Torres, Plan de Ayala and Nazareno. In each of these three communities, the author analyses how climatic and economic changes of the 1990s affected farmers' 'livelihoods', their material well-being, income and assets. To understand the multiple forces affecting farmer livelihoods during erratic weather and economic volatility, Eakin examines influential factors including geography, access to land, crop types produced, capacity for livestock production, proximity to markets, access to irrigation water, educational background, family size and availability of non-farm labour such as factory work.

Rather than noting the critical nature of one or two of these factors, Eakin argues that it was farmers' flexibility to choose from a diversity of income options that most reduced their vulnerability to environmental and economic risks. And income diversity did not simply mean planting oats as well as maize, or raising livestock as well as planting crops. It also meant diversifying into both agricultural and non-farm income sources. Farmers in Plan de Ayala were the most successful in adapting not only because they had larger landholdings and livestock, but also because they had access to both agricultural and non-farm income. As Eakin explains, 'in the current environment of high climatic variability and policy uncertainty, a household's diversification into both agricultural and nonfarm activities gives it an advantage. This conclusion supports a growing consensus among development practitioners and scholars of rural areas that diversification matters, not only for household survival but also for poverty alleviation, rural resilience, and sustainability' (p. 192).

Eakin is at her best and offers the most compelling examples when she tells anecdotes from her years of fieldwork. She takes readers to the Huixcolotla market on a Friday evening in a pickup truck, where we sit anxiously with Don Miguel as a produce seller rummages through his zucchinis but refuses to buy them. We listen to Don Diego's daughters and sons-in-law complain around the dinner table about sporadic jobs in factories and about low salaries. Other examples and anecdotes enliven the text and illuminate farmers' decision-making processes.

Beyond its focus on farmers' material adaptation to erratic weather and a shifting economy, *Weathering Risk in Rural Mexico* also generates additional questions about how social relations, power dynamics and culture influenced these communities. Access to land, for example, helped farmers adapt, but the book only hints at *ejido* and community politics. Community relations, Eakin explains, were also vital for successful market participation and crop sales. Yet the book's livelihoods approach exposes community relations primarily through labour and thus only offers tantalising glimpses of more contested community relationships, such as when neighbours stole peaches from a farmer's fruit trees. Finally, Eakin notes that family size, education, types of

crops planted and willingness to work in factories were key factors affecting livelihoods and adaptation strategies. When she indicates that many residents opposed factories and other land use changes for 'moral and ideological motivations' (p. 186), however, Eakin points to cultural forces behind livelihood choices. Of course, most of these social, political and cultural issues go well beyond the scope of Eakin's livelihood approach. Her insightful, well-organised study thoroughly examines the more material dimensions of farmer livelihoods and risk management. And as any provocative book should, it simultaneously offers points of departure for future research, in this case on societal adaptation to climatic and economic change.

Mark Carey
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Hochstetler, Kathryn and Keck, Margaret E. (2007) *Greening Brazil: Environmental Activism in State and Society*, Duke University Press (Durham, NC), xviii + 283 pp. \$23.95 pbk.

Greening Brazil is an important contribution to Brazilian studies and Latin American environmental issues. The book showcases Hochstetler and Keck's hard-won empirical data (dozens of interviews with key actors in environmental politics), which are interwoven with their synthesis of previous studies. The writing is excellent, the story is compelling, and the argument is clear: that Brazilian environmental politics have deep domestic roots. Rather than being imposed from abroad or imitating environmentalism of other countries, Brazil's environmental movement has specific domestic origins, and its key debates have mainly turned on internal politics regarding poverty and indigenous issues, among other concerns.

To sustain this argument, the authors use historical and thematic approaches. One example of the historical approach is Hochstetler and Keck's work on the origins of Brazil's national environmental bureaucracies, beginning with the 1973 creation of the Special Secretariat of the Environment (SEMA), whose first leader, Paulo Nogueira Neto, was an activist based in São Paulo. Although Nogueira Neto's SEMA was 'mainly a rubber stamp' (p. 31) on the military regime's mega-projects, the bureaucracy also created a wide network of ecological stations. Another prominent environmentalist, José Lutzenberger, took over a restructured bureaucracy in 1990 that had grown to more than 6,000 employees, thanks to the inclusion of forestry and fisheries staff.

Greening Brazil also devotes attention to other key moments, such as the mid-1980s National Constituent Assembly, to which one environmentalist candidate, Fábio Feldmann of São Paulo, was elected. Hochstetler and Keck detail Feldmann's crucial role and the various debates surrounding environmental provisions included in (and excluded from) the 1988 constitution. They argue that these provisions 'proved a solid foundation for many environmental rights and protections' (p. 51) with domestic, rather than international, origins. The complicated relationship of environmental non-governmental organisations (ENGOS) and activists with formal politics is also detailed,

with special attention devoted to the mid-1980s arrival of former guerilla Fernando Gabeira and other 'amnesty environmentalists' (p. ?) from exile. 7

The development of the environmental movement outside government is also well covered. Brazil's first major ENGO, formed by Lutzenberger in 1971, aimed to protest against tree pruning in Porto Alegre, but was soon fighting pollution from a cellulose plant and became the low-budget, all-volunteer model for many others in Brazil. Large professional ENGOs, such as SOS Mata Atlântica, would later offer a more professional and internationalised model that was far more difficult to achieve in practice. The council of SOS Mata Atlântica was represented equally by environmentalists, scientists, business representatives and journalists; by the early 1990s, it claimed more than 6,000 dues-paying members. Most ENGOs in Brazil were 'either unable or unwilling to professionalise' (p. 106), and only a small number of ENGOs are the professional type that attract the criticisms of 'ultranationalists' (p. 108) who have accused Brazil's ENGOs of betraying national interests by supporting a conspiratorial international agenda. Yet, foreign funds indeed supported some ENGOs that moved out of the 'ecology of protest' and into the 'ecology of results' strategy (p. 101), even if Brazilian concerns informed pragmatic strategies and objectives. 8
9

Hochstetler and Keck adopt a thematic approach after covering the origins and development of the environmental movement. In the Amazon case, they argue that before the transnational alliances of the 1980s, scientists linked to Amazon research centres in the 1970s had advocated against the military regime's colonisation projects. In the urban chapter, the authors focus on two São Paulo examples, air pollution and the Cubatão petrochemical complex. In both cases, domestic politics are paramount, and we see no importing of foreign agendas in the activism against industrial pollution in Cubatão or in the traffic-reduction scheme in São Paulo city.

Greening Brazil raises at least two questions that are not fully explored. First is Brazil's domestic opposition to environmentalism. The authors admit the existence of a 'backlash promoted by environmentalism's opponents' (p. 230). But what are the origins, key texts, core beliefs, or main leaders of ultranationalist environmentalism? Without sustained discussion of this group, one may read *Greening Brazil* as the story of a desired outcome, giving a privileged group a coherent narrative but neglecting its formidable opponent(s). A second issue revolves around the narrowness of the themes explored in *Greening Brazil*. The environmental politics of the Amazon are discussed primarily in terms of the movement leading to greater protection for rubber tapping; broader land-use issues are not considered. Brazil's agricultural sector, which is a leader in the world production and export of several plant and animal products, is absent; yet it is the site of new forms of environmentalism. In addition, industry is not considered outside of the Cubatão case. Could these themes, and others, be used to test the argument of domestic-origin environmentalism? At a minimum, environmentalism in these sectors suggests a wide field for the study of politics and policies. As scholars study environmentalism in its numerous forms and sectors, they will find *Greening Brazil* to be an essential and lucid guide.

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Carruthers, David V. (2008) *Environmental Justice in Latin America: Problems, Promise, and Practice*, The MIT Press (Cambridge, MA), vii + 336 pp. £39.95 hbk, £16.95 pbk.

10 *Environmental Justice* in Latin America is indeed an original contribution to the literature. By compiling essays from leading authors on the topic, the editor David Carruthers succeed in dissecting the myriad of problems that connects social justice with environmental concerns in Latin American countries. Carruthers acknowledges the North American social movements against environmental racism as the precursor of the environmental justice consciousness. Nevertheless, the author specifically brings into this book the prospect that environmental justice is a global movement, which cannot be framed as a unique experience disseminated abroad by the USA.

Within this broader perspective, the first part of this book addresses theoretical issues advocated by environmental justice. In Chapter 1, Juanita Sundberg depicts the history behind race exclusion within human-environment relations in Latin American countries. The author brings readers from colonial times up to the present day to prove the importance of race as a critical variable in organising inequality in Latin American societies. Chapter 2 goes further and includes the global economy and trade policy as additional components in the discussion of environmental justice. Peter Newell evokes the concepts and the debate around trade policy in Chapter 3. He explores the main trade agreements in the region and its influence on natural resources and property rights in Latin America. The last chapter of Part 1 focuses on the evolution of the environmentalist in Brazil. This review by Henri Acselrad examines domestic and international contributions to the development of the Brazilian environmental consciousness. This chapter informs the readers about the historical development of environmental justice in Brazil and the creation of the Brazilian Environmental Justice Network.

After a well-documented contextualisation of the problem, Parts 2 and 3 immerse readers in a series of case studies. Part 2 focuses, in particular, on the consequences of industrialisation for human, social and environmental health.

Carlos Reboratti, for example, explores the environmental conflicts related to development projects in Argentina. By recognising that Argentinean society and governments are indifferent to environmental issues, the author goes beyond the legal framework to show how the concept of environmental justice is evolving in this country.

In the next chapter, Sarah Moore assesses the politics and problems behind the solid-waste management in Oaxaca, Mexico. The weak representation of Oaxaca's citizens in the political sphere makes protest the main instrument for achieving environmental justice in this area. Within a wider perspective, the chapter by Carruthers focuses on how social movements in the US–Mexico borders are tackling cross-border environmental issues. He highlights the success of actions taken by organised citizens against an industry producing hazardous waste. Nevertheless, US demand for energy continues to bring environmental problems to Mexico. He also acknowledges the limited political space for popular resistance, but recognises, however, that the strong environmental consciousness and the dynamic participation of border citizens in this debate enhance their prospects for future success. Interestingly, Jordi Díez and Reyes Rodríguez explore the other side of this equation, the absence of mobilisation in a

community facing health hazards and pollution from metal production in the Mexican territory. Chapter 7, therefore, explains why this case did not generate a social movement advocating environmental justice.

The last part of the book focuses on power and political issues surrounding uneven distribution of land and exploitation of resources. Michele Zebich-Knos explores the synergic relation between protected areas, eco-tourism, environment and social justice in Central America, revealing the role of responsible eco-tourism as a people-centred development mechanism and a catalyst for conservation. Then, Wendy Wolford's essay immerses readers in the causes and consequences of the agricultural development in the Brazilian savannas. This chapter concentrates on the unfair distribution of land and the effort of social movements to reduce social inequity and environmental degradation in the region.

Water and gas policies in Bolivia, are the focus of Tom Perreault's chapter. This chapter explores the growing concern of the Bolivian population over natural resources rights since the late 1990s. Neoliberal policies aiming to privatise water and natural gas triggered a series of protests demanding an alternative model of development, ultimately setting the stage for the election of Evo Morales. Katherine McCaffrey, on the other hand, describes the struggle for environmental justice in Puerto Rico in her essay. Despite a victory against the US military activities in the island of Vieques, the local population is still struggling for environmental justice and political accountability for the toxic legacy inherited by the island. Finally, Stefanie Wickstrom brings to the readers the debate around water management, focusing on cases in Chile, Bolivia and Mexico. The author explores the concept of cultural politics to understand who has the right to control the water.

Overall, *Environmental Justice in Latin America* is a well-balanced volume that provides a bridge between contemporary knowledge and the empirical view of the evolution of socio-environmental movements in South America and the Caribbean. This book draws attention to important lessons to be learned and identifies problems to be solved. Reducing carbon emissions is currently a major environmental problem. Avoiding tropical deforestation is a proprietary mechanism for mitigating climate change, which involves carbon trading from tropical forests. I believe that, as with any other commodity, carbon will trigger similar conflicts to those described in this book and environmental justice issues will continue to stand as a major discussion point in Latin America.

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Alexander, William L. (2008) *Resiliency in Hostile Environments: A Comunidad Agricola in Chile's Norte Chico*, Lehigh University Press (Bethlehem, PA), 259 pp. \$55.00 hbk.

Alexander's book is an important contribution to the discussion on the existence and persistence of communal land ownership in a semi-arid ecological environment

within a neoliberal market economy illustrated through a specific community (Loma Seca).

The agricultural communities of Chile's Norte Chico have not been a priority for social scientists. Alexander suggests that these communities are unique because of their indivisible and mixed land tenure system, vis-à-vis the *latifundia*, because of their long history and own internal democratic system. Despite the hard semi-arid environment – key to understanding these communities – these people have shown an extraordinary 'resilience'. Their survival suggests strong adaptability and hence an active local communal land management culture. Any policy aimed to alleviate poverty must consider this particular heritage.

Between structuralism and human agency approaches, the author supports the relevance of nature that sets limits to human agency. These communities have developed internally three main forms of land ownership and production: agriculture in land plots under private tenure, and dry-land farming for temporal individual use and for herding. These communities are responsible for the bulk of goat farming (Gallardo, 2002) and goat cheese production in Chile, linking them with the rest of the agricultural system. Development projects have been targeted at standardising cheese production to meet health regulations without considering that the infrastructure of the households does not fulfil the required conditions, thereby putting production outside of the legal framework. Another survival strategy to distribute risks (from regular droughts, heavy rain and earthquakes) is migration. Contrary to the idea that the peasants are individualistic and fearful of risk and progress (like Foster's 'image of the limited good'), or that the communities' common property cannot be effectively managed or conserved (like Hardin's 'tragedy of the commons'), Alexander found a high degree of solidarity within the community studied. The *comuneros* frequently engage in group activities, sharing benefits (common dry-land farming, harvesting and threshing). Furthermore, the community has its own institutions and regulations for conserving and distributing resources. The pillar that allows this social organisation is the community structure, which taken opposing interests into account, simultaneously makes individual and communitarian goals possible.

Using the mode of production theory, Alexander sustains that, contrary to the position that sustains that the disappearing peasantry as capitalism advances, the 'proletarianisation' of the communities' labour force helps to reproduce the communal system and the family unit. Alexander tries to create an intermediate framework to avoid existing dichotomist approaches to the 'peasant question': 'peasantisation' vs. 'de-peasantisation' or 'proletarianisation'. However, the author does not make much use of Latin American authors' debate either with regard to the mode of production theory or the 'peasant question'. Nor does Alexander acknowledge that the application of this concept to Latin American societies has not been easy. Alexander himself defines the system of agricultural communities as a mode of production. Given the high analytical level of the concept and the idea that there are historically only a limited number of modes of production, can the concept be applied undifferentiated to both empirical cases and to the capitalism system in general without losing analytical strength? Another concept that Alexander uses is resilience, which does not sit with a Marxist analyses. Although he points out that he is considering specifically ecological

resilience (away from equilibrium and homeostasis), he is still applying a natural science concept to a social phenomenon: the persistence of the commons.

Many Spanish words/expressions in the book are incorrect.¹ Alexander also sustains that the word *Changos* [monkey] – which in Chile is applied to a pre-colonial group of coastal fishers and gatherers – is racist. The word has seven further meanings. In Chile, it does not have the associations Alexander refers to. Alexander moreover suggests that many beliefs on the origin of these communities are dubious (romanticised origin, epic lineages or language purity). These beliefs cannot just be dismissed, as they might have a material basis.²

Based on two periods of anthropological field research and with a genuine interest for the communities and their peasants, the author succeeds in gathering relevant data that he complements in a convincing way to give the reader a complete and lively picture of the community he is studying.

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Bobrow-Strain, Aaron (2007) *Intimate Enemies: Landowners, Power and Violence in Chiapas*, Duke University Press (Durham, NC), xv + 271 pp. £57.00 hbk, £13.99 pbk.

Bobrow-Strain's book provides a fascinating examination of the structures of elite landowner power and attitudes that have been so forcefully attacked and to a surprising degree undermined by indigenous rebellion during the last decade. To the degree that it is true, as he argues in the book, that those structures have been largely neglected in recent anthropological and geographic studies of the revolts, then his work should be a welcome addition to the study of contemporary agrarian conflicts. For it is certainly true that it is impossible to understand any conflict by examining only one side; by definition, conflicts involve interaction among subjects and the behaviour and beliefs of all of those subjects must, necessarily, be influenced and often reshaped by the actions of their enemies.

1 I.e. '¿Cómo se existe *esta* comunidad?' should perhaps be ¿Cómo existe esta comunidad? meaning How does this community exist/survive?; *chamagote* instead of *chamacote*; Mexican (not Chilean) slang.

2 The pride many *comuneros* feel in being descendants of Spanish conquerors has the possible background of proving lineages since colonial times in parish archives, as Gallardo (2002) did. The epic might lie in concrete histories like the legendary life of the Spanish conqueror Pedro Cortés Monroy, from whom many *comuneros* are aware of being descended. (If this 'pride' is used to stress not being descendent from 'Indians' it probably has racist undertones.) The assertion that *comuneros/as* speak old Spanish is valid for old generations.

Based on extensive interviews with several generations of landowners in the municipalities of Chilón and Sitalá in Northern Chiapas and on close examination of the historical record in official documents and unofficial reports, Bobrow-Strain analyses both the long history of Ladino theft of indigenous land and the subordination of the local population and the equally long history of indigenous resistance and counter-offensives to retake the land and to free themselves from exploitation. Although moments in these histories date back to the eighteenth century, most of the book focuses on the ebb and flow of conflict in the last 100 years with an emphasis on the period from 1994 to 2005.

Part of these histories are familiar accounts of wider shifts in Mexican history, from the Porfiriato through the Mexican Revolution and the subsequent institutionalisation of PRI power through the shift to neoliberal policies in the 1980s to the Zapatista uprising in 1994 and the subsequent years of indigenous land seizures, counterinsurgency warfare and the struggle for democracy that toppled the PRI and gained many insurgent indigenous communities breathing room to defend and solidify their gains.

Much less familiar are both the cultural subtleties of domination and the way recurrent indigenous struggles have fed landowner fears and, in combination with other forces, ultimately undermined their ability and willingness to defend their property and their power. Bobrow-Strain's extensive interviews, and his examination of historical records, show how landowners' long-standing, cultural constructions of themselves as civilisers of savage and barbarous Indians not only justified their domination, but also revealed a continuing fear of the surrounding, much larger population that they sought to exploit. As the history of rebellion shows, those fears were not unfounded and the recurrent recourse of landowners to violent repression measured the very real threat that they sought to hold at bay through a paternalism that included a master's benevolence as well as his iron fist.

In many ways, Bobrow-Strain's account of the back and forth of Ladino enclosures and indigenous land seizures, of Ladino use of the state and indigenous successes at undermining that use, is reminiscent of Marx's long chapter on the struggle over the length of the English working day in volume I of *Das Kapital*. In both cases, the history of struggle eventually produced a shift in initiative: from capital to workers in Marx's case, from landowners to indigenous in Bobrow-Strain's. In England, capitalists were eventually forced to concede shorter and shorter working hours; in Chilón and Sitalá, most landowners were eventually forced to give up land to the indigenous, often abandoning agriculture entirely. In both cases, the patterns of struggle were uneven and the array of actors complex.

The most original and fascinating dimension of Bobrow-Strain's analysis lies in his dissection of the way in which the ability of landlords to resist the indigenous offensives that followed the Zapatista uprising was undermined at several levels. It has become commonplace for students and supporters of that uprising to give it credit for catalysing the pro-democracy movement in Mexico that ultimately brought down the PRI both at the national level and in a great many local ones. But exactly how those large-scale changes played out in terms of the dynamics of local power struggles, especially between landowners and indigenous groups, has been much less studied.

The tendency of Zapatista and pro-democracy supporters to emphasise the brutality of state counter-insurgency repression and violent landowner resistance has meant a serious neglect either to recognise or analyse the declining ability of the latter to resist. Students of the rebellion have emphasised, again and again, how the Salinas reforms of article 27 of the Mexican constitution, aimed at the privatisation of collective land and the final enclosure of the Mexican countryside, was one provocation (along with NAFTA) that brought on the uprising. But as Bobrow-Strain shows, fairly dramatically, that effort has been soundly defeated. The struggle is, of course, ongoing, but so far, almost two decades after the Salinas reforms, land in many areas of Chiapas is less concentrated than before.

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Clark, Kim A. and Becker, Marc (eds) (2007) *Highland Indians and the State in Modern Ecuador*, University of Pittsburgh Press (Pittsburgh), xii + 348 pp. \$39.95 hbk.

This important new contribution to the multi-disciplinary body of literature on the relationship between state and indigenous citizens focuses on Ecuadorian indigenous highlanders from the time when this small nation gained independence from Spain to the present. As Becker stresses in the bibliographic essay that concludes the volume, Ecuador 'serves as a microcosm for a wide variety of problems and questions', such as the intertwined issues of race, ethnicity, class, modernity, multiculturalism, state policies towards indigenous people and indigenous resistance.

With its fourteen chapters, copious bibliography and 43 pages of endnotes, this carefully edited book amply demonstrates that the study of the process of state formation in Ecuador significantly enriches our understanding of the dynamic history of Latin American states.

Its main strength lies in its systematic methodological deployment of key ideas about history and historical research by a group of – on the whole – young Ecuadorianists, who have clearly spent much time discussing their work together, and have elaborated a coherent vision of the relation between Indians and the state in highland Ecuador, while maintaining a great sense of responsibility towards their subjects. The contributors have found collective inspiration in key authors such as Philip Abrams, Philip Richard Corrigan and Derek Sayer, as well as Gilbert Joseph and Daniel Nugent. Having adopted Abrams' definition of the state (as both a system and an idea) and Corrigan's and Sayer's processual view of it (as a complex phenomenon that unfolds in time and needs to be approached historically), they have analysed their respective bodies of data in the context of recent Latin American social history, especially the works of William Roseberry and Daniel Nugent. Moreover, they have worked at reconciling Foucault's and Gramsci's understandings of culture and power. Their focus is firmly

on state formation and the role played by indigenous peoples in the process, seen through three main lenses: (a) the projects of moral regulation that have helped build the state 'from above'; (b) a range of local strategies that have enabled the state 'from below'; and (c) the exploitation by subordinate social groups of the state's internal contradictions and inherent fragmentation.

I learnt much from the historical chapters, and found the central thesis that indigenous communities exploited disputes between central and local governments over the administration of their land and labour, while appropriating 'aspects of state legislation and state ideology that coincided with their interests and vision of society' (p. 22) convincing. I also found both Clark's archival study of deference and paternalism and Becker's discussion of the 1944–1945 constituent assembly illuminating, especially with regard to the issue of how indigenous people come to choose between uprising and electoral politics. However, I am an Amazonian anthropologist, and will defer to the judgment of more expert colleagues.

The three chapters on agrarian reform, bilingual education and military service discuss specific forms of indigenous agency in the context of inter-ethnic contests over the definition of nationalist state projects. As such, they come closer to the kind of ethnographic research I am familiar with. They illustrate vividly the contradictory nature of government policies that attempt to respect indigenous difference, only to reduce it to unequal and inferior status. As Selmeski demonstrates, a good Indian, or a citizen, is someone who has undergone 'personal formation' and has come out of army training 'white', i.e. fully in tune with the goals and values of national culture (p. 158). Military conscription, agrarian reform and the national system of indigenous bilingual and intercultural education thus highlight the symbolic violence that dominant society continues to exercise over indigenous communities by not recognising the *value* (rather than just the right) of being different and of living in a distinct human collectivity.

It is not just in Ecuador that ethnicity and regionalism are mutually implicated, or that 'indigenous identities are plural, contested, and constructed in dialogue with a great number of actors' (Lucero, p. 210). The last four chapters on comparative indigenous politics offer compelling illustrations of the fact that 'both states and movements are constellations of practices and ideas that interact with broader social forces' in Ecuador, Mexico, Bolivia and Peru alike (Lucero, p. 211). Everywhere, indigenous politics are politics of articulation, which give each regional movement its particular organisational form and unique historical trajectory. This is why, comments an activist with wit, 'in Ecuador Indigenous leaders tend to be linguists and lawyers, in Bolivia we are historians' (p. 215).

There are many important aspects of indigenous life and reality that this book does not discuss, such as religious identity, migration, dollarisation, environmentalism and ecology. However, the book fills an important gap in the literature, and is, as such, required reading for any one interested in Ecuador's political economy or any one researching indigenous people as political actors.

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Bacci, Massimo L. (trans. Carl Ipsen) *Conquest: The Destruction of the American Indians*, Polity Press (Cambridge), 2008, xi + 317 pp. £55.00 hbk, £18.99 pbk.

In his 1590 *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, the Jesuit chronicler José de Acosta pondered the decline in Spanish America's indigenous population in the century since Columbus's arrival in the Caribbean. After observing that the number of Indians was everywhere decreasing, he noted that 'people attribute (the decline) to various causes, some to the fact that the Indians have been overworked, others to the changes of food and drink that they adopted after becoming accustomed to Spanish habits, and others to the excessive vice that they display in drink and other abuses' (de Acosta, 2002).

As de Acosta's comments remind us, people have for many centuries sought to explain the dramatic reduction in the Amerindian population that occurred after the advent of colonisation. Although scholars continue to dispute the size of the pre-conquest population, and disagree about the factors that led to its decline, no one questions that fundamental fact that the arrival of Europeans precipitated a serious demographic crisis. Massimo Livi Bacci's study – originally published in Italian in 2005 – offers a clear and readable analysis of this 'destruction of the American Indians', and also advances a plausible – but by no means conclusive – set of explanations to account for it. Livi Bacci is a distinguished professor of demography (and an Italian senator), who has published extensively on population history in both Europe and the new world, and *Conquest* demonstrates the advantages of approaching the debate about the Amerindian population from a comparative perspective; he often contrasts events in the Americas with occurrences in Europe in order to test and contextualise his hypotheses. He notes, for example, that the mortality in the mines at Potosí does not differ substantially from that associated with mining in Europe during the industrial revolution.

The book opens with a review of the demographic landscape, which is followed by two chapters addressing the two forces most frequently offered to explain the decline in the indigenous population: epidemic disease and abuse of indigenous labour, particularly in mining. These panoramic chapters are followed by four detailed studies of population loss in Hispaniola, Mexico, Peru and the Jesuit missions in Paraguay. It should be noted that although Livi Bacci does not altogether eschew discussion of quantitative methods, the book contains only a very modest amount of calculation easily understood by anyone with a minimal degree of numerical competence. The truly 'arithme-phobic' can, as he himself notes, skip the calculations, although to do this would be a pity as part of book's merit lies in its clear treatment of the debate about the limits and possibilities of quantification.

The central argument of *Conquest* is that epidemic disease alone cannot account for the decline in the post-conquest indigenous population. Rather, explanations must be sought in a combination of factors: disease, hunger and, critically, the degree of social dislocation provoked by colonial rule. For example, in his discussion of the decimation – or rather, virtual extinction – of the Taino in Hispaniola, Bacci argues to the effect that smallpox could not have been responsible for the

destruction of Taino society, as it reached the island only in 1518, after the population was already in serious decline. Instead, responsibility lay with the tremendous social dislocation prompted by the plunder economy instituted by Spanish settlers. Livi Bacci falls short of denying that European diseases played any role, but rather insists that virgin soil epidemics alone cannot account for the destruction of indigenous societies. In Hispaniola, he maintains, prior to 1518 European diseases, *together with those already endemic on the island*, contributed to population loss by ‘complicating native pathology and raising mortality’ (p. 115). Moreover he stresses that mono-causal explanations of any sort are inadequate: the disruption provoked by mining may have played an important role in decimating the indigenous population in Hispaniola and Peru, but in Mexico ‘the mining industry fitted into the larger social and economic system without causing major demographic disruption’ (p. 87). Similarly, colonial policies simultaneously made the Guaraní both more and less vulnerable to European diseases, by creating circumstances conducive to the spread of epidemics while also helping to protect the population from their more destructive effects.

He devotes considerable space to the dispute about the size of the indigenous population at first contact, and also to the feasibility of assembling reliable demographic data for any period. It seems likely that his conclusions about population size and the impact of particular bouts of disease will not convince all readers. Nonetheless, he does an excellent job of explaining the parameters of the debate and of embedding discussions of demography within a broader analysis of the nature of colonial rule. Without doubt, it will stimulate further debate. *Conquest* should be read by anyone interested in understanding the demographic consequences of colonial rule in Spanish America.

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Reference

de Acosta, J. (trans. Frances López-Morillas) (2002) *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*. Duke University Press: Durham, NC.

Earle, Rebecca (2007) *The Return of the Native: Indians and Myth-Making in Spanish America, 1810–1930*, Duke University Press (Durham, NC and London), vii + 367 pp. \$84.95 hbk, \$23.95 pbk.

This book is largely about appropriation. It begins with the title and extends through 219 pages of text that are supported by 77 pages of footnotes and an impressive array of sources. The result is a fascinating and informative picture of the ways that Spanish

American elites in the first century after independence appropriated the 'Indian' in their attempts to create national identities for the new republics. Seeking to differentiate themselves from the colonial period and believing that they needed a history of past freedom to be a nation, the various leaders chose to root themselves in their indigenous past, leap-frogging the colonial period and latching onto the ancient civilisations as the precursors to the modern states. In the process, they established what Rebecca Earle calls an 'indianesque nationalism', which was mythical and almost immediately created problems because of the indigenous present that lay in sharp contrast to the idealised life of the Aztecs, Incas and others. But for a brief time that past was glorified in artistic representations, coins, flags, festivals, place-names, poetry, and the like. Commentators explained away the discomfiting present by blaming the Spaniards, charging that they had brutally enslaved the Indians, with independence bringing that nightmare to a close. This idealisation of pre-conquest society, however, was brief, as indigenous images were soon replaced by those of the independence heroes and the inhabitants of the previously glorified civilisations were now denigrated as savages. As the focus shifted, new fathers of the patria had to be found and ties were traced back to the conquistadores. Simultaneously, the conquest was viewed as central to the creation of modern Latin America and Spanish colonialism came to be interpreted in a positive light, having brought Christianity and other aspects of Spanish civilisation to the Indians. Further mental gymnastics to reincorporate the colonial period resulted in writers interpreting independence as the consummation of the conquest. Pre-Colombian society was consequently repositioned, but it was not entirely rejected, as many of the national histories written at the time accepted it. Some pre-conquest peoples were considered civilised, usually on the basis of having a written language, while others, if not civilised, were lauded as 'heroic'. In other words, academic interest in the indigenous past continued and even intensified. Earle describes how that interest manifested itself in the archeological activities of the late nineteenth century, the display of indigenous artefacts at world fairs and the erection of museums in different Latin American cities with sections dedicated to the pre-Columbian past. Yet, the disjuncture between past and present continued, as the same elites refused to recognise contemporary Indians as the heirs of their glorified ancestors, even denying them the right to citizenship. And similar contradictions continued into the early twentieth century. Despite growing attention to indigenous problems, as evident in the rise of an *indigenista* movement and a renewed focus on the Indian past, most notably by the Mexican muralists after the Mexican Revolution, there was still a refusal to accept in any way the descendants of the pre-conquest peoples. Even the view expressed by politicians and intellectuals in many areas that the present society had become a mixed or mestizo population was in fact a rejection of the distinct position of the still numerous indigenous groups. Moreover, elites continued to trace their roots and, consequently, the roots of their nations to Iberia.

Earle's book is an important contribution to the intellectual and cultural history of the period. It reveals the myth-making with regard to Spanish America's indigenous past through an intricately woven and impressively constructed argument that takes the reader from Mexico to southern Chile using a variety of examples and

several well-chosen illustrations. It contains a couple of flaws that are small but noticeable. One is stylistic, with the first person singular pronoun appearing so frequently that a casual reader might think that this is an autobiography and not a historical monograph. Of greater concern is the book's lack of an apparent conclusion. At the end one would like some explanation of what this says about nineteenth-century Latin American developments. What impact did all of this have on the broader picture? In her epilogue, Earle briefly makes links to the exploitation of the indigenous peoples of Guatemala in the twentieth century, but there must be more. Perhaps, this will be the focus of her next study, and, if not, she has certainly raised numerous issues to be examined and expanded upon by others. While her *Native* may never attract the same readership as Thomas Hardy's, she has provided a work that unveils much about the thought processes of opinion makers in the century after independence. It is a fascinating story and a welcome addition to the history of the nineteenth century.

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- 13 Cook, Noble D. and Cook, Alexandra, P. (2007) *People of the Volcano: Andean Counterpoint in the Colca Valley of Peru*, Duke University Press (North Carolina), xi + 319 pp. £60.00 hbk, £14.99 pbk.

The Colca Valley is situated in Arequipa, south Peru. It is a beautiful valley that is dominated by glaciers and volcanic peaks. Since the construction of a road in the early 1970s, the valley has become a tourist attraction. The authors begin by describing in depth the geographic and climatic changes of the valley, venturing into feasible theories, which depict the arrival of the first people in the valley, people that evolved from hunter-gatherers to become sophisticated farmers 3,000 years BP. They have found several archaeological sites that illustrate the history of the valley from its earlier days to the present. Its oral history was passed to the Spanish administration who subsequently wrote it down for posterity. However, many questions still remain to be answered, as the people of the Colca valley lacked written records. Two different ethnic groups settled in the valley, the Collaguas and the Cabanas. The first group spoke Aymara, and the second group spoke broken Quechua. The authors continue by describing their religion, dress and their cultural differences. When describing the rule of the Tawantinsuyu, the authors refer to the chroniclers such as Cieza, Betanzos and Ore. The description of the ayllus and sayas and their relationship is discussed in detail and constantly the chroniclers are referred to.

Chapter II deals with the conquest and how the different ethnic groups, Collaguas and Cabanas, dealt with the Spanish. How the *encomendero* Cristóbal Pérez and his son, Juan de Arbes, dealt with the Cabanas and the people from the valley. Manco Inca's rebellion is discussed as are the civil wars among the Spanish

and how it affected the Indians of the Colca valley. The authors rely heavily on the chroniclers, but they also use Spanish administrative documentation gathered after or during the events. The chapter continues by describing the effect that the church had on the Indians' religion and the destruction of the *huacas*. Many of the *encomenderos* had been killed in the Spanish civil wars and new *encomenderos* were appointed by Viceroy de la Gasca, which led to court battles, such as Mari Sánchez la Millana v Juan de la Torre, for the tribute the cabana Indians would bring.

Many Indians died because of the diseases brought into the Americas by the Spanish, the consequence of this was the depletion of the population. Several epidemics swept through the valley and as many as half the population died within the first 30 years. This was a dilemma for the *encomenderos* as there were less and less Indians paying the tribute and to cultivate the lands; the *encomiendas* given to the *encomenderos* became poorer because of the lack of Indians.

In Part 2, the authors start by describing the changes made by Governor Lope García de Castro and Viceroy Francisco de Toledo. They took the power from the *encomenderos* and gave it to the royal governors, called *corregidores*. Toledo created the ultimate Spanish administrative authority over the Indians. Contrary to what de las Casas had suggested, instead of protecting the Indians the *corregidores* made them into a type of slave. The idea of bringing the Indians together in European-style of towns started with Pizarro; however, it was not until Toledo that this plan was realised. Toledo also completed a census, organised a general inspection and had a tribute assessment made. However, Toledo did keep the duality concept of the Incas, *ansansaya* and *urinsaya*, which the authors explain in detail. By discussing marriage and family, social engineering, the *kurakas* and political authority, the authors have delved deeply into Inca customs and given us a great insight into the way they dealt with the social and moral aspects of their lives.

The other chapters that follow in Part 2 deal with the practices of tribute and the domestic economy. A comparison and analysis of Inca and Spanish practices are made in which the authors describe in detail Inca practices and compare them with Spanish ones. The extractive economy is based on the use of the *mita* and how the Spanish eventually came to understand and use the concept. The chapter on indoctrination and resistance deals with all aspects of the Inca religion and the ways in which the Indians came to understand and accept Catholicism.

The final part of the book ventures into the Spanish practices of creating new cities and settlements, their administrative system and how the peoples of the Colca Valley have developed to the present day.

This is an excellent book, which is very well researched and written. It gives anyone studying the Incas or pre-Columbian history a deep insight into their customs, history and administration. It does concentrate on the Colca valley, but through it the authors present an outstanding version of life during the Empire and the colonial period. I would recommend this book not only to historians, but to anthropologists and archaeologists who are studying the Incas as a culture.

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3 Skuban, William E. (2007) *Lines in the Sand: Nationalism and Identity on the Peruvian Chilean Frontier*, University of New Mexico Press (Albuquerque), xxvii + 314
4 pp. \$24.95 pbk.
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7 In several ways, the War of the Pacific (1879–1884), remains an open historical wound.
8 Recent collaborative efforts by Peruvian and Chilean historians to address, even close,
9 this wound, point to a growing awareness that a new history of the conflict is possible.
10 For this reason, William E. Skuban’s book is timely. Skuban’s topic is one of the more
11 important legacies of the War of the Pacific: the territorial dispute over the provinces
12 of Tacna and Arica, occupied by Chile during the War. Skuban uses the dispute, os-
13 tensibly resolved in 1929, when Tacna was reincorporated into Peru and Arica became
14 part of Chile, as an optic through which to explore nationalism and national identity.
15 He engages usefully with perspectives drawn from theoretical studies of nationalism
16 to explore the ways in which the dispute inflected, and was inflected by, the multiple
17 identities of the myriad historical actors, Chilean and Peruvian, whose lives were af-
18 fected between 1879 and 1929 by this unresolved legacy of the War of the Pacific. An
19 early chapter, for example, discusses how various material and discursive sites, such
20 as schools, the press, churches and national celebrations became key arenas of contesta-
21 tion over the definition of national identity. According to the treaty that put an end
22 to the war, the dispute was to be settled by a plebiscite. For this reason, both Chilean
23 and Peruvian authorities sought to use what Skuban calls ‘technologies of power’ to
24 influence the vote (which never took place). In so doing, Skuban shows, they deployed
25 different conceptualisations of national identity. The Peruvians stressed a historical
26 and ethnic attachment (along the lines of primordial understandings of national iden-
27 tity), while the Chileans emphasised a more rational attachment.
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29 At the same time, Skuban uses these efforts to inculcate an ‘official nationalism’ to
30 explore usefully what they reveal about the broader societal forces shaping the lo-
31 calised dispute in Tacna and Arica. In particular, in a very interesting chapter, he pays
32 careful attention to how the particular ways in which race, and racism, operated in
33 each country shaped the attempts of both the Peruvian and Chilean authorities to ap-
34 prehend statistically the population in Tacna and Arica and to ascertain the possible
35 result of the plebiscite. More generally, race and gender, as well as class, Skuban
36 shows, were central to the dispute in a number of ways. The dispute, not surprisingly,
37 was discursively gendered and racialised: Peruvians presented the recovery of the ‘cap-
38 tive’ provinces as a process where men and women would play gendered roles; Chileans
39 depicted Peruvians as effeminate and racially inferior; Peruvians similarly
40 essentialised Chileans as criminalised expansionists. But class, race and gender also
41 shaped the dispute because different groups experienced, and intervened in, the dispute
42 in differentiated ways. For example, although women were not entitled to vote in the
43 plebiscite, several elite women played a role, as intellectuals or teachers, in influencing
44 public opinion. Artisans and manual workers intervened either directly (and sometimes
45 violently) or through their organisations to resist or promote the Chileanisation of the
46 provinces. The indigenous, too, Skuban shows, shaped the dispute, as local conflicts
47 between indigenous communities mapped on to the broader regional and national
48

conflicts, a process that was made possible by the revalorisation of the Indian in the eyes of the authorities in the run-up to the plebiscite.

Skuban makes a number of important contributions in this book. He admits that he writes 'from the north', that is, in the sense that his perspective is shaped by the fact that he is a North American scholar (and therefore an outsider), and in the sense that he focuses primarily on the Peruvian population in the region. But Skuban has constructed his study with sources from Peru *and* Chile, he is familiar with historiographical perspectives on the dispute produced in both countries; and he is attentive to how Peruvians *and* Chileans experienced the dispute. In this sense, the book represents a departure from previous treatments. The key historiographical contribution is, arguably, Skuban's successful exploration of the dispute from a perspective that expands the public sphere to take into account how the dispute was experienced and shaped *from below*. The book is also a valuable empirically grounded intervention in theoretical debates on nationalism, which often (with the notable exception of Benedict Anderson's contributions) ignore Latin America. My only criticism is that the book lacks a comparative dimension in the broader sense: there is no attempt to discuss the Tacna and Arica dispute in the context of other experiences of war and occupation. Perhaps additional insights could have been gleaned by considering, say, the historiographies on the analogous experiences of Alsace-Lorraine or Manchuria. Still, historians of Peru and Chile, and historians of Latin America more generally, as well as anyone interested in issues related to national identity will profit immensely from reading this book.

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Bejarano, Cynthia L. (2005) *¿Qué Onda? Urban Youth Culture and Border Identity*, University of Arizona Press (Tucson), xiii + 248 pp. \$21.95 pbk.

¿Qué Onda? investigates the identity-seeking process of young people at the US–Mexican border. Based on a four-year ethnographic study, Cynthia L. Bejarano analyses the construction of Mexicana/o and Chicana/o youth identities enacted in the high school setting in response to the prevailing geopolitical and socio-cultural realities. She explores the spoken and unspoken divisions among youths of Mexican descent, drawing distinctions between long-term US residents of Mexican descent and more recent immigrants. Young people of Mexican descent share a legacy of profound historical discrimination, but contrary to common assumption, they can live very different lives.

Youths in the US–Mexican border region create alterNative¹ cultures (p. 90), and subvert hegemonic practices by crafting their own social and cultural spaces within the

1 The term refers to alternative cultures that emerge out of subaltern groups of society, such as native or indigenous to the USA.

high school, a fundamentally hegemonic institution (p. 96). The book strikingly reveals that these young people are convinced that a multi-ethnic and multicultural society is doomed to fail. They do not consider cultural mixture as advantage or opportunity, but as a field of battle where clear distinctions must be drawn between the 'Own' and the 'Other' (p. 99). Shared experiences within the home and neighbourhood are what bind them; having the same histories and cultural background is more conducive to the formation of alterNative youth cultures than any attractions based on personality or shared interest (p. 107). The alterNative youth groups are welded together by feelings of second-class citizenship and marginalisation, despite their immersion in American culture.

Mexicana/o and Chicana/o youths scrutinise each other's actions, behaviours, clothing styles and language, constructing their own alterNative culture as inaccessible and impermeable for outsiders (p. 109). They police the borders of their invented youth cultures by stereotyping and categorising the respective 'Others'. Bejarano demonstrates convincingly that young people mimic what they see in larger American culture and that their self-segregation is a result of the perpetuated denial of cultural citizenship to them as Latino minorities within the US (p. 100). The creation of a segregated youth culture with exclusive Mexicana/o or Chicana/o membership provides a feeling of protection from discrimination, exclusion and marginalisation by mainstream American society, which does not appreciate the value of their deeply embedded traditions. Instead of uniting under the Latina/o umbrella, Mexicanas/os and Chicanas/os pupils uphold existing prejudices about one another and take refuge in exclusive alterNative enclaves. This has to do with the unique context of the borderlands, Bejarano argues, where social hierarchies are defined along ethnic lines and where a postcolonial setting provokes and perpetuates internal colonialism, 'Othering' and anti-immigrant sentiment.

In order to succeed in American society, Chicanas/os must demonstrate their Americanness, deny their cultural roots and 'step on' Mexicans. The Chicana/o youths interviewed by Bejarano felt they had to distance themselves from Mexican students and had thus become their 'sub-oppressors' (p. 156). Striving for acceptance by mainstream American society, they aspire to 'whiteness'. It is distressing to realise that fitting in with American society seemingly entails being ashamed of one's foreign cultural heritage and denying solidarity to recent Mexicana/o immigrants, leaving them to feel isolated and marginalised. The high school students of Bejarano's study believed that separating themselves from Mexicanas/os was part of a natural and justified process of claiming to be from the US (p. 162). The author demonstrates successfully that animosity between these youth groups is deeply rooted within the tensions between dominant groups and minorities in the US. Bejarano points out that in the post-9/11 era, border dwellers are increasingly exposed to racial profiling, discrimination, violations of civil rights and repeated citizenship checks (p. 188). Mexicana/o students suffer from extended surveillance and policing both inside and outside their high school environment.

Bejarano's book will be particularly valuable for educationalists working in border regions and other multi-ethnic areas. The study reveals upsetting strategies employed by US education authorities, such as prohibiting students from speaking their native

language in the classroom and disregarding 'non-American' cultural identities and practices in the entire school context. Bejarano shows that the country's education sector must embrace the reality of the borderlands as a multi-ethnic region and engage in a process of intercultural communication. The book provides useful suggestions for future strategies, policies and actions in the school sector, based on the appreciation of ethnic diversity. New educational materials should be produced, which teach and promote a bilingual and bicultural approach to school education in the borderlands. The book also gives us a deeper understanding of how border dwellers' lives are criss-crossed by questions of ethnicity, identity and citizenship. The borderlands represent a contested space where a tug-of-war around border-identity prevails mainly because of unresolved questions of citizenship.

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Stephen, Lynn (2007) *Transborder Lives: Indigenous Oaxacans in Mexico, California, and Oregon*, Duke University Press (Durham, NC and London), xxii + 375 pp. £57.00 hbk, £13.99 pbk.

Peasants of the Mexican state of Oaxaca have often been characterised as the enduring offspring of the Indian communities subjugated by the Spanish Conquest – still tied to endogamous ancestral communities, living off a subsistence diet of maize, beans and squash, speaking non-national languages (such as Zapotec or Mixtec), bonding traditional religious beliefs to Catholicism and, wherever possible, governing themselves by democratic public assembly. These isolationist traits, rooted in space – notably, the earth and territory of the *municipio*, have been disturbed, but not destroyed, by international labour migration to the USA in the last 30 years. In addition to the US–Mexican frontier, the borders that Oaxaqueños cross are ethnic, class, cultural and state boundaries in Mexico and the USA.

Social scientists have recently warmed to the notion of multi-site research, especially in ethnic and migration studies. Stephen's informants live in multiple localities, and for them discontinuous social, economic and cultural spaces are the norm. To capture the multiple homes of residents of Teotitlán del Valle in the Valles Centrales of Oaxaca and of San Agustín Atenango in the Mixteca Alta, Stephen has, of necessity, had to carry out detailed ethnographic research in each parent community and among their migrants in California and Oregon. In this way, she explores the discontinuous spaces of each community linked by kinship, ritual, cycles of labour, and individual and collective resources.

The aim of the book is to weave together the personal histories and narratives of indigenous transborder migrants with the larger structures that affect their lives, and to highlight their creative responses to their mobile existence. Chapter 1 is introductory, and sets the scene with 'Approaches to Transborder Lives', while Chapter 2

gives a brief history of the role of migration in both communities, describing the disruption and decay of the civil- and religious-cargo systems in the sending communities, and migrant women's preoccupation with remaining *mujeres decentes*, despite the prevalence among them of common-law unions. The Oaxacan migratory reconquest of California and Oregon – once physically part of the Mexican national territory – is explored in Chapter 3, which shows how waves of migration have created Mexico in Los Angeles and Oxnard in California, and Salem and Woodburn in Oregon.

Chapter 4 of *Transborder Lives* focuses on Mixtec and Zapotec migrants' work in agriculture, childcare and gardening, highlighting the difficult labouring and living conditions they experience as low-wage workers in California and Oregon. In addition to state borders, they are continually crossing legal, ethnic and racial borders in their working lives. The surveillance dimension of border crossing and work in agricultural fields and labour camps in Oregon makes up Chapter 5. This chapter concentrates on the contested legality of all border crossers, and how this aspect of their identity interacts with the other socio-cultural borders they cross. Chapter 6 investigates the gendered dimension of Zapotec and Mixtec patterns of migration, and shows that traditional male–female relations often have to be rearranged when women migrants work to demanding schedules.

Stephen argues (Chapter 7) that the racial/ethnic hierarchy inherited from colonial Mexico, which places indigenous people at the bottom of the social scale, is reproduced in the USA, wherever Mexican migrants create heavily populated communities. Hispanic Indians (as Stephen calls them) occupy a unique (and lowly) position among the racial and ethnic categories that emerged in cultural and political discourse in the USA in the late twentieth century. Chapter 8, 'Grassroots Organising in Transborder Lives', shows how Mixtec migrants are engaged in interlinked forms of local-level organisations that cut across class, ethnic and gendered dimensions of transborder migration and settlement; the Oregon farm workers' union; a women's organisation; a transborder public-works committee; and the Organisation of Oaxacan Indigenous Migrant Communities provide the evidence. The email and website dimension of transborder activities is dealt with in Chapter 9, notably the website creations of the community museum in Teotitlán, and the use of email, faxes and a website by an indigenous organisation.

In the conclusion, Stephen successfully uses the idea of partial denationalisation and a multilayered conception of citizenship to interpret the key findings of the book. She has certainly achieved her stated goal of pushing the borders crossed by Zapotec and Mixtec immigrants into centre stage, and in the process has illuminated the lives of the 130 million people, who, worldwide, live outside the country where they were born, and have transgressed many borders. This engaging and well-researched book (with 12 maps, 24 photographs and six tables) will appeal to specialists on Mexico, migration and ethnicity. Its author is to be congratulated on her model, multi-site study of a complex and important issue.

Colin Clarke
Oxford University

Martínez, Oscar J. (2006) *Troublesome Border*, The University of Arizona Press (Tucson), xiii + 182 pp. \$17.95 pbk.

Oscar J. Martínez's intent in this revised edition of *Troublesome Border*, originally published in 1988, is to present a concise and accessible historical treatment that will contribute to reasoned discourse in what is, in the USA, quite a contentious debate: the debate over 'immigration'. Martínez is responding to the projection – originating both from Mexico, DF, and Washington, DC – of the border as a zone that is out of control, characterised by 'disorder', 'deviation' and departure from the 'norms of interior zones' (p. 4). He states his interpretations have not changed since 1988. The leitmotiv remains 'dependence': 'the border region's extreme vulnerability to external forces' (p. xiii), which gives rise to the conflict pervading the border region since at least 1848.

Martínez makes use of Ellwyn R. Stoddard's concept of 'overlapping territoriality', a concept meant to reflect 'the functional interrelationship which exists along both sides of the binational border' and to replace 'the erroneous structural model which characterises the international boundary line as a point at which two distinct nations touch' (p. 151). This move to excise and salvage the border region from the fetishisation of the nation-state is admirable, but Martínez could have gone further in this direction. Given that what emerges in Martínez's treatment is that the border exists in colonial relation to its *two* metropolises, the analysis would be enhanced by reference to the growing field of postcolonial theory.

The strongest chapters are the first three, a reflection of Martínez's work in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in particular. Chapter 1, 'Whither the Boundary?' covers the period from the 1540s through the Treaty of 1970, with more than half the chapter devoted to US acquisitionist attempts following the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Chapter 2, 'Marked Frontier', covers the period of the 'golden age of filibustering', especially prominent in the years immediately following the USA–Mexico War, through the year 1952, when Baja California Norte became a Mexican state. And Chapter 3, 'Border Indians,' covering the period from the seventeenth century to 2005, offers an overview of the relationship between indigenous peoples and border zones, affording the reader three different lenses: (a) Native Americans as disturbers of the order; (b) Native Americans being ordered, and the devastating effects upon their numbers and, for those who survived, quality of life; and (c) Native Americans (Kickapoo and Yaqui) making use of the new order, leveraging the existence of the new international boundary for their own survival. Many of these treatments excel in a thorough succinctness, and for this reason the book would be of great use in undergraduate classrooms. Still, some of the discussion relies on quite dated historiographical assessments, such as Rippey's contestable conclusion that the US government was not *unwilling* to restrain filibustering, but rather unable. In a similar manner, Martínez's discussion of nascent revolutions and separatist movements such as the Cortina Rebellion, while sound, would be strengthened through reference to more recent works, such as Elliott Young's *Catarino Garza's Revolution* (2004). Nor is there discussion of slavery in the treatment of the escalating tensions between 'European Americans' and the Mexican government that resulted in the rebellion after which Texas became independent, which

is a reflection, in part, of the omission of key works by scholars such as David Montejano. Nevertheless, Martínez's use of a multiplicity of overlapping and sometimes fragmentary periodisations is illuminating, as it epitomises the inextricable strands of complexity that are expressed for and by border residents in a quotidian life that both constantly iterates historical memory and relies on its repeated suppression.

Chapter 4, 'Mexican Americans, Ethnic Conflict, and Identity Issues', covering 1836 to 2005, offers a good summary of some of the major movements that bear on 'ethnic conflict' and 'identity issues. Some major events such as the Brown Power movement are omitted. Including these would be helpful, as would offering a treatment of conflicts *within* 'the Mexican-American community'. Chapter 7, 'Migration, Drugs, and Violence', is a new addition, with a new section on drug trafficking and a wider discussion of migration addressed separately therein. This work's intent necessitated these treatments, but framing both the title of this chapter and its content as he has might serve to reinforce the conflation of human beings with social contagion (as symbolised by drugs), as well as the commodification of the former; both of these strains are already far too present in the current 'immigration debate'.

Martínez concludes, 'If ethnic harmony between Hispanics and non-Hispanics is to prevail, European Americans who live in the Southwest, especially those along the border, will need to become more fully informed about the peoples, cultures, and history of the region' (p. 150). While harmony might be far from the immediate result of the quickening of historical memory – especially among people who seem disturbed that 'Mexico continues to exist' (even within the very boundaries of the present-day USA) – this highly accessible work goes a long way toward the cause of informing.

Joanna Swanger
Earlham College

Acuña, Rodolfo F. (2007) *Corridors of Migration: The Odyssey of Mexican Laborers, 1600–1933*, University of Arizona Press (Tucson), xvii + 408 pp. \$49.95 hbk. \$26.95 pbk.

Corridors of Migration is an ambitious text linking the 1933 San Joaquin Valley Cotton Strike in California with more than three centuries of migration through north-western Mexico into the US South-west. About 18,000 cotton pickers and their families, four-fifths of whom were Mexican, were involved in the strike, which was led by white Communists and ultimately crushed by an alliance of farmers and the state using draconian tactics. Acuña sets out to show that Mexican workers were not mere followers in this saga and that they had a long history of labor activism in the mines of northern Mexico and Arizona during the migrations that eventually brought them to California. In short, the author aims to 'explode the myth that Mexicans were born apathetic and never attempted to organise' (p. xiii).

The author tries to link the personal biography of a striker born in Chihuahua and shot dead on a San Joaquin Valley picket line in 1933 with an exegesis of the broader

1 articulation of race, capital and nation-state building along the border. He uses a
 2 wealth of archival materials collected on both sides of the border to 'follow the people'
 3 through an archaeology of the migrations that channelled generations from central
 4 Mexico north into the states of Chihuahua and Sonora and then over the border to El
 5 Paso and points west in New Mexico and Arizona before finally arriving in the San
 6 Joaquin Valley. Some of these migrations were generations in the making, hence the
 7 1600 to 1933 subtitle.
 8

9 The greatest value of this sweeping approach is to join the study of internal and in-
 10 ternational mobility through the naturalistic metaphor of a migration corridor. It de-
 11 scribes nineteenth-century migrations from Mexico to the USA drawn by work in the
 12 mines that preceded the better-studied migrations at the turn of the twentieth century
 13 to work on US railroads and, later, in agriculture. This text also develops an under-
 14 standing of push and pull factors along the border leading to short-range migration,
 15 which usually escape the international migration literature's focus on the more popu-
 16 lated Central Western states such as Michoacán, Jalisco and Guanajuato that have
 17 been the source of most Mexican migrants to the USA at least since the 1920s.
 18

19 Acuña shows the efforts of Mexican workers to organise in the face of extreme ra-
 20 cial discrimination from all quarters, including potential allies in the white working
 21 class, and repressive governments aligned with mining and agricultural business in-
 22 terests in both the USA and Mexico. A recurrent theme is the intensive cross-border
 23 political organisation of exiles using the USA as a base from which to infiltrate Mexico
 24 and the efforts of US law enforcement to suppress such activities with the help of
 25 Mexican government spies.
 26

27 The book is less successful in its attempt to pare what apparently began as a 2,000-
 28 page manuscript into a coherent narrative. Like the protagonists of the text, the reader
 29 sets out on a migration of false starts, long treks, detours and uncertainty about where
 30 one is headed, in this case through 400 pages chronicling three centuries of vignettes
 31 and local histories. Rarely is attention focused on any incident or character long
 32 enough to develop a sense of historical drama, and the larger point that some Mexi-
 33 cans engaged in labour organising, strikes and revolution despite tremendous obstacles
 34 is often lost in details whose relevance is not immediately evident. Historians of the
 35 borderlands interested in the organised labour movement, migration, and daily experi-
 36 ences of racial discrimination are the audience most likely to find compelling material
 37 in this book.
 38

39 David Fitzgerald
 40 *University of California, San Diego*
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 43 Faingold, Eduardo D. (2006) *Diáspora y exilio. Crónica de una familia argentina*,
 44 Ediciones Al Margen (La Plata), 138 pp. pbk.
 45

46 Thirty years after the *Proceso* began, Eduardo Faingold, an Argentine academic
 47 resident in the USA, is the protagonist of this memoir of the 1970s, whose purpose is

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2
3 'to contribute to the Argentine collective memory, and to the concept of *Nunca Más*,
4 so that this idea will be more a reality than a utopia (p. 15; my translation).

5 A prologue sets an angry, nostalgic tone, to a work that is the testimony of a life
6 and a literary artefact: while contemporary sources (for example, diaries) are used, the
7 book is mainly based on memories (interviews and recollections) of a now distant time.
8 Furthermore, the narrative relies on numerous testimonial and evaluative sources: for
9 example Timerman, Graham-Yooll and Galeano. This nostalgia and anger give mean-
10 ing to the otherwise illogical statement that ends the prologue: 'A 30 años de la dic-
11 tadura estuvimos, estamos y estaremos en Argentina siempre. EDF Tulsa, Oklahoma'
12 (p. 17). Who would not identify with, and miss, a native country? – 'que tuvimos que
13 abandonar después de muchas generaciones' (p. 17). However, the notion of long-
14 established roots is questionable, certainly in terms of the cultural debates of twentieth-
15 century Argentina: Faingold's family are turn-of-the-century European immigrants.
16 This is where this fascinating story really begins.

17 The first part, 'Una familia argentina', traces their origins. The maternal side is rela-
18 tively straightforward. Some emigrated from Belarus, and were among the founders of
19 the pioneering Jewish agricultural settlements in Santa Fe. However, after land dis-
20 putes, they moved to the province of Buenos Aires and became farmers and ranchers.
21 Some members had other occupations; for example, one was an officer in the Argen-
22 tine military (this initiates a salient theme of the book: the ambivalent relationship with
23 authorities, particularly the military). The paternal forebears, too, from Rumania,
24 were settler pioneers with the Jewish Colonisation Association: they also left the col-
25 ony for Buenos Aires province.

26 The second part, 'Un chico argentino', has five sections. The first, 'En La Plata'
27 narrates Faingold's life until 1976, when his family left for brief exile in Israel. The
28 author's young life is presented as a model of normality and comfort. His father is a
29 senior civil servant and academic; Eduardo lives in a world of (a) universal boyhood;
30 (b) *Argentinidad*; (c) Jewishness. There is, however, a maverick, Arltian side: he cuts
31 school, seeking knowledge elsewhere, mainly in the university library. It is striking
32 how politicised this 'normality' was. Faingold calls himself a socialist Zionist (p. 42),
33 and his grandfather an ex-communist, turned right-wing Zionist (p. 44). Friends and
34 acquaintances were *Montoneros*, liberation theologians, etc. Epitomising this trait are
35 Faingold's contrasting speculations about what prompted the two raids on the family
36 house, in search of his brother (who was already in Israel): perhaps Roberto was de-
37 nounced by 'algún celador del Liceo, perteneciente a la CNU, un grupo católico na-
38 cionalista y antisemita de ultraderecha'; or, 'algún compañero del Liceo, secuestrado
39 por los grupos de tareas reveló su nombre bajo la tortura' (p. 55).

40 'Mientras tanto, en Buenos Aires ...' consists of transcripts of conversations with
41 two relatives, of Faingold's parents' generation, 'quienes fueron testigos de hechos
42 ocurridos a familiares que sufrieron en carne propia las consecuencias de la dictadura
43 militar' (p. 67). Their testimony covers a long period of violence, from before Perón's
44 return, to the *Proceso*; all the people mentioned were high-profile activists (p. 67).

45 There follows 'En Israel', the account of the author's first year in that country: os-
46 tensibly studying, but in reality mainly travelling around. Once more, the narrative is
47 suffused with (mainly Zionist) political considerations.
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3 From Israel, Faingold moved to Denmark ('En Dinamarca'), to escape military
4 service and to be with a catholic Northern Irishwoman. This phase – basically an
5 extended holiday – came to an end when, after hitch-hiking through Holland, Faingold
6 was refused re-entry to Denmark (he later smuggled himself in). Finally, in January
7 1979, Faingold attempted to renew his passport – but received only a ten-day exten-
8 sion, valid for travel to Argentina.

9 The concluding section, 'En el BIM 3', covers Faingold's final period in Argentina,
10 as a conscript in 1979–1980: the height of the *Proceso*. Military routine was stultifying
11 – except for guard duties on the frigate Santísima Trinidad, then being fitted out –
12 when Faingold conversed with the British technicians. There are other, sinister connec-
13 tions: evidence that death squads operated from the base – and were equipped with
14 Israeli radio sets; moreover, it emerges that Israel provided lethal equipment, and train-
15 ing, to the Argentine military (p. 111).

16 On completion of his service, Faingold decided he could no longer live in Argentina,
17 'ni estudiando en la universidad del proceso, que estaba intervenida por los militares,
18 ni trabajando en un país en el que se vivía permanentemente bajo estado de sitio, en
19 el que operaban impunemente las fuerzas de la represión militar y aún desaparecían
20 personas' (p. 119). Europe, Israel – and South Africa – appealed; Israel was chosen.
21 A disturbing book.

22
23 Paul Jordan

24 *University of Sheffield*
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Author Query Form

Journal: Bulletin of Latin American Research

Article: blar_298

Dear Author,

During the copy-editing of your paper, the following queries arose. Please respond to these by marking up your proofs with the necessary changes/additions. Please write your answers on the query sheet if there is insufficient space on the page proofs. Please write clearly and follow the conventions shown on the attached corrections sheet. If returning the proof by fax do not write too close to the paper's edge. Please remember that illegible mark-ups may delay publication. Many thanks for your assistance.

Query No.	Query	Remark
1	The Chávez Code is mentioned as being published in 2005 in Dineen's review of Bush versus Chávez, but the review of this book that follows it gives the publication date as 2007. Was the book originally published in 2005? If so, suggest mentioning this somewhere.	
2	On which page does the quotation 'Stroessner freed hundreds of political prisoners, many of whom might have died were it not for the ambassador' appear?	
3	Include definitions of PAN and PRI? (PRI appears again in later reviews, but may be familiar enough not to define.)	
4	Where does the quotation from Lewis Hanke come from? Add the page number if this is quoted in Delpar. Otherwise, add a citation and a reference at the end of the review.	

- 5 In the following ‘Company scientists also adopted a spray of copper sulfate and lime, which leached into soil and human lungs, and involved a 40% increase in production costs’ ‘and involved’ doesn’t sound right. Do you mean ‘were aimed at achieving a 40% increase...’?
-
- 6 The word ‘grassroots’ appeared several times in this review. I have left it in two places, but removed it in one and changed to ‘local communities’ (rather than ‘grassroots communities’) another.
-
- 7 The page reference is missing after the following: ‘the mid-1980s arrival of former guerilla Fernando Gabeira and other “amnesty environmentalists”’.
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- 8 Please check the verb tenses in the text below. The past is used and then the present. If this is correct, suggest inserting ‘at that time’ after ‘Most ENGOS’. Actually, I think the whole sentence would benefit from being reworded:
-
- 9 ‘Most ENGOS in Brazil were ‘either unable or unwilling to professionalise’ (p. 106), and only a small number of ENGOS are the professional type that attract the criticisms of ‘ultranationalists’ (p. 108) who have accused Brazil’s ENGOS of betraying national interests by supporting a conspiratorial international agenda.’
-
- 10 I had to make quite a lot of changes to the language in this review, so please check it carefully.
-
- 11 Alexander by Gallardo: The English needed a lot of attention. Gallardo (2002) is cited twice, but there is no References section. Foster’s ‘image of the limited good’ and Hardin’s ‘tragedy of the commons’ are mentioned. Do they also need references?
-
- 12 Please check the text from ‘Using the mode of production theory’ to ‘peasantisation’ vs. ‘de-peasantisation’ or ‘proletarianisation’, as I’m not entirely sure what this is trying to say.

13 The English needed some attention in this review.

14 What does BP stand for?

15 Is the word 'tribute' correct here? It sounds as if it's an amount of money paid to the authorities, like a tax.

16 Do huacas, kurakas and mita need English glosses? It also seems a bit strange that there is no explanation for anansaya and urinsaya.

17 Elliott Young's Catarino Garza's Revolution (2004) should have a reference entry.

18 Price needed for this book.

19 Add English translations for the Spanish quotations in this review?

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Please correct and return this set

Please use the proof correction marks shown below for all alterations and corrections. If you wish to return your proof by fax you should ensure that all amendments are written clearly in dark ink and are made well within the page margins.

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Leave unchanged	... under matter to remain	Ⓟ
Insert in text the matter indicated in the margin	∧	New matter followed by ∧ or ∧ [Ⓢ]
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Substitute character or substitute part of one or more word(s)	/ through letter or ┌───┐ through characters	new character / or new characters /
Change to italics	— under matter to be changed	↙
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Change to small capitals	≡ under matter to be changed	≡
Change to bold type	~ under matter to be changed	~
Change to bold italic	≈ under matter to be changed	≈
Change to lower case	Encircle matter to be changed	≡
Change italic to upright type	(As above)	⊕
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Insert 'superior' character	/ through character or ∧ where required	Υ or Υ under character e.g. Υ or Υ
Insert 'inferior' character	(As above)	∧ over character e.g. ∧
Insert full stop	(As above)	⊙
Insert comma	(As above)	,
Insert single quotation marks	(As above)	ʹ or ʸ and/or ʹ or ʸ
Insert double quotation marks	(As above)	“ or ” and/or ” or ”
Insert hyphen	(As above)	⊞
Start new paragraph	┌	┌
No new paragraph	┐	┐
Transpose	└┐	└┐
Close up	linking ○ characters	○
Insert or substitute space between characters or words	/ through character or ∧ where required	Υ
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