

abusive, and uncorrupt police force over a community-run security group. This focus also leads Ciccariello-Maher to prioritize the desire for autonomy from the state espoused by community leaders like Carlos Bentacourt, who sees the state as a regulator of popular power. Yet, many participants involved in communal councils and communes desire more support, guidance, and regulation from state institutions rather than autonomy from them.

As a last point, *We Created Chávez* is perhaps the most detailed treatment of what Steve Ellner has called the multiple lefts within the Chávez coalition. And the conceptualization of *el pueblo* as a diverse community held together by its opposition to an enemy (the political and economic elite), rather than by Chávez's charisma, moves us past simplistic and condescending explanations of populism. Yet, this focus also overlooks how the discourse of "the people" and revolution has drawn new lines within Chavismo. The danger of any discourse emerging from the categories of "us vs. them," which are by necessity unspecified and vague categories, is that these divisions become a means by which a few gain the power to classify who is "us" and who is "them." The dissemination of this discourse throughout state institutions, even if only strategic positions have been seized within the state (p. 242), creates a situation where criticisms and alternatives, and their proponents, can be marginalized or expelled as unrevolutionary or bourgeois. This discourse, while suturing the Venezuelan left together, could also operate to suffocate the democratic dynamics within the Bolivarian process.

By the end of the book, the political symbol that is Hugo Chávez has come to represent more than institutional power alone. Instead, we see Chávez as the embodiment of a historical lineage. And it is to this lineage that many of his supporters remain loyal, with their support for him an outgrowth of the decades-long struggles that "created" him. It is impossible to read *We Created Chávez* without wondering who, other than Chávez, might be able to represent, and thus suture together, the diverse and conflicting factions that have come to compose the Chavista support base. The beauty of Ciccariello-Maher's approach is the way it turns this question on its head, demonstrating the inadequacy of accounts that appeal to individual leaders and constituted power alone in looking for answers.

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JAVIER SANJINÉS C.: *Embers of the Past: Essays in Times of Decolonization*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013.

In *Embers of the Past* Javier Sanjinés, Professor of Latin American Literature and Cultural Studies at the University of Michigan, examines what he calls the

dark side of modernity. Ably translated by David Frye, the book is a revised update of *Rescoldos del pasado* originally published in Bolivia in 2009. This new version includes a new introduction and a final chapter. It is written in the essay genre that Sanjinés justifies as a subversive, transgressive proposition that challenges the rationalizations of modernization. While philosophers act on the level of ideas, Sanjinés contends, essayists connect with complex, concrete realities. Despite writing in the obtuse and overly theorized style of cultural studies, Sanjinés makes a quite simple and direct polemic argument: despite Bolivian president Evo Morales' use of the rhetoric of plurinationalism, the new political order has failed to integrate marginalized voices into its governing structures and threatens to plunge the country back into authoritarian styles of governance.

Sanjinés points to the Peruvian Marxist José Carlos Mariátegui as an example of how to think from a Latin American perspective while at the same time embracing and incorporating European contributions to knowledge. Sanjinés argues that European thinking is necessary but insufficient, and that we need to renew Europe's contributions with critiques that come from both the European and postcolonial periphery. Following this approach, Mariátegui's goal was not to recreate Europe's path toward capitalism in Latin America, but rather to construct Peru's own way forward. From Sanjinés' perspective, Mariátegui rejected progress and modernity in favor of embracing the interests of subaltern ethnic populations.

Sanjinés contrasts Mariátegui's engagement with tensions between progress and ethnic identities against the Brazilian journalist Euclides da Cunha who most famously wrote about the 1896 Canudos War in *Os sertões*. Sanjinés then extends a discussion of the tensions between millenarianism and utopia with an extended critique of anthropologist Michael Taussig's work on commodity fetish. In particular, Sanjinés argues that it is inherently problematic to translate Indigenous concepts into western concepts. Andean chronologies lack a linear framework, which complicates attempts to interpret them through a western lens. The interplay between the secular and supernatural is even more complicated, and Sanjinés argues that scholars have mistakenly identified the presence of syncretic patterns where indeed they did not exist.

The book's fourth and final chapter, a new one written for this English edition that did not appear in the original Spanish publication, addresses conflicts over the Bolivian government's development plans for the Indigenous Territories of Isiboro Sécore National Park (TIPNIS). The government designated the park as an Indigenous territory after a 1990 March for Territory and Dignity to La Paz. That protest march marked the advent of a new generation of Indigenous activism in Bolivia. The area once again became an arena of protest in 2011 after the government announced plans to build a highway through the territory.

According to Sanjinés, TIPNIS points to the need to interrogate the rationale of plurinationalism, especially when a plurinational state follows a developmentalist strategy that harms the very people that the new political system was designed to defend. Bolivia's 2009 constitution codifies the rights of Indigenous peoples to govern in their own territory, but the plurinational state has reintroduced a developmentalist logic that highlights a divide between those who hold power and the subaltern. The contradiction inherent in the emergence of neo-extractive economies under South America's progressive governments is one of the most important issues currently facing the Latin American left. In *Embers of the Past*, Sanjinés frames this divide as one between progress and decolonization. He claims that the purpose of this book is to raise but not resolve the tension between ethnicity and modernity. Nevertheless, in examining conflicts between progressive governments and the subalterns in whose interests they purport to rule, Sanjinés's rejection of modernity and alliance with the marginalized and voiceless emerges quite clearly.

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FABIÁN HERRERA LEÓN, PATRICIO HERRERA GONZÁLEZ (COORDS.): *América Latina y la Organización Internacional del Trabajo: redes, cooperación técnica e institucionalidad social, 1919-1950*, Morelia: Universidad Michoacana de San Nicolás de Hidalgo, 2013.

El libro reúne siete artículos que desde diferentes perspectivas analizan la actividad de la Organización Internacional del Trabajo-OIT en América Latina en las décadas de 1920 y 30. Para organizar las diversas contribuciones, el libro fue dividido en tres partes: 1. Corresponsales, redes y vínculos internacionales; 2. Misiones y asistencia técnica: una instancia de integración internacional; 3. Las conferencias regionales y sus efectos en el campo social.

Los ensayos, escritos por investigadores de diferentes países latinoamericanos y europeos, en realidad no respetan esta división: las temáticas, los personajes, los acontecimientos se repiten en muchos de ellos. La introducción de Magaly Rodríguez García es muy breve y no ofrece un cuadro general que pueda orientar el lector. La autora subraya cómo los trabajos reunidos en el libro representan una "expansión geográfica, temática y analítica dentro del estudio reciente de la OIT", ocupándose de un área geográfica hasta ahora descuidada a favor de la europea y dando espacio al estudio de la burocracia y de las redes intelectuales más que al estudio tradicional de las normas laborales y de los procedimientos legales. Esto es el mérito mayor del volumen, que sin embargo resulta fragmen-