

libro, que nos da otro ejemplo específico sobre las distinciones raciales y sociales en la historia del Perú.

En suma, estos cinco estudios, cada uno por separado pero sobre todo en conjunto, son indispensables para todo aquel que quiera profundizar sus conocimientos sobre el Perú, sobre todo en lo que toca a la evolución de la sociedad peruana hasta la creación de una ciudadanía peruana de todos sus habitantes, con sus dinámicas sociales e interraciales en el presente, y su relación directa con la interacción de los grupos sociales y raciales a través de las diferentes etapas históricas de este país.

**Viviana R. Moscovich**      **Investigadora Asociada, Universidad de Tel Aviv**

GILBERT JOSEPH AND JURGEN BUCHENAU, *Mexico's Once and Future Revolution: Social Upheaval and the Challenge of Rule since the Late Nineteenth Century*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2014.

This book, written by two accomplished historians of modern Mexico, is a useful and engaging synthesis of the country's modern political history. It is, in my experience, an effective book for undergraduate courses, presenting a useful periodization, good coverage of the most important topics, events, and actors, and an enticing bridge to further reading. Yet it is also more than a textbook. Its use of the historiography, for example, is up to date but also deliberate: not only guiding readers to key titles, but also proposing a map of the trends in current scholarship. Sidestepping the safe bet that textbooks tend to make, this volume has a clear focus (the revolution) and a bold thesis (the revolution's centrality in Mexican history as a way to negotiate hegemonic relations). Thus, the authors do not pretend to cover everything in Mexican history that needs to be taught in a course. Instead, they propose an interpretation that is astute in the deployment of examples, open-minded in the use of academic references, but also explicit in its embrace of one perspective on Mexican history. This book, in other words, can work very well as a platform for courses on Mexican history in which students actively engage history, memory, and the present.

The book argues that violent upheavals like the one started in 1910 generate negotiations between dominant and subaltern groups which open the possibility of dialogue and gains for groups that would otherwise remain excluded from politics. This results in a paradox: the revolution was an emancipatory movement, but also the key to the construction of a stable and exploitative class hegemony. The state appropriated the revolution to legitimize policies that in

fact contradicted its original impulses of democracy, agrarian reform and labor justice; it also shows how different social actors claimed the mantle of the revolution in order to fight that state. Although, by the time of its centennial, most of the gains of the revolution had been wiped out by a succession of neoliberal governments, the authors suggest that its symbolic legacy could become useful again. The authors do not look at the revolution as a myth, however, but as an instrument of sociopolitical relations and practices that can be molded according to the uses it is intended to serve.

Within this broad interpretation, the periods of Mexican history are defined in relation to the events begun in 1910. In the discussion of the liberal tradition and Porfirio Díaz's dictatorship, the authors propose that modernization inevitably translated into the oppression of the majority of the population. By equating the *República Restaurada* and late *Porfiriato*, this view departs from narratives of the liberal tradition since independence is a long, often failed, but remarkably enduring experiment to build a polis that would guarantee rights, justice and representation. The authors' focus on the causes of the revolution results in a periodization of the *Porfiriato* that leans toward the end, divided into an initial phase between 1876 and 1905, and an unraveling between 1905 and 1910.

The book is at its best in the treatment of the civil war and its aftermath, synthesized in a narrative that focuses on the main actors and their social meaning, but also suggests the diversity of forces at play. The two chapters about the 1910-1920 era offer a glimpse at the multiplicity of internal and external actors, settings, and outcomes of a movement whose internal logic (or chaos) took it well beyond the expected goal of its initial leaders. Given the diversity of meanings produced by the rebellion, it is not easy to characterize the rule of Plutarco Elías Calles and Álvaro Obregón. Many, particularly in the revisionist school, have seen them as neo Porfirians disguised as revolutionaries. This book presents a more nuanced image of the selective construction of a revolutionary legacy—one that embraced the ambiguities of the moment: a hard-fought agrarian reform, advances in the labor movement, an innovative and expansive educational project, the consolidation of a unified party, the need to reestablish partnerships abroad. Lázaro Cárdenas emerges as a pragmatic leader who wanted to consolidate the victories of the revolution, but was not afraid to summon mass mobilization in order to achieve those goals.

The chapter that follows Cardenismo encompasses almost three decades (1940-1968) that were short in terms of revolutionary advance. The authors describe the building of dictatorship (though not a perfect one) on the rhetorical foundation of the revolution, and on authoritarian practices that eventually lead to labor, agrarian and student movements repression, culminating in the 1968 massacre of Tlatelolco. The periodization, again, reflects the emphases of the exposition:

although the authors engage recent scholarship on the post-war period, there is little on the guerrilla movements, both before and after 1968, and very little on the conservative opposition to the regime, particularly since the late 1930s. Looking at both sides of political opposition, and at the personnel of the government itself, suggests that 1968 was not such a pivotal moment. The chapter on 1968-2000 synthesizes the reasons for the electoral defeat of the PRI in the latter year. The revolutionary torch, argue Joseph and Buchenau, was claimed in the 1990s by the Chiapas neo Zapatistas. There are several pages devoted to them, despite their insularity and limited political influence today—at the expense of other, less rhetorically attractive forms of resistance and violence that emerged since the 1980s, including organized crime. A useful contrast is Alexander Dawson's *First World Dreams: Mexico since 1989* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

Second-guessing the choices made in a work of synthesis is too easy. This book is valuable not because it pretends to offer a definitive or paradigmatic interpretation but because it is open to dialogue with other perspectives. In that regard, it is extremely useful and engaging—despite several errors about facts and vocabulary that can be easily corrected in the next printing.

**Pablo Piccato**

*Columbia University*

BEN FALLAW, *Religion and State Formation in Postrevolutionary Mexico*. Durham; London: Duke University Press, 2013.

Ben Fallaw's examination of the religious question and state formation in Mexico, from 1929 to 1940, persuasively demonstrates the success of Catholics in undermining much of the revolutionary project in the countryside. This ambitious work envelops four case studies, of the states of Campeche, Hidalgo, Guerrero, and Guanajuato, within its analysis. With meticulous care, the author traces links between municipal, state, and national politics, analyzing a variety of institutions and actors, demonstrating in diverse settings a range of successes by Catholic opponents of not only anti-clerical legislation, but also agrarian reform and federal schools with a socialist education project.

For many Catholics the revolutionary project was deeply threatening, not only to the possibilities for the church to carry out its religious mission, but also through an assault on private property as the basis for social organization and, crucially, a threat to families through secular schools that threatened to indoctrinate alien socialist ideas and even undermine sexual morality through sex education. The Cárdenas administration's partial accommodation to church