communism on the march. The proposed reforms would have granted the vote to illiterates, injected the State more forcefully into the economy, expropriated lands along federal highways, launched a program of agrarian reform, and, perhaps more unsettling, rowdy public rallies were held to support such reforms. Add to this the Cold War atmosphere, which reached a peak with the Cuban missile crisis in 1962, French and American ideas about revolutionary change, and the powder keg was lit. It took the stimulation of harsh repression to produce a truly armed opposition that launched its poorly executed urban attacks and the real but hopeless guerrilla campaign in the Araguaia.

It should not be lost sight of that the pre-coup plotting was a military-civilian affair. The rumors that murderous *favelados* in Rio would descend from their hillsides to attack the apartment houses of the wealthy spread successfully and defenses were readied. Lira Neto's *Castello: A marcha para a ditadura* (São Paulo: Editora Contexto, 2004) describes Castello Branco's pre-coup meetings and negotiations with businessmen and politicians. Brazil's ambiance was dripping with paranoia.

In this book, Chirio has made skillful use of a copious bibliography, research in the files of the defunct *Serviço Nacional de Informações,* the rich collection of personal archives in CPDOC at the Getúlio Vargas Foundation, archives at *Academia Militar das Agulhas Negras*, *Escola de Comando e Estado Maior do Exército*, the splendid archive of clippings in the offices of the *Jornal do Brasil*, French records at the *Quai d'Orsay*, online State Department documents, and conversations with a dozen or so retired Brazilian colonels and generals. This is a well prepared book based on careful research and considerable thought. It was worrisome that the Brazilian Minister of Education recently said that 1964 was not a coup and that the military regime was "a democratic regime by force," but maybe it is encouraging that he was summarily fired within days. Even so, that he could speak such foolishness underlines the importance of Maud Chirio's *Politics in Uniform.*

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MARK RICE, ***Making Machu Picchu: The Politics of Tourism in Twentieth-Century Peru***. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018.

The iconic archaeological site of Machu Picchu and tourism to the Cusco region provide clarifying lenses through which to understand the politics of twentieth-century nation-branding in Peru. The story of Hiram Bingham's 1911 "discovery" of the now-famous Incan citadel, long known to indigenous

Andeans, has been told before, but historian Mark Rice tracks the apocryphal narrative as it was utilized to draw the interest of both domestic and international travelers to the region. Ultimately, a tourism industry grew to rival others in the hemisphere, which in turn enhanced the nation's regard for its cultural heritage. Bingham's Yale expeditions first gained him wide acclaim among Peru's elite, though his management and subsequent removal of national heritage artefacts that would be housed for nearly a century in a Yale museum made him *persona non grata* for many years that followed. That he regained his former stature in Peru and was invited back as a celebrity after three decades is testament to the power that a strong narrative—that of the intrepid adventurer Bingham finding what Peruvians themselves had overlooked—can have when put in the service of bolstering the nation's image as well as its tourism.

Making Machu Picchu is divided into seven chapters, including an introduction, five substantive chronologically-ordered chapters spanning 1900 to 1996, and an epilogue bringing us up to the near present, when tourism has reached new heights in Peru, much of it still directed to Cusco and Machu Picchu. Rice's take on this broad period of the region's history is to argue that international visitors' enthusiasm for the mythologized Inca "lost city" spurred the nation to take a more serious approach to preserving and marketing its rich heritage. Eventually, Machu Picchu was the destination of an outsized number of elite and backpacker travelers, but this was not without controversy or vacillation. Indeed, the modernizing nation needed not only to accept but to embrace its indigenous past, while many Peruvians continued to view contemporary indigenous peoples as a distinct obstacle to modernization. The lure of tourism as a strategy for economic development and further modernization was sufficient to persuade elites and the *mestizo* class more generally to adopt the symbolism of Machu Picchu as emblematic of what it means to be Peruvian.

The 1930s and 1940s were a time of increasing travel to Peru, especially from the United States, as Peru's government awakened to the economic promise of supporting the development of tourism. By this time, infrastructure was put in place, including rail travel and lodging, sufficient to facilitate growing international tourism. Literature and film helped generate North American desires to see the Andes and become acquainted with Andean cultural traditions. Fledgling Latin American studies programs at schools and universities added to the appetite for travel. U.S. influence during that time also encouraged Peru's efforts to invest in promoting inter-American travel as part of its "Good Neighbor" policy. Following the Second World War, Peru prepared for a tourism boom to come, actively improving roads, building hotel capacity, hastening restoration of archaeological sites, planning celebrations of Incan winter solstice (Inti Raymi), and inaugurating a national tourism office. Nonetheless, while honoring the indigenous past,

it became apparent that Cusco's present-day indigenous communities' demands for social and political inclusion were generally going unheeded. Rice's work sets the auspicious course of tourism development against the more ambivalent mid-century political backdrop of social inequality and growing dissent.

Tracing the serious social disruption caused by a 1950 earthquake that struck Cusco, Rice shows how the recovery that followed disaster enabled structural change that supported higher levels of tourism and the political regime's turn toward the privatization of tourism initiatives. Air travel became more frequent by mid-century, producing heavier tourism traffic and the risk of significant damage to Machu Picchu; contentious debates emerged between preservationists and those keen to develop the industry at all costs, often reflecting the Cusco-Lima struggle over control of tourism in the region. By the 1960s, rural protests calling for land reform were advancing until a left-wing military coup in 1968 introduced agrarian reform and social change on a wide scale. Simultaneously, a new class of travelers came to Peru, "hippie" backpackers who benefited from the declining cost of jet travel and often sought out inexpensive lodging or camping, even on-site at Machu Picchu. Cusco's middle class was slow to accept such travelers, but in time they were welcomed as a vital source of development revenue. Indeed, when Peru entered a dark period of fear and violence brought about by the conflict waged between the insurgent Shining Path movement and the military from 1980 until the mid-1990s, such hardy countercultural travelers were among the few to make their way to the country. When tourism rebounded by the later nineties, cultural and environmental tourism were added to the enduring attractions of Cusco and Machu Picchu. The book's epilogue offers some closure by noting the 2011 centennial of Bingham's "discovery," when an agreement between Peru and Yale University led to the repatriation of materials illegally taken from the archaeological site a century before. Rice balances this attention to the successes of tourism by noting the continued protests of Peruvians concerned about the damaging effects of tourism development and its failure to more equitably redistribute the wealth it produces.

This all makes for engaging reading, full of fascinating detail on the vicissitudes of tourism and the political tensions playing out between the cities of Cusco and Lima. Rice's writing is crisp and uncluttered, in part because it presents its narrative fairly seamlessly, referencing notable newspaper and other sources, but rarely entering into conversation with other scholarly works consulted. The work might have benefited from more textual engagement with other scholars' writings, particularly those tracing the development of Machu Picchu and tourism in Peru. However, historians and cross-disciplinary readers wishing to know more about the wider discussions will find many useful leads in the book's ample endnotes.

All in all, *Making Machu Picchu* is a most welcome contribution to historical approaches to tourism development in Latin America. With its lively prose and marvelous detail, this book should be enjoyed by students, researchers, and a wider public, perhaps including many who have themselves undertaken journeys to the famed site that was newly "discovered" over a century ago.

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MARC BECKER, ***The FBI in Latin America: The Ecuador Files***. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2017.

In his fine new book, Marc Becker has turned his lifelong study of social movements in Ecuador to the task of explaining the presence of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in the 1940s. This is not an institutional history of the FBI, the Special Intelligence Service (SIS), or any other bureaucratic entity, which is not a criticism. Rather, the book is an in-depth assessment of the very active Ecuadorian Left, especially the Partido Comunista del Ecuador (PCE) during a period of extraordinary change, using the surveillance reports of the FBI and SIS as its key reportage. As Becker notes, "[t]his book interrogates the FBI documents not for what they reveal about the nature of US political intervention in Latin America but, rather, for what they divulge about leftist struggles for a more equitable and just world" (4).

The fact that the United States evinced any interest at all in Ecuador in the 1940s is surprising since it was "a country that never was the target of German espionage networks and lacked geopolitical or strategic significance" (3). Becker argues convincingly that the FBI agents sent to Ecuador under the SIS aegis "were outsiders to a reality that they did not fully comprehend" (19). Almost as a rule, FBI agents were not proficient in Spanish, nor were they regional specialists; they possessed very little historical context about the places to which they were sent in the region. Becker uses a trove of agent interviews from their later years to mine their understanding of the SIS project. One agent, Ronald Sundberg, recalled that upon being hired by the SIS and asked if he wanted to be sent to El Salvador, he replied "Fine—where is it?" (18). Becker concludes, scathingly, that "most [FBI agents] merely functioned as the eyes and ears of a larger project that they probably never understood" (23). He also rightly calls the agents out for their apparent blindness to gender, race, and class in their reporting, which tended to focus on elite non-indigenous men. Given the lack of preparation, the "agents randomly and uncritically compiled information with little thought to its ultimate value" (15).

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