

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).

This collection of information, seemingly random though it may be, nonetheless provides Becker with an intensely detailed competing narrative of the history of social movements in Ecuador, “a multifaceted perspective on grassroots efforts” (7). FBI files thus become the archives of leftist movements in Ecuador, which were, somewhat counterintuitively, unable to preserve their own histories. “Activists rarely had time to maintain records . . . failed to preserve copies of periodicals they published—nor did libraries collect such ephemeral material . . . [and] they destroyed papers rather than risk facing persecution from military regimes” (5). Thus, FBI reports deriving from infiltration and surveillance operations may be “the sole surviving documentation of internal PCE and labor union discussions” (6). The epistemological advance of this book has everything to do with the FBI files referenced in the title. The story told in this study is well known: from the rise of the Left to its apotheosis in the May 1944 “La Gloriosa” revolt against the government of Alberto Carlos Arroyo del Río. “That revolution, the creation of a leftist labor confederation, and the drafting of a new progressive constitution represented a high point of the political left’s strength in Ecuador” (127). The denouement is familiar as well in the self-coup of José María Velasco Ibarra in 1946, his defenestration by the military in 1947, and the hardening of Ecuadorian politics in the nascent Cold War. The novel element in Becker’s study is the granular detail that FBI agents provided in their reporting, precisely because those agents were preoccupied with the labor organizing of the Left and the political maneuvering of the PCE. Ironically, the reporting of the FBI agents is probably more useful for historians because the agents were uninformed and simply collected all they could find about everything that seemed connected to the Left.

Becker uses this rich source of historical evidence, combining it with his own deep knowledge of Ecuadorian social movements to develop new insights. For example, in Chapter three, readers learn how “the FBI dedicated more resources to the surveillance of labor leader Pedro Saad than any other communist in Ecuador” (96). The story of Saad and the FBI contains a fascinating exploration of the efforts of Vicente Lombardo Toledano, the Mexican labor organizer, to establish an affiliate of the Confederación de Trabajadores de América Latina (CTAL) in Ecuador, which included a visit to Guayaquil in 1942. The concerns of the U.S. were reflected in the reporting of FBI agents on the ground, who subsequently set up operations to surveil and infiltrate not only the National Labor Congress of 1943, but also the organizations in which leaders such as Saad worked. Among the important discoveries that Becker has made is that the U.S. was able to acquire highly sensitive internal discussions of the Partido Comunista del Ecuador (PCE) because “one of Saad’s confidants was a double agent who participated in PCE activities and reported the details of their private

meetings to the FBI” (120). This type of intrigue abounds in the book Becker has written and it allows readers to interrogate the motives of the United States in a less understood part of the Latin American political landscape.

During World War II, the United States engaged in parts of Latin America, through the SIS and the FBI, which had not previously experienced intense intelligence scrutiny, in an attempt to assess the threat of Axis operations. When nothing turned up, the agents on the ground turned to the other preoccupation of United States foreign policy in the region, notably the growth of labor and political organizations on the Left. The artifacts of that project, in the form of memoranda, agent interviews and finished intelligence reporting, form the wide base of primary sources on which Becker is able to build a compelling narrative of imperial overreach.

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JUAN PABLO SCARFI, *The Hidden History of International Law in the Americas: Empire and Legal Networks*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2017.

Hay una historia oculta en la práctica y el discurso del Derecho internacional en las Américas: esa que revela cómo los EE.UU. ejercieron un poder hegemónico sobre los países latinoamericanos al expandir sus valores jurídicos y políticos entre redes hemisféricas creadas durante el surgimiento y apogeo del panamericanismo. Para entender esa historia, Juan Pablo Scarfi nos propone como *terminus a quo* de su reflexión la visita de 1904 a América latina del secretario de estado Elihu Root, durante la cual éste promovió la imagen de los Estados Unidos como modelo de gobernabilidad, orden constitucional y progreso (p. 21) en la III Conferencia Panamericana de Río de Janeiro, así como entre los círculos políticos, jurídicos y empresariales de Puerto Rico, Panamá, Bogotá, Lima, Santiago, Montevideo y Buenos Aires. El *terminus ad quem* del fenómeno es la Séptima Conferencia Pan-americana o Conferencia de Montevideo de 1933, evento en el que los juristas y diplomáticos latinoamericanos rechazaron al panamericanismo liderado desde Washington, se opusieron al principio de intervención y crearon las bases sobre las que habría de fundarse el multilateralismo del sistema interamericano (p. 149).

El trabajo se concentra en las actividades del Instituto Americano de Derecho Internacional (AIIL por su sigla en inglés), cuyos miembros establecieron una red de sociedades de Derecho internacional en América Central, el Caribe y América del Sur para promover en todo el continente el enfoque estadounidense del Dere-

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