

essay, Chapter 8, hits home by showing what Indigenous peoples themselves had to say about their defeat and their displacement. She tells of the “sad stories” that the descendants of the survivors of the invasion tell each other; they are deeply tragic and harrowing tales. The last chapter, by Sarah D. Warren, looks at how Indigenous activists in Argentina (and, to a lesser extent, Chile) have incorporated their understanding of *Wallmapu*—the land of the Mapuche—into their understanding of ethnic geography. She analyzes a number of maps that these activists have created to show how the Mapuche nation-building projects go beyond those of the Chilean or Argentine nation-states.

Although some contributions are stronger than others, what a reader will get out of this collection of essays depends in large part upon their own disciplinary inclinations. Be that as it may, the collection coheres very well and a reader who knows little about this momentous event in Indigenous history will be able to orient themselves well. Scholars who are specialists on the topic will also learn much; the approach to the Conquest of the Desert from many different branches of learning is useful. The Argentine government’s and the military perspective are well represented and so is, as much as is possible, that of the Indigenous peoples. It is fortunate that the volume does not just discuss the invasion itself, but also deals with the aftermath and some of the consequences of the annexation of native lands and the imprisonment and dispersal of its peoples. When dealing with books on such significant events, it is always possible to wish that something else had been added; a separate chapter on the distribution of usurped lands and on the consequences of the taking of this vast land for large estates might have been useful. There is still much to be done, but this tome will serve as a point of reference for all those who seek to understand more.

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MAURICIO RUBILAR LUENGO & AGUSTIN SÁNCHEZ ANDRÉS (COORDS.), *Relaciones internacionales y construcción nacional: América Latina, 1810-1910*. Concepción: Universidad Católica de la Santísima Concepción, 2019.

The book edited by Rubilar Luengo and Sánchez Andrés is a rich, useful, and novel compilation of chapters dealing with the first century of independence of several Latin American countries, in terms of the evolution of the new nation-states (which were not yet consolidated nation-states, to say the least) and their emerging international relations. The editors refer to four major themes, which are interrelated. First, the impact that armed conflicts throughout the nineteenth

century, including several international wars, had on the construction of nation-states in the region. Second, the prevalence of territorial and border disputes, which has been a feature in the history of the Americas until the last part of the twentieth century, although it has infrequently escalated into a major war. Third, the framing of national imaginaries, the promotion of national norms and identity through public opinion and the impact of the press. Fourth and finally, the transition towards a new context of international relations in the Americas, with the hegemonic (and peaceful!) change from the United Kingdom to the United States by the turn of the twentieth century. Indeed, these are four seminal and crucial themes to make sense of the history, politics (both domestic and international), and society in the first hundred years of Latin American independent political history. The book stems from an international seminar that took place in Chile in 2014, and brought together historians and social scientists from Chile, Mexico, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela, Spain, and Israel. The added value we get from reading this compilation is the rich vignettes and particular illustrations that emphasize the impact of war and conflict on state formation and the promotion of distinct national identities in Latin America, alongside the importance of public opinion and the press in forging these national images and frameworks. While some of the authors in the volume seem to echo Charles Tilly's famous quote, "war made the state and the state made war," others seem to be more critical of that argument, along the lines of the thesis offered by Miguel Angel Centeno in his 2002 book *Blood and Debt: War and the Nation-State in Latin America*, according to which "Latin American states have regularly failed to establish their institutional autonomy; their scale and scope remain a part of daily political debate; and their legitimacy is often called into question" (p. 2). This inherent tension regarding the scope and limitations of the nation-state in Latin America is not further developed. Moreover, the link among the four major defining themes of the nineteenth century is not systematically assessed.

At the same time, one can gain further and detailed knowledge from reading the rich and multifaceted thirteen chapters, as well as very important insights, alongside the four thematic axes. For instance, we learn from Loreto Correa Vera that there was an important variance in the political-military performance of Chile vis-à-vis Peru and Bolivia in their nineteenth-century wars, due to their opposing domestic political trajectories and political economies. Víctor Peralta examines the Peruvian military's involvement in politics in the 1860s, against the background of the war against Spain. In the same vein, José Chaupis links the effects of the Peruvian defeat in the War of the Pacific to the subsequent military dictatorship. Finally, Claudio Tapia examines Ecuador's neutrality in that war, against the complexities of Ecuadorian domestic politics. A common pattern emerging from these four chapters is that of "linkage politics,"

the complex interrelations between domestic politics and foreign policies (as related to armed conflicts).

In the second part of the book, three chapters refer to the common theme of territorial disputes and border conflicts. Luis A. Escolano Giménez traces the historical evolution of the difficult relationship between the Dominican Republic and Haiti, which transcends a border dispute by incorporating demographic, sociological, and cultural cleavages. In an intriguing chapter, Miguel Ángel Urrego explains the lack of a coherent foreign policy in Colombia during the nineteenth century. This has been a result of its recurrent civil wars and lack of a clear territorial frame of reference, as designed by the political elites. This insight could be extended well into the twentieth century; Colombia has had an excellent record of international peace, alongside a tragic trajectory of civil wars. Finally, Cristián Garay presents a critical assessment of the limitations of *uti possidetis* as a norm that is supposed to limit the extent of territorial disputes. Here I should add that I disagree with this author as, in my own analysis, the norm of recognition of the former colonial borders has helped to mitigate border disputes in the region.

In the third section of the book, the focus moves from war and territorial disputes as shapers of national identities to the role of the (free?) press, as related to the public opinion. Four authors (Raúl Labra López for the period of 1810-1852 in Buenos Aires; Mauricio Rubilar Luengo and Lorena Retamal Ferrada regarding the Argentine press against Chile in 1879-1891; and Patricio Ibarra Cifuentes, in relation to the Chilean press in 1879-1884) vividly describe various examples, including jingoism and war-related caricatures, before and during the War of the Pacific. The reader gets a unique sense of the temporal context, and of how national identity is shaped, and distorted, by the powerful press, which has fulfilled an important role since then that continues until the present.

In the last and fourth section of the book, three chapters take us into the last part of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. Tomás Straka and Esther Mobilia recreate the Venezuelan crisis and the “gunboat diplomacy” of the emerging American hegemon, the United States, from 1870 to 1908. Similarly, in a sober and relevant chapter, Agustín Sánchez Andrés studies the limits of Mexican foreign policy, as stemming from calculations of geopolitics and considerations of *realpolitik*. Last but not least, Ori Preuss breaks away from the “state territorialism” and traditional inter-state relations, by depicting an emerging transnational cultural diplomacy that brings about regional cooperation and the involvement of non-state actors by the beginning of the twentieth century.

From reading all these chapters, one gets a sense of the relevance and continuity of some of these themes and explanations well into the twenty-first

century. For instance, the linkage between domestic and international politics; the manipulation of national identity frames by states and non-state actors; the asymmetrical power relations among the Latin American countries themselves, and between them and the United States; the persistence of territorial disputes (but the scarcity of international wars). With my bias toward international relations, I wish that these excellent historical case studies could be framed in more systematic ways, since the “Rashomon effect” that we get from reading this compilation is inferred and deduced, but not specifically addressed. Hence, it is evident that these four themes: the impact of wars in the construction of the nation-state; territorial disputes and border conflicts; national imaginaries; and international relations in general are all related to each other, but it would have helped if the editors had provided a general framework, and a conclusion offering insights and identifying patterns.

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IÑIGO GARCIA-BRYCE, *Haya de la Torre and the Pursuit of Power in Twentieth-Century Peru and Latin America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018.

Reconocido como uno de los movimientos políticos e ideológicos más singulares e influyentes de la historia latinoamericana del siglo XX, el aprismo peruano permaneció hasta tiempo reciente notablemente fuera del escrutinio de la investigación académica informada y rigurosa, salvo algunas excepciones remarcables. Esa curiosa situación comenzó a cambiar en las últimas dos décadas, cuando un conjunto diverso de indagaciones permitió renovar las miradas sobre la trayectoria del movimiento creado a mediados de la década de 1920 por Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre. Dentro de esta serie de trabajos se ubica el libro publicado por Iñigo García-Bryce, que ofrece una enjundiosa reconstrucción de la historia política del APRA, ubicada como una de las primeras y más vigorosas expresiones de la tradición populista latinoamericana. Para ese cometido, el autor propone una aproximación centrada en un abordaje biográfico de la figura de Haya, indiscutido líder del aprismo hasta su muerte en 1979.

Pero este libro no ofrece una biografía convencional. A partir de una exhaustiva pesquisa en una amplia gama de fuentes—que incluye documentos oficiales y diplomáticos, archivos personales e institucionales, y libros y folletos recolectados en numerosos países—, García-Bryce acomete el itinerario de Haya en una indagación que no lo distingue de la trayectoria de la criatura política que prohió. El libro es así una historia de dos personajes superpuestos,