

Finalmente, Barja dedica la última parte de su libro a los chilenos Cecilia Vicuña y Nicanor Parra. Se entiende la presencia de Parra y su “anarquismo anti mesiánico”; Vicuña se entiende también en la medida en que su libro *Sabor a mí* (1973), inspirado por el proyecto revolucionario de Salvador Allende, se enfrentó a la realidad terrible del golpe de estado de 1973. Lo que cuesta entender, sin embargo, es la ausencia de Enrique Lihn en este capítulo; el autor de libros como *Poesía de paso* (1966) y *Escrito en Cuba* (1969) podría haber ilustrado de manera inmejorable el ocaso del tiempo de promesa.

En suma, este es un libro ambicioso y necesario sobre un tema que siempre será controvertido, especialmente ahora cuando parece ser que vivimos el tiempo de mayor incumplimiento revolucionario del que quizás tengamos memoria.

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MARGARET POWER. *Solidarity Across the Americas: The Puerto Rican Nationalist Party and Anti-imperialism*. University of North Carolina Press, 2023.

*Solidarity Across the Americas* describes “transnational expressions of anti-imperialist solidarity” with Puerto Rican independence and the archipelago’s Nationalist Party in the United States, Latin America, and the Caribbean. The work is based on extensive archival research in Chile, Peru, Mexico, and Puerto Rico, but mostly relies on sources found in the nation under study and the United States. More than an argument-driven work, *Solidarity Across the Americas* surveys the platforms and priorities of Puerto Rico’s Nationalist Party, highlighting the non-insular nature of Hispanic Caribbean radicalisms.

Though *Solidarity Across the Americas* primarily focuses on the period between the 1920s and the 1950s, its contents actually span from the late eighteenth century through the mid-1950s, after Puerto Rico acquired its current Estado Libre Asociado (Associated Free State/Commonwealth) status. The first chapter explores the origins of conceptions of nation in the archipelago, including a sharp summary of the historiography of Puerto Rican nationalism. Particularly, the author focuses on the periodization debate regarding the emergence of *puertorriqueño/a* and the related *borinqueño/a* as identifiers, which she connects to mobilizations pertaining to national independence and Caribbean sovereignty. Chapter 1 concludes with an account of the aftermath of the Spanish-American War and a discussion of Puerto Rican nationalists’ embracement of *Hispanismo*, which the author attributes to their connections to anti-imperialist networks that opposed US influence on Latin America. Chapter

2 summarizes the early decades of US-American control over Puerto Rico and how the imperialist policies that were imposed on the archipelago enhanced socioeconomic inequalities and undermined Spanish political traditions. Its focus on nationalism is minimal, but it highlights the influence of pro-independence sectors on organized labor and political education that would pave the way for the founding of the Nationalist Party.

*Solidarity Across the Americas* contests portrayals of the Nationalist Party as a predominantly masculine collective, attempting to decentralize the figure of Pedro Albizu Campos as an ideological and organizational leader and highlighting the militancy of women within its ranks. This contributes to the organization and rationale of Chapter 3, which opens with the story of nationalist leader Blanca Canales. The author then assesses the evolution of the Nationalist Party's platforms by comparing Albizu Campos's ideologies with those of José Coll y Cuchí, the first president of the collective. Coll y Cuchí and Albizu Campos shared a conception of race that emphasized European heritage, connecting Puerto Rico to conceptions of Ibero or Hispano America. Though anti-Black prejudice was present in both of their beliefs, they contributed to a conception of a single Puerto Rican race that was regularly employed to distinguish the archipelago from the United States and rationalize independence. This analysis ironically ends up contributing to the "great men history" approach that the book seeks to oppose. Chapter 3 concludes with the first case study of transnational solidarity for the Nationalist Party by centering the allyship of José Vasconcelos, a Mexican educator and government official. The author, however, admits that Puerto Rico did not figure prominently in his criticisms of US empire during the 1927 Congress Against Colonial Oppression and Imperialism.

Incongruities between detailed analyses of a component of Puerto Rican nationalism and bold statements regarding international solidarity based on generalizations are central to the narrative of *Solidarity Across the Americas*. Chapter 4 explores how Pedro Albizu Campos traveled the circum-Caribbean over the course of three years, focusing on how his journeys influenced his vision for inserting Puerto Rico in a broader regional framework and his criticisms of US-American imperialism. The occurrences and outcomes of each stop are discussed in detail, particularly in relation to future political collaborations that organizations in each country would have with the Nationalist Party. The issues that prevented the trip from having the geographic scope that was initially intended are not covered, again emphasizing the figure of Albizu Campos over factors that affected resistance overall.

Chapter 5 covers the radicalization of the Nationalist Party in the 1930s and other elements related to the impact of the Great Depression in Puerto Rico, arguing that the period encapsulates key dimensions of dynamics between the

Party and US officials. This section does not focus on transnational activism but mentions instances of international calls for the liberation of Nationalist political prisoners. It includes criticisms against established arguments regarding Puerto Rican nationalists' potential sympathies for European fascism and notes the push for collaboration with the ideologically opposite Communist Party. This shows an ideological bent within the narrative by undermining the conservative elements of the Nationalist Party's platform and actions to situate it within an approach to national liberation that favors the organized Left. This chapter succeeds, however, in highlighting the participation of women who demanded inclusion in nationalist initiatives. Though the author acknowledges the gendered character of the tasks that were assigned to the *Enfermeras de la República* [Nurses of the Republic], there is evidence for their instrumental role in training activists, fundraising, and visible participation in political events.

The sixth chapter returns to non-Puerto Rican case studies to spotlight Latin Americans who denounced colonialism within the context of the Good Neighbor Policy, arguing that political leaders saw the archipelago as a Latin American space that exposed the hypocrisy of US claims of non-interference. The main components that the author weaves to build a case of transnational solidarity are individual collaborations with nationalists and organizational statements rejecting US imperialism, supporting the Party, and calling for the liberation of Puerto Rican political prisoners. But the geographic scope of this solidarity did not seem to affect US plans for Puerto Rico, as *Solidarity Across the Americas* still frames the rationale for changes in the colonial system within the established framework of WWII geopolitics and notes that there was support for the US-imposed draft among nationalist ranks. Chapter 7 focuses on US-American efforts to support Puerto Rican independence, focusing on organizing within the context of New York City in the 1930s and 1940s. The author notes Pedro Albizu Campos's collaboration with the Harlem Ashram, shedding light on intersections between Puerto Rican nationalism, Black freedom campaigns, and other anti-colonial movements. The work highlights the commonalities among political organizations and factors that drew US-American solidarity, but does not address how colonial projects that improved quality of life in Puerto Rico affected the Nationalist Party's membership patterns in relation to activism in the metropole.

Like other recent publications about Puerto Rican history, *Solidarity Across the Americas* tends to over-generalize factors that shaped change over time in the archipelago and its diaspora. The last two chapters discuss the late 1940s and the 1950s, relying on a traditional political-economic narrative regarding the rise of the Estado Libre Asociado amid a weakened Nationalist Party that staged radical actions and dealt with their consequences. This analysis is prone

to blaming the failures of the Puerto Rican independence movement primarily on repression coming from government authorities. The explanation of organizing against the death penalty sentence for nationalist militant Oscar Collazo in Chapter 9 verges on triumphalism when the author notes celebrations upon his sentence being commuted to life in prison. Rather than evaluating the multiplicity of attitudes for and against the nationalist cause and whether the strategies of the Nationalist Party and its Pan-American allies had the potential to be effective against US control over Puerto Rico, success was reduced to the extended incarceration of a militant. This perspective, which stresses legal victories and other initiatives outside targeted efforts in favor of independence, contributes to the existing scholarly consensus and activist mythology regarding the supposed nobility and wit of pro-independence actions in the Puerto Rican context.

Whether *Solidarity Across the Americas* adds a new perspective to studies about the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party is debatable. While non-specialists may be surprised by the work's discussions of nationalist sympathies and collaborations outside Puerto Rican communities, these aspects have been covered in existing scholarship and are part of activist memories. Whether that advocacy altered the prospects for national sovereignty or was part of a unified movement for the archipelago's independence remains difficult to gauge. But most significantly, the transnational conceptual framework that *Solidarity Across the Americas* is based on does not serve as the narrative's guiding thread. The notion that there were "transnational" solidarities alludes to networks that fed off of one another and to ongoing discussions on the cause of Puerto Rican independence and nationalism specifically. How those calls for Puerto Rican independence evolved, if at all, and the extent to which international organizers informed Puerto Rican campaigns are less central to the work's narrative.

*Solidarity Across the Americas* is a survey of Puerto Rican nationalist organizing and its intersections with US-American and Latin American anti-imperialist discourses before the start of the Nueva Lucha por la Independencia (New Struggle for Independence) in 1959. But its triumphalist narrative does not significantly challenge existing scholarship on the topic or address the impact of the collaborations that are so carefully traced and evidenced throughout.

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