

holding the U.S. Navy accountable to U.S. and Cuban standards” (page 74). They lobbied the U.S. and Cuban governments, and in Salomón’s case they were successful in that no Cuban was detained without trial after the scandal, despite the fact that theft was extremely common. The remainder of chapter two traces the paradox whereby anti-communist Cuban leaders (including Eusebio Mujal and Fulgencio Batista) and American Federation of Labor Cold Warriors helped the base workers to establish the first-ever union on a U.S. navy base. Base authorities consistently applied Cuban labor laws when they benefitted the base more than American ones, and vice-versa. Some readers may be surprised to learn how progressive the Cuban laws were—a product of the 1933 Revolution that Fulgencio Batista participated in as a sergeant. Lipman gently contradicts her interviewees who downplayed the importance of this union, insisting that the union should be recognized as a nationalist tool that workers used to their advantage in the Cold War context.

Chapter three offers a glimpse of the intersections of gender, race, class, and nationality through a series of interesting episodes that include a black maid being invited to listen to Elvis with her white U.S. mistress, and British West Indians letting black U.S. soldiers have parties in their society hall because elite Cubans did not want black U.S. soldiers to dance with their daughters at USO balls. We also learn that supporters of Fidel Castro’s 26<sup>th</sup> of July movement pilfered supplies, gasoline, and money from the base.

The last chapters trace the decline of “good neighborly behavior” after 1959. The relationship took a turn for the worse after the Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961 and the Missile Crisis in 1962, but surprisingly, the bulk of Cuban workers were not laid off until a minor incident in 1964—the Miami arrest of a few Cuban fishermen—prompted Fidel Castro to cut off GTMO’s water supply. In response, U.S. officials hired U.S. contracting companies to build a water treatment plant and recruit new workers from Jamaica and the Philippines, a *modus operandi* that continues to this day. A very well researched and nicely crafted study, *Guantánamo* should find a wide audience of specialists and non-specialists alike.

**Gillian McGillivray**

*Glendon College, York University, Toronto*

MARK GOODALE: *Dilemmas of Modernity: Bolivian Encounters with Law and Liberalism*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009.

Mark Goodale’s work is a provocative ethnography of law and liberalism in contemporary Bolivia. The author presents a robust analysis of law as a culmination of intersecting discourses and practices about individual rights. Goodale’s

ethnography contributes to legal anthropology by moving such conversations of “legality” beyond the formal spaces of governance and into the often private and intimate places of everyday life. However, while he rightly points toward the law as critical to understanding social and political life in Bolivia, his discourse of liberal universalism proves at times reductionist and without sufficient ethnographic and political-economic substance to bolster his argument, especially when he concludes with a “liberal legality” framework for understanding the mass mobilizations that brought President Evo Morales to power. Far more complicated processes of historical reclamation, ethnic/indigenous revitalization, collective imagining, food sovereignty, and resource redistribution are at play in contemporary Bolivia.

Chapters 1 and 2, in broad strokes, map Goodale’s approach to law: to study law is to understand the “social force of ideas,” how social actors encounter and constitute ideas as part of a broader form of social practice. Chapter 3 takes us to a specific location of his research, the highland town of Sacaca, in Northern Potosí. Goodale outlines Sacaca’s legal structures by sketching connections between legal actors, practices, and relations.

Chapter 4 discusses gender and the law as competing narratives, and includes a treatment of “gender complementarity”—a peculiarly Andean sex/gender system, based upon a principle of complementary gendered roles—in opposition to a particularly violent and unequal gendered reality in rural communities. Yet, Goodale pays very little attention to broader global/political economic forces affecting displacement, land tenure, and new forms of gendered inequality. Gender cannot be understood as separate and severed from other patterned forms of inequality, such as race, ethnic identity, and class—all of which are deeply embedded in a broader system of unequal access to material goods in Bolivia. All of this merits analysis. In this chapter, Goodale also asks how women can be both beaten down and vigorous legal actors. This kind of question cannot simply be reduced to Bolivian encounters with liberalism and the law.

Chapter 5 examines the neoliberal period as an extension of liberalism. New liberal legal discourses of human rights illustrate the interconnections between law, renewed liberalism, and modernity. Goodale states, “The coming of human rights was an intrusive inconvenience, one that had the effect of reproducing categories of law that already existed within a different framework” (141).

Chapter 6 ends his discussion with an examination of development and its discontents. “The story of development,” he tells us, “is a quintessentially transnational one—a story of the circulation of values within one of the most emblematic of contemporary moral economies” (146). Goodale argues that liberalism’s promises (via transnational development) have provided a means

through which people “plunge into the waters of an alternative moral universe” (153).

The conclusion examines the “revolution” underway in contemporary Bolivia. Goodale looks at the election of Evo Morales, who, on December 18, 2005, became the first indigenous president in the history of the Americas. He argues that “the rise of Morales must be seen as a part of a broader shift in Bolivia’s modern trajectory, in which the nation’s historically disenfranchised... appropriated dominant national discourses in order to claim their patrimony—not a patrimony of land, control over resources, or political participation, but a patrimony of personhood” (171).

Goodale contends that Morales’s election can be based on the analysis of liberal legality that he offered in preceding chapters. While this might be a new take on the contemporary political turn in Bolivia, he overlooks some other, very significant factors. The effects of 30-plus years of neoliberalism, which Goodale never discussed in his analysis—the privatization of national industries, the slashing of services, and the subsequent displacement and uprootedness—created new kinds of social movements, possibly functioning outside of the law, that focused on reclaiming collective rights to land and territory. From the coca grower struggles in the East to the gas wars in the West, distinct groups of people came together to stand against U.S. imperialism and extractive industries, and to rethink and reimagine Bolivian sovereignty. This is not about individual rights, but rather about new forms of collective identity in the contemporary period. Whether these utopian projects have mapped out into coherent national policies is another question entirely. But it is simply not enough to end with a “patrimony of personhood” argument.

Despite its many limitations and Goodale’s failure to illustrate the far more complicated processes of economic shift and displacement occurring in contemporary Bolivia, the text merits reading and critical debate. Legal anthropology scholars and students familiar with the region will find the book interesting. For teaching, the length is quite appropriate and the illustrations will engage students. As a gateway to understanding contemporary political and economic struggles in Bolivia, however, the book has little to offer to more robust discussions of historical inequality, resource politics, and cultural frames of mobilizing.

**Nicole Fabricant**

*Towson University*