

The author has wisely selected autonomy as the book's central theme, and does a superior job of placing this concept in the framework of current ideas regarding peasant society and ethnicity. There is a keen analysis of autonomy, but it is highly dependent upon previous scholarship, especially relying on the definitive work of Héctor Díaz-Polanco. The book is at its strongest when Mattiace utilizes informants' voices to explain key concepts. However, the reader would have preferred to hear more of these voices throughout the text. The author provides extensive contextual notes, which often contain gems of important information. Although it is a stylistic matter, this reader would have preferred to have such material integrated into the text itself. Mattiace indicates in the preface that Antonio Gramsci, whose work has had a major impact on how scholars understand the *Zapatistas* as well as contemporary Latin American social movements in general, exerted a strong influence on the book's inception. A deeper exploration of Gramscian themes, especially the issues of cultural hegemony and the distinctions between "war of movement" and "war of position," would have enhanced the author's already strong integration of anthropology and political science and afforded us a clearer view of the "power of meaning." Finally, the author largely avoids the important issue of how and why autonomy is not an acceptable proposition for Mexico's neo-liberal state. This is a crucial theme for any understanding of *Zapatismo*, and one that merits more than a passing reference in any discussion of autonomy.

Mattiace's work raises crucial and difficult questions concerning the future of the *Zapatistas*. The author states: "Many complex and difficult questions have emerged: Is electoral democracy incompatible with Indian tradition? Will the recognition of Indian 'traditions and customs' further democracy in Mexico? Can two legal systems coexist?" (p. 129). *To See with Two Eyes* offers a sound foundation upon which scholars can base a discussion of these issues as the *Zapatistas* move into their second decade of open rebellion.

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TEMMA KAPLAN: *Taking Back the Streets: Women, Youth, and Direct Democracy*. University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 2003.

People who dare to stand up against authoritarian regimes make a very exciting topic for research. Their courageous and often creative struggle rarely leaves one indifferent. Very often it is obvious that the investigator himself not only admires his subjects of research, but also sees his own work of recording their

actions as contributing to their struggle. *Taking Back the Streets* is an especially clear example of such a case. Temma Kaplan openly declares herself to be a scholar-activist who is publicizing the story of her subjects in accordance with their wishes. Her book is a very personal account in which she includes her own feelings and reactions as well as her open admiration for the people who opposed the authoritarian regimes of Spain, Chile and Argentina.

At the heart of Kaplan's book we find the mobilization of women and young people. Their struggle, according to the author, demonstrates that the political process is not limited to the highest political echelons and that societies can protect themselves by mobilizing in the streets, not only against government abuses but also against state terrorism.

Three of the cases Kaplan discusses serve her particularly well to show how demonstrators can transform the streets and plazas into what she calls "liberated territory" where they can express their own ideas about democracy and justice by calling individuals and even whole social systems to account. The first of these cases is *Mujeres por la Vida*, a group of seventeen women who coordinated some of the major women's groups opposing the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet in the 1980s in Chile. Kaplan focuses on their dual struggle for democracy and women's right. She shows how they used the language of motherhood and discusses the creative ways they found to protest. This included walking with mock ballot boxes, claiming that in the absence of democratic institutions women planned to turn the streets into voting centers and hanging silhouettes inscribed with thumbnail biographies of those who had disappeared. They thus forcing the police, who violently removed them, to perform publicly what they had been doing in secret for fifteen years. Kaplan attributes importance to the democratizing effects of employing direct action by emphasizing the process by which these protests transformed ordinary Chilean women from fearful housewives to militant combatants against violence in the country and in the home.

Kaplan identifies a similar process in the case of the *Madres de Plaza de Mayo* in Argentina, who progressed from a personal search for their own children kidnapped by the Junta to a collective campaign against the whole authoritarian and later capitalist system in the name of all the children that had disappeared. But this is not the only similarity she finds between these two women's initiatives: she also shows their strategic use of motherhood and how they played on the contradiction between their society's sentimentalized view of mothers and the interests of the governing *Junta*. She claims that the cultural power of mothers to establish morality and thereby shame the *Junta* was the only power the *Madres* had, and they attempted to use it wherever they could. Again, as in the case of *Mujeres por la Vida*, she claims that their chief tactic was the use of street mobilizations, namely their weekly procession in the plaza with photos

of their children, public protests like that held at the World Cup in June, 1978, processions with masks or white kerchiefs, etc. She sees in these actions a mixture of spectacle and shaming ritual designed to publicize what happened and how it was covered up.

In her discussion of direct action, Kaplan gives special attention to shaming rituals as a means of undermining the legitimacy of the authorities. She claims that "Feeling humiliated, being made ashamed, and shaming one's opponents are largely unrecognized as attempts to establish the authority of one's views." (P.7) The story of the *Hijos* (the children of the disappeared and detained) and the shaming rituals they initiated probably present the sharpest example for Kaplan's argument about the importance of street mobilizations and their power in modern society. These public activities, called *Escraches* in Argentina and *Funas* in Chile, were designed to shame those to whom the governments had granted pardons. They aimed to make these people visible so that everyone around them would know who they were and what they had done. This was effected by gathering outside their houses or workplaces and using images, sounds and symbols to represent what they had done. Kaplan states that using the weapons of direct democracy and largely depending on shaming rather than on punishing those thought to be guilty of heinous crimes showed that the people who took part in these public events also wished to initiate a debate regarding the broader politics of their countries.

In her book Kaplan manages to show how gender and generational identities were strategically used to confront authoritarian regimes and how they contributed to the demonstrators' cultural repertoire and shaped their political performances. Kaplan emphasizes that these groups used their bodies in different direct actions designed to display their own images of the truth and presented their arguments for democracy and justice in spectacular acts aimed to impress the cameras. The growing power of television made the images of protest especially important in these situations.

However, one is left with the feeling that what holds the book together is more the passion displayed by the author than an ordered and systematic discussion based on the necessities of the narrative. A more coherent style of writing together with a more disciplined theoretical discussion would have presented the writer's case more convincingly. The decision to include the Spanish case is perhaps the best example of the emotional character of the writing. Spain in the seventies was very different from Chile under Pinochet or Argentina under the military *Junta*. The differences not only stemmed from the longevity of the Franco dictatorship, the social changes Spain went through and the nature of the process of transition, but from the characteristics of the opposition in general and the women's opposition in particular. Kaplan herself admits that in Spain

women never separated themselves from the general opposition and it emerges from the examples she cites in the book that their whole style of protest was completely different. Moreover the discussion of the Spanish case is based more on the personal experience of the author than on a thorough research process. As I have already indicated, the Spanish case is so different that it cannot support the general arguments of the book. Less emotion and more rigid analysis would have made this book essential reading about social movements and direct action.

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FEDERICO FINCHELSTEIN: *Fascismo, liturgia e imaginario: El mito del general Uriburu y la Argentina nacionalista*. Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2002.

Argentina's prominent radical rightists, or Nationalists, have attracted considerable scholarly attention. Most of the studies of this political movement analyze the writings of a handful of male intellectuals who figured among its leaders. Only a few researchers have examined the beliefs and practices of the majority of Nationalist men and women, and Federico Finchelstein has joined them. His work also marks a new and welcome direction in the historiography of Nationalism. Stanley Payne, Emilio Gentile, George Mosse and many other experts on fascism have pointed to its emphasis on myths, ceremonies and symbols, but Argentinists have not followed their lead. Ronald Dolkart alluded to the "myth of September" that Nationalists created to celebrate the revolution of 1930 and General José F. Uriburu's place in this myth. Cristián Buchrucker also referred briefly to the myth that sprang up around this leader, who died shortly after leaving office in 1932. Taking up this topic and adding the perspective of historical memory, Finchelstein is the first to explore at length how Argentine Nationalists employed myth and ritual.

Although Uriburu did not easily fit the image of a strong charismatic leader, his Nationalist admirers regarded him as such. No doubt the fact that he was no longer alive made it easier for them to do so. Those loyal to Uriburu and his ideals shared his manly traits by association. Thus the cult of Uriburu helped spark community among Nationalists, which they saw as one of virile men.

One way of expressing their masculinity was through violence. By shouting "Long Live Uriburu" while attacking their opponents in the streets, Nationalists tied themselves to his mythic heroism. Fabricated by a Nationalist writer, the imaginary pest killer "Uriburol" would clean the country of the Marxists, Radicals, Jews and other infestations. Nationalists extolled their comrades who