

Brasil e Argentina fizeram uso alargado de uma iconografia de Estado, expressa em mapas, museus, telas e fotografias. Também é claro como esses suportes foram devidamente agenciados e manipulados pelas elites locais. Agora é hora de pensar em quem consumiu e como consumiu essa nova e avassaladora visualidade. Um bom livro é o que se abre para muitos outros e *The Optic of the State* veio mesmo para ficar, e fazer pensar.

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GERALD HORNE: *Cold War in a Hot Zone: The United States Confronts Labor and Independence Struggles in the British West Indies*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2007.

Gerald Horne has written a book dedicated to the exploration of radical politics in the British West Indian colonies in the immediate aftermath of World War II and seeks to illustrate the reasons for the failure of radical elements and groups within the Caribbean Labor Congress to acquire greater influence over the political evolution of the region. It is an ambitious agenda that allows Horne to illustrate the rise of British West Indian-African American solidarities and activism in the challenge to the politics of white supremacy (segregation) in America and colonialism (in the British West Indies). The book also explores some of the tensions in the Anglo-American relationship in response to the West Indian challenge in the context of the emerging Cold War and the ways in which Cold War policies would lead Britain and the United States to constrain the emergence and evolution of West Indian nationalism after 1945. His use of archival and other sources from the West Indies, Britain, and the United States provides a range of insights into the period that complements previous work done by other scholars who have mined this period of West Indian history.

Horne's major contribution is his discussion of the rise of successive generations of entrepreneurial labor leaders in several West Indian colonies from the 1930s to the 1950s – Tubal Uriah Butler and Albert Gomes in Trinidad; Eric Gairy in Grenada; Vere Bird in Antigua; Richard Hart, Norman Manley, and Alexander Bustamante in Jamaica; Cheddi Jagan in British Guiana; Robert Bradshaw in St. Kitts-Nevis; and Grantley Adams in Barbados – whose challenges to British colonial policy helped to speed the pace of change in the region. Horne's sympathies are clearly with the radical (read Marxist-influenced) elements in these movements and perceives them as the "true" progressives in the region who became victims of the Anglo-American deployment of anti-communist rhetoric and policy to prevent the radicalization of the region – given its geo-

strategic importance to American foreign policy. Horne laments the failure of these radicals to become ascendant in the West Indian nationalist movement, as he explores the ways in which they were outmaneuvered by the conservative and social democratic factions in the Caribbean Labor Congress and in the individual colonies.

The attention given to the role of Richard Hart, the Jamaican lawyer who played a critical role in helping to build a regional labor movement, helps to illustrate the enormous challenges that confronted the struggle of West Indian nationalists and labor leaders for improvement in the conditions of material life for the majorities of color in these early British colonies. Horne captures the rising discontent among West Indian laborers and their leaders at the failure of the British government to move towards resolving the problems posed by the intellectually bankrupt planter elites in these colonies – a problem that had been made evident by widespread unrest in the mid- to late 1930s. It was during this period that the realignment of West Indian political sensibilities that would fuel the post-1945 nationalist struggle emerged, and Horne provides some suggestive insights into ways in which the West Indian diaspora in North America becomes a factor in helping to forge political alliances with African-American activists in challenging both colonialism and segregation.

However, Horne's analysis of the postwar period would have been better grounded by greater attention to the unrest of the 1930s in the West Indies that had led to the creation of the Royal Commission which undertook an extensive and in-depth investigation of conditions in the region in the late 1930s. The Royal Commission report in 1940 was suppressed during the war for fear that it would provide the Axis powers with propaganda. After 1945, overwhelmed by the costs and consequences of the 1939-1945 war, British policymakers faced the daunting task of restoring British economic health, and the resources of the West Indies became a vital component of British postwar economic reconstruction. As a consequence, the idea of colonial economic reform advanced by the Royal Commission Report in 1940 languished at both the level of London and in the West Indian territories.

The British flirtation with bankruptcy after 1945 thus played a critical role in shaping the context of postwar West Indian life and created a British dependence upon American goodwill. In the 1930s, Britain was still a relatively independent imperial power which could use the imperial connection to maintain its autonomy from the United States. After 1945, Britain was rarely able to enjoy that luxury and the West Indian colonies were caught in the increasingly tight Anglo-American embrace of containment of the Soviet Union and the efforts to subvert the challenge from non-European nationalists. For the radical left in the West Indies, the failure to understand the implications of Britain's vulnerabilities

and its dependence upon the United States opened the path for the marginalization of these activists – an outcome that is a source of discomfiture for Horne.

Unfortunately for the radical left in the Caribbean, from the 1940s through the collapse of the Grenadian New Jewel Movement government in 1983, the romantic streak that has defined its trajectory has often led it to discount the impact of the international context and the policies of the major powers upon these open, dependent, and politically vulnerable societies. It was a myopia that has proven costly because West Indian radicalism has often fallen victim to the failure to address the context of West Indian life. Horne's depiction of the difficulties that confronted Richard Hart, Cheddi Jagan, and other radicals illustrates the inability of these activists to build durable political alliances with other groups within their own societies and across the region. As Fidel Castro has shown over the decades since 1959, the romance of radicalism must be married to a calculus of realism for there to be a possibility of state intervention to accelerate social transformation in the Caribbean. Gerald Horne has provided very useful insights into why other radicals have failed to do the same in the West Indies.

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JORGE RODRÍGUEZ BERUFF: *Strategy as Politics. Puerto Rico on the Eve of the Second World War*. San Juan: La Editorial-Universidad de Puerto Rico, 2007.

“Puerto Rico is to be a formidable fortress, a clenched fist ready to repel foreign intruders in the Caribbean”, escribió en 1940 el entonces joven historiador Arturo Morales Carrión. La imagen sugerida respondía cabalmente a lo que estaba ocurriendo en la isla borinqueña: la intensa preparación militar en *la primera línea de defensa* de los Estados Unidos. Este es el tema del libro, que ofrece un interesante análisis de ese proceso, poniendo a la guerra y al imperativo norteamericano de convertir a Puerto Rico en el baluarte defensivo del área en el centro de su atención. El principal argumento es que, para alcanzar dicho objetivo, Estados Unidos requería urgentemente de una transformación política en la isla que asegurara la estabilidad y la colaboración.

El estudio cubre el período que va de los últimos meses de gobierno de Blanton Winship al triunfo del Partido Popular Democrático en las elecciones de 1940. A lo largo de ocho capítulos se despliegan tres años de grandes cambios en la política norteamericana hacia Puerto Rico y en Puerto Rico mismo, especialmente durante el gobierno del almirante William D. Leahy. Época de redefinición en la política interna portorriqueña como en las relaciones con Estados Unidos, ésta es, por lo tanto, y en varios sentidos, un parteaguas en la