

for “culture”—film, music, painting, soccer. There is an agenda waiting to fill future tomes.

The final section, “Comparative Perspectives” is “comparative” only to the extent that the articles talk about Jewries in other parts of the world; none of them engages Latin America *from the viewpoint* of Jews elsewhere, or vice versa: How does North American Jewry during the Holocaust, the topic of one essay, compare with Latin American Jewry at the same time? What about anti-Semitism in contemporary France vis-à-vis Argentina? There is a stuck-on quality that belies the desire to use Latin America as the “epitome” of Jewish life in our multi-all things era.

Identities in an Era of Globalization and Multiculturalism: Latin America in the Jewish World should be seen as an auspicious beginning: a willingness to include Latin America in the Jewish world; a comprehension that Latin American studies has something to say to *Klal Yisrael* and “contemporary Jewry”; an awareness that novel paradigms require the breaking down of outmoded schemes.

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JULIO CARRIÓN (ed.): *The Fujimori Legacy: The Rise of Electoral Authoritarianism in Peru*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006.

The Fujimori Legacy is not only an important contribution to our understanding of Peruvian politics and the lessons of the Fujimori era, but it also provides insights into shared challenges facing transitional democracies. This collection of essays examines the factors that enabled the emergence and durability of Fujimori’s neopopulist and authoritarian presidency, as well as the ultimate causes of his abrupt fall from power. The contributors provide a diverse set of viewpoints from which to view the Fujimori decade. The combination of these perspectives results in a nuanced analysis of a regime that was originally democratically elected and even enjoyed broad popular support throughout its tenure, but which, at the same time, severely eroded fundamental institutions and principles of democratic government. How do we understand the meaning and implications of a presidency that maintained broad popular support, and yet clearly fell far short of democratic government?

The trend in the literature has been to classify regimes that fall short of liberal democracy with an adjective, such as “delegative” democracy or “hollow” democracy. Carrión’s volume, however, convincingly shows us that Fujimori’s regime cannot be classified in any way democratic, not even with a qualifying

adjective. Instead, the volume demonstrates that ‘electoral authoritarianism’ best characterizes Fujimori’s regime. To analyze the Fujimori regime the contributors draw on Andreas Schedler’s definition of electoral authoritarianism as “those regimes that hold elections and tolerate some pluralism and interparty competition, but at the same time violate minimal democratic norms so severely and systematically that it makes no sense to classify them as democracies” (p. 299).

The concept of electoral authoritarianism has particular importance for our contemporary understanding of democratization. Since the fall of the Soviet Union and the proliferation of democracies around the globe, democratic norms have gained increased normative force. Elections, in particular, have become necessary for governments to garner both domestic and international legitimacy. Thus, leaders who want to implement authoritarian projects have had to find ways to incorporate and utilize elections as a means to justify their rule. This book’s investigation into Fujimori’s brand of electoral authoritarianism allows us to see just how effective this regime type can be at covering the eyes of the international community and for maintaining political support at home.

Although the contributors cover a diverse range of topics, the collection is effectively integrated through an analysis of three major themes: (1) how presidential leadership was used to subvert the institutions of democracy; (2) how political support was generated for an authoritarian regime; (3) the uneasy relationship between governance and democratization (p. 7). On the first theme, the contributors offer some novel analyses of the abuse of presidential power. Barr and Dietz examine how Fujimori used presidential power to obstruct and dominate mayoral power. Chapters by Connaghan and Cameron offer new analyses of the culture of corruption and “greed rings” that festered throughout Fujimori’s presidency.

The way in which popular political support was generated for the regime is also examined from a number of original angles. Schmidt’s chapter examines how Fujimori used policies directed at the political incorporation and empowerment of women to build political support. Carrión’s chapter examines how Fujimori used public opinion polls to justify his regime and maintain political support. Carrión shows that public opinion and democratization do not always have an easy relationship. Two chapters on the political economy of the regime (Sheahan and Wise) analyze how Fujimori used economic policy to shore up political support, unfortunately at the cost of long-term economic development and stability.

Kurt Weyland’s chapter provides a more general theoretical framework for analyzing the rise and fall of Fujimori. He argues that the Fujimori presidency fits a pattern of neopopulist leadership characterized by a “paradox of success”

dilemma. Neopopulist leaders typically ride to power in times of crisis; however, once they successfully address the crisis, “that success ends up undermining the precondition of their very leadership” (p. 19). Weyland argues that while individual neopopulist leaders will come and go, this brand of leadership has proved enduring in developing democracies.

The dilemma of neopopulist leadership highlights the third major theme of the book: the often uneasy relationship between governance and democratization in unconsolidated democracies. Carrión argues that while governance often requires decisive action, democratization often requires slow consensus-building (p. 7). We see throughout the book that governance was consistently favored at the cost of democratization. This is clearly a central challenge for many newer democracies, where recurring economic and political crises heighten popular acceptance of interruptions to the democratic process, in favor of decisive executive action.

Although the book does not offer a solution to the governance-democratization dilemma, chapters by Roberts and Mauceri point out important societal factors that have undermined democratic consolidation in Peru. Roberts examines how Peru’s deteriorated party system created fertile ground for Fujimori to emerge and eventually succeed at doing away with most major checks on his authority. Mauceri notes, among other factors, the role that a weak civil society played in allowing Fujimori to neutralize democratic checks. One of the lessons from the Fujimori era thus appears to be the need for strengthening the party system and civil society. These are two key mechanisms for organizing voices and providing vertical accountability, and therefore can act as forceful counterweights to the personalism and anti-institutionalism that characterize neopopulism.

The international community may also play a role in democratic consolidation in Peru. Two chapters deal explicitly with the international community’s response to Fujimori’s “self-coup” and the highly questionable democratic credentials of his regime. Palmer examines why the United States was unwilling to push harder for democratic reform in Peru, while Wise’s chapter examines how the international community has been ill-equipped to monitor and classify democratic performance. Wise argues that international organizations have tended to hinge their observations almost wholly on the presence or absence of elections. Through an analysis of the international community’s response to Fujimori, Wise convincingly shows how a narrow focus on elections inhibits the international community’s ability to effectively classify regimes.

As a whole, this book provides an exceptional and multifaceted analysis of Fujimori’s ascendance and fall from power, while at the same time exposing some of the common problems for transitional democracies. However, precisely because the contributors draw out shared challenges to democratization—such

as entrenched patterns of corruption, weak party systems, and cycles of neopopulism—the book would have benefited from further comparative analysis. There are brief mentions of Chávez and other “neopopulist” leaders, but a deeper analysis of the similarities and differences between the Peruvian case and other cases of neopopulism and electoral authoritarianism would not only have placed the Fujimori regime in a broader context, but even further enhanced the book’s contribution to our general understanding of authoritarianism and democratic erosion.

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HOWARD NEPTUNE: *Caliban and the Yankees: Trinidad and the United States Occupation*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007.

On September 2, 1940, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt authorized the transfer of 50 World War I-era U.S. destroyers to Britain, in exchange for 99-year, rent-free leases of several British bases in the Western Hemisphere. In a message to Congress, the President hyperbolically described the agreement as an “epochal and far-reaching act of preparation for continental defense in the face of grave danger . . . the most important action in the reinforcement of our national defense that has been taken since the Louisiana Purchase.”

The “destroyers-for-bases” deal is usually remembered as an example of Roosevelt doing everything he could, short of intervention, to aid the British before Pearl Harbor. Yet Harvey Neptune’s *Caliban and the Yankees* persuasively argues that the agreement also dramatically transformed social and cultural mores in Trinidad, home to the largest of the leased bases. (The United States sent around 25,000 troops to an island whose prewar population totaled 15,000.) Neptune contends that both nationalist leaders and lower-class Trinidadians used the American occupation for their own purposes. The result was less a clear-cut moral battle matching imperialists against “recalcitrant natives” than a story that “offers further evidence for the necessity of histories that attend to contingency, ambiguity, and especially the penetrating debates about political and cultural imaginations that occurred as the age of empire entered its twilight.” (p. 14)

The book opens with an exceptional chapter describing Trinidad in the 1930s. Neptune argues that nationalist sentiment was intensifying before the first U.S. soldier set foot on Trinidadian soil, and he faults nationalist historians for overlooking this period to focus more on the immediate pre-independence years. The decade began with a fierce debate over liberalizing the island’s divorce law—with workers’ representatives active on both sides of the contest. In *How*