

the contradictions of American political identity, chiefly the tensions between U.S. constitutional principles and the naked pursuit of self-interested foreign relations.

Much of Jonathan M. Hansen's absorbing account of the history of the forty-five-square-mile facility on the southeastern corner of Cuba will be familiar to observers of American imperialism and U.S. overseas bases. Cuba's occupation in 1898 admitted the United States into the global club of formal empires and, as with its annexation of the Philippines, Panama, and Hawai'i, forced U.S. officials to reconcile their public commitments to freedom and independence with violating a people's sovereignty and political aspirations. The book also contributes to a growing literature on the social history of U.S. military bases abroad as Hansen explores changing relations among the base's command, its local labor force, and private contractors; the mythical idealization of its social life; gender relations and the management of a tacitly sanctioned sex industry; and the racial tensions contained within and across the base's fences.

But Hansen goes further to argue that "for over a century Guantánamo provided the laboratory and staging area where U.S. imperial ambition could be implemented beyond the scrutiny of the American public and the constraint of U.S. law" (p. 350). The first of these moves was the notorious Platt Amendment of 1903. The article, inserted by U.S. officials into the nascent Cuban constitution, conditioned Cuban independence on granting the United States naval bases and the right to intervene in the island's domestic internal affairs, a provision that the United States regularly exercised for three decades. Later, the base was used covertly to aid the forces of Cuba's embattled Fulgencio Batista during the civil war, and after Fidel Castro's accession to power—and in violation of both international law and repeated U.S. public assurances at the United Nations (UN)—it became a springboard for numerous plots to overthrow the Cuban President.

Hansen's most important contribution is his detailed account of Guantánamo's physical and legal role in halting the passage of Haitian asylum-seekers. From the late 1970s to the high-profile exodus of 1992, over 50,000 boaters were detained at Guantánamo, the ones with HIV placed in a sequestered pen, before their forced repatriation. U.S. officials vigorously argued that U.S. law and international treaty commitments did not extend to the naval site, while U.S. ships preemptively captured Haitian boats, most of which were in international waters. Despite a series of lower court findings that U.S. government officials discriminated against the boaters and violated their due process rights, in 1993 the Supreme Court found that U.S. obligations under the 1967 UN Protocol on the Status of Refugees did not apply extraterritorially. The miserable fate that awaited the refugees upon their return to Haiti and its vindictive regime can be contrasted with the steady stream of political asylums unwaveringly granted to Cubans during the same time.

Hansen then shows how the Bush Administration drew upon this legal trail after 9/11 when it selected Guantánamo as an extraterritorial site for the tribunals and indefinite detention of selected "enemy combatants." This final chapter authoritatively traces how the chilling legal opinions delivered by leading senior officials and their counsels promoted widespread torture and degradation of the detainees, while concerned dissenters and whistleblowers, many of them in the military, were silenced and sidelined.

The book also provides some new and unexpected insights. Platt's suspension was driven as much by American fears that opportunistic Cuban politicians would entangle the United States within its dysfunctional politics and jeopardize U.S. economic interests as it was by Cuban public anger. Hansen interviews Charles Ryan, a young base resident who joined pro-Castro fighters, and reveals how the base became embroiled in arms smuggling in the run-up to the revolution. And the author echoes recent studies in claiming that during the Cuban missile crisis Soviet tactical nuclear missiles were positioned to target the base itself.

Perhaps there is one additional exceptional feature of Guantánamo's story, not noted in Hansen's account: throughout the 1950s and 1960s in other overseas base hosts, the forces of nationalism, the general climate of decolonization, and populist politics strengthened the hand of local elites who forced U.S. officials to renegotiate highly unequal basing agreements and extracted increased rental payments and military assistance to secure their regimes. Not so in Guantánamo, where the presence of a U.S. facility within a hostile state froze this imperial relationship in time, validated only by a nominal U.S. rent check that the Cuban government refuses to cash.

Hansen makes a plea for Guantánamo's reversion back to Cuba, especially in light of its declining strategic utility for the U.S. Navy. But given his compelling narrative about the base's distinct and even publicly celebrated extralegal role, reversion seems unlikely, even if U.S.-Cuban relations are normalized in the near future.

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EMILY WAKILD. *Revolutionary Parks: Conservation, Social Justice, and Mexico's National Parks, 1910–1940*. (Latin American Landscapes.) Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 2011. Pp. xiii, 235. \$26.95.

Emily Wakild's book is an interesting contribution to the slowly emerging body of literature on the environmental history of the Mexican Revolution. Despite the dates in the subtitle, its temporal focus is squarely on the administration of Lázaro Cárdenas (1934–1940), during which period Mexico rapidly became a world leader in the creation of national parks. Since that fact challenges a narrative that credits "wealthy, white, urban actors" (p. 7) from highly developed countries with fostering environmental consciousness, Wakild asks

why this happened in Mexico. Her short answer is that “Mexico’s national parks were an outgrowth of revolutionary affinities for both rational science and social justice” (p. 1).

The forty new parks in question were of a particular kind: mostly small, near the capital, and forested. More abstractly, they were indeed “revolutionary parks,” shaped by revolutionary attitudes, promoting revolutionary culture and the legitimacy of the new regime, and part of the expansion of the revolutionary state and its desire to mediate access to resources. The differences between Mexican and U.S. parks were fundamental. In the United States, the wilderness ideal and the desires of middle-class tourists meant the expulsion of previous park inhabitants. In Mexico, the state accommodated local demands and built a system of inclusion, allowing for the continued presence of humans and their need to maintain their livelihoods (and in doing so anticipated present-day emphases on use and sustainability).

Four chapters that survey the history of four specific parks form the core of Wakild’s book. Although the creation of Lagunas de Zempoala National Park, established around lakes in the mountains southwest of Mexico City, originally raised suspicions among those who lived there, locals were drawn into the project by new economic opportunities. Zempoala was used by an array of urban groups for educational purposes, and there was plenty of revolutionary propaganda around the campfire. Efforts at wildlife restoration were limited: like the other parks examined here, this was a park that prioritized people, not other animals. The second park examined (and the first created under Cárdenas) incorporated the volcanoes Iztaccíhuatl and Popocatepetl to the east of the capital. Here Wakild’s focus is on a landscape of both substantial economic activity and iconic qualities easily linked to Mexican nationalism. Foresters quickly learned how difficult it would be to remove park inhabitants, and the state set its sights instead on regulating economic practices. The author sees the park as “a slow brake on this landscape of production” (p. 73).

Wakild uses the example of La Malinche National Park in Tlaxcala to illustrate the conditions under which the *Cardenista* approach could fail. Foresters and peasants agreed that much of this landscape was degraded, but inter-village resource competition and a dearth of economic possibilities made it hard to agree on how to resolve the problem. Residents directed revolutionary rhetoric against state regulations and sometimes accelerated logging to capture resources before the state took them away. Finally, Wakild considers the creation of El Tepozteco National Park in Tepoztlán, Morelos. In this case, her emphasis is on how a national park encompassing a place anthropologists depicted as a typical village both enhanced local ecological awareness and made the locality an emblem of the nation. In addition to dramatic rock formations and abundant forests, El Tepozteco drew several villages of the munic-

ipality, a pre-Columbian pyramid, and a colonial convent into the national patrimony.

This concise book addresses important issues in plain (though sometimes slightly unfocused) prose. In different hands, one imagines, the story it tells might have received a less positive spin. The author is sanguine, for instance, in her treatment of state support for industrial expansion in Popocatepetl-Iztaccíhuatl National Park, a project that does not seem especially revolutionary in either ecological or social terms. She is, in fact, generally uncritical of *Cardenismo*, describing a government so democratic and willing to compromise that it seems that only local players engaged in hardnosed politics. Wakild does, however, shed interesting light on the weaknesses of the *Cardenista* approach in describing what happened after 1940. The flexibility of the parks, she argues, undermined them in the long run by making them hard to protect with less sympathetic presidents in charge. By the 1970s, in fact, they were written off by the International Union for the Conservation of Nature as either too small or too ineffective—not really national parks at all in terms of meeting international criteria that emphasized protection of biodiversity. “It was the revolutionaries themselves who initially gave up on their park program,” Wakild writes, “and a changing transnational scientific paradigm kept it from reemerging” (p. 158). Scholars interested in the Mexican Revolution or Latin American environmental history will surely want to read this book for insights such as these, and they might well assign it to advanced undergraduates too.

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DOLORES TREVIZO. *Rural Protest and the Making of Democracy in Mexico, 1968–2000*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2011. Pp. xviii, 245. \$64.95.

This book traces the processes that undermined the power of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) that ruled Mexico from 1929 to 2000. Dolores Trevizo argues that peasant protests in the 1970s and 1980s broke down the PRI’s corporatism, creating the social base for the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD), its left-leaning challenger. Likewise, on the Right, a sector of the business community affiliated with the National Action Party (PAN) promoted neoliberal reforms and, using the rhetoric of democracy, rallied against the PRI’s historic policies of economic nationalism. Characterizing each party as a social movement, Trevizo asserts that these political mobilizations democratized Mexico.

Trevizo notes that the 1968 student massacre discredited the PRI and led many students to join peasant struggles in the countryside. In the 1970s and 1980s, moreover, rural organizing gained strength and was especially significant in regions the Mexican Communist Party (PCM) had traditionally organized. Rather than