

marizes the socio-economic setting of early twentieth-century Argentina and discusses the ideological forerunners of the republic's anarchist movement, Abad de Santillán narrates the emergence, growth, and decline of F.O.R.A. (Federación Obrera Regional Argentina, as the movement was known after 1904). F.O.R.A.'s bitter clashes with the socialists and with moderate anarchists (who formed a separate organization, F.O.R.A. IX, in 1915) absorb much of the author's attention, but Abad de Santillán also analyzes in detail Argentina's severe labor unrest of the 1902-1919 period and the brutal state repression it engendered.

Several themes recur in Abad de Santillán's analysis. F.O.R.A. envisioned the destruction of capitalism and the rise of a vaguely defined "anarchic communism" in which workers' syndicates would organize production and which would abolish the state, viewed as the repressive arm of the capitalist class. Although in the short run anarchists bargained with employers for improvements, they also remained confident that ultimately, in a period of crisis, the general strike would destroy capitalism. Thus, on the one hand, F.O.R.A. did not support the use of terror and violence to advance its ends, and on the other hand, it vigorously opposed the gradualism and political participation which the Argentine Socialist Party espoused. Finally, F.O.R.A. sharply rejected the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the period following the overthrow of the capitalist state.

The volume contains a vast amount of information useful to historians of the Argentine labor movement. For example, Abad de Santillán's meticulous description of the proceedings of crucial anarchist congresses of 1902, 1904, and 1915 will clarify many murky misconceptions concerning internal labor politics. Unfortunately, the author omits certain important aspects of anarchist history; he barely mentions relationships between F.O.R.A. and the nascent rural labor movement, and he overlooks the huge strikes of farm workers which the government savagely repressed in 1919 and 1920.

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Diplomats and Demagogues: The Memoirs of Spruille Braden. By SPRUILLE BRADEN. New Rochelle, 1971. Arlington House. Illustrations. Appendix. Index. Cloth. \$12.50.

Memoirs tend to be somewhat one-sided, and the present volume is no exception. Nonetheless, it is well worth reading. Spruille Braden—chairman of the U.S. delegation to the Chaco Peace Conference, war-

time ambassador to Colombia and Cuba, postwar ambassador to Argentina, and Assistant Secretary of State for Latin-American Affairs—has told his story, as he says, “with no holds barred.” It is an important story. Braden’s protracted clash with Argentine strongman Juan Perón, surely one of the more significant episodes in the history of U.S.-Latin American relations, is recounted with details and personal touches not found in the *Foreign Relations* volumes. The memoir also indicates a continuity in Braden’s political thinking without which his policies as ambassador are unintelligible.

This is a key point. Because Braden turned up in the 1960s on the national board of the John Birch Society (a fact curiously omitted in a memoir so otherwise candid), it is sometimes thought that he shifted from a “liberal” anti-fascist position in the mid-1940s to an “ultra-conservative” anti-communist stance later on. He confirms that such was not the case. Like many business-oriented American “conservatives” (and “liberals”), Braden thought of himself as being consistently anti-totalitarian; he merely shifted the emphasis of his attack as circumstances required. In that sense, despite the stridency of his tone and the extremism of some of his concluding policy recommendations—such as his call to “throw the Russian, Chinese, Ghanian, and local Communists bodily out of Cuba by a properly planned, all-out invasion” (p. 432)—Braden is more representative of American diplomats and policy-makers than is at first apparent.

The memoir demonstrates this point clearly. Braden recalls that even during the war one of his chief concerns was to prevent the spread of Communist influence in Cuba (pp. 302-306). He confirms that his opposition to Perón was based not merely on the latter’s collaboration with the Nazis but also on Perón’s “collusion with the Communists” (p. 334). On the other hand, Braden recounts with some pride his consistent record of antagonism to Dominican Republic dictator Trujillo—to whom he refers as “the monster” (p. 269)—and he devotes considerable space to his work, as ambassador to Colombia, in overcoming a Nazi threat to the Panama Canal. He also notes that as postwar Assistant Secretary of State he differed from many State Department and Pentagon personnel in opposing military aid to Latin American dictators (p. 364).

Not having been privy to the larger New Deal policy strategy regarding Latin America, Braden apparently did not appreciate the subtleties in the approaches of such “left-liberals” as Harry Dexter White and Lawrence Duggan, who, like Braden, wanted to promote Latin American economic development within a context of continuing U.S.

influence. Braden therefore dismisses White and Duggan, among others, as “communists” (his evidence for applying the label to them is inconclusive at best). Nelson Rockefeller’s behavior as wartime Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs he finds more difficult to explain. The result is simply a scathing pen-portrait of Rockefeller as an over-privileged, under-qualified dilettante in Latin American policy-making (p. 452). Nonetheless, there emerges from these pages a Braden whose overall goals were not substantially different from those of other men with whose tactics he disagreed so violently.

The memoir is replete with humor, most of it intentional. A sample of unintentional humor is Braden’s explanation that he discontinued his Yale alumni fund contributions because he didn’t like “the Rostows and scores of other Leftists teach[ing] socialism or communism” (p. 407). Some of the best personal anecdotes are contained in an appendix which was at first excised from the text by “a so-called Liberal publisher” and restored at the last minute by Arlington House. They alone make the volume worth the admission price.

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Neither Black nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States. By CARL N. DEGLER. New York and London, 1971. Macmillan Co. and Collier-Macmillan. Tables. Index. Pp. xvi, 302. Cloth, \$6.95; Paper, \$3.95.

This book is an unusually successful scholarly achievement. Its author’s aim was to gain new understanding of the American racial problem by comparing American slavery and race relations with their counterparts in Brazil, but in the process of his investigation he has become an accomplished Brazilianist, and has cast much light on Brazilian questions.

The author’s facts will not surprise Brazilian specialists, since the parts of the study which bear on Brazil are based mostly upon recent historical and sociological literature, with little of relevance overlooked. What may surprise, however, is the way he uses this material and the bold conclusions he draws from it. In fact, the force of his arguments will help to make some heretofore controversial theories about Brazilian slavery and race relations more acceptable, though the author may also have provoked some controversies of his own. Concerning race relations, for example, he follows the lead of such Brazilian scholars as Florestan Fernandes and Octavio Ianni, showing beyond question that discrimination is a Brazilian as well as an American problem. Yet