

El general Uriburu y el petróleo. By FERNANDO GARCÍA MOLINA and Carlos A. MAYO. Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina, 1985. Tables. Notes. Sources. Pp. 156. Paper.

García Molina and Mayo carry the story forward from *Las inversiones extranjeras en la industria del petróleo argentino (1907–1927)*, *Diplomacia, política y petróleo en la Argentina (1927–1930)*, and *La diplomacia del petróleo (1916–1930)*, which they co-authored with Osvaldo Andino. The title of this work is somewhat misleading. A more apt one would include the word politics, as the authors examine political thought and events from the late 1920s to 1932, as well as oil policy during those years.

Well over half of the book is devoted to political history. It traces the evolution of right-wing ideology and action, from criticism of liberal democracy to the advocacy of a corporatist, agrarian-centered regime, as manifested in *La Nueva República* and the Legión Cívica Argentina. The inclusion of other thinkers and groups, such as Leopoldo Lugones and Acción Republicana, would have enabled the authors to analyze in greater detail the emerging nationalist economic views and their possible influence on José F. Uriburu. More complete than the portrayal of the far right is that of the complex Uriburu administration. Its saga was one of struggle and intrigue between various conservative and nationalist factions.

The divided Uriburu regime followed a contradictory oil policy. On the one hand, the cabinet included persons tied to petroleum firms, and such decisions as the shelving of Hipólito Yrigoyen's nationalization plan favored private companies. Government appointments to the state oil agency, the granting of juridical personage to the latter, and other policies, however, manifested nationalistic sentiments.

The conclusion states that politics and petroleum in this period followed parallel rather than superimposed lines (p. 125). Indeed, the authors draw few connections between the two topics, beyond noting that oil policy responded to the different interests represented in the Uriburu government. Moreover, this work overlaps their previous ones. Nevertheless, it is lucidly written and very well grounded in U.S., British, and Argentine documents, as well as in other sources.

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Nazismo y fascismo en el Paraguay. Vísperas de la II Guerra Mundial: Gobiernos de Rafael Franco y Félix Paiva, 1936–1939. By ALFREDO M. SEIFERHELD. Asunción: Editorial Histórica, 1985. Illustrations. Notes. Appendix. Pp. 224. Paper.

Seiferheld maintains that during the regimes of Colonel Rafael Franco and Félix Paiva (February 1936–August 1939) Paraguay “was infected with the fascist

virus and the Nazi racial doctrine which preached segregation and Aryan superiority" (p. 17). He argues that such government ministers as Bernardino Caballero and Gomes Freire Esteves (under Franco) and Lt. Colonel Arturo Bray (under Paiva) were avid exponents of nazi-fascist ideas, and that they attempted to apply these concepts—or at least their version of them—in the Paraguayan national context. Seiferheld generally seeks to prove his thesis by analyzing the anti-Semitic decrees issued and the anti-Semitic practices manifested by government ministers in these two regimes, and by attempting to gauge the impact of these assorted decrees, policy statements, and declarations on the Paraguayan body politic.

Seiferheld has many examples to work with, and he certainly presents his case energetically, but his case is ultimately flawed. Certainly during the Franco and Paiva regimes decrees designed to restrict Jewish immigration were promulgated. Nevertheless, as Seiferheld himself admits, these orders were greatly evaded (pp. 17 and 107). Mixed marriages between Jews and non-Jews continued, and before Paiva relinquished office in August 1939, legislation to inhibit Jewish immigration was pigeonholed. Do countries "infected with the fascist virus and the Nazi racial doctrine" act in so slipshod a manner? Perhaps, but, in my view, in 1936–1939 Jewish immigrants continued to seek refuge in Paraguay because it was a good deal easier to deal with anti-Jewish Paraguayans than with German storm troopers. Put another way, in 1936–39 there were all manner of then-fashionable nazi-fascist ideas manifested in Paraguay, but these only cloaked the traditional Latin American personalist dictatorship that has long been the national leadership style.

Most curious, however, is the fact that while Seiferheld spends a good deal of the book analyzing Nazi influence in Paraguay, the *Auslandsorganisation* (the official branch of the Nazi party overseas) gets relatively short shrift. The author notes that locally held documents and records would not be released by Paraguayan authorities. On the other hand, the British Foreign Office–U.S. State Department work, *Documents Selected from German Foreign Office Records*, is quite likely the most complete and accurate repository of data concerning *Auslandsorganisation* strategies and goals in Paraguay, and the orders issued to it by party chiefs in Germany. The fact that Seiferheld does not appear to have consulted this source gives me further reason to question his thesis regarding the degree to which Nazi influence permeated Paraguay in 1936–39.

Nevertheless, these points should not detract from *Nazismo y fascismo*'s strong points. As a straightforward political history, what Seiferheld has produced is the best study extant of Paraguay from the end of the Chaco War until the accession to the presidency of Marshal Félix Estigarribia late in August 1939. Couple this study with Michael Grow's *The Good Neighbor Policy and Authoritarianism in Paraguay*, and for the first time Paraguayanists (that small but gallant band of

scholars and researchers) finally have a fairly complete and accurate picture of the decade preceding the Stroessner years. That in itself is not an insignificant development.

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INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONS

U.S.—Latin American Relations. By MICHAEL J. KRYZANEK. New York: Praeger Special Studies, 1985. Tables. Notes. Figures. Bibliography. Index. Pp. xxx, 242. Cloth. \$36.95.

For many Latin Americanists, there is some reluctance to undertake a textbook. They argue that the effort is intellectually unexciting and—owing to a limited market—financially unrewarding. Unfortunately, such an attitude can too often lead to the appearance of works which are, to put it gently, modest in attainment. This is decidedly not the case, however, with Michael J. Kryzaneck's splendid survey of hemispheric relations. At a time when a host of new books are concentrating on the controversies and debates of the moment, Kryzaneck provides a broader treatment, rich in historical context and, at the same time, incorporating and explaining the bases for contemporary policy problems.

The structure of the work is singularly sound. The first of three parts provides an admirably succinct and penetrating review of the evolution of U.S.—Latin American relations. Ranging from the Monroe Doctrine to Castroism, the author provides a revealing introduction for students new to the topics, while jogging and sharpening the memories of other readers. He then turns to Latin American policy making, a topic more often ignored or underemphasized in other texts. Kryzaneck provides both a factual and an analytic review of governmental and non-governmental participants and stresses the importance of presidential style and executive leadership as well. This is a topic which deserves further scholarly attention; its inclusion in a text is felicitous.

The final section outlines hemispheric dilemmas of policy formation. The fragility of democracy, perceptions of the communist challenge, and the decline in United States influence and power etch the themes on which Kryzaneck elaborates. His effort to present a fair and balanced view is largely successful, and the reader is permitted to develop personal opinions on the basis of divergent arguments. This is a book, then, which stands out for its skillful and articulate review