

insurrectionist. In the *llanos* case, this trend would ultimately, dramatically unfold during the second half of the twentieth century.

Although she keeps these alternative readings at arm's length, Rausch's meticulous archival work and careful explication should launch new scholarly studies of this much-neglected region. Perhaps inadvertently, too, this important contribution might further undermine the crumbling edifice of developmentalism long influential in Colombian historiography and enrich comparisons among regional and frontier histories elsewhere in the Americas.

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Los orígenes del reformismo militar en América Latina: la gestión de David Toro en Bolivia. By FERRAN GALLEGO. Barcelona: Promociones y Publicaciones Universitarias, 1991. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. 225 pp. Paper.

Ejército, nacionalismo, y reformismo en América Latina: la gestión de German Busch en Bolivia. By FERRAN GALLEGO. Barcelona: Promociones y Publicaciones Universitarias, 1992. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. 300 pp. Paper.

Other than the era of the 1952 revolution, no period is more significant in defining the character of twentieth-century Bolivia than that of the self-styled "military socialist" governments of David Toro and German Busch. Although it lasted only three years (1936–1939), the "military socialism" introduced by these two prominent veterans of the Chaco War ended the traditionalist politics of limited participation that had characterized Bolivian national affairs since 1880. The post-Chaco War generation, encouraged by the rhetoric and bold actions of Toro and Busch, soon turned to a class-based politics that assured the mobilization necessary for social revolution little more than a decade later.

Professor Ferran Gallego, of the Department of Modern and Contemporary History at the Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona, has written a detailed study of the Toro and Busch regimes that specialists will find useful for its thorough discussion of the diverse political issues of this dynamic period in Bolivian history. Nevertheless, these two volumes offer few fresh interpretive insights. Nor, despite their titles, do they sufficiently analyze the troubled internal institutional affairs of the Bolivian army in the aftermath of its humiliating defeat by Paraguay in the Chaco War.

Gallego recognizes, as Porfirio Díaz Machicado and Herbert S. Klein have in previous studies, the critical role of the Chaco War veterans' groups, such as the Legión de Excombatientes and particularly the Asociación Nacional de Excombatientes Socialistas, in shaping the policies of the Toro and Busch regimes. But the internal dynamics of these two vitally important military interest groups could have been explored in greater depth. Also needed is a comprehensive review of the pre-

vailing attitudes of the army officer corps and enlisted ranks. For example, Toro's decision to expropriate Standard Oil of New Jersey's Bolivian properties in 1937 was certainly linked to the colonel's rapidly falling political stock within the armed forces and his resulting effort to broaden his popular base. But although Gallego relies on British Foreign Office records to gain insight into the military decision-making process throughout the Toro regime, it is never fully clear how the veterans or the senior army officers worked with the colonel or his more popular successor, Busch. Had Gallego discussed the oral histories of Chaco War veterans found in René Danilo Arze Aguirre's *Guerra y conflicto sociales. El caso rural Boliviano durante la campaña del Chaco* (1987), his analysis would have been enhanced.

These significant problems notwithstanding, this work should be read by specialists interested in modern Bolivia and in Latin American populism. Gallego's more narrowly focused study augments Klein's *Parties and Political Change in Bolivia, 1880–1952* (1969) and contains valuable discussions of key economic issues during the era of "military socialism." If he intends to continue in the same research direction, however, Professor Gallego should consider consulting Bolivian army journal literature and the records of the Modern Military Division of the U.S. National Archives.

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Political Parties and Generations in Paraguay's Liberal Era, 1869–1940. By PAUL H. LEWIS. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993. Maps. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xi, 227 pp. Cloth. \$37.50.

Over the years, Paul H. Lewis has been somewhat of a trailblazer in Paraguayan studies in the United States. His 1965 study on the Febrerista party was the first major English-language analysis of a modern opposition party in Paraguay. His insightful 1980 work, *Paraguay Under Stroessner*, was likewise the first to delve at length into the 1954–89 dictatorship. So it is again, in large part, with the present study, an incisive look at the Liberal period (1869–1940)—usually regarded as the *terra incognita* that lies between the classic era of the great dictators (Dr. Francia and the two Lópezes) and the advent of such modern authoritarians as Morínigo and Stroessner. Lewis shows conclusively that this period was far more important to the unfolding of subsequent Paraguayan history than has been previously demonstrated.

Lewis begins by carefully identifying and analyzing Paraguay's political elite. He has compiled a list of 950 names that includes all individuals who were presidents, vice presidents, cabinet ministers, Supreme Court justices, and chiefs of police between 1869 and 1940, as well as all members of political clubs from 1858 on, founding members of the Liberal and Colorado parties, executive committees of both traditional parties, and veterans' associations. Despite the inevitable wordiness that an analysis of such a list entails, the results are suggestive.