

In the end, I agree with Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz: this is a valuable and innovative compilation that provides a sense of what it has meant to be a Spaniard in Mexico; but we all know that it could mean even more.

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*El rito electoral en Jalisco (1940–1992)*. By JORGE ALONSO. Mexico City: CIESAS, 1993. Maps. Graphs. Notes. 186 pp. Paper.

For many years, most people who studied post-World War II Mexican politics tended to accept the government line that Mexico was democratic, or at least in transition to democracy. Charges of electoral fraud by opposition parties were dismissed as sour grapes. The infatuation with the accomplishments and sheer power of the Mexican government and its political party, the Partido Revolucionario Institucional, or PRI, made it difficult to see Mexican elections objectively. Few observers doubted that the government/PRI chose its candidates in an undemocratic manner or that it cheated at times. The belief that the government/PRI had successfully transformed the nation into a more socially just and modern society was so strong, however, that electoral fraud was thought to be largely unnecessary.

The government's repression of the student movement of 1968 changed perceptions. Intellectuals and children of the elite were subjected to the same brutal treatment that political opposition groups so often encountered. The government, moreover, had to allow a little more openness to recover from the backlash to its overreaction in 1968. Criticism of electoral practices became more common. Two decades later, when the government/PRI presidential candidate was declared the victor under what were, at best, dubious circumstances, electoral fraud could no longer be ignored.

Jorge Alonso's book is one result of the changed perceptions of Mexican politics. He openly examines electoral politics in the state of Jalisco and finds abundant evidence of systematic fraud. In two lengthy essays, "La aspiración democrática: las elecciones jaliscienses de 1940 a 1988" and "Auge priista en las elecciones federales de 1991 y descalabro electoral en las locales de 1992," he explains voting and the roles of political parties and groups in the state's municipal, legislative, gubernatorial, and federal elections. Readers will benefit from the valuable historical and electoral data he provides, for few "micro" data of this sort have appeared before.

Alonso demonstrates that Jalisco has a long history of ballot fraud, intimidation, and repression of opposition parties and groups, in which changes in electoral laws and splits in the PRI have made little difference. Voting statistics have rarely reflected what actually occurred. For example, when the Partido Acción Nacional (PAN) has mounted a strong electoral campaign, voter abstentionism (as reported in the official results) amazingly has increased, an obvious indicator that the official results have been doctored.

One of the study's most important findings is that local electoral fights have more to do with specific people and personalities than with ideology or parties. Authoritarian government is the enemy. Jaliscans want peaceful, democratic elections, but they have been forced into electoral revolt by the government/PRI, whether it uses the former "old corporatist" or the current "new corporatist" model. Because PAN has most consistently been the organized opposition, it benefits, thus giving Jalisco a propensity for bipartisan politics.

Students of Mexican politics should read and reflect on this work. It provides useful insights into how politics really work in Mexico.

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*Mexico: In Search of Security.* Edited by BRUCE MICHAEL BAGLEY and SERGIO AGUAYO QUEZADA. Coral Gables/New Brunswick: North-South Center/Transaction, 1993. Notes. Bibliography. ix, 367 pp. Paper. \$24.95.

The end of the Cold War has thrown security studies into uncertainty. Old animosities no longer hold the vehemence they once did, and old enemies are apparently now friends. Security studies in Latin America have always been fraught with more questions than U.S. national security studies because the enemy was more difficult to identify (perhaps the biggest security threat came from the hovering friend up north), and because the forces charged with providing national security in Latin American countries often ended up violating the social order far more than any foreign threat. In Mexico, as several contributors to this volume indicate, national security has only recently returned to the public agenda after decades of going unmentioned. Indeed, few studies of the Mexican military and its role in either the political order or the provision of external security have emerged in the past several decades.

The authors of this volume's individual chapters make little headway in defining Mexico's security interests. Their difficulties partly reflect profound policy differences in Mexico. Some of the contributors fear that widening the definition of national security will either render the term meaningless or permit those in charge of the actual function to take action against a wide range of "threats," much as the militaries of the Southern Cone have done in recent decades. Other contributors advocate a broad sense of the term, in the belief that Mexico's security depends on a healthy development strategy, autonomy from international economic forces, care for environmental resources, and political stability. Some contributors can barely bring themselves to use the term *security*, writing instead of national interests and national identity.

The papers in this volume, originally presented at a 1989 conference in Mexico City, clearly suggest that the conference achieved little consensus. Those advocating the narrow definition of security, even though it may have a more limited policy meaning for Mexico, are correct in suggesting that the broad definition poses severe