

There is little new in this account, which stays close to the surface of events and relies largely on a limited range of published sources, but it avoids polemics and is an intelligent exposition of the author's point of view.

The book's chief interest, however, is as a memoir of a historical actor, not as a historical monograph by a diplomat. Here the results are equally mixed. Ambassador Davis writes gracefully and his sketches of people are often both witty and perceptive. At the same time, his book reveals little that we do not know already. Throughout, he defends himself from charges of involvement in covert intervention in Chile's internal affairs and the Nixon administration from allegations of destabilizing the Allende government. His book concludes with a detailed rebuttal of these charges, although it depends heavily on an uncritical acceptance of the public writings and private statements of high officials of the Central Intelligence Agency—the chief instrument of Nixon's covert Chile policy.

In his preface, Davis suggests that his book is both a memoir and a monograph. In the end, however, it falls between these two stools—insufficiently revealing to have much value as a memoir and insufficiently original to have great worth as a monograph. At bottom, it is a measured defense of his own role and an apologia for that of the U.S. government in the overthrow of an elected president whom Davis professes to admire and the destruction of a Chilean democracy that he insists he sustained. Even in academic retirement, Ambassador Davis remains a diplomat.

Tufts University

PETER WINN

*Nazismo y fascismo en el Paraguay: Los años de la guerra, 1939–1945.* By ALFREDO M. SEIFERHELD. Asunción: Editorial Histórica, 1986. Map. Photographs. Notes. Pp. 331. Paper.

This is volume II of a projected trilogy by one of Paraguay's most interesting and prolific young historians. Beginning where volume I left off, on the eve of World War II, it follows the shifting tendencies of Paraguay's foreign policy through the presidencies of José Félix Estigarribia and Higinio Morínigo. Basing his account largely on official archives in Washington and Bonn, as well as many private archives in Paraguay, then supplementing these with interviews, contemporary newspapers and journals, and secondary sources, Seiferheld does a good job of presenting a complex subject. He describes the rivalry between Germany and the United States to exercise supreme influence in Paraguay during the war, and the pressures they brought to bear on that government. This leads him to discuss how Paraguay's military establishment, its political parties and factions, and its local communities of Germans, Italians, Japanese, Jews, and Russians became caught up in the struggle. The great value of the work stems from Seiferheld's skill and objectivity in presenting his materials.

The most interesting aspect of the study, perhaps, is the interplay between foreign and domestic politics. Following Michael Grow's excellent *The Good Neighbor Policy and Authoritarianism in Paraguay* (1981), Seiferheld's book adds useful information to our knowledge about how Paraguay's political parties and military factions align themselves with foreign actors, partly along ideological lines and partly out of pragmatism. Estigarribia, though a Francophile liberal and backed by much U.S. aid, was forced to tolerate the spread of Nazi and Fascist organizations in Paraguay because of the pro-Axis sympathies of so many of his military colleagues. Morínigo, an admirer of the Nazis, permitted them to operate their spy network on Paraguayan territory throughout the war, despite being forced by the U.S. to break diplomatic relations with the Axis in 1942. Much of the book recounts American attempts to use economic and military aid to pressure the Paraguayans to go further, and the latter's means of evading such pressures. So long as the Axis was winning the war, the ultranationalists in Morínigo's government simply "stonewalled" the Americans. With Germany's defeat, however, Morínigo finally gave in, revamped his cabinet as well as the top military commands, and began a liberalization program.

Specialists on Paraguay's politics and history will find this book essential, but it also will appeal to anyone interested in the general subject of Axis penetration of Latin America during the war.

Tulane University

PAUL H. LEWIS

*Movimientos campesinos en el Paraguay.* By RAMÓN B. FOGEL. Asunción: Centro Paraguayo de Estudios Sociológicos, 1984. Appendixes. Bibliography. Pp. 230.

Ramón Fogel's short volume examines and compares two contemporary peasant social movements in Paraguay, both of which were crushed by the Stroessner regime in the 1970s. The Ligas Agrarias were centered in the southern department of Misiones, while the Pueblo de Dios originated in the frontier area of Caaguazú. The former was a Catholic-based movement that progressively matured as a vehicle for political action. The Pueblo de Dios, in contrast, was a fundamentalist evangelical sect that withdrew into itself, becoming a socially disarticulated, apolitical millenarian group. Fogel shows how both were a threat to the state because they rejected new hegemonic relationships which resulted from distinct processes of economic development in the two areas.

Although Fogel never explicitly outlines his methodology, it is clear that his work is informed by contemporary dependency and world-systems perspectives, particularly as they are articulated by such Latin American authors as Fernando Henrique Cardoso. Fogel is concerned with how ideology is shaped and how it can change. By focusing on contradiction and crisis in the context of history and eco-