

almost viscerally, how so many overworked, underrecognized, physically insecure women have managed to produce and reproduce Latin American social structures.

MARJORIE BECKER
University of Southern California

ALAN MCPHERSON, editor. *Anti-Americanism in Latin America and the Caribbean*. (Explorations in Culture and International History.) New York: Berghahn Books. 2006. Pp. x, 301. Cloth \$85.00, paper \$25.00.

In his address to Congress following the attacks of 9/11, President George W. Bush famously asked, "Why do they hate us?" Since then, pundits, soldiers, and citizens have wrestled with this same painful question. A burgeoning literature seeks to help. Alan McPherson's book will be of interest to those willing to look for answers beyond the mesmerizing catastrophes of the Middle East.

This collection of essays shows that there are multiple answers, depending upon the specific case, but that the most general answer is that peoples in smaller, weaker countries resent the shadow of the rich United States. Since Latin America was the region of the world where this uncomfortable disparity first became manifest, it makes perfect sense to look there for the etiology of anti-Americanism. Although European nations like France have a history of anti-Americanism as well, negative sentiment in the Old World arose many decades later than in the Americas, corresponding with the period when the United States' economy first began to eclipse the older world powers.

This is not the interpretation advanced by McPherson, whose reading of the nine fine essays in this volume leads him to assert that anti-Americanism is primarily the result of specific U.S. policies, not the gravitational pull it exerts in the constellation of nation-states. "The more US policy offended, the more widespread, deep, and visceral anti-US sentiment became," he concludes (p. 271).

Of course, this interpretation implies that different policies would have mostly prevented the rise of negative feelings toward the wealthiest, most influential country in world history. I doubt that this is so, but the cases described provide rich evidence for useful debates in which reasonable people may disagree. Walter Russell Mead, for example, has written that "only the collapse of American power" would end anti-Americanism. Short of this, he says, the task is "to manage pragmatically the resentments, irritations, and real grievances that inevitably accompany the rise to power of one nation, one culture, and one social model in a complex, divided, and passionate world" (*Foreign Affairs* [2003]). McPherson does not approach anti-Americanism as a problem to be managed, however, but rather as a form of "resistance to imperialism."

There is some logic to this conclusion. Most of the essays, written by leading scholars of inter-American relations, focus on well-known incidents in which dis-

pleasure with the United States came to a head. John A. Britton shows how Mexican leaders handled the menace of foreign control by expropriating the property of American oil companies in 1938, while deftly evading the charges of "Bolshevism" likely to be raised by its interventionist neighbor. Glenn Dorn documents how Juan Perón rode a wave of anti-Americanism to power in 1946 by excoriating Ambassador Spruille Braden's attempt to influence Argentine voters. (Braden famously released documents showing Perón's complicity with Nazism.) Jeffrey F. Taffet elucidates how, despite winning \$760 million in American aid during the 1960s, Chilean President Eduardo Frei came to resent the presumptions of the United States, which wanted economic and political concessions in return. Kirk Bowman depicts the displeasure of Brazilians in the mid-1970s, when youthful activists resented the United States for its support of the unpopular military regime while the military regime resented the United States for not being supportive enough. In all these incidents, local people responded to the actions of Americans.

But these examples also show that most (although not all) expressions of anti-Americanism came from elites, who often manipulated inchoate resentments to their advantage. Few tropes are more attractive than the claim to defend national honor from foreign malfeasance. Darlene Rivas and William O. Walker III, respectively, show how Venezuelan and Columbian politicians sometimes chose to employ, and other times to eschew, the tool of anti-Americanism, depending on its utility. When even the most gullible voters refused to blame anybody but their own politicians for Columbia's internal collapse, elites downplayed criticisms of America. Venezuelans, similarly, placed "primary blame on Venezuelan politicians and oligarchs" (p. 110) for social difficulties. Not surprisingly, the essay on Cuba by McPherson shows a society in which the communist elite pointed its finger resolutely north.

But neither U.S. policy, nor local manipulation, can explain anti-Americanism in toto, or perhaps even in origin. Bowman's essay on Brazil documents the current, widely held belief that the United States stands poised to invade and annex the Amazon. A recent industrial accident that killed twenty-one aerospace workers prompted Brazilian authorities to allege sabotage by the United States. Such accusations and fears are so wildly out of sync with U.S. history or any contemporary policy as to give one a migraine. But this is the point: anti-Americanism need have no basis in fact other than the frightening reality that one country possesses such an unprecedented degree of influence. Its policies can always be better, but its intentions will always be suspect.

ELIZABETH COBBS HOFFMAN
San Diego State University

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