

different people united by the German language worked together to create an ethnic identity. He also reveals that this immigrant group at least for a while lived peacefully with Native Americans. This book is relevant to studying immigration patterns among those who arrived in the United States after 1800 and how other groups have developed ethnic communities, especially in Southern California. His work benefits early American historians, as well as scholars who study immigration and ethnicity. Graduate and undergraduate students will learn the central role language played in forming an ethnic identity.

Adam Leung

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Maria Josefina Saldaña-Portillo. *The Revolutionary Imagination in the Americas and the Age of Development*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003. Pp 384. Paper \$24.95.

The Revolutionary Imagination in the Americas and the Age of Development by Maria Josefina Saldaña-Portillo analyzes literature to examine the exploitation of subaltern groups in the politics of development throughout the Americas. Saldaña-Portillo, an Associate Professor of Social and Cultural Latino Studies at New York University, explains that theories of development and revolution originate from the same colonial background of racism and sexism that excludes or discounts agency among marginalized groups such as women, rural peasants and indigenous peoples. Discourse on development and revolution in the Americas converges on subaltern groups and demands that they transform their consciousness and modes of being. Saldaña-Portillo asserts that social movements are contingent on the development of its internal members and it is the periphery's response to external pressures that becomes essential in creating internal agency and empowerment.

Divided into three parts, she begins by scrutinizing the transformation of national economies in the shadow of development theory, notably modernization and its impact on "backward" or "underdeveloped" societies. Next she examines the shortfalls of revolutionary discourse through the writing of Ernesto "Che" Guevara, Mario Payeras (Guatemala) and the breakdown of the Sandinista regime through their agricultural policy. In the third part, Saldaña-Portillo studies literature directly from subaltern actors and notes that their personal experiences

generate agency and empowerment much more effectively than those imposed by a bourgeois patriarchal structure.

Saldaña-Portillo frames her analysis by studying U.S. developmental policy as it was applied to the Americas, emphasizing the post-WWII era when pushing development on the Third World became imperative to prevent the spread of Marxist Socialism. The western prescription was to establish the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, essentially impaling the Third World with multi-national capitalism and furthering dependency. These capitalist minded reforms ignored subaltern agency by suggesting that the periphery was somehow in need of assistance and must be conditioned by modern neo-liberalism in order to function. Similarly, Saldaña-Portillo maintains that classical revolutionary literature has the same ideological origins as development and for that reason it has been problematic with its intended audience. She explains that Guevara and Payeras' ideas were enmeshed with a compromised masculine identity that is frequently sexist and ultimately born from archaic colonial attitudes. Guevara's bourgeois background, for example, limited his understanding of subaltern agency and he believed that indoctrinating peasants with revolutionary ideology would be the only way to further their struggles.

Saldaña-Portillo's primary contention is that the everyday experience of subaltern actors should be the model for forming agency. Indigenous rights advocate Rigoberta Menchú's *testimonio*, for example, shows that Menchú was aware of her exploitation as a worker at an early age. Menchú relays no romantic (and, arguably, condescending) discourse in the mold of Guevara or Payeras. In fact, Menchú's life has been a testimonial to the violence perpetrated against the indigenous population of Guatemala. Saldaña-Portillo interprets a ten minute silence at a Zapatista gathering in a similar vein, arguing that the silence was a means to disrupt the *la raza cosmica*, the mestizo discourse constructed in the Mexican nation building process. She claims the silence she witnessed was a means to reject *mestizaje* and neo-liberalism. Members of the movement have been shaped through their own personal experiences with the Mexican government and by neo-liberal reforms; they do not need to be conditioned by outsiders to have agency.

Saldaña-Portillo's analysis often hinges on narrowly reading events or ideas that have multiple meanings. Her understanding of the Zapatista silence, for example, is intriguing but it is limited and rests on a theory that is open to interpretation because the motive behind the silence is never actually articulated. Moreover, Saldaña-Portillo admits she has

problems comprehending indigenous languages and their customs; this may have compounded her interpretation of events. Nevertheless, Saldaña-Portillo's ideas should prove to be valuable to anyone investigating the impact of literature on political and social developments. Her work will appeal to those interested in Latino Studies, Latin American History as well as intellectual critiques of development and revolution.

Nicholas C. Beyelia

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Gershon Shafir and Yoav Peled. *Being Israeli: The Dynamics of Multiple Citizenship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. Pp. 397. Paper. \$23.00.

Gershon Shafir, a Sociologist at UC San Diego who specializes in Middle Eastern Studies, and Yoav Peled, a Political Scientist at Tel-Aviv University, analyze citizenship in Israel from 1882 to the present. *Being Israeli: The Dynamics of Multiple Citizenship* identifies three distinct discourses in the changing narrative of Israeli citizenship that the authors label ethno-nationalist, republican, and liberal. Ethno-nationalist citizenship is based on membership of a specific ethnic group (6). Republican citizenship is based on giving select minorities sovereignty ahead of the pursuit of individual interests (5). Finally, liberal citizenship tolerates religious, cultural, and political diversity by creating a self-limiting political realm respectful of individual rights (4). Shafir and Peled argue that these three discourses are identifiable throughout the history of citizenship in Israel.

According to the authors, Ashkenazi Jews, who emigrated from Eastern Europe, were responsible for the colonization of Jews in late nineteenth-century Palestine. In discussing the republican discourse during colonization, they claim that the Zionist attempt to secure a Jewish majority in Palestine created the political, economic and cultural institutions that eventually became the infrastructure of the future Jewish nation-state in 1948. Once Israel was an independent country Israeli Arabs were treated as second-class citizens. Although liberal discourse, identified by the Law of Nationality in 1952, granted citizenship to Israeli Arabs, they still did not enjoy equal social rights and civil rights. For example, most Israeli Arabs lost their land, and were ruled through by the military rather than a democratically elected administration.