

as a comparison to the frontier they study. At first the similarities might seem few. For instance, the Spanish technique of settling the frontier with subjugated Indians to be used as buffers against the wild Indians might seem to have no counterpart in United States history, but is it not possible that a similarity exists between this and the U. S. policy of Indian removal? Consider the case of the five civilized tribes of the South who were removed to Oklahoma and, whether it was planned this way or not, served as an effective buffer against the savage Plains Indians.

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NATIONAL PERIOD

Nationalism in Latin America. Past and Present. By ARTHUR P. WHITAKER. Gainesville, Florida, 1962. University of Florida Press. Notes. Index. Pp. ix, 91. \$3.50.

Nationalism is at once a concept so gross and so freighted with ideological passion as to make difficult if not utterly to confound academic agreement on its essential core of meaning. Professor Whitaker, in this collection of three American civilization lectures at the University of Florida, prefers not a definition as such but rather "a description of the manifold functions that the complex ideas of nationalism has performed in the hands of the highly assorted groups . . . [that] at various times and places . . . [have] made nationalism one of the dominant ideas of the modern age" [p. 7]. This function is more specifically that of "an instrument of integration and the realization of desired goals" [p. 24]. What the author has done then, without undue polemical fuss, is to adjust the historical approach and his own personal bent to that portion of the literature supplied by such writers as Carr, Deutsch, Emerson, and others of institutional persuasion who have treated nationalism as somehow descriptive of the extent and quality of effective community. The merit of this approach is that it permits relationships to be drawn among the nation, social class, ideology, and the general institutional order, thus avoiding the essentially tautological ambiguity and sterility of treating nationalism only as disembodied "idea" or "secular religion."

The first lecture draws a historical and conceptual baseline from European experience, which is then applied specifically to the Argentine case in the second chapter, and in the last is extended to questions of "continental nationalism" in Latin America and its effect on the

United States. Professor Whitaker sees the most important reflection of nationalism now as "the explosion of an ambiguous popular-authoritarian nationalism among the underdeveloped peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, abetted by the national imperialists of the Soviet Union" [p. 14]. The introductory survey justifies itself not as just another walk through well-travelled roads, but as an attempt to derive some historical relevance from Europe for contemporary Latin America. The Argentine example is treated with Professor Whitaker's accustomed sweep and virtuosity when writing of that country, but in this reviewer's opinion weakened abruptly in the short interpretation of post-Perón happenings. It is very questionable that ex-President Frondizi was "never more the nationalist" than when engaging in the economics of austerity, or indeed that that policy ever worked very well. This quarrel with the author's view is not a mere factual disagreement. The suggestion may be made that Frondizi was following neo-corporatist policies which were essentially anti-national, raising the entire issue of whether Latin American nationalism can be well discussed without taking into account the extremely strong resistance to the full emergence of the secular nation-state. A most reasonable case can be built for the argument that the inability of Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay to maintain self-sustaining levels of economic growth after their initial "take-off" is precisely because of their failure to pursue effective policies of "humane" national integration, a political commitment which this reviewer would indeed tend to define as the essence of political development for the level of social complexity at which the more advanced Latin American states now find themselves.

The concluding survey of "continental nationalism" permits the author many passing comments of much more than passing policy interest on such matters as Castro, Brazilian foreign policy, and the effects of populism on foreign affairs. Professor Whitaker concludes that nationalism of the conventional type "is still the dominant force in the key countries," and that whatever the inconveniences of this fact, nationalism is in balance an asset to the United States in the cold war as "the most effective of all barriers against penetration of the area by the Sino-Soviet bloc."

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El porfiriato. La vida política exterior. Parte segunda. By DANIEL COSÍO VILLEGAS. Vol. VI of *Historia moderna de México*, edited by DANIEL COSÍO VILLEGAS. México, 1963. Editorial Hermes. Pp. 967.