

secret police chief's repeated claim that the CIA was behind Letelier's murder demonstrates how fraught the relationship between the Pinochet regime and its one-time benefactor would become. So much distance existed between the United States and Pinochet that the Reagan administration eventually refused to support an important World Bank loan to the dictator and even began funnelling US aid to human rights groups that opposed the regime. A 1987 CIA report, only recently declassified, noted that US intelligence officials were finally convinced that Pinochet had 'personally ordered' the murder of Letelier (p. 223). US Secretary of State George Shultz reiterated this claim in a memo to then President Ronald Reagan, calling the 1976 assassination 'a blatant example of a chief of state's direct involvement in an act of state terrorism' (p. 224).

McPherson concludes that the Letelier–Moffitt killings were among the 'most consequential assassinations' to occur anywhere in the world during the Cold War. He adds that the subsequent investigation provided 'hope that ordinary people' might one day 'obtain justice against tyrants and terrorists even when their own governments were less than forthcoming' (p. 293). But McPherson's analysis of the Letelier investigation during and after the Reagan years suggests a less obvious – and certainly more complicated – legacy of the Letelier case as well. As the author notes, one reason that Reagan administration officials continued to pursue Letelier and Moffitt's assassins was that it allowed them to pivot toward an emerging national security concern: international terrorism. Propper notes that before the Letelier case, neither the FBI nor the CIA had any experience investigating terrorism (p. 295). In essence, by recategorising an event that activists had denounced as a 'human rights' crime, the US government repurposed the meaning of the Letelier assassination to align with its changing national security priorities in a post-Cold War world. Better understanding why and how the foundation for a global fight against terrorism emerged out of the murder of a long-time critic of US Cold War intervention is a topic that future scholars should explore further.

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Joshua Savala, *Beyond Patriotic Phobias: Connections, Cooperation, and Solidarity in the Peruvian-Chilean Pacific World*

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Josh Savala's succinct and snappy monograph deftly counters the dominant tendency among both popular commentators and scholars to start investigations of

Chilean–Peruvian historical relations from the premise of conflict. This is not to say his book ignores the long history of conflict between these two neighbouring countries. Far from it. Instead, *Beyond Patriotic Phobias* shows us how even within a context of military and territorial conflict we find many stories of transnational collaboration, friendship and commonality.

In some cases, what we see is a shift from conflict to cooperation, or vice versa. For instance, the opening pages of the book introduce readers to essayist, poet and politician Manuel González Prada (1844–1918), and reveal how his growing ‘nationalist and patriotic vocation’ during the War of the Pacific (1879–83) had transformed – by the early twentieth century – into an appreciation that ‘the real conflict involved internal inequalities and hierarchies’ and that the ‘poor soldiers and marines’ in Chile and Peru would be better off fighting together against the elites that oppressed them (p. 2). In other cases, the two contrary experiences or views play out simultaneously. We see this in the epilogue, which begins with the lawsuit over maritime borders that Peru took to the International Court of Justice in The Hague in January 2008. This ‘confrontation with Chile in the courtroom’ received a lot of national and international press coverage, and yet, as Savala tells us, in many of the printed articles ‘key political figures emphasised the need to see Chile as more similar [to Peru] than different’ (p. 137).

The five chapters in between the introduction and the epilogue walk the reader through a vast range of friendly Chilean–Peruvian interactions. Chapter 1 focuses on daily labouring life in the maritime world, with Chilean and Peruvian workers coming together through cosmopolitan ship crews, and Chilean and Peruvian state bureaucrats observing and liaising with one another regarding legislation (on desertion, for example). The second chapter interrogates contested conceptions of masculinity and debates about sex work, with the port cities of Callao–Lima (Peru) and Valparaíso (Chile) similarly lived and represented as markedly homosocial spaces. The third chapter explores stories about and scientific investigations into the spread of cholera, with increasing state intervention and overlapping legislative reforms in both countries, and a notable sharing of reports and research between Chilean and Peruvian physicians, not least *cuzqueño* David Matto, who visits Chile in 1888. Chapter 4 analyses anarchist labour organising, with workers in Mollendo finding common cause and political practice with the Chilean branch of Industrial Workers of the World. This chapter also underscores the growing transnational circulation of pamphlets, newspapers and magazines. And, finally, Chapter 5 scrutinises the policing – archiving, surveillance and repression – of labour militancy, with parallel developments taking place in Chile and Peru, and noteworthy examples of cooperation between the states’ police forces.

One of the key strengths of Savala’s book is the impressive range of source materials that it draws on and thereby shares with readers: ship records; government decrees; medical journals; scientific studies; international congress proceedings; population censuses; diplomatic reports; civil court records; police documents, journals and regulations; anarchist and leftist periodicals; mainstream newspapers; published essays; private letters written by workers on the ships; ministerial correspondence and reports; and literary works. Rather than racing through or merely skimming the surface of this treasure trove of documentation, Savala really digs

into it and interrogates its multiple meanings. The extent of the detailed research undertaken for *Beyond Patriotic Phobias* is highlighted by the fact that it includes just over 50 pages of 'Notes' to support 143 pages of analysis.

Such detail allows us glimpses into many different people's lives and views of the Pacific maritime world: Manuel Dávila, a day labourer in Valparaíso, in Chapter 1; Tomas Jhones tried for the crime of sodomy in Chapter 2; the above-mentioned David Matto in Chapter 3; Chilean anarchist Luis Toro in Chapter 4; Marino C. Alegre y Pacheco, in Chapter 5, who published a study of tattoos in Peruvian prisons in the late 1910s. All these individual stories – and there are many more – greatly enliven the narrative. We also get to see the diverse ways in which people interacted with the Chilean and Peruvian states. Sometimes Chileans and Peruvians connected precisely at state level. In other instances, the connections went beyond the state, and depended on specific individuals. There were also occasions when the connections occurred in the context of struggles *against* the state, anarchist activism for example. The state-level connections and the possibility of individuals moving in and out of the state apparatus – working for it, making demands of it, critiquing it – help to remind us that, neither in Chile nor Peru, has the state apparatus ever functioned as a monolithic, uniform whole.

The chronology of the book is worthy of note too. Broadly speaking, it takes us from the 1850s – long before the War of the Pacific, which, in line with Savala's main argument, means decentring war as a central organising component of Chilean–Peruvian relations – through to the 1920s. It was at the end of this decade that Chile and Peru signed the Treaty of Lima (1929), giving Tacna back to Peru but allowing Chile to retain sovereignty over the annexed province of Arica. As noted above, though, the chapters of *Beyond Patriotic Phobias* are organised thematically rather than following a strict chronological order. Some chapters are broad reaching and span several decades (Chapter 1, for instance, covers the whole period); others zoom in more exactly (Chapter 3 focuses on the 1880s). And then, to wrap up, the epilogue jumps to the twenty-first century, helpfully emphasising the contemporary relevance of the complex histories of conflict and cooperation mapped out so crisply in the preceding chapters.

Savala opens up our understanding of the South American Pacific in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century as a highly gendered and racialised space, where national borders were constantly being both reinforced and undermined. He also shows us how this maritime world functioned as a space of exchange, freedom and mobilisation, as well as of confinement and oppression. Herein lies the contribution of *Beyond Patriotic Phobias*, which is especially important and innovative when we are considering Chile and Peru.

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