

Second, Muñoz shows that Colombian intellectuals were also part of the nationalist trend that characterized Latin American cultural production at the time, a trend that was previously considered a consequence of the Mexican Revolution or the populist politics of countries like Argentina or Brazil. In this way, she paves the way to explore not only how Colombians read and listened to other Latin American intellectuals, but also how Colombians were read and listened to in other parts of the region.

Finally, Muñoz's narrative recounts the ins and outs of the functioning of the cultural programs, shedding light on yet another contradiction of national programs in Colombia, namely that policies designed in Bogotá were spatially limited as their implementation ran into multiple obstacles, from political neglect to budget constraints, at the municipal and regional levels. All in all, Muñoz offers a compelling argument for the comprehensive political and social change that the Liberals spearheaded in this period and the important role that education and culture played in materializing these changes.

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TRANSNATIONAL SOLIDARITY AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

South-South Solidarity and the Latin American Left. By Jessica Stites Mor. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2022. Pp. 266. Abbreviations. Illustrations. Notes. Bibliography. \$79.95 cloth.
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This book offers major contributions to several interconnected fields, most prominently Latin American history, transnational history, social movement studies, and solidarity studies. Decades in development, the project began as an idea Stites Mor had as an undergraduate student. It evolved through graduate studies and several monographs and collaborative projects before taking full shape during years of archival research. Indeed, Stites Mor's extensive research serves as a model of best practices for transnational historical methods: she delved into physical and digital collections in at least a dozen cities around the world. Notably, most of these cities are in the Global South, including Buenos Aires, Cape Town, Havana, Jerusalem, Johannesburg, Mexico City, and Tel Aviv.

Stites Mor's close attention to primary and secondary sources from multiple regions and in multiple languages allows her to expand existing notions and theories of solidarity movements. For instance, she posits that Latin American revolutionary states have been key players in building and maintaining solidarity both within their nations' borders and beyond, linking to other spaces in the Global South. The first half of the book develops this claim through case studies in Mexico and Cuba. Stites Mor first traces how, in the decades following the Mexican Revolution, Mexican state leaders welcomed exiles from

Chile (and other select locales) to demonstrate their revolutionary credentials, while also leading resistance to US hegemony in the region. She then explores how Fidel Castro's revolutionary state engaged with the Organización de Solidaridad con los Pueblos de Asia, África y América Latina (OSPAAAL) in the 1960s and 1970s, "render[ing] a vision of anticolonial conflict that facilitated Cuba's internationalism [and] helped shape the agenda of the United Nations" (52). In Cuba's case, Stites Mor pays special attention to how leaders encouraged art—including photographs, posters, and even comics—to construct "an idealized Cuban revolutionary posture" (82) and "offer. . . practical strategies of ideological resistance" (95).

The second half of the book turns attention to two other institutions through which Latin American leftists acted: political parties and the Catholic Church. Although these institutions certainly have connections with Latin American states, Stites Mor forefronts non-state actors. Chapter 3 examines how narrative constructions of solidarity with Palestine allowed Argentina's left—fractured by the dictatorships of the 1970s and 1980s—"to fashion a critical lifeboat," create new bonds of unity, and, ultimately, "rebuild itself" (100, 102). Chapter 4 traces Latin American Liberation Theology's influence on anti-apartheid and anticolonial movements in South Africa, especially through the work of justice and peace commissions.

The book has many strengths. Stites Mor blends ground-level and broad-gauge analysis in unique ways, and she knits together struggles in distant locales, countering Western scholarly traditions that treat Africa, Asia, and Latin America as separate and distinct. She also engages with the complex, layered, sometimes paradoxical, and always evolving nature of each case study, and even though the usual cold war characters are present, players of the Global South take center stage. She demonstrates the importance of local context, highlighting how the Mexican and Cuban states promoted their revolutionary interests in very distinct ways. For instance, many leftist groups in Argentina allied with the Palestine Liberation Organization, while their neighbors in Chile—despite sharing much in common—did not.

Although the book's brevity and broad view are strengths, they also can be problematic. At times, the author omits basic information, making assumptions about readers' background knowledge. Thus, a specialist in one site's history may find it difficult to fully grasp the story Stites Mor tells about other sites. Many students will find the text particularly challenging for this reason.

Yet, this critique may be less about Stites Mor's book and more about "Western" academia's patterns of creating silos and hyper-specialization. In sum, with this book Stites Mor joins the best of transnational historians in pushing traditional boundaries and expanding our understanding of the complex realities in our interconnected world. Moreover, she challenges scholars of transnational solidarity to expand our definitions of "activist," to attend to the long term of solidarity work (beyond the protest marches

and other public flares), and to uncover precisely how ideas of solidarity and partnership are communicated, received, and acted upon.

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COMMUNITY-CONTROLLED MEDIA

Connected: How A Mexican Village Built Its Own Cell Phone Network. By Roberto J. González. Oakland: University of California Press, 2020. Pp. 259. \$85.00 cloth; \$29.95 paper; \$29.95 e-book.
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González's accessible ethnography contextualizes and recounts the recent history of how the village of Talea in the Rincón of northern Oaxaca created its own autonomous cell phone network. Commercial cell phone companies told the region it was too remote to have cell phone service in the early 2000s, so a network of local community radio organizers, a small NGO, and a few other activists and hackers created an inexpensive noncommercial cell phone network using a central Internet connection and donated equipment.

The ethnography contextualizes the primary narrative with a very approachable, concise, and compelling history of Oaxaca's Rincón region since the fifteenth century. Along the way, it weaves in important themes of the literature of indigenous peoples of Mexico, notably the concepts of *comunalidad*, egalitarianism, the *tequio* system, caciques, *usos y costumbres*, and the extraordinarily diverse cultural, linguistic, and ethnic heritage of Oaxaca. González postulates that this diversity has helped to stimulate innovation and creativity in many aspects of the region's social, political, and economic organization.

This regional history and context is then deepened as González describes three festivals that he participated in during his initial fieldwork there in the 1990s. These descriptions in part serve to broaden the central idea of "connectivity," from local people using cell phones to connectivity with supernatural realms. The supernatural connectivity is brought back to the earthly connectivity through the quite extensive diaspora of Talean emigrants throughout Mexico and the United States who are interested in celebrating major festivals with their relatives in Talea. In a subsequent chapter, González probes the life of these diasporic connections over Facebook.

The story of the autonomous cell phone network begins with an indigenous media conference in Talea in 2011 that brought together local community radio organizers Kendra Rodríguez and Abrám Fernández with US-born rural development organizer Peter Bloom and Erick Huerta, a Mexican lawyer with expertise in communications