

intelligence unit in Córdoba to hunt down leftist insurgents. When he reported to the commander of the Third Army Corps, General Luciano Benjamín Menéndez, the latter looked at him and shouted, “¡Me mandaron un Montonero!” What did that mean? Why did Menéndez link the man who would quickly become the most effective anti-terrorist military operative under his command to the principal leftist group targeted for military annihilation, the Peronist Montoneros? Barreiro explained. He was no Montonero. However, despite the military government’s anti-Peronist political, social, and economic emphases, Barreiro was known within the armed forces as a Peronist, as were many of his fellow army officers. This is what set off Menéndez upon seeing Barreiro. Those officers expressed that Peronist identity, for example, in their sometimes-open dismay over the economic liberalism of the military regime and the attendant abandonment of working people.

It could be that Barreiro made up the story. Alternatively, he was telling the truth (or his truth); there may be an as yet unexplored question of dictatorship-era tensions between Peronists and anti-Peronists in the Argentine military. Or the story may lie in another direction. Whatever the case, *Argentina’s Missing Bones* points to a next important path for historians of the last dictatorship. Until now, with the exception of a small handful of military rule sympathizers, while scholars have conducted hundreds of interviews with former leftist insurgents, they have no oral histories with soldiers and officers active through the 1970s and early 1980s. Without that source base, we only have part of the story. And forty years past the dictatorship, time is running out for potential interview subjects languishing in jails and elsewhere. Between December 2015 and May 2019 alone, 165 former soldiers, security force members, police officers, and penitentiary service employees convicted of violent dictatorship-era crimes died in Argentine prisons.

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NAOMI SCHILLER, *Challenging the State: Community Media and Popular Politics in Venezuela*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2018.

In *Channeling the State* we follow the crew and volunteers of Catia TVe, a community TV channel situated in the Caracas suburb of *Manicomio*, while they struggle to engage in constructing the Bolivarian Revolution through the production of television. Catia TVe was founded through the initiative of local media producers in the 1990s and came to the government’s attention just after Hugo Chávez was elected to the presidency in 1999. The local channel

operated according to the logics of participatory media and communication that view media production as a tool for conscientization and political participation. In *Channeling the State*, Naomi Schiller shows the intricacies, nuances, and conflicts present in the daily routine of participatory communication. The book is the result of over two years of fieldwork with Catia TVE in Caracas, on the basis of which the author provides an in-depth analysis not only of participatory communication as a practice, but also of the multifaceted relations forged between the people and the state during the process of implementing a socialist alternative in Venezuela.

Channeling the State is organized in an introduction, six chapters, and conclusion. The individual chapters ably address and break down the complicated task of engaging in participatory community communication within the context of a socialist state in construction. The reader is first introduced to the relations between community media, particularly Catia Tve, and the emerging socialist state in the first decade of the 2000s, followed by a discussion of community media's role in the making of state institutions. Here we read a detailed first-hand account of how the process of producing media through participatory communication, including those in marginalized positions, works in putting citizens in closer proximity to state institutions. The next chapter, "Class Acts," discusses how class is embodied and problematized in the making of community media at Catia Tve and in the relation between community media and institutional media outlets in Venezuela. The fourth chapter delves into an ambiguous and complex triangular relation between people in Caracas's poor neighborhoods, the Bolivarian Revolution, and President Hugo Chávez. The last two chapters explore gender-related issues within Catia Tve, focusing on the intersection between gender and class, and problematize the liberal imaginaries of press freedom from the perspective of participatory communication within the project of a socialist state.

This is an ethnographic study of media with a clear socio-centric focus, which allows Schiller to problematize normative tenets in media and communication, such as voice, participation, and press freedom. The author pays much attention to communicative processes not only within Catia Tve but also among different media outlets in Caracas and offers the reader a thick description of the power dynamics embedded in the construction of an alternative to the liberal ideal of press. The lengthy and carefully conducted fieldwork provides concrete empirical stock for a problematization of Western ideals of press freedom and the separation between the state and people. It is a welcome and timely testimony that reminds us of the need to rethink and denaturalize liberal notions of press freedom as a normative ideal both within scholarly and public debates. The closing chapter, "Reckoning with Press Freedom" should be used as stand-alone text in courses

dealing with press freedom due to its honest and empirically grounded account of the complexities and tensions involved in attempting to universalize the Western model of liberal press freedom.

Another strength of *Channeling the State* is its intersectional analysis of participation in community media. Chapters three “Class Act” and five “Mediating Women” look deeply into the relational and shifting power dynamics in place within the construction of inclusive and participatory media in Venezuela. All too often analyses of alternative and community media view marginalized groups as a collective monolith without paying attention to the intersectional identities present within them. Schiller, on the contrary, shows that mechanisms of exclusion and invisibility are present even among those struggling for visibility and power.

Overall *Channeling the State* is a much-needed contribution to the fields of community media and Latin American Studies. Its publication at this time when Venezuela is in the midst of a serious political and social crisis serves to nuance and balance one-dimensional and biased accounts of the situation in the country. It is also a strong statement on how anthropological socio-centered ethnographic work in the area of media studies can play an important role in counterbalancing the proliferation of short-sighted technocentric studies of digital media platforms.

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KRIS LANE, *Potosí: The Silver City that Changed the World*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2019.

The recent book, *Potosí: the Silver City that Changed the World*, by Kris Lane is a valuable contribution to the study and understanding of Andean civilization and history. Lane explores at length the fascinating story of the fabled *cerro rico* or rich hill of silver discovered in 1545 in what is current-day Bolivia, and the extraordinary impact that one of the most famous and prosperous mining cities in the world had on Andean as well as global economic development. He chronicles the unbelievable riches and diversity of residents in this sixteenth-century boomtown, which made Potosí “an improbable global city.” Lane’s lively narrative most effectively draws together the wealth of primary sources, extensive archival research, and considerable secondary scholarship on the colonial historiography of the region, to provide the first contemporary chronological narrative and basic history of Potosí accessible to the general reader as well as scholars in the field. His concluding, “Bibliographical Essay,” is an especially