

tanist bishops hardly distinguish him among Latin American liberals of the era. And what concept of Brazilian or personal honor persuaded Pedro to continue fighting for Paraguay's unconditional surrender when both Brazilian field commanders, as well as their Argentine and Uruguayan counterparts, were convinced that the war was over? Rather than actively guiding policy, the Emperor seems to have confined himself often to defending the power and prestige of the throne, through cabinet substitutions, timely trips abroad, and the frequent threat of abdication.

Bernstein's analysis often founders in the shallows. Conservatives are identified as a rural patriarchy working for personal liberties, while liberals were the urban bourgeoisie favoring political liberties, with no attempt at elaboration or verification. Pedro's tactics of "amnesty, conciliation and compromise, of delay and gradualism" (p. 43) allegedly preserved order in Brazil, but the biographer could have questioned why such moderation was not eclipsed in Brazil as in many Spanish American republics, and what kind of order was preserved. An attempt to elaborate the explanation of "social and ethnic quiet" (*idem.*) by invoking declining Africanization and increasing Europeanization after 1850 suffers from both racism and inaccurate chronology.

Bernstein does provide a very human picture of the Emperor as boy, husband, lover, and intellectual, extracted mostly from the hundreds of letters, the marginal notes, and the few diaries. The book is more critical than the earlier biographies in English by Mary W. Williams (1937) and Bertita Harding (1941), but it lacks the imagination of Bernstein's own *Modern and Contemporary Latin America* (1952). English-speaking undergraduates would learn as much about the Empire from Clarence Haring's clear summary (1958), and the serious reader fortunately now has Sérgio Buarque's rich treatment.

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The Afro-Asian Dimension of Brazilian Foreign Policy, 1956–1972. By WAYNE A. SELCHER. Gainesville, 1974. The University Presses of Florida. Latin American Monographs, Second Series, 13. Tables. Bibliography. Pp. vii, 252. Cloth. \$10.00.

Brazil has in recent years greatly expanded and diversified its international activities. Owing to its continental expanse (fifth country in the world in terms of area), its population of 110 million (nipping

Japan for sixth place among the nations of this globe), its rapidly growing economy (a GNP of U.S. \$80 billions, challenging India for tenth place), and its expanding foreign trade, Brazil is increasingly recognized as a serious aspirant for major power status. Much of this change has been relatively sudden, with diplomatic relations established with the Chinese Peoples Republic only in August 1974, and a multi-billion dollar nuclear energy pact with the German Federal Republic signed as recently as June 1975. Similarly, the significant tilting of Brazilian policy in the Middle East toward the Arab countries dates only to the impact of the international oil crisis in 1974.

In general, academic literature has lagged rather badly behind these developments, a fact which makes Dr. Selcher's book very timely indeed. A thoroughly researched and solidly documented study, it surveys the broadening and deepening of Brazilian concern with Africa and Asia in the post-World War II period. The author demonstrates a firm grasp of major trends in Brazil's foreign policy, and generally manages to keep the central focus of his research in appropriate perspective by quantitative comparisons to Brazil's relations with other regions of higher foreign policy priority (specifically the United States, the rest of Latin America, and Western Europe). Following a concise and coherent summation of basic trends in Brazilian foreign policy up through 1972, Selcher embarks on an essentially qualitative discussion of the roots of Brazilian interest in Africa, the Middle East, and Asia (pp. 48–96). This is complemented by a largely quantitative transactions analysis which shows a steady rise since 1956 of Brazilian diplomatic activity in these regions relative to areas of traditional interest. Brief case studies of Brazil's relations with Japan, Israel, and India furnish relief from the heavy quantitative analysis of this central part of Selcher's study (pp. 130–142). He also provides a sensitive treatment of Brazil's policy toward Portugal, South Africa, and Rhodesia in relation to the fundamental Afro-Asian effort to isolate these bastions of white supremacy. This is supplemented by a basically sound discussion of economic issues including good case studies on coffee and cocoa (pp. 208–222). All this data and interpretation buttress a conclusion that: "Brazilian economic and political interests converge with and diverge from those upon which the Afro-Asian bloc has struck a consensus in much more subtle and complicated ways than the mere grouping of Brazil with Afro-Asia as a 'developing,' 'Southern,' or 'Third World' state would lead one to assume." (p. 229).

Two flaws detract from the usefulness of this commendable work:

lack of any index and failure to carry much of the data beyond 1968 (the period of the author's field research in Brazil). In most respects this data would strengthen the author's argument and accentuate trends which he has discerned. For example, even 1972 or 1973 figures on distribution of Brazilian diplomatic personnel by region show a continuation of the tendencies visible in Table 4 (p. 101). Given the tremendous expansion of Brazil's foreign trade (exports in 1974 were fully double those of 1972) in recent years, the cut-off date of 1967 or 1968 for a very substantial proportion of his time series is to be regretted. Yet to say that a valuable book could have been even more valuable should not deter any potential readers, unless they are seeking a convenient source of current facts and figures rather than a comprehensive and balanced treatment of an increasingly important facet of Brazil's foreign policy.

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Argentina and the Failure of Democracy: Conflict among Political Elites, 1904-1955. By PETER H. SMITH. Madison, 1974. The University of Wisconsin Press. Tables. Figures. Graphs. Bibliography. Index. Pp. xx, 215. Cloth. \$12.50.

With this volume Peter Smith demonstrates more clearly than ever that he has crossed the boundary that separates traditional history from the other social sciences. "Part history, part methodology, part reference work" to quote its author, this book is directed to a variety of audiences in various disciplines and were it not for its indifference to model building could well have been produced by a political scientist or a sociologist. This being the case the non-quantitatively-oriented reader should be warned that methodological discussions and tabular presentations take up almost half the space.

For those not intimidated by the statistical apparatus, and there is little reason to be so, Smith presents a clear, coherent and logical explanation for the breakdown of Argentine democracy after 1930 and the emergence of corporate authoritarianism under Perón. His principal thesis is that the Argentine constitutional system broke down not because of overwhelming pressures placed upon it by social and economic change but because "it proved to be incapable of responding to demands which were intrinsically manageable." The failure in short was political.

To explain the reasons behind this failure Smith focuses on the