The book's most original contribution is found in part two, "The Systems of Censorship," where Smith outlines in detail just how press censorship functioned. Self-censorship and prior censorship each receive treatment in separate chapters. Prior censorship involved the regular oversight of federal censors in the newsroom and in government agencies. It affected "probably fewer than ten" publications, primarily from 1968 to 1978 (p. 82). She makes it clear that prior censorship was illegal, secret, and rare.

Self-censorship, on the other hand, was nearly universal and functioned via unsigned orders (*bilhetinhos*) from the federal police between 1968 and 1978. Some of the most interesting material in *A Forced Agreement* describes the functioning of this system of anonymous directives that arrived periodically in the offices of all press publications. According to Smith's analysis of the surviving *bilhetinhos*, the most frequently censored topics were the contentious relations between the government and the Catholic Church, living conditions, government treatment of the indigenous population, and student protests. She finds that censorship was applied with roughly equal force to all newspapers, including those whose publishers and editors supported the regime.

In the final section of the book, "A Forced Agreement," Smith turns to an analysis of the press itself, especially its lack of solidarity, and the divisions among the various levels of the press hierarchy: publishers, editors, and reporters. In the end, she argues, the lack of solidarity among the members of the press was a handicap of their own making rather than something created and exploited by the military regime. Her final chapter, "Routine Repression, Routine Compliance," sums up her argument that it was not terror, but the normality of a "system that seemed to function automatically, virtually without agency or authority," that accounted for the quiescence of the press (pp. 178–79).

Smith has done a fine reporting job of her own in this slim volume. She has combed through a number of previously unexploited press archives, and this has allowed her to reconstruct censorship at the level of individual publications. Her interviews with journalists and editors are invaluable sources for recovering the history of the period. She is well aware of the limitations of her sources. The main flaw of *A Forced Agreement* is the lack of some sort of comparison (however brief) with other Latin American military regimes during these decades, something that would have provided a valuable perspective on Brazilian censorship.

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A república e sua política exterior, 1889 a 1902. By CLODOALDO BUENO. São Paulo: Editora Universidade Estadual Paulista, 1995. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. 377 pp. Paper.

Conventional wisdom has long held that Latin America's relationship to Europe and, more recently, to the United States, has had a formative effect. Foreign affairs have

often been seen as a prime mover in Latin America's historical process. Yet there have been very few respected studies of Latin American international relations, which have become a neglected stepchild of the historical profession. This study is welcome because it joins a handful of recent explorations of Brazil's foreign policy such as Amado Luiz Cervo, *O parlamento brasileiro e as relaçoes exteriores, 1826–1889* (Brasilia, 1981); Amado Luiz Cervo and Clodoaldo Bueno, *Historia da politíca exterior do Brasil* (São Paulo, 1992); Joseph Smith, *Illusions of Conflict: Anglo-American Diplomacy toward Latin America, 1865–1896* (Pittsburgh, 1979) and *Unequal Giants: Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Brazil, 1889–1930* (Pittsburgh, 1991); and Steven C. Topik, *Trade and Gunboats: The United States and Brazil in the Age of Empire* (Stanford, 1996).

Bueno's focus on the long first decade of the Republic (1889–1902) complements E. Bradford Burns's *The Unwritten Alliance: Rio-Branco and Brazilian-American Relations* (New York, 1966), a seminal study of the later actions of the Barão do Rio Branco as minister of foreign relations (a book that Bueno surprisingly does not cite). And by giving serious attention to relations with Brazil's southern cone neighbors at the outset of the Republic, Bueno adds to both Smith's and Topik's studies of Brazil's relations with European powers and the United States.

To the author's credit, he bases his study on primary sources, particularly the archives of Brazil's foreign ministry, Brazilian congressional debates, and contemporary newspaper articles from Brazil and Argentina. In the areas with which I am familiar, I found his interpretations well reasoned and judicious. Particularly arresting is Bueno's depiction of the debates at the beginning of the Republic, when Pan-American fervor and radical republicanism caused the foreign ministry to seriously consider reorienting Brazil's foreign policy away from Europe and toward the United States and South America. And in discussing the debate over retaining an embassy at the Vatican, once the Republic separated state and Church, he demonstrates just how radical some participants perceived the 1889 revolution to have been. In addition, Bueno shows that the civil war raging in the south of Brazil strained relations with Argentina and Uruguay and limited the possibilities of Latin American alliances. Over time, Brazil's foreign representatives returned to more conservative positions of realpolitik that resembled those of the earlier Empire. Border adjustments and tariff agreements became the principal concerns. Bueno wisely pays less attention to the border controversies that Burns has already analyzed; instead he reveals how active Brazilian consuls were in their attempts to open neighboring markets to Brazilian exports, especially coffee. However, the bulk of trade negotiations were with the United States, by far Brazil's principal market for coffee.

This useful book could have been strengthened had it expanded its evidentiary base. It is not clear to me that the minister of foreign relations and Congress made Brazil's foreign policy. Certainly the activities of the president and minister of finance should have been studied and the consular archives of the European great powers and the United States consulted. An exploration of nongovernment sources would also have been revealing given that much diplomacy was conducted by businessmen and govern-

ment officials outside of official channels. Indeed, Brazil's foreign ministry was characterized by its rather weak position in international affairs, which were more dominated by the finance ministry, bankers, and military officers than by Brazilian ambassadors and consuls.

Bueno tends to think of Brazilian national interests as they were defined and defended by Itamarati. But interests were diverse, divisive, and shifting. Regional, class, and ethnic divisions affected Brazil's foreign affairs. Greater attention as to why Brazilians acted in certain ways and the degree of national sovereignty Brazil enjoyed would have enriched this study. As an exposition of the actions and policies of Brazil's foreign ministry and consuls this is a welcome addition to a field that has been too long neglected. But to return foreign relations to a central place in historical studies, more subtle analysis that considers cultural as well as political and economic issues, and that includes a broader range of participants and a wider array of sources, would help.

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Tropical Multiculturalism: A Comparative History of Race in Brazilian Cinema and Culture. By ROBERT STAM. Latin America Otherwise: Languages, Empires, Nations. Durham: Duke University Press, 1997. Photographs. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xvii, 409 pp. Cloth, $59.95. Paper, $19.95.

In *Tropical Multiculturalism*, Robert Stam has produced a fascinating new examination of Brazilian race and culture. His exploration of representations of blackness (along with a subtheme that analyzes whiteness) will challenge scholars from numerous disciplines, especially through his use of a comparative United States/Brazil methodology that has fallen out of favor in recent decades. Indeed, by applying a term ("multicultural") used rarely in Brazil, Stam opens up new frontiers in the analysis of both language and social action.

Tropical Multiculturalism focuses on filmic representations, and from this perspective the argument that multiculturalism is a "pan-American" phenomena is well founded. For Stam, Brazil and the United States have had a mutual impact on each other "[ever] since the first Jews . . . came to North America via Brazil [and ever since] Afro-Brazilians . . . owned land in New York City in the seventeenth century" (p. 18). However, long-term interconnectedness, whether in the realm of artistic influences or the business of cinema, never prevented Brazil and the United States from developing in markedly different ways. Indeed, as Stam points out, Brazil is marked by the visibility of its syncretism, whereas the United States is founded on the notion that syncretism is hidden.

Much of *Tropical Multiculturalism* probes specific Brazilian films for both content and context. Examining everything from production to soundtracks, Stam shows a constancy in notions of race in films produced by both the Hollywood-like Vera Cruz studios and by the openly anti-U.S. directors of the Cinema Novo. One fascinating discus-