

radio programs, voluntary associations, and political participation. In effect, the work and writing of activists, journalists, and intellectuals such as Nicolás Guillén, Romulo Lachatañeré, Gustavo Urrutia, and Salvador García Agüero, demonstrates that black and mulatto Cubans not only enjoyed a voice but also set the terms of the debate regarding Afro-Cuban culture and identity. While Rodríguez-Mangual mentions some of them in passing, if she had devoted some attention to the ways these writers transformed understandings of African-derived religious practices, she may have been forced to rethink some of her claims about Cabrera's contribution.

**Alejandra Bronfman**

*University of British Columbia*

JONATHAN W. WARREN: *Racial Revolutions: Antiracism and Indian Resurgence in Brazil*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001.

From 16<sup>th</sup> century *bandeirantes* to 20<sup>th</sup> century nuclear projects and the ecological catastrophe of Cubatão, long-term movement into Brazil's interior increasingly threatened remote habitats and communities. A discernable dependence of rapidly growing metropolises on the diminishing Atlantic forest marked Brazil's entrance into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Determined to extract more resources for profit, the federal government embarked upon a program of "civilizing" the Indians of the interior, created a new political capital, and purged natural resources. Scholars have recently documented abuses of authority, repression of rights and citizenship, and human abuses of land that accompanied the expansion inward. Historians Warren Dean and Seth Garfield conclude, respectively, that the environment cannot adapt to excessive human needs and abuses, and the incorporation of Indians into larger societal networks left one indigenous group – the Xavante – in a state of perpetual dependence.

Jonathan Warren's *Racial Revolutions: Antiracism and Indian Resurgence in Brazil*, situated in the context of late 20<sup>th</sup> century Indian population growth in Eastern Brazil, documents centuries of mistreatment of Indian communities. Colonial Indian reductions and exorcising missions left a legacy of eradicating Indian life ways – tribal languages, marriage practices, clothing styles, cultures – and missions continued to evangelize, provide Indian slave labor, and encourage mixed marriages. During the old republic, SPI (Indian Protection Service) oversaw the progress of Indians as "Brazilianized" national workers while expropriating land, transforming modes of production, and encouraging miscegenation. FUNAI (National Foundation for the Indian), which replaced the corrupt SPI in 1967, reaped destruction upon Indian communities and failed

to provide health care, education, and labor needs. In addition, “the state’s tacit support of the racist conventions of its citizenry helped lead to the production of non-Indian racial identities” (82). Although supporters of democracy promoted Indian resistance as a champion of their cause, government agencies and ministries continued to emphasize miscegenation to erase Indians from Brazil’s past, present, and future. The Indian presence threatened Brazil’s 20<sup>th</sup> century development, which signified “a new beginning... from which a great society was to emerge,” (5) ostensibly one that excluded Indian citizenship.

Despite centuries of population demise, political repression, and human rights abuses, Brazil’s indigenous populations multiplied dramatically in the last half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This was particularly noticeable in Eastern Brazil, where state agencies had declared Indians extinct. Contemporary social scientists have argued that Brazilian Indians fabricated their Indian status for material benefits and government protection, and that 20<sup>th</sup> century Indian “rebirth” was – and continues to be – primarily a function of land rights. *Racial Revolutions* disputes this “racial huckster” thesis by underscoring ongoing racism and political disadvantages for Indians who actively promote their political agendas. Warren argues that early censuses in Eastern Brazil are misleading, and examines subsequent self-identification in several Indian communities.

*Racial Revolutions* dismisses the notion that Indian revitalization is a fabrication of traditions, language and culture, and challenges the assertion that Indian assimilation into dominant cultural practices is a foregone conclusion. Warren identifies social and political change as diachronic, with mainstream and indigenous societies equally affecting each other over time. The terms assimilation and integration are “troublesome” because they imply “the idea that one’s desired or inevitable orientation is in the direction of the colonial culture” (22). The author elects the term “post-traditional” to describe eastern Indians who revere ancient Indian traditions and reflect on the past as an essential component of contemporary Indian identity. Post-traditional is the “active attempt to rediscover, recuperate, and reinvigorate that which has been dismembered” (21). Indians aided by CIMI (Indigenous Missionary Council), the liberationist branch of the Catholic Church established in 1972, defied claims of invisibility, and achieved tangible shifts in racial definitions in the face of whitening and claims of inauthenticity. CIMI sought to revive tribal traditions and identities, and functioned as a pan-Indian organization at the regional, national and international levels. The subsequent aid and intervention of non-governmental agencies in Eastern Brazil had a causal effect on Indian identities, with ample examples of *mestizos* now claiming Indian status.

Late 20<sup>th</sup> century Indian resurgence challenges 19<sup>th</sup> century temporal constructions of Indians as prehistoric, anti-modern, and unchanging. Warren concludes

that Indian traditions disrupted by deforestation and appropriation of lands transformed Indians into subaltern, post-traditional groups marked by mixed Indian, rather than Brazilian, subjective identities. Discontinuities and “the loss of tradition [function] as a sign of racism rather than racial inauthenticity” (189). According to Warren, the tendency to categorize people into white and non-white (emphasis on blackness) in the racial historiography excludes Indians from discussions of race and class. Despite successful Indian politicization and ‘Indianing,’ or the “articulation and reproduction of an alternative symbolic order to whitening,” (259) fragmented black movements continue to receive more attention at both the national and international levels.

*Racial Revolutions* offers valuable lessons about 20<sup>th</sup> century indigenous populations in the Americas. Brazil’s 1988 Constitution legally terminated the state’s integrationist policy, and politicization of Indian economies and cultures has brought international attention to anti-racist movements. Despite tangible progress among Indian resurgent groups, however, substantial improvements are lacking in most Indian communities, and *fazenda* penal colonies are more than just painful reminders of the past. Exclusion from land and public and private economies, dependence on non-governmental agencies and state allowances, and poverty and poor health care continue to plague Indian populations. Warren suggests that methodologies and interactions between the academy and the subaltern are affected by mistrust of non-Indians. In turn, *Racial Revolutions* underscores that doctrines and judgments of the past directly influence Indian subjectivity. The fact that Eastern Indians refer to themselves as “*mais civilizados*” and not “posttraditional” Indians suggests that a racial revolution has yet to take place.

**Cathy Marie Ouellette**

*Emory University*