

connections with key issues (e.g. slavery and the Paraguayan War). At times, the coverage is too concise. The book could also have been more closely proofread. Overall, however, this is another welcome addition to the growing list of histories of Brazil.

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SHAWN C. SMALLMAN: *Fear & Memory in the Brazilian Army & Society, 1889-1954*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

The army exerted an enduring influence in Brazilian politics from the second half of the 19th century to the early 1980s. The range and scope of military intervention has been the subject of extensive academic debates, most of which aimed at explaining the military coup of 1964 and the 21 years of “bureaucratic authoritarian” dictatorship that followed it. The roots of military intervention have been sought in many aspects of the institution’s life, in class alliances and its relationship with civilian allies.

The internal and informal arrangements that determined to a large degree the officers’ behavior have not been a central issue for historians of the military institution, and the book in question tries to fill this lacuna. Shawn C. Smallman’s *Fear & Memory* relies on new manuscript sources and personal interviews to emphasize the role played by the informal structures that shaped both the army’s political behavior and the institutional version of its history. The author defines these structures as “the unwritten rules, organizations, and beliefs that shape power without official sanction or government funding” (5).

The book analyses the genesis and consolidation of the informal structures in the period from 1889 to 1954. Springing from a secondary position during most of the monarchical period, the army was able to overthrow the regime and proclaim a Republic in the name of order and progress. In spite of its proactive role in the 1889 coup, for decades the army lacked a clear program to unify the different factions around some basic demands, making the struggle for hierarchical control over privates, non-commissioned and rebel officers much more violent and personal than it is normally assumed. In fact, the lack of a clear military ideology, external influences, personal strife, and political divisions constantly undermined formal procedures, making the army vulnerable to instability. In response to this vulnerability, those at the top

constantly employed violence, torture and bribery to control the institution.

The ways in which the hierarchy was able to forge its own version of the army's institutional memory relied fundamentally on fear and practices of omission. Many episodes of violence, as well as accusations of corruption, were erased from the official story. Other episodes, such as the revolt of 1935, were conveniently distorted in order to justify the brutal means by which the defeated were punished. Yet others, such as the systematic repression of the members of the nationalist party, disappeared from the records.

The book makes clear the extent of racial prejudice in the military institution. From the 1920s, the opportunities for non-commissioned promotion were few. In addition, Blacks, Jews and other minorities were progressively discriminated against in the selection processes for officer positions. The evidence presented contradicts the historical institutional discourse, which sees the army as an oasis of good relations among Brazilians of all classes, colors and creeds.

Another good point is the emphasis on the role of personal relationships as a fundamental factor in the construction of alliances and the formation of political groups. This aspect is particularly well illustrated by the description of the process in which the hierarchy shifted from a state-led position to a more internationalist approach during the 1940s (chaps. 3 and 4). With a solid base in rich primary and secondary sources, Smallman demonstrates that pragmatism and personal alliances were much more important in the formation of factions than adherence to an ideology or a system of beliefs. Army officers were less dependent on their political connections than civilians, but that was not an antidote for a high level of endogenous clientelism.

The book also highlights the strong links established through corruption between the high echelons of the hierarchy, its cadres, and business interests. Corruption was always tolerated by civilian elites as a necessary weakness for maintaining the army's subordination. However, the promotion of officers to strategic positions in State enterprises increased the scale of corruption, reinforcing the links between these officers and various sectors of the business community. Special courts and violence often paralyzed any investigation, making corruption a safe endeavor for those at the top. In this particular respect, the book could have discussed more the relationship between factional cadres and the political parties established during the 1946 regime. Maybe it was not the author's purpose to establish connections with external structures, but the military did not function in a vacuum and a little more contextualization would not have damaged his point. More attention to national politics would have reinforced particular informal aspects of the institution during those crucial years. What was the role of party politicization in the internal disputes between nationalists and internationalists?

Fear and Memory provides a detailed description of the military institution and its motivations. The archeology of the informal structures looks at internal realignments to explain military action, showing that collective amnesia has remained the army's official policy for years. The signs of military discontent are traced from the Paraguayan War to the involvement in the authoritarian modernization and the ferocious anticommunism of the forties and fifties. It is worth asking whether the research should have delved so far into the past if the aim was to concentrate on the 1940s and 1950s. The emphasis in the *longue durée* is not always compatible with the analysis of the structure of personal alliances and individual opportunism so often emphasized by the author. In spite of these remarks, the book presents new perspectives for the study of many internal aspects of the military institution, showing that the complexity of events can be traced, many times, to the passions and motivations of personalities. Indeed, the book signals the convenience of abandoning a stereotyped vision when analyzing the obstacles that this bureaucracy established in order to hamper a full exercise of democracy.

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CHAPPELL H. LAWSON: *Building the Fourth Estate. Democratization and the Rise of a Free Press in Mexico*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

Si bien es ampliamente reconocido el hecho de que la libertad de prensa es una variable fundamental en la construcción y sostenimiento de una democracia, llama la atención el hecho de que sean muy pocos los analistas que se han aventurado a tratar de aclarar y establecer la relación causal que existe entre liberalización política y medios masivos de comunicación. Aquellos pocos estudiosos que han tratado de establecer esta relación, por lo menos en el caso mexicano, lo han hecho generalmente desde dos perspectivas: los medios como mecanismos de socialización política y control social y, más recientemente, como variables en la construcción de la identidad ciudadana.

Sin embargo, en su mayoría, estos estudios han estado plagados de visiones normativas sobre el deber ser de los medios masivos de comunicación escritos y electrónicos en una democracia, o bien no han podido establecer de forma clara las líneas causales entre identidad ciudadana y medios de comunicación.

El libro de Chappell H. Lawson: *Building the Fourth Estate. Democratization*