

Hunter's "rational choice" perspective claims that following the return to democracy in 1985, a self-interested emphasis on reelection, engendered by the change to electoral politics, has driven Brazilian politicians to disregard the military's legislative wishes. Hence, unpopular attempts by the military to weaken labor rights in the constitution of 1988, to garner a larger share of the national budget, and to exert dominance over Amazonian policy have failed.

Developments in postauthoritarian Brazilian politics are described early in this work, but the interpretation offered is fuzzy. Hunter often contradicts her own points. The argument that the military failed to obtain a strict antistrike law in the 1988 constitution because elected politicians did not want to alienate organized labor is followed by the somewhat contrary assertion that military influence led to 1989 legislation regulating strikes. The law may not have been as strict as the military wished, but it did produce the desired effect of lessening the severity of labor strikes.

To strengthen her analysis, Hunter briefly compares Brazil with Chile, Argentina, and Peru. She maintains that despite variations from one country to another, the validity of the rational choice approach, according to which electoral competition pressures politicians to deflate military influence, is evident in these democratizing nations. Hers is a brave attempt to bolster this thesis, but the comparisons lack enough depth to be of great value and become distracting asides that in themselves are worthy of a separate volume. Moreover, while militaries throughout the world seek to preserve institutional prerogatives, comparing the Brazilian military only to those of other Latin American countries carries its own set of problems.

Missing in this work is a well-developed sense of the Brazilian military as an institution and its historic role in society. What emerges is not a picture of waning influence but one of a politically adept military compromising in areas where institutional integrity and national security are not threatened. Rather than experiencing an erosion of its influence, the military has adapted to national and international change in order to sustain a preeminent place in the national polity.

The passage of time will show whether or not the rational choice proposition has substance in the case of Brazil. Nevertheless, this book will stimulate debate on the nature of postauthoritarian Brazilian politics. For that reason alone, Hunter has done a service to those interested in the evolution of the Brazilian military and political system.

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For Social Peace in Brazil: Industrialists and the Remaking of the Working Class in São Paulo, 1920–1964. By BARBARA WEINSTEIN. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996. Photographs. Illustrations. Tables. Appendix. Notes. Bibliography. Index. x, 435 pp. Cloth, \$59.95. 24.95.

This book focuses on the origins and roles of SENAI (Serviço Nacional de Aprendizagem Industrial/National Service for Industrial Training) and SESI (Serviço Social da Indústria/ Industrial Social Service). These were public agencies created by government

decrees in 1942 and 1946 that operated as private organizations funded by compulsory contributions from industries and controlled by Brazilian associations of industrialists. Unusual in giving industrialists such a central role in structuring industrial relations, these organizations allowed the self-styled “vanguard” of Brazil’s industrialists (centered in São Paulo) to develop and implement their own “rational” approaches to worker training and social services, while at the same time they minimized state intervention and virtually excluded the participation of organized labor. This “vanguard,” which introduced a discourse of rationalization in the 1920s, sought to increase productivity through rational organization, scientific management, and technological progress; these, it was argued, were the essential bases for achieving higher standards of living and social peace. By claiming for themselves (and their class) the technical and scientific knowledge necessary to modernize Brazilian economy and society, SENAI and SESI also sought to enhance their class image as the key agents of progress and expand their authority from the factory into the larger social and political spheres.

What emerges from this study is a picture of an activist national industrial bourgeoisie with an original and coherent modernization project. However, Weinstein does not romanticize this effort. Indeed, as she shows, the most widely diffused and enduring vision that developed among Brazilian industrialists was one of “privileged hierarchy, technical authority, and close supervision in the workplace.” Given what Weinstein calls the “particularly pronounced” derogatory views that industrialists held of workers’ culture and capacities, even the most “progressive” industrialists allowed no space for worker participation, much less control. Not surprisingly, both SENAI and SESI covertly supported the 1964 military coup and rejoiced when the “revolution” forcibly imposed “social peace”—the essential precondition for continued modernization.

Perhaps the most interesting part of this study is its analysis of day-to-day negotiations and struggles between labor and the agents of the industrialists’ projects. Weinstein argues that the very uneven and erratic implementation of scientific management and rational organization in Brazil did not inevitably lead to intense class conflict between the 1920s and 1964. In a country in which labor had been associated primarily with slaves, not skilled craftsmen, urban labor leaders—including the most militant—supported technological progress and industrial growth as the path to general well-being and security. Thus, she argues, labor was receptive to those programs sponsored by the SENAI and the SESI that offered workers the opportunity to obtain technical training, participate in innovations in the productive process, secure “professional” salaries, and enhance occupational health and safety. Nevertheless, although organized labor did not challenge the industrialists’ hegemonic discourse that linked social welfare to rapid economic development, it disputed the share that labor deserved of the benefits of increased productivity and sought (with the help of populist governments) to define and enforce the obligations of employers and the rights of workers. In addition, organized labor did effectively contest industrialists’ claims to being the champions of “social peace.”

This fascinating, well-documented, and richly nuanced study will recast interpre-

tations of the roles of both industrialists and labor in the history of twentieth-century Brazil.

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Os militares e a república: um estudo sobre cultura e ação política. By CELSO CASTRO.
Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar Editor, 1995. Notes. 207 pp. Paper.

This modestly-presented little book takes a refreshingly new look at the Brazilian army before the November 1889 republican coup. Castro analyzes the development of republican ideals among the students at the Escola Militar da Praia Vermelha and the officers recently graduated from it (the so-called Military Youth), recounting the precarious articulation of alliances that led to the monarchy's overthrow.

An anthropologist by training and author of a remarkable study of contemporary Brazilian army cadet life, *O espírito militar: um estudo de antropologia social na Academia Militar das Agulhas Negras* (Rio de Janeiro, 1990), Castro elegantly combines anthropological insights with new sources to produce an "ethnography" of student culture at the Escola Militar, grandly dubbed the "Tabernacle of Science" by its students. They created an extracurricular academic culture, voraciously consuming an eclectic mix of philosophers—Comte, Spencer, Haeckel—whose ideas shared a "faith in progress and the leading role of science" (p. 73). More important than the exact filiation of students' ideology was its spirit, eminently suited to their position in Rio de Janeiro society. Attending the most "scientific" academy in a capital dominated by law graduates, taking to heart the school's principles of promotion on the basis of individual academic merit in a society founded on patronage, constituting an educated elite in an army dominated by officers who lacked formal training, the students readily adopted "scientific" ideals and socialized freshmen into this culture through hazings, literary societies, and civic rituals. A republican regime, with its emphasis on individual merit and cachet of scientific rationality, appealed to these men, and Castro thus firmly establishes the social context for republicanism.

The relationship of Lt. Col. Benjamin Constant Botelho de Magalhães to the Military Youth is a major theme of this book. Castro's Constant is an unassuming professor more interested in Comte's mathematics than his politics, not the positivist ideologue who indoctrinated a generation of officers. To be sure, Constant and the Military Youth shared many characteristics—relative poverty, marginality in Rio society, and career frustration—but these did not automatically lead to their alliance. Rather, the self-taught (at least when it came to positivism and republicanism) Military Youth selected Constant as their champion, affirming his leadership in elaborate rituals, including extensive tributes staged to commemorate his promotion to lieutenant colonel in 1888.

Castro's use of personal papers, letters, and diaries allows him to humanize his subject; his wry sense of humor makes this a highly readable book. In November 1889, after a hard night of plotting against the regime, Constant returned home to daughters