

not as political but as rhetorical performances. What exactly, for example, does *sofri-mento*—the term used again and again by these women—mean to them? Where does this vocabulary come from? What do they mean by *consciência* and by the oft-repeated phrase *fazer alguma coisa*? The book does not begin to answer these questions; rather, it takes as self-evident the meanings of these terms and the women's constant recourse to them.

A further problem is that dos Santos says little about the circumstances in which the interviews were done, and about her own editorial interventions. North American students of oral history are likely to want to know more about these and other methodological issues. Dos Santos's introduction, with its discussion and justification of oral history methodology, its critique of "official" history, its comments on the role of the scholar, will be largely superfluous to North American readers who have access to a substantial literature on oral history, a research methodology thoroughly theorized by now.

Dos Santos's conclusion highlights key words in the narratives, but the assumption that this unproblematically leads to a collective vision seems to me weak. Particularly with Marlene's story (last chapter), the uncomfortable fit is apparent. In addition, this technique tends to efface differences and idiosyncracies, which are often very illuminating. For example, some of these women's politically incorrect comments are among the most revealing things they say, and more interesting than comments that seem programmed and predictable. Still, dos Santos's book is an interesting contribution to the growing body of oral history work being done in Brazil.

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A Forced Agreement: Press Acquiescence to Censorship in Brazil. By ANNE-MARIE SMITH. Pitt Latin American Series. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1997. Figures. Notes. Bibliography. Index. vii, 231 pp. Cloth, \$45.00. Paper, \$19.95.

In this well-crafted study, Anne-Marie Smith examines why the Brazilian press acquiesced to censorship during military rule in the 1960s and 1970s. She convincingly argues that the press's virtually complete compliance with censorship was not the result of fear, nor an indication of its support for the regime. Rather, the powerlessness of the press was the result of an "anonymous, routinized, all-encompassing system—and not the raw coercive power of the regime" (p. 6).

Starting from the perspective that censorship flows from what she terms "everyday forms of quiescence," Smith looks at "how repression was exercised and . . . the impact of repressive state practices in generating press responses" (p. 6). To do this, she divides her study into three major sections. The first, "The Context of Censorship in Brazil," provides a nice overview of the history of press-state relations. It is followed by a chapter on the tension between the authoritarian nature of the military regime and its pursuit of legitimacy. A third chapter in this section proceeds to outline the "mainstream" and "alternative" press under military rule.

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