



Review

Reviewed Work(s):

Le Brésil des militaires.

by Philippe Faucher;

Les partis militaires au Brésil.

by Alain Rouquié

Review by: Frank D. McCann

Source: *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 64, No. 1 (Feb., 1984), pp. 182-183

Published by: Duke University Press

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2514498>

Accessed: 12-07-2021 11:28 UTC

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date, I attempt to examine the ambitions and impact of insurrectional violence without depicting its combatants as either saints or sinners" (p. v).

The examination of the "ambitions" of the Montoneros is exceptionally well done. Gillespie has used interviews with several Montonero members, in addition to a wide range of the organization's printed materials, including most of its newspapers and magazines, and many documents meant only for internal distribution, to tell us more about Montonero goals and aspirations than one would have thought possible. In terms of what the Montoneros wanted to do and why, this is the definitive work.

Although Montonero ambitions are extremely well documented, much of the remainder of the material in the book is not. Descriptions of many of the most publicized actions of that organization—the occupation of the town of La Calera, and the assassination of several prominent persons, for example—appear to be based almost exclusively on Montonero accounts. More difficult to accept are the large number of unsupported (and in some cases probably unsupportable) allegations such as the claims that Jorge Osinde "direct[ed] the infamous Ezeiza Massacre against the Peronist Left" (p. 106), and that the armed forces took over from the police the campaign against the Montoneros because "the Army had not fought a war in a century and was not going to miss out on one now" (p. 233).

The author does not depict the Montoneros as either "saints or sinners"; nevertheless, it is clear where his sympathies lie. (Labels seldom are attached to leftists, while rightists frequently are called "reactionary" or "Fascist.") He is critical of Montonero robberies, kidnappings, and assassinations only in those cases where he believes these acts to have been counterproductive to the organization's long-term goals. In the last chapter, which covers the 1976–81 period, his criticism of Montonero strategy is of such a nature that the reader can imagine the author saying to himself, "If only I had been in charge, we would have won!"

In spite of its not always impartial language and its frequent lack of adequate documentation, this is a quite useful book. Certainly it is worth reading by those interested in urban guerrilla warfare, and by all those interested in contemporary Argentine politics.

University of Iowa

PETER G. SNOW

Le Brésil des militaires. By PHILIPPE FAUCHER. Montreal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1981. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. Pp. 367. Paper.

Les partis militaires au Brésil. Edited by ALAIN ROUQUIÉ. Paris: Presses de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, 1980. Notes. Pp. 139. Paper.

These books are products of the important work on Brazil being done in France. Alain Rouquié, in this collection of edited papers from a 1979 round table, explains that the title, *Les partis militaires*, reflects the notion that the Brazilian army has functioned as a partisan political group. One of the directing ideas of the

book's five essays is that there has been a permanent tension in the army between politically organized officers and the institution itself. While the army has maintained a high degree of institutional cohesion, many of the crises that led it to intervene in national politics were mirrored in the officer corps' political divisions.

The first of two essays by Antonio Carlos Peixoto in Rouquié's collection summarizes various interpretations of the military's political role, giving emphasis to the work of Alfred Stepan and Edmundo Campos Coelho. Manuel Domingos Neto's essay on foreign influence before 1930 argues that the transformation of the army's structure and methods of operation produced by German and French training implied a redefinition of the army's role. If there was a military party, it was composed of the reformist officers who transformed the army. Moreover, army reform changed the relationship between the institution and the oligarchy because it substituted merit for favoritism as the criterion for promotion. After the Revolution of 1930, officers who clustered around *A Defesa Nacional* began "a vast program of transformation of the Brazilian reality" (p. 62). Most important, the army was no longer a dependency of the oligarchy.

Covering the 1945–64 period, Antonio Carlos Peixoto's second essay examines the Military Club as an intermediary between the armed forces and the politicians. The club exhibited the military's various currents of opinion, while club elections served to measure their influence. It was an era of constant tension between the constitutional roles of the military apparatus and the ideological allegiances of many officers. Peixoto highlights the cleavage between nationalist and antinationalist factions, which disagreed over the model to use in industrializing Brazil. In 1964, the antinationalists won out, espousing traditional Brazilian liberalism, which fostered mobilization of the elites, suppression of popular participation, and close economic and military relations with the United States.

Finally, Eliezer Rizzo de Oliveira analyzes the decompression (*distensão*) of the Ernesto Geisel years (1974–79), which sought to adapt the armed forces to the country's new stage of development.

In *Le Brésil des militaires*, Philippe Faucher focuses on the period after 1964. He sees Brazil as a dependency of the world capitalist system, and his analysis of the political economy of growth traces the complicated process whereby development was purchased by opening large sectors of the economy to foreign investment. There was a correlation between the denationalization of the economy and the increasingly repressive political system of the late 1960s and early 1970s. Faucher brings his examination up to the beginning of João Figueiredo's presidency. His skillful interweaving of politics, economics, and power struggles within the army is an important contribution. Because of the difference in focus, the book is a useful companion to Peter Evans's *Dependent Development* (Princeton, 1979).

University of New Hampshire

FRANK D. MCCANN