as opposed to consumer goods in the ethnic markets of Rosario at the turn of the previous century. Finally, Fernandez provides insights into the ties of Spanish and Argentine-Spanish businessmen in late nineteenth century Argentina, and especially the work of the *Camara de Comercio*.

There are a few issues I might raise regarding this collection of essays. Perhaps the most important is the difficulty of applying the theories and models set forth in Nunez Seixas' lead essay to the specific cases discussed in the rest of the book. Furthermore, there is no conclusion that could have served to pull things together and enabled us to digest more easily what the book has contributed to our understanding of ethnic leadership. Perhaps, as Nunez Seixas suggests, the emergence of the pluralist paradigm over the past half century has made the issues regarding the nature of ethnic leadership so complex that meaningful generalisations and consensus remain elusive.

This collection of essays is important because it provides us with case studies of ethnic leadership of various kinds in difference contexts. As such it contributes to the on-going debate about the nature of this leadership.

Rutgers University SAMUEL L. BAILY

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Jeffrey Lesser, *A Discontented Diaspora: Japanese Brazilians and the Meaning of Ethnic Militancy, 1960–1980* (Durham, N.C, and London: Duke University Press, 2007), pp. XI + 219, $79.95, $22.95, pb; £52.00, £12.99, pb.

Jeffrey Lesser adds significantly to our appreciation of the complexity of ethnic and racial relations in Brazil with this study of Japanese Brazilians during the period of military dictatorship. With the largest population of people of Japanese heritage in Latin America, Brazilians have increasingly looked upon its *Nikkei* as a 'model minority' that is hard working, law-abiding and generally well educated. What this means, according to Lesser, is that Japanese Brazilians are not grouped with other minorities in Brazil because they are not impoverished or marginalised like Afro-Brazilians and other less successful ethnic groups. The *Nikkei* have become separate from the troubled fate of Afro-Brazilians who have drawn the vast majority of attention from social scientists. Still, the *Nikkei* are constantly subjected to ethnic stereotyping and misunderstanding in Brazil. They are viewed as Japanese or simply Oriental not as Brazilians, as many *Nikkei* would prefer. Lesser sets out to address these issues while attempting to elaborate a much more multi-faceted explanation of ethnicity regarding the *Nikkei* in São Paulo, where the vast majority of the nation's Japanese Brazilians reside.

Building upon his previous work on Japanese-Brazilians, Jews and Arabs in Latin America, Lesser has written a much more focused book with *A Discontented Diaspora*. The time-frame is short and roughly covers the extended period of military authoritarianism in Brazil during the middle of the Cold War. His focus is film and what he refers to as 'ethnic space'. He also examines Japanese-Brazilian radicalism in response to the military's repression. Two films are the centrepiece of Lesser's efforts to analyse 'artistic militancy' of Brazil's Japanese. *Noite Vazia* (1964) and *Gajin* (1980) are given the most attention but other Japanese Brazilian films are also discussed. Some of these films are produced by *Nikkei,* others employ Japanese-Brazilians as actors. Lesser reviewed scripts, photo images and newspaper advertisements for these films. *Noite Vazia* depicted the *Nikkei* in blunt stereotypical

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fashion. For this and other films it meant that *Nikkei* women actors had to conform to the *geisha* girl image with no real depth of character. But as time evolved, Japanese-Brazilian images in film, particularly in the erotic cinema, became more out-of-character. Known as *porochanchadas,* these Brazilian films became very popular in the late 1970s and featured a good number of *Nikkei* actors. Lesser interprets their involvement in the erotic film industry as a manifestation of their 'Brazilianess'. The superstar of these films was Misaki Tanaka, who played in seventeen films throughout the 1970s. Lesser views Tanaka as a prime example of the 'discontented diaspora' because – she argued – her acting in erotic films was a declaration of both her Brazilianess and her unhappiness as being stereotyped as simply a submissive Japanese woman.

Tanaka also had a lead role in the important film *Gajin*, which attempted to depict the fate of the Brazilian *Nikkei* from the perspective of their changing ethnic identity. Significantly, the film was received coldly in Japan and was never commercially released. Critics in Japan were apparently not interested in seeing a film that depicted the diminishing of Japanese cultural traits in Brazil. In reality, that is what Japanese actors and movie-makers were seeking to do. They wanted to reject the Japanese immigrant label and embrace Brazilian culture as individuals free of ethnic labelling. This, of course, put them at odds with the older and more conservative *Nikkei* in Brazil, who wanted to cling to Japanese culture for purposes of social stability. A small but significant number of *Nikkei* made an even more radical departure from the conservative and law abiding mores of the Brazilian Japanese community by engaging in revolutionary violence against the military government.

Radical political behaviour among Japanese-Brazilians dates to the years of World War II. Extreme Japanese Brazilian nationalists formed the secret society *Shindo Renmei* to perpetuate the false belief among the poorly informed Brazilian *Nikkei* that Japan had won the war. Using terrorist tactics, including the assassination of *Nikkei* community leaders, *Shindo Renmei* continued underground operations until the early 1950s. But Lesser notes the significant difference between *Shindo Renmei* and the radical activists who fought the military dictatorship during the height of the Cold War. He researched São Paulo police records to analyse the scope *of Nikkei* radical activism. As one would imagine, the number of *Nikkei* revolutionaries was rather small, perhaps less than one hundred. Yet these *Nikkei* were highly visible in the press and certainly evoked the attention of police officials who were aware of the experience *of Shindo Renmei*. No other *Nikkei* generated as much attention as Shizuo Osawa, or 'Mario the Jap' as he came to be known.

Lesser conducted an extensive interview with Osawa many years after his revolutionary activities, subsequent arrest and torture by the Brazilian authorities. Osawa's revolutionary credentials were certainly legitimate. He trained in Algeria in the late 1960s. When he was captured after an auto accident in São Paulo, his fellow militants valued him enough to gain his release by kidnapping a Japanese diplomatic official and exchanging him for Osawa. From his interview with Osawa, Lesser learned that the former militant felt he was a true Brazilian because of his actions against the military dictatorship. Osawa suffered imprisonment and torture that nearly killed him for a cause he felt was just. Yet 'Mario the Jap' was still regarded by the police and the media as a Japanese 'fanatic' in the same vein as *Shindo Renmei*.

This is an important book that examines issues of the Brazilian *Nikkei* ethnic identity in unique ways. Lesser has done his research well. More focused research

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of this type is needed for Japanese communities throughout Latin America. Now, particularly after more than 300,000 Latin American *Nikkei* have migrated to Japan where they have been received coldly, careful assessments of the troubled *Nkkkei* communities left behind is essential. Much of the diaspora remains discontented, but it is no longer in Brazil. It is in Tokyo, Yokohama, Nagoya and other Japanese cities.

U.S. Naval Academy DANIEL MASTERSON

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Luiz Bernardo Pericás, *Che Guevara e o debate econômico em Cuba* (São Paulo: Xamã VM Editora, 2004), pp. 235, pb.

This work examines the 'economic debate' on the industrialisation of Cuba from 1959 until Che left the country. Pericás thus provides a wider historical context for the 'gran debate', instigated by Che in 1963, on the role of finance in the island's economic development that is often linked with Liberman's 1962 Pravda article on planning, profit and incentives.

The preface by Moniz Bandeira, a potted history of the Soviet economy (using two of Kautsky's most anti-Soviet texts as prime sources) can be passed over. He takes a cue from Pericás's previous book, *Che Guevara and the Revolutionary Struggle in Bolivia* (1997), which argued that the image of Christ permeated his life, to dismiss Che's revolutionary humanism as quasi mystical. Here Pericás actually mentions 'mysticism' only once, when reporting Lwy's work on Che (p. 154).

Pericás's stated concerns are the discussions on centralisation and decentralisation, the different approaches to management and the influence of reformist economists in the period. His 'Introduction' gives a fair account of the Cuban economy from the 1930s, although 'imperialism' is not explicitly spoken of. What is useful is the account of the trade and aid immediately offered by the socialist states as the USA chose to undermine the new government and nationalisations had to be made. Chapter one starts with Che's role as head of the National Bank from November 1959 and chapter two describes Che's activities as head of the Ministry of Industries from February 1961. However, Che's use of the 'Budgetary Finance System' is suddenly introduced without any explanation of its nature or intellectual origins (p. 70). We are told that it had previously been introduced into INRA (Department of Industrialisation), unremarked when Pericás first discusses it on page 49. The reader is left to puzzle over precisely what this system was. Guevara's ideas of planning and budgeting are said to parallel those of Bukharin and Preobrazensky, whereby society is considered to be a single cooperating producer. Lenin's contributions, and Che's many references to them, are ignored here.

Chapter three describes important debates in the USSR, Poland and Yugoslavia on planning, the financing of enterprises, market experiments and material incentives. Their influence on Cuban administrators is discussed. Che's regular reflections on Lenin's contributions are left to one side. Che's concern in 1959 that allowing financial independence for enterprises would (and by 1964 had) lead to the reestablishment of capitalism in Yugoslavia, is shown to have been anticipated by Poland's Gomulka. Next a description follows of the debate in Cuba about planning, industrial management, the budgetary system of finance, Soviet financial practices, incentives, the role of the banks, the theory of value, emulation and

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