council model to increase the production of biodiesel, agribusiness and small farms, requiring performance standards for special credits. In Argentina, the subnational councils in the wine sector also lent support to the analytical frame. Whereas the council in Mendoza supported robust exchange of information between government and businesses in seeking to reform sector-wide practices and met with substantial success, the traditional subsidy programmes implemented by the San Juan government, in the absence of formal business-government councils, did not produce significant improvements in wine production. In most successful cases, however, Schneider acknowledges that councils also benefited from pre-existent networks between private and public actors.

Despite its sharp and timely contribution, what I missed in this book was a discussion of the ideological disputes surrounding industrial policy in Latin America. The book's focus on councils allows us to assess the institutional arrangements that enable robust business-government relationships, but tells us little about the public legitimacy of active industrial policy, which remains highly contested in many countries. New developmentalist policies have come under structural and instrumental pressure from financial markets and non-benefited businesses. At the core of this dispute is distrust of the state's capacity for economic planning and its ability to foster growth and productivity in the private sector. On this point the Brazilian National Development Bank (BNDS) is a telling example. Between Lula's second government and Dilma Rousseff's first (2007–14), BNDS was at its peak in mobilising resources and promoting certain sectors and industries over others. But as Singer (2015) explains in *Cutucando onças com varas curtas: o ensaio desenvolvimentista no primeiro mandato de Dilma Rousseff (2011–2014),* state activism ended up alienating some businesses, resulting in a comprehensive anti-developmentalist block that questioned BNDS' competence, and Dilma's developmentalist approach. Essentially, business flexed its power. Despite missing an analysis of the ideological dimension of these debates, the book contributes significantly to understanding the institutional engineering of successful business-government councils in the region. Anyone interested in the future of capitalism and industrial policy in Latin America should read it.

University College London TOMÁS UNDURRAGA

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **48** (2016). doi:10.1017/S0022216X16001152

Tom Chodor, *Neoliberal Hegemony and the Pink Tide in Latin America: Breaking Up With TINA?* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp. vi + 210, £58.00, hb.

Tom Chodor's *Neoliberal Hegemony and the Pink Tide in Latin America* is an interesting book in many ways. Few academics have had the courage to analyse the whole region's development over the last decades within one general framework, but that is what Chodor sets out to do. He dedicates almost a third of the book to describing a Gramscian critical political economy perspective and providing his views on the developments in global capitalism the last decades. The changes in Latin America over the last half century are subsequently explained in Gramscian terms: the development and dissolution of the historic bloc of the era of import substituting industrialisation (ISI), the role of a passive revolution of the *desarrollistas* in promoting ISI and how the neoliberalism initiated a new passive revolution in the 1980s and 1990s. The main part of the book concentrates on explaining how the so-called 'pink tide' governments (the

centre-left governments that came to power in Latin America from 1999) have represented at least two different attempts at counteracting the neoliberal hegemony. On the one hand, they represent a new revolution (exemplified by *Lulismo* in Brazil) and, on the other, counter-hegemonic projects, as represented by the Bolivarian revolution in Venezuela. The analysis of Brazil and Venezuela is followed by a discussion of the shifting strategies of the 'hegemon' (the United States) in Latin America, including its reactions to the rising influence of China in Latin America.

While Gramscian concepts such as 'organic intellectuals' and 'historic bloc' are frequently tossed around in academic as well as general public debates about Latin American development and politics, very few undertake an analysis so thorough and true to Gramsci's thinking as Chodor. This book is full of detailed insights and thoughtful arguments. It is also written in an exemplary clear prose, taking readers by the hand and walking them through the material. This is excellent for anyone seeking to quickly get a better understanding of changes in the region in the past 15 years. It could be included in the reading list for introductory courses to Latin American current affairs.

However, its high level of abstraction and outsider's perspective are problematic. Outside perspectives can sometimes be refreshing. Nevertheless, they should be presented in close dialogue with the social thinking emerging in the region. Of the 500 titles which comprise the reference list, only four are written in Spanish or Portuguese. There is a glaring lack of Latin American thinkers on the relationship between capitalist and other social forces, state formation and repression. There are seven references to Stephen Gill alone, but not even one to Raúl Zibechi, Álvaro García Linera, Aníbal Quijano, or Atilio Borón, to mention just a few. As a long-distance student of Latin America, I often try to imagine the world upside down. What if for example a Brazilian researcher wrote a general interpretation of my home country (and region!) referring almost only to literature written in Portuguese for a foreign audience? Would I feel comfortable that he or she had made a sincere attempt to understand what is going on?

Another problem is how the book tries to generalise. While it provides detailed insight of the *Lulista* project in Brazil and the Bolivarian revolution in Venezuela and despite its aim is to interpret the entire 'leftist' move in Latin America, we are still deprived of thorough insights into the particular developments in Ecuador, Bolivia, Argentina, or indeed Uruguay and Chile. Moreover, while categorising the leftist project into two categories, Chodor accidently reconfirms the outdated and highly criticised attempts at distinguishing between the 'good' (social democratic, moderate) and 'bad' (radical, contestatory) left.

The final chapter makes it rather clear that one of the purposes of the book is to argue against romanticising an anarchist solution in the manner of Hardt and Negri. Hardt and Negri have received some attention among Latin American social movements, even if the rejection of the state as a vehicle for social transformation was perhaps based more on concrete historical experiences of repression than the work of these authors. Chodor uses the ascendance of 'left tide-governments' to demonstrate the possibility of pursuing counter-hegemonic strategies by taking state power through democratic means. This is a valid argument, but Chodor fails to take into account all the challenges from below to the many projects that he lumps together under the title 'the pink tide', and even those that he regards as counter-hegemonic. Moreover, he makes little reference to the debates that have been going on inside Latin America's leftist movements, particularly on their relationships with the state and formal democratic institutions.

The failure to include such a discussion appears as a major omission given the deep problems recently encountered by what he refers to here as 'passive revolution' and 'counter-hegemony'. The counter-hegemonic potential of the Bolivarian revolution in Venezuela is deeply compromised by economic mismanagement. The strategies launched by the *chavistas* after losing parliamentary control illustrate the limitations of legitimising their rule with reference to popular support within a formally democratic system, as long as formal institutions are not governed by transparency and accountability or respect for distribution of powers.

There are indeed very interesting lessons to be learnt from the achievements as well as the current challenges experienced by the different political projects in Latin America lumped together under the headline 'the pink tide'. This book provides a good discussion of some of them, but would have benefited from lowering its ideological ambitions and aims for analytical generalisation in order to address some more of them more effectively.

University of Oslo BENEDICTE BULL

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **48** (2016). doi:10.1017/S0022216X16001164

Cheryl Martens, Ernesto Vivares and Robert McChesney (eds.), *The International Political Economy of Communication: Media and Power in South America* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. xxi + 195, £58.00, hb.

The present volume is concerned with the battles between governments and corporate or established media in South America in the context of the resurgence of the Left. As the posthumous foreword by Ernesto Laclau makes clear, most of the book's attention is devoted to answering questions about the polarised confrontations with media institutions in the populist variant of the Latin American turn to the left. The title and the introduction announce that these conflicts should be interpreted as 'closely related to questions of international political economy and the global politics of unequal development'. Part III of the book explicitly addresses the governmental media strategies and policy reforms in the wider context of the different patterns and alternatives related to global capitalist insertion that emerged in the post-neoliberal moment. In the first two parts, however, there are only lateral references to the international political economy dimension of the media-government conflicts.

Part I contains three chapters. The first one, by Robert McChesney, a leading US scholar in the field of political economy of communications, revises the theories on journalism and democracy and reconstructs the radical democratic media tradition in order to provide some references against which the outcomes of the current struggles in Latin America can be measured. The other way round, the second chapter, looks at the media reform efforts in South America with the aim of extracting political and policy lessons for Europe and the United Kingdom in particular. A third chapter, by Arne Hintz, centres on the significant and unprecedented changes in community media policy in the region, paying special attention to the role of grassroots and policy activism in the legal reforms that took place. The chapter describes the innovative and standard setting character of the new community media legislation in Uruguay, Argentina and some of the Andean countries. It also offers important insights regarding the factors that brought about these reforms, such as political opportunities, the formation of transnational advocacy networks, policy transfer and policy diffusion processes.