

one of the most striking things about the long history of antagonism between Cuba and the United States is how often the Cubans have tried to find a way to bridge the divide. ... Every time a new president took office in Washington, Castro held out an olive branch to see if the administration – no matter how conservative or antagonistic – might be open to better relations. (p. 405)

This is right on the money. They further explain that for Castro ‘at certain moments, other Cuban interests clearly outweighed better relations with the United States’. This, too, is true. But I disagree when they add that this was because ‘Castro calculated that Cuba had more to gain in its relations with Moscow and its standing in the Third World by intervening in Africa in the 1970s’ (p. 406). This is not consistent with the record. In November 1975, Castro defied Leonid Brezhnev by sending Cuban troops to Angola. In November 1987, he defied Mikhail Gorbachev by deciding to push the South African army out of Angola. Here I side with Henry Kissinger against Kornbluh and LeoGrande: in *Years of Renewal*, Kissinger admitted that in 1975 Castro had confronted Moscow with a *fait accompli*, and risked the Kremlin’s anger, because he ‘was probably the most genuine revolutionary leader then in power’ (New York, 1999, p. 785). Castro sent troops because he understood that the victory of the axis of evil, Pretoria and Washington, engaged in a major paramilitary covert operation to impose their clients in Luanda, would have tightened the grip of white domination over the people of Southern Africa. Castro did not keep Cuban troops in Angola to please the Soviets, but, as the CIA noted, ‘to preserve Angolan independence’ from South Africa’s aggression. As for the Cuban intervention in the Horn of Africa in late 1977 to defend Ethiopia from a Somali invasion encouraged by the Carter administration, the evidence from the Cuban, East German and Soviet archives shows that the Cubans believed, mistakenly, that ‘a real revolution’ was taking place in Ethiopia. It was this belief, not the desire to curry favour in the Kremlin, that led Castro to dispatch 13,000 Cuban soldiers to Ethiopia. What drove Castro’s policy in Africa was his sense of mission; as the CIA concluded, he was a leader ‘engaged in a great crusade’ (Quotations from Gleijeses, *Visions of Freedom*, pp. 113, 46, 25).

Obviously Castro’s sense of mission was not the only force shaping his foreign policy, but it was its foundation. This sense of mission, rather than the desire to please Moscow or to impress Third World countries, was the engine of his foreign policy and outweighed the desire for better relations with the United States.

My disagreement with Kornbluh and LeoGrande on this point in no way clouds the fact that *Back Channel* is a *tour de force* that enhances our understanding of US policy towards Cuba since 1959.

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Roger Kettleon, *The Country of Football: Soccer and the Making of Modern Brazil* (Berkeley, CA, and London: University of California Press, 2014), pp. xiii + 328, £18.95, pb.

Roger Kettleon’s book on the long, intertwined history between association football, Brazilian national identity, social processes and globalisation was the pick of the glut of books published to coincide with the 2014 FIFA World Cup held in Brazil. Building on the author’s knowledge of the intricacies of Brazilian history, *The Country of Football* avoids the potential pitfalls of generalising about such a diverse subject over

time. Each chapter focuses on particular periods, from the late nineteenth-century introduction of ‘a national game: *futebol* made popular, professional and Afro-Brazilian’, through to ‘the business of winning: Brand Brazil and the New Globalism, 1990–2010’ and an insightful epilogue on ‘Mega-Brazil’. The chapters weave social, political and economic history around the stories of selected key players and football figures, from Arthur Friedenreich, the pioneering black centre-forward of the 1910s, via insightful re-readings of the careers of the iconic Garincha and Pelé through to Ronaldinho Gaúcho. Brazilian star footballers of the early twenty-first century, Kittleson demonstrates, achieve fame in many ways and in part because of how they ‘reminded commentators of past greats, and in particular, greats who had exhibited invention and foresight on the field’ (p. 204). The book illustrates very clearly how the weight of history lies upon Brazilian football at every juncture, whether this be the commercial or self-imposed pressures to repeat historical successes, or the memories of the feel of stadia or the sensation of civic and national communion that footballing experiences can create.

Like most serious works nowadays Kittleson debunks the myth of British ‘fathers of football’ in Brazil, instead arguing that the ‘energetic pioneering figures’, like Charles Miller in São Paulo and Oscar Cox in Rio de Janeiro in the 1890s, ‘represented a set of values – particularly fair play and amateur spirit – that many in the local elite found appealing’ (p. 17). Assumptions about ‘race’ that lay behind this thinking have proved remarkably resilient. For black pioneering footballers, ‘race ... was an increasingly tricky issue’. Friedenreich, for example, directed his off-field efforts ‘to look and act like the white elites around him’ (p. 29). Mário Filho, writer, editor, campaigner and administrator, reflected on Friedenreich in *O negro no futebol brasileiro* (1947), which Kittleson uses to show how football ‘became Brazilian by virtue of its domination by Afro-Brazilian players’ (p. 48). Filho and Gilberto Freyre were just two of the Brazilian writers who used football, and particularly the feats and characteristics of Afro-Brazilian footballers, to propose a bright future for Brazilian society based on drawing lessons from the football pitch. From the inclusive vision of society which flourished in *futebol*, a field of ‘comparatively “soft” race relations’, came the Brazilian World Cup winning teams of 1958, 1962 and 1970, which were stacked with Afro-Brazilians like Pelé and Didi and *mestiços* such as Garincha, and who ‘seemed to perform the country’s racial democracy’ (p. 55). Football’s social role, and the responsibility of footballers, came to be to make Brazilians feel better about themselves on every possible level. This situation was clearly unsustainable.

During the 1970s and 1980s, the conflict between *futebol arte* and *futebol força* became ever more visible in Brazil, an ideological contest between managers and journalists made political by the interventions into sport of the military dictatorship. Through insightful analysis of key footballing protagonists, in particular Caju and Reinaldo, Kittleson teases out the multiple meanings of football against an overtly militarised backdrop. His sharp synthesis of the early 1980s Corinthian Democracy project, most closely linked with the midfielder-activist Socrates, demonstrates the political spaces that the sport opened up, and the contradictions and conflicts that closed them down.

The book ends with an insightful discussion of the branding of Brazilian football through the 1990s and the incestuous political and commercial relationships that underpinned it. The extraordinary ‘grip’ that Ricardo Teixeira held over Brazilian football is explained ‘in part because of his extraordinary “articulation” of political and business alliances’ (p. 199). The furore over Nike and the circumstances

surrounding Ronaldo's appearance and performance in the 1998 World Cup Final are dissected with aplomb though it is passed over rather too quickly for this reader's liking. The combination of broad *longue durée* analysis with in-depth case studies is very effective, but often I felt that major events like this deserved more thorough interrogation. There is lots of discussion of identity, performance and racial stereotyping here, though nothing explicitly on gender, and no mention of women watching let alone playing football. This seems an open goal that has been missed, given that Marta, for example, became such a global icon and brand at just the same time as the latter male footballers discussed here.

The Country of Football has clearly emerged from the author's immersion in the Brazilian historiography as well as English-language sources, and the bibliography alone will be a vital guide to scholars of the subject. Kittleson's concluding remarks on 'Mega-Brasilidade' and 'Tropicália for Sale' are rather more cautious than those of Dave Zirin in *Brazil's Dance with the Devil* and David Goldblatt in *Futebol Nation*. This seems appropriate, as the book conveys a sense of the deep meanings that have been ascribed to the individual footballers and the long-term evolutions in football's relationship to urban and national identities in Brazil over the last hundred years, football's century. The new start and new faces presented to the world in 2014 are a fresh manifestation of the way football has been shaped by global and national political and economic forces, themselves marked by many continuities. Arthur Friedenreich and Neymar would have lots to talk about.

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R. Ben Penglase, *Living with Insecurity in a Brazilian Favela: Urban Violence and Daily Life* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University press, 2014), pp. xi + 210, \$26.95, pb.

When I first picked up this book, I asked myself, 'Do we really need another ethnography of life in Rio's favelas?' I mean what about favelas in Campo Grande or Uberaba? Or better still, ethnographies of public housing projects, or the sprawling *subúrbios*? Luckily, in this case, the answer is yes, as there is much to like about Ben Penglase's short but eminently readable book about coping with violence or, more to the point, the threat of violence in everyday life.

The book is based on 18 months of research in a Zona Norte favela that the author calls 'Caxambu' between 1998 and 1999, followed by a return to the field in 2001. It is what I would call a fairly standard anthropological text in that it is told through the eyes and voice of the ethnographer who calls upon specific events and conversations to connect to and converse with broader theoretical themes and perspectives. Hence there are the usual references to and discussions of race, gender, gangs, factions, police violence and public policy that you will come across in other places.

The primary focus of the book, however, is the way that the residents of Caxambu deal with the insecurity that is a constant factor in their lives. Specifically, how do they navigate between two violent and potentially lethal forces? The first of these forces are the gangs that, as the author details, occupied and came to dominate Rio's favelas following their initial involvement with the drug trade in the early 1980s. In Caxambu the drug gang operates much like gangs in other places in that it, forcibly, exchanges silence for protection. In other words, gangs establish order, of a sort, in a world where