

Bolsonaro and of largely keeping Black people out of universities, politics and diplomacy to label itself a 'racial democracy', exceptionally suited to lead development in Africa. What sets Quintão's chapter apart from other texts on Brazil-Africa relations is its call for self-reflexivity among scholars and a statistics-supported exposition of intersectional exclusion in Brazil, a country composed of starkly different levels of socioeconomic access and development, crippled by inequality among races, genders and classes, and by its self-hatred. The editors should be commended for including this dimension, so setting an important precedent in the field.

ANA BEATRIZ RIBEIRO

Ana Beatriz Ribeiro: Modernization Dreams, Lusotropical Promises: A Global Studies Perspective on Brazil-Mozambique Development Dynamics. Africa-Europe Group for Interdisciplinary Studies 23. Leiden: Brill 2020, 340 pages, 70,00 Euro.

In this book, Ana Beatriz Ribeiro provides an important contribution to history, international relations, and contemporary analysis of South-South development initiatives. The text engages carefully with Brazil's role as an 'emerging' power in the early 21st century. By framing her study in what might be considered a 'founding myth' of lusotropicalism, Ribeiro highlights the extent to which the notion of lusotropicalism has been consistently bent to meet the needs of actors from across the political spectrum.

Lusotropicalism is a sociological theory developed by Gilberto Freyre in the early 20th century that claimed Brazil was somehow less racist than other countries due to the 'mixtures' enabled by its climate. The broad work of this book is to show how various political regimes in Brazil have drawn upon the idea of lusotropicalism

to motivate, justify and consolidate interactions with various African countries, and importantly how those interventions have been received in Mozambique.

The first chapter, *Opinion-makers and the Making of Cooperation*, conceptualises Brazil-Mozambique studies. It is useful to see a field of development that has little reference to the global North, and instead shows two countries with full agency trying to make benefit for their own agendas. It shows the resilience of the idea of lusotropicalism and the extent to which this still “may be shaping development discourses and policies as a brand of the modernization paradigm” (p.73), even if in most cases the theory itself is not explicitly articulated.

In *(Luso)tropical Development as Policy in Brazil* (chapter 2), Ribeiro traces the interconnections in historical and contemporary exchange across the former Portuguese empire and into modern nation states. She reveals a history of long-term relationships and friendships, often but not exclusively emerging from mutualities facilitated by the Portuguese language. Readers interested in intellectual histories will find this chapter compelling, as it shows the linkages of diplomacy, culture,

and economics as far more effective tools than outright political policy, which comes and goes depending on the fortunes of political parties.

Diplomats, Technocrats and Reality Checks (chapter 3) is an exploration of rhetoric that has shifted over different periods of international history. The world wars, cold war, decolonisation, socialism and into the present term of Jair Bolosanaro, have all impacted how ‘Africa’ as an imaginative construct has been negotiated in Brazil. Here the tension between similarity and specificity becomes tangible, as diverse actors have sought to fulfil personal agendas across long periods of time. The chapter concludes with an analysis of ‘pragmatism’ as it applies to *both* Brazil and Mozambique’s use of Portuguese sociological theory: “Pragmatism, after all, can involve discursive recycling when convenient, even if it is from actors once deemed one’s enemies, such as the former metropole. The Brazilian and Mozambican states seem to share the ability to save the malleable parts of discourses first designed to oppress them (modernization, lusotropicalism) and retrofit them to serve their own capital expansion projects” Ribeiro writes on page 158.

This pragmatic use of theory is demonstrated in chapter four, which focuses on *Aid, Agency, and Extraction in Mozambique*. Here, Ribeiro parses the very interesting position of Brazil as both aid recipient and aid donor. She shows how Brazil simultaneously emulated 'traditional' donor behaviour through its investments in Mozambique, and also tried to position itself as different to the global North: more approachable, accessible, understanding.

Whilst the desire to profit in Mozambique clearly drove much of the 'aid' outreach through corporate intervention in agriculture and pharmaceuticals, Brazil also hoped to show the international community that it had moved into a role of skills transferrer, rather than skills recipient. Through careful analysis of two case studies, Ribeiro shows how 'South-South' cooperation is rarely able to be just that. Instead, these interactions occur within discursive and pragmatic fields already moulded by capital and relational flows that in this case limit the success of both projects.

Dependency, Development and Liberalisation opens productive points of reflection for how Brazil and Mozambique have 'modernised' going into the 21st century.

What is striking again is the pragmatism of the leadership of both countries, which navigated changing political tides, however imperfectly, with the broad goal of improving opportunities at home. The relationships forged in public health and agriculture that Ribeiro considers show the danger of unquestioned stereotypes and popular opinion, which informed decisions made by commercial and policy-leaders with regard to multi-million dollar projects that appear to have largely stalled by the time of writing. Brazilians, like so many before them, have projected assumptions onto 'Africa' that do not work, and proven themselves as unwilling to attend to local nuances as the legions of failed 'developments' before theirs.

The final chapter, *The Enduring Legacy of Lusotropicalism*, paints a picture of a group of diplomats and businesspeople from both Brazil and Mozambique who want the world to be different to how it is. The desire for easy fixes, which mimic the shared understanding of a Brazilian telenovela, has permeated interactions between both countries for several decades. That desire has a powerful effect, and Ribeiro's work allows readers to see how Lusotropicalism keeps resur-

facing as a justification, despite many critiques that show it to be both false and problematic. Underpinning lusotropicalism lies capitalism, and implicit to the text is the argument that unless capitalism is engaged with as the foundation for all interactions for Mozambicans and Brazilians alike, the rhetoric of lusotropicalism will continue to be used as a distraction whilst the 'real work' of extraction, profit, labour and personal vanity continues.

The book is a masterful academic study of the interactions between two countries, and an important contribution to International Relations, in particular. It shows the pragmatic agency of individuals and collectives as regards the fulfilment of different needs. It is extremely dense in writing style, and non-specialist readers may at times find it difficult to get through, but well worth the effort for those willing to take the time. A more explicit engagement with how the dynamics of Brazil-Mozambique cooperation intersect with those of other donors (including not only China and South Africa but also the big players such as the USA and EU regions) might have opened the readership of the text beyond a specialist audience. This pertains particularly to students

of IR, whose exposure to texts showing the agency of 'developing countries' is often woefully limited. It is an important topic and my hope is that, having provided historical nuance and specificity in this work, the author now expands and develops the 'so what' argument to include the dynamics of international aid at a global level, showing how aid, itself, is ultimately a product of extractive capitalism.

JESS AUERBACH