The Industrialization of São Paulo, 1880-1945. By Warren Dean. Austin, 1969. University of Texas Press for the Institute of Latin American Studies. Map. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. Pp. x, 263. $7.50.

Despite a century of industrialization, Brazil has never developed a total national commitment to industrial development or mobilized a reasonable proportion of its internal capital resources for such a goal. It has consistently allowed its industrial plant to deteriorate and has completely failed to develop an expanding domestic market. Where have the industrialists been? Why have they not worked to create a developmentalist mystique among the urban masses and middle classes? Why have they not utilized their economic power to seize political control and their political power to enhance their economic positions? Why have they not set themselves the task of expanding the consuming power of the Brazilians either directly through better wages or through governmental redistributive efforts? And finally, why have they been so unwilling or unable to oppose those steps that have denationalized Brazil's industrial park and placed effective decision-making in the hands of foreign corporations?

Warren Dean explains these characteristics by pointing to the planter-oriented mentality of the early industrialists and the failure of their successors to break out of this mold. The first generation was made up either of planters themselves or of immigrants whose ambition was to identify with the landowning social elite. The second generation was formed by the merger of these two groups through marriage or business alliance. The subsequent growth of the industrial class has been fed by new immigrant groups willing to take their cues from the established leadership. The industrialists have repeatedly allied themselves politically with the planters, whether against importers, urban consumers, or workers. Of course, there was a certain economic logic behind this alliance. As Dean shows in an able critique of the Baer-Furtado-*et aliter* thesis, World War I and the Great Depression did not provide an important impetus toward Brazil's industrial growth; instead it was a prosperous export trade.

But as a result, the values, attitudes, and aspirations of the São Paulo industrialists have not been conducive to the self-sustained growth of a mass industrialized society. Like the planter before him, the industrialist depended upon the importer to provide marketing skills and capital. Also like the planter, he never regarded his work-

Downloaded from http://dup.silverchair.com/hahr/article-pdf/50/4/822/743897/0500822.pdf by guest on 23 April 2024

ers as potential consumers or allies. Mass consumption was not even accepted as necessary for success. The industrialist did not recruit the urban middle groups, either as share owners or as ideological co-religionists. Even when Getúlio Vargas—after 1937 and then only for very pragmatic political reasons—took up the goal of industrialization, the very businessmen from whom the most should have been expected played only a passive role. In effect they were still planters.

Dean is too good a historian to accept the half-baked data often used by economists, and he has carefully re-examined the statistics upon which earlier interpretations have rested. But as a consequence the precise nature of the economy too often remains unclear. Apparently it is not possible to arrive at a firm conclusion on exactly what proportion of Brazil's industrial capital was invested in flour milling and textiles, or how many workers were engaged in metal working at any particular time, or how fast the economy grew in the 1920s. Dean has not had (or has not sought) access to the internal documentation and private papers of business firms and businessmen that would have yielded the kind of evidence which historians consider the most valid indication of attitudes and even actions. Trade association newsletters, government publications, pamphlets, and even business registry records yield only a vague sense of process. Only in the case of Francisco Matarazzo is enough information available from printed sources to provide more than the coldest facts.

Yet Dean is at his best when presenting the more subjective aspects of his story—that is, the positions taken by industrialists in the face of challenges or issues. His chapter on their response to labor agitation is particularly lively, partly because he uses some heavy sarcasm to drive home his criticism of their behavior. In this and similar sections Dean reveals a fascination with the ruthlessness of the businessman's in-fighting and labor practices—Matarazzo had half-sized machines for the use of children in his shops. Perhaps this is all too characteristic of us, the professorial outsiders. And Dean too often criticizes Brazil's industrial-capitalists because they did not live up to the nineteenth-century entrepreneurial model, thereby suggesting that this would have led to the good life or that such a performance must be turned in before a society can be promoted to a higher stage.

The Industrialization of São Paulo will certainly be placed on lists of required reading for those interested in the issue or the period. Although it is true that Dean is sometimes carelessly unmindful of the student who may lack background information, he has here pre-

Downloaded from http://dup.silverchair.com/hahr/article-pdf/50/4/822/743897/0500822.pdf by guest on 23 April 2024

sented a perceptive analysis and a frequently revisionist interpretation of a vitally important aspect of Brazil's economic history.

University of Texas, Austin RICHARD GRAHAM

O ciclo de Vargas. Vol. VIII: *1935. A revolta vermelha.* By HÉLIO SILVA. Rio de Janeiro, 1969. Editôra Civilação Brasileira. Illustrations. Notes. Index. Pp. 476. Paper.

Just before the invasion of Brasil in 1623, Willem Usselincx warned his fellow principals of the Dutch West India Company that Brazil was not "the kind of cat to be taken without gloves," and that it would cause no end of headaches for those who thought to take and tame it with ease. The same admonition seems singularly timely and appropriate for the historian—native or foreign—who wishes to provide us with meaningful interpretations of the events in the life of that complex country.

Too many authors have rushed their treatments of modern and recent Brazilian history into print as premature syntheses without having gone through the painstaking work of first collecting and then winnowing the documentary evidence in order to determine what has contributed to making Brazil a different kind of "cat."

Hélio Silva does not fall into this conventional error. His unique contribution to Brazilian historiography consists in providing fellow-historians with narratives heavily based on documents culled from archives, private papers, and other primary sources, which more often than not he cites *in extenso.* The present volume—the eighth in a series entitled *O ciclo de Vargas*—is another building block in the documentary foundation which Silva has been laying for recent Brazilian history. Hence the historian interested in Brazil's evolution during the last half century would ignore Silva's formidable array of primary evidence at his own peril.

Having said this, however, we must point out that this work, like most of the companion volumes preceding it, is much more valuable for the documentary evidence which it brings to light than for the historical interpretation which it provides. There is little here to help us understand the interrelationship of the socio-economic forces underlying the conflicts involving liberal-leftists on the one hand, and traditionalist-rightists on the other, with the *Getulistas* in the middle. What we need here is a gold thread of meaning which can run through the skein of men and events leading up to 1935, a crucial year in the recent history of Brazil, culminating in the ill-starred leftist-

Downloaded from http://dup.silverchair.com/hahr/article-pdf/50/4/822/743897/0500822.pdf by guest on 23 April 2024