

The Historiography of Brazil, 1889–1964, Part II

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PART I of this article, published in the previous issue, discussed the ideologies and assumptions which have shaped history writing on the years between the founding of the Republic in 1889 and the coup of 1964. The remainder of Part I was devoted to political history. Part II, which follows, begins with a brief discussion of the study of state and local politics. Longer sections are then devoted to economic history and foreign relations.

State and Local Politics

Most writing on Brazilian political history between 1889 and 1964 has been of the conventional variety which focuses on intra-elite competition for high office. Yet the political realities on the local level often bore little relation to the rhetoric of the Congressional chambers in Rio, especially during the Old Republic.¹ It was a Republican article of faith that Brazil could develop only by dismantling much of the centralized government of the Empire, and returning important power to the states. Thus, for example, the state government of São Paulo, not the federal regime, financed and administered most of the European immigration which poured into Brazil before 1930. Any understanding of the modernizing policies, above all during the Old Republic, must rest on a solid appreciation of events in the major states.²

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1. Imaginative explorations of the realities of local and regional politics before the Republic may be found in Nestor Duarte, *A ordem privada e a organização política nacional: contribuição à sociologia política brasileira* (São Paulo, 1939); and Raymundo Faoro, *Os donos do poder: formação do patronato político brasileiro*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Porto Alegre, 1975).

2. The rich sources available on important centers of urban life are made evident in Richard M. Morse, *From Community to Metropolis: A Biography of São Paulo, Brazil*, new and enlarged ed. (New York, 1974), which includes the text of the original edition (1958) plus two supplementary chapters on 1955–70.

The label most often used to describe the bossism of back-country local politics is *coronelismo*. The classic study is the oft-cited work of Victor Nunes Leal, which drew heavily on Congressional debates as a source.³ In fact, the style and content of local politics has varied considerably, as befits a country as vast as Brazil. The social and economic mobility of northern Paraná society since 1930, as described by Willems, bears little resemblance to the far more rigidly stratified society depicted in the careful case study in Pernambuco by M. Auxiliadora Ferraz de Sá. Detailed analysis of local and state power structures in the Northeast during the Old Republic is given in the important work by Ralph della Cava, whose portrait of Padre Cícero includes much on his political career in Ceará. In his liberally documented study of *coronelismo* in Bahia during the same era, Eul-Soo Pang, like della Cava, goes far toward explaining the links between local and national politics.⁴

Minas Gerais, one of the better-studied states, provides a good example of state politics. A wealth of information on the maneuverings among *mineiro* politicians and their state's role in national politics is offered in Francisco de Assis Barbosa's biography of Kubitschek, as well as in the three-volume biography of Afrânio de Melo Franco by his son, Afonso Arinos de Melo Franco, which is also a superb source on the political history of the Republic. Governor João Pinheiro, who had been designated as the official presidential candidate for the 1910 election but died in 1908, was a much-admired administrator with a good grasp of the economic and social problems facing Brazil. His career illustrates the "politics of the governors" at its best.⁵

3. Victor Nunes Leal, *Coronelismo, enxada e voto: o município e o regime representativo no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1948). A brief survey of local-level bossism for Brazil's entire pre-1930 history is attempted in Maria Isáura Pereira de Queiroz, *O mandonismo local na vida política brasileira: da colônia à Primeira República: ensaio de sociologia política* (São Paulo, 1969).

4. Emilio Willems, "The Rise of a Rural Middle Class in a Frontier Society," in Riordan Roett ed., *Brazil in the Sixties*, (Nashville, 1972), pp. 325-344; M. Auxiliadora Ferraz de Sá, *Dos velhos aos novos coronéis: um estudo das redefinições do coronelismo* (Recife, 1974); Ralph della Cava, *Miracle at Joazeiro* (New York, 1970); Eul-Soo Pang, "Coronelismo in Northeast Brazil," in Robert Kern, ed., *The Caciques: Oligarchical Politics and the System of Caciquismo in the Luso-Hispanic World* (Albuquerque, 1973); Pang, "The Revolt of the Bahian Coronéis and the Federal Intervention of 1920," *Luso-Brazilian Review*, (Winter 1971), 3-25.

5. Francisco de Assis Barbosa, *Juscelino Kubitschek: uma revisão na política brasileira*, Vol. I: *Da chegada de João Alemão à revolução de 1932* (Rio de Janeiro, 1960); Afonso Arinos de Melo Franco, *Um estadista da República*, 3 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1955); Francisco de Assis Barbosa, *João Pinheiro: documentário*

Carefully documented case studies on single families and political elites in Minas are relatively abundant. What becomes apparent in this rich literature is the relative success of the Minas elite, overwhelmingly agrarian in its economic base, in maintaining consensus on the rules of the political game. Through their political power they promoted their interests by controlling the policies and patronage of government on the state and local level. Although Minas declined in relative economic importance throughout the Old Republic (esp. vis-à-vis São Paulo), its leaders managed to retain significant influence in national politics. Their effectiveness was enhanced by avoiding the depth of bitter factionalism which weakened such states as Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Rio Grande do Sul. Relative unity meant less federal intervention. In 1930, for example, Minas was the only state to be spared an "Interventor."⁶

Three U. S. Brazilianists have acknowledged the importance of the regional approach and are currently preparing studies of São Paulo, Minas Gerais and Pernambuco for the period between 1889 and 1937. They have devised a common approach to their study of "The Dynamics of Brazilian Regionalism," including the gathering of comparable data. This approach has been briefly explained by Joseph L. Love whose earlier study of Rio Grande do Sul was a pioneering work in this direction, with almost half of its coverage on events within the state. Love is writing on São Paulo, John Wirth on Minas Gerais, and Robert Levine on Pernambuco. We may expect their monographs to possess a wealth of information and analysis on the government institutions and policies of these states, as well as on their economic and social history.⁷

sobre a sua vida (Belo Horizonte, 1966); Copérnico Pinto Coelho, *Coletânea do centenário de nascimento de João Pinheiro da Silva* (Belo Horizonte, 1960); Ildefonso Mascarenhas da Silva, "João Pinheiro: Comemoração do seu nascimento," *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, vol. 258 (Jan.-Mar. 1963), 135-221.

6. Sílvio Gabriel Diniz, *O Gonçalvismo em Pitangui: história de trinta anos de domínio político* (Belo Horizonte, 1969). Diniz, *Pesquisando a história de Pitangui* (Belo Horizonte, 1965) is a collection of source materials on the same locality. David V. Fleischer, *O recrutamento político em Minas 1890/1918* (Belo Horizonte, 1971). Moema Miranda de Siqueira, "Elites políticas em Minas Gerais, *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Políticos*, No. 29 (1970), 173-79, cites many of the important titles on politics in modern Minas Gerais.

7. Joseph L. Love, "An Approach to Regionalism," in Richard Graham and Peter H. Smith, eds., *New Approaches to Latin American History* (Austin, 1974), pp. 137-155. Love, *Rio Grande do Sul and Brazilian Regionalism, 1882-1930* (Stanford, 1971) stops in 1930. The subsequent period is treated, with considerably less sophistication, in Carlos E. Cortés, *Gaúcho Politics in Brazil: The*

Labor and the Left

Scholarly interest in the history of Brazilian labor movements is recent. This neglect has been a natural consequence of the elitist orientation typical among historians both in Brazil and abroad. The most important stimulus given to labor history has come from the São Paulo sociologists, among whom Florestan Fernandes has been a leader. The finest example of their historical research in this area was *Sindicato e Estado*, by Azis Simão, who explained how labor, having recruited, mobilized and governed itself before state intervention, fundamentally transformed the context of its activities during the 1930's. The clearest overall account of the growth of the labor union structure is by José Albertino Rodrigues. A convenient survey of the changing phases of primary influence within the labor movement—starting with Anarchism—is given by Leôncio Rodrigues, while the story of governmental regulation is painstakingly related by Evaristo de Moraes Filho.⁸ Until the social scientists recently began their systematic study of labor history, our knowledge was restricted largely to first-hand accounts by militants of the left, such as Joaquim Pimenta, Everardo Dias, Edgar Leuenroth, Hermínio Linhares, and Astrojildo Pereira. Most of these works have also served as valuable sources for recent research and writing.⁹

Role of Rio Grande do Sul in National Politics, 1930–1964 (Albuquerque, 1974). An example of the state-focused analysis can be found in Love, "External Financing and Domestic Politics: The Case of São Paulo, 1889–1937," in Robert Scott, ed., *Latin American Modernization Problems*, (Urbana, 1973), pp. 236–259. Helpful suggestions on state and regional studies are given in Robert M. Levine, ed., *Brazil: Field Research Guide in the Social Sciences* (New York, 1966), although some of the practical information is now out of date. See also Simon Schwartzman, "Um enfoque teórico do regionalismo político," in Jorge Balán, ed., *Centro e periferia no desenvolvimento brasileiro*, (São Paulo, 1974).

8. Azis Simão, *Sindicato e estado: Suas relações na formação do proletariado de São Paulo* (São Paulo, 1966); José Albertino Rodrigues, *Sindicato e desenvolvimento no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1968) includes a very useful annotated bibliography; Leôncio Martins Rodrigues, *Conflito industrial e sindicalismo no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1966); Evaristo de Moraes Filho, *O problema do sindicato único no Brasil: Seus fundamentos sociológicos* (Rio de Janeiro, 1952); Evaristo de Moraes, *Apontamentos de direito operário* (São Paulo, 1971) is a reprint of a classic work first published in 1905. The author's son included in this new edition a valuable review of the bibliography on Brazilian labor law.

9. Joaquim Pimenta, *Retalhos do passado: episódios que vivi e fatos que testemunhei* (Rio de Janeiro, 1949); Everardo Dias, *História das lutas sociais no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1962); Edgar Leuenroth, *Anarquismo—Roteiro da libertação social* (Rio de Janeiro, 1963); Hermínio Linhares, *Contribuição à história das lutas operárias no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1955); Astrojildo Pereira, *Formação do PCB, 1922–1928: Notas e documentos* (Rio de Janeiro, 1962).

The literature now available on Brazilian urban labor before 1930 depicts a divided, vulnerable and relatively small sector. Industrialization had not gone outside of a few metropolitan areas and the mass of unemployed or underemployed workers must have undermined worker solidarity. Before they had time to consolidate as independent organizations, the unions became the target of bitter power struggles among Anarchists, Stalinists, Trotskyists and heterodox radicals. During the 1930's, and especially under the aegis of the semi-corporatist Estado Novo, the Executive branch of the federal government forced labor union activity into a straight-jacket of supervision and control by official organs such as the Labor Courts and the Ministry of Labor. A central task of future research will be to determine the extent to which the success of this governmental pre-emption was due to special features of the Brazilian case, such as: (i) late and limited industrialization ("delayed dependent development"); (ii) the rural background of most urban workers (allegedly carriers of the traditional back country mentality; (iii) the generous rewards for individual leaders who cooperated; or (iv) the effective police repression of independent labor spokesmen.

The "dual society" hypothesis, popularized in Jacques Lambert's *Os dois Brasís*, has figured prominently in attempts to answer the foregoing questions. Juarez Rubens Brandão Lopes, for example, has questioned how the rural background of workers who have migrated to urban industrial jobs may influence their attitude toward unionization, and its attendant implications of collective solidarity, militancy, and conflict. The research by Leôncio Martins Rodrigues on worker attitudes at an automobile factory in 1963 is a promising start toward an answer.¹⁰

One of the most striking features of the Brazilian labor movement during the past forty years is the ease with which the national government has been able to control it. During the late 1950's and early 1960's, however, it appeared that labor might become an independent force. The story for 1954-61 is well told by Timothy F. Harding and for 1961-64 by Kenneth Paul Erickson. The leading Brazilian student of contemporary labor politics is Francisco C. Weffort, who has analyzed the populist tendencies in the post-1945 labor movement. Pos-

10. Jacques Lambert, *Os dois Brasís* (Rio de Janeiro, 1959). Juarez Rubens Brandão Lopes, *Sociedade industrial no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1964); and the same author's *Crise do Brasil arcaico* (São Paulo, 1967); Leôncio Martins Rodrigues, *Industrialização e atitudes operárias: Estudo de um grupo de trabalhadores* (São Paulo, 1970).

sibilities for further research on the history of Brazilian labor are extensive, as can be seen from recently published inventories of bibliography and sources.¹¹

Any discussion of labor leads naturally to a consideration of the Brazilian lefts (the plural form is most accurate). Often the lefts have been led by intellectuals or elite-oriented politicians who were conspicuously unwilling or unable to maintain significant contact with any mass based popular movement. Isolation and frustration resulted for such leaders, whose rhetoric was wildly disproportionate to their political power. This fact helps explain why revolutionaries have often been tempted to attempt a *putsch* of one kind or another, as in the Army barracks in November 1935 or the presidential palace in March 1964.

When the Republic arrived in 1889, Brazil had not known an organized movement on the far left for some decades. Brazil's nineteenth-century socialists were most active at mid-century, as we learn in Chacon's informative, if ill-organized survey of Socialist ideas in Brazil.¹² The early Republic saw only sporadic fire from the left, usually linked to Jacobin nationalism. In the first two decades of the twentieth century Anarchism was destined to be the principal political force on the left. The story of its rise and fall in Brazil has been related by several of its leaders, the best-known of whom was Edgar Leuenroth. A bevy of recent works by John W. F. Dulles, Edgar Rodrigues, Sheldon Maram, and Boris Fausto has enriched the bibliography and points toward several conclusions. First, although the urban working class was very small in national terms before 1920, under Anarchist leadership it badly frightened elite politicians, who readily resorted to the tactics of repression. Second, the degree of

11. Timothy F Harding, "A Political History of Organized Labor in Brazil" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1973); Kenneth Paul Erickson, "Labor in the Political Process in Brazil: Corporatism in a Modernizing Nation" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1970); Francisco C. Weffort, "Origens do sindicalismo populista no Brasil: A conjuntura do após-guerra," *Estudos CEBRAP*, 4 (1973), 65-105; Kenneth Paul Erickson, Patrick V. Peppe, and Hobart A. Spalding, Jr., "Research on the Urban Working Class and Organized Labor in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile: What is Left to be Done?" *Latin American Research Review*, 9 (Summer 1974), 115-142; Eric Gordon, Michael Hall, and Hobart A. Spalding, Jr., "A Survey of Brazilian and Argentine Materials at the Internationaal Instituut Voor Sociale Geschiedenis in Amsterdam," *Latin American Research Review*, 8 (Fall 1973), 27-77.

12. Vamireh Chacon, *História das idéias socialistas no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1965).

collective militancy which the Anarchists attempted to harness was never equalled by later popular movements.¹³

In the 1920's the Brazilian Communist Party (PCB) replaced Anarchism as the most important influence on the left. Founded in 1922, the PCB only once (and then only briefly) approached the status of a mass party. That episode occurred in 1945–47 when the federal government permitted a resumption of legal political activity. Through most of its life, the PCB had to operate clandestinely or under cover of non-Communist organizations. The history of the PCB has been analyzed by Ronald Chilcote, whose sympathetic approach did not prevent a critical evaluation of the party's ideological and organizational record. He finds a heavy influence from the Brazilian "environment," but even greater influence from Moscow. Chilcote's admirable monograph has superseded the earlier studies of the PCB, although much insight can still be gained from the relevant chapters in the excellent history of Latin American Communism by Boris Goldenberg, who draws on a profound knowledge of the history of the Communist movement in Europe as well as Latin America.¹⁴

The PCB has experienced frequent purges and has been a constant target of the Trotskyists, who have been influential among intellectuals but seldom among politicians.¹⁵ The most fateful event of the 1930's was the PCB's attempt at armed revolt in 1935, which left the

13. Leuenroth, *Anarquismo*; John W. F. Dulles, *Anarchists and Communists in Brazil, 1900–1935* (Austin, 1973), is valuable primarily for its information, based on interviews as well as printed sources. Edgar Rodrigues, *Socialismo e sindicalismo no Brasil, 1625–1913* (Rio de Janeiro, 1969) focuses on the anarcho-sindicalist movement and reprints many documents. Sheldon Maram, "Anarchists, Immigrants, and the Brazilian Labor Movement, 1890–1920" (Ph.D. diss., University of California-Santa Barbara, 1972) is especially interesting on the structure of the unions, the ethnic conflicts among their members, and the effectiveness of government repression. A careful study of the São Paulo strike of 1917 is given in Boris Fausto, "Conflito social na República oligárquica: a greve de 1917," *Estudos CEBRAP*, 10 (1974), 79–109, where stress is laid on the interplay of spontaneous protest and Anarchist organization.

14. Ronald H. Chilcote, *The Brazilian Communist Party: Conflict and Integration, 1922–1972* (New York, 1974). The earlier studies consisted of sections on Brazil, necessarily brief, in Rollie E. Poppino, *International Communism in Latin America: A History of the Movement, 1917–1963* (New York, 1964); Dorothy Dillon, *International Communism and Latin America: Perspectives and Prospects* (Gainesville, 1962); and Robert J. Alexander, *Communism in Latin America* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1957). Boris Goldenberg, *Kommunismus in Lateinamerika* (Stuttgart, 1971) amply merits translation. Further documentation on the origins of the PCB is given in Moniz Bandeira, et al., *O ano vermelho: A Revolução Russa e seus reflexos no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1967).

15. This point is stressed in the chapter on Brazil in Robert J. Alexander, *Trotskyism in Latin America* (Stanford, 1973).

party with a violently negative image it has since worked to overcome. My article attempts to fit the PCB-led revolt of 1935 into the context of World Comintern strategy, while Levine emphasizes the radicalized political spectrum within Brazil. After 1945 the party swung between “reformist” and “revolutionary” strategies. The move toward reformism in the final Vargas presidency (1951–54) was followed by PCB efforts at organization within the labor movement in the later 1950’s and early 1960’s. Irreconcilable divisions during the early 1960’s resulted in the creation of splinter parties along Fidelista and Maoist lines, while government suppression after 1964 deepened discord over proper strategy and tactics.¹⁶

The flavor of revolutionary left politics during the Republic can best be gained from the personal accounts of the actors, of whom one of the best-known was the literary critic and Communist intellectual, Astrojildo Pereira. Valuable accounts have also been given by Hermínio Linhares, Everardo Dias, Octávio Brandão, Agildo Barata, Abguar Bastos, and the famous novelist and former PCB enthusiast, Jorge Amado.¹⁷

Economic History

Few aspects of Republican history have been as fundamentally rewritten in the last decade as economic history.¹⁸ One important

16. Skidmore, “Failure in Brazil: From Popular Front to Armed Revolt,” *Journal of Contemporary History*, 5:3 (1970), 137–57; Robert M. Levine, *The Vargas Regime: The Critical Years, 1934–1938* (New York, 1970). Jover Telles, *O movimento sindical no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1962) is a collection of newspaper articles written from a PCB perspective. Luiz Carlos Prestes, who has had an astoundingly long career as leader of the PCB, is yet to find his biographer. Jorge Amado, *Vida de Luiz Carlos Prestes: El Caballero de la Esperanza* (Buenos Aires, 1942) was little more than a propaganda piece.

17. Pereira, *Formação do PCB*; Hermínio Linhares, “O Comunismo no Brasil,” *Revista Brasiliense*, No. 23 (1959), 156–197; continued in No. 28 (1960), 122–142; Dias, *História das lutas*; Octávio Brandão, “Combates da classe operária,” *Revista Brasiliense*, No. 46 (1963), 62–81; Agildo Barata, *Vida de um revolucionário: Memórias* (Rio de Janeiro, 1963); Abguar Bastos, *Prestes e a revolução social* (Rio de Janeiro, 1946); Jorge Amado, *Homens e coisas do Partido Comunista* (Rio de Janeiro, 1946). Osvaldo Peralva, *O retrato* (Belo Horizonte, 1960) contains the revelations of a former Communist who left the party in 1957.

18. An extremely useful survey of writings on Brazilian economic history may be found in Denio Nogueira and Carlos Manuel Peláez, “Introdução: Ensaio sobre a economia brasileira, 1822–1872,” *Revista Brasileira de Economia*, 26:3 (1972), 11–83. An important new critical bibliography on Brazilian economic history from 1830 to 1930 by Nícia Villela Luz will be included in the forthcoming volume, *Latin America: A Bibliography of Its Economic History, 1830–1930*, edited by Stanley J. Stein and Roberto Cortes Conde. For an excellent discussion of the history of methodologies used in studying Brazilian economic history, see

factor has been the sharp improvement in data. Reliable time series on such important factors as money supply, prices, exchange rates, and GNP were not readily available until recently. In addition the number of professionally competent economists has increased. Until about fifteen years ago, Brazil was without graduate programs in economics, thus restricting the supply of economists to the small number who studied abroad or were self-taught. The older approach, prevalent until the early 1950's, has been replaced by an application of the "new economic history" in Brazil, heavily influenced by its earlier triumphs in the United States. Many important studies have appeared recently and are rapidly challenging some long-standing generalizations.

The most important historical survey of the economy under the Republic is the volume covering 1889–1945, co-authored by Annibal Villanova Villela and Wilson Suzigan. The authors drew on the large body of data assembled by the economic history project at the Instituto Brasileiro de Economia of the Fundação Getúlio Vargas, as well as additional data gathered under the auspices of the Instituto de Planejamento Econômico e Social. Villela and Suzigan included many tables, graphs and statistical appendices but unfortunately found it impossible to reconstruct aggregate time series antedating 1920. Pre-1920 data are sectoral only. Their explicit assumptions in analyzing 1889–1945 reflect the influence of present-day policy concerns: how has government policy aided or hindered agricultural diversification and industrial growth? Their data will undoubtedly provide the basis for many new investigations, and thus bring further revisions and additions to the existing literature.¹⁹

The most significant general economic history of Brazil to appear before the development of professional economics faculties and large-scale data collection was *Formação econômica do Brasil*, by Celso Furtado. A Northeasterner who spent nearly ten years working for the UN's Economic Commission for Latin America, Furtado brought an unusually broad vision to his study of Brazil's economic past. His use

Francisco Iglésias, "Situação da história econômica no Brasil," *Anais de História*, 2 (1970), 9–64.

19. Annibal Villanova Villela and Wilson Suzigan, *Política do governo e crescimento da economia brasileira, 1889–1945* (Rio de Janeiro, 1973). An earlier, provisional version of much the same material was published by the Fundação Getúlio Vargas: Maria José Santos, et al., "Aspectos do crescimento da economia brasileira, 1889–1969," mimeographed, 2 volumes in 3 parts (Rio de Janeiro, 1971?). Although meant only as a working document, it includes some data not to be found in the Villela and Suzigan volume.

of post-Keynesian economic theory led him to ask the most relevant macroeconomic questions, even where data permitted only speculative answers. Later researchers have often been guided toward revisionist research because of the stimulating manner in which Furtado argued his case. His ongoing analysis of the years after the mid-1950's can be found in his later works, as well as in his general history which fits the Brazilian case into the context of modern Latin American economic history.²⁰ Another influential general history, written from a Marxist viewpoint, is *História econômica do Brasil* by Caio Prado Júnior, which has been periodically updated. Among foreign works on the Brazilian economy published before 1945, J. F. Normano's *Brazil: A Study of Economic Types* (1935) has proved most enduring because of the author's imaginative analysis of successive cycles.²¹

The history of monetary, fiscal and exchange-rate policies is essential for understanding how any economy has developed. Here again, however, the lack of readily usable data for Brazil posed a serious barrier. The pioneering works by Vieira and Hugon have now been superseded by Villela and Suzigan and by an article of Peláez and Suzigan, suggesting how modern monetary theory can be applied to the study of Brazilian monetary history. Peláez's monograph on the consequences of orthodox policies between 1889 and 1945 also draws on much of the data which was generated by the economic history project at the Fundação Getúlio Vargas. Peláez has also authored a paper on long-run monetary behavior, covering 1800–1973. All these works contain extensive references to the contemporary debates on money supply, fiscal management and exchange rate

20. For a revealing autobiographical statement, see Celso Furtado, "Adventures of a Brazilian Economist," *International Social Science Journal*, 25 (Nos. 1/2, 1973), 28–38. An insightful and sympathetic study of Furtado's career appeared in Francisco Iglésias, *História e ideologia* (São Paulo, 1971), pp. 159–234. Celso Furtado, *Formação econômica do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1959), translated by Ricardo W. de Aguiar and Eric Charles Drysdale as *The Economic Growth of Brazil: A Survey from Colonial to Modern Times* (Berkeley, 1963). For an interesting reevaluation of this work, see Werner Baer, "Furtado Revisited," *Luso-Brazilian Review*, II (Summer 1974), 114–121. Among Furtado's later works are: *Dialética do desenvolvimento* (Rio de Janeiro, 1964); *Subdesenvolvimento e estagnação na América Latina* (Rio de Janeiro, 1966); *Um projeto para o Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1968); *Economic Development of Latin America: A Survey from Colonial Times to the Cuban Revolution*, translated by Suzette Macedo (Cambridge, England, 1970); *Análise do 'modelo' brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro, 1972); and *Obstacles to Development in Latin America*, translated by Charles Ekker (Garden City, N.Y., 1970).

21. Caio Prado Júnior, *História econômica do Brasil*, 8th ed. (São Paulo, 1963); J. F. Normano, *Brazil: A Study of Economic Types* (Chapel Hill, 1935); in Portuguese: *Evolução econômica do Brasil* (São Paulo, 1939).

policies. A leading foreign observer, J. P. Wileman, thought in 1896 that a long-run disequilibrium lay behind the fluctuations in Brazil's foreign exchange rate in the early Republic, and monetary and foreign exchange policies have remained a prime topic of political debate ever since.²² Most of the authors stimulated by that debate accepted orthodox monetary theory and argued vigorously for balanced budgets which they hoped would stabilize the value of Brazil's currency in the international market.²³

Monetary, fiscal and exchange-rate policies since 1945 have been easier to study because of better data collection and a knowledge of modern economics on the part of both policy makers and critics. The first systematic analysis of Brazil's post-1945 economy, accompanied by statistical documentation, was given by Werner Baer in his *Industrialization and Economic Development in Brazil*. Subsequently the Brazilian government greatly improved its statistical services and has retrospectively revised the postwar national income accounts and other time series.²⁴

The history of prices is closely linked to monetary history and can be traced in the works mentioned above. Brazil's perennial problem with inflation has focused attention on the past record of price instability. A wealth of information, although presented with little

22. Dorival Teixeira Vieira, *Evolução do sistema monetário brasileiro* (São Paulo, 1962) covered 1808–1940. Paul Hugon, *A moeda: Introdução à análise e às políticas monetárias e à moeda no Brasil*, translated by Diva Benavides Pinho (São Paulo, 1967). Villela and Suzigan, *Política do governo*. Carlos Manuel Peláez and Wilson Suzigan, "Bases para a interpretação monetária da história econômica brasileira," *Revista Brasileira de Economia*, 26:4 (1972), 57–93. Carlos Manuel Peláez, "As consequências econômicas da ortodoxia monetária, cambial e fiscal no Brasil entre 1889 e 1945," *Revista Brasileira de Economia*, 25:3 (1971), 5–82; and "Long-Run Monetary Behavior, Policy and Institutions in an Underdeveloped Economy 1800–1973," paper prepared for the Sixth International Congress on Economic History (Copenhagen, August, 1974). J. P. Wileman, *Brazilian Exchange* (Buenos Aires, 1896).

23. Among the authors were Amaro Cavalcanti, *A reforma monetária* (Rio de Janeiro, 1891); João Pandiá Calógeras, *A política monetária do Brasil* (São Paulo, 1961) [originally published in French in 1910]; Arlindo Fragoso, *Notas econômicas e financeiras* (Bahia, 1916); Carlos Inglez de Souza, *A anarquia monetária e suas consequências* (São Paulo, 1924); Brenno Ferraz, *A situação do Brasil e a estabilização da moeda* (São Paulo, 1928). For further information on the debates, see J. Pires do Rio, *A moeda brasileira e seu perene caráter fiduciário* (Rio de Janeiro, 1946?), and Dorival Teixeira Vieira, *O problema monetário brasileiro* (São Paulo, 1952).

24. Werner Baer, *Industrialization and Economic Development in Brazil* (Homewood, Ill., 1965). Fundação IBGE [Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística], *Brasil: Séries estatísticas retrospectivas, 1970* (Rio de Janeiro, 1970). Ongoing revisions are published in *Conjuntura Econômica*.

consistency and less analytical rigor, is offered by Ónody, whose data goes to 1958. Much more professional studies, essentially of the post-1945 record, are those of Mário Henrique Simonsen and Delfim Netto. Both authors were able to test their theories when they became Finance Ministers in the post-1964 governments. Another economist who analyzed post-war inflation in the publications of a business-oriented group was João Paulo de Almeida Magalhães. A meticulous examination of the connection between inflation and economic development for the 1946–1963 period led Raouf Kahil to conclude that the data for Brazil did not support the structuralist thesis.²⁵ The relationship between prices and living standards is of obvious importance but can only be discovered by patient digging in contemporary sources, especially newspapers.²⁶

Income distribution is acknowledged to be an important index of social welfare, yet the earliest data for Brazil date only from the 1960 census. A comparative study by ECLA has briefly analyzed those data, which form the first observation for Fishlow's important comparison of the 1960 and 1970 patterns of income distribution. His conclusion, that distribution has become more unequal over the decade, provoked heated replies in Brazil, of which the most systematic was that of Langoni. Obviously income distribution will continue to be closely studied because of its profound political implications, as well as its economic significance.²⁷

25. Oliver Ónody, *A inflação brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1960). Mário Henrique Simonsen, "Brazilian Inflation: Postwar Experience and Outcome of the 1964 Reforms," *Economic Development Issues: Latin America* (New York [Committee for Economic Development, Supplementary Paper No. 21], 1967); Antônio Delfim Netto, et al., *Alguns aspectos da inflação brasileira* (São Paulo, 1965); João Paulo de Almeida Magalhães, *Inflação e desenvolvimento* (Rio de Janeiro, 1964); Raouf Kahil, *Inflation and Economic Development in Brazil, 1946–1963* (London, 1973).

26. Pioneering work of this kind is evident in Mário Cardim, *Ensaio de análise de factores econômicos e financeiros do Estado de São Paulo e do Brasil no período de 1913–1934 pelo método de números índices* (São Paulo, 1936); Eulália Maria Lahmeyer Lobo, et al., "Evolução dos preços e do padrão de vida no Rio de Janeiro, 1820–1930—resultados preliminares," *Revista Brasileira de Economia*, 25:4 (1971), 235–265; and "Estudo das categorias socioprofissionais, dos salários e do custo da alimentação no Rio de Janeiro de 1820 a 1930," *Revista Brasileira de Economia*, 27:4 (1973), 129–176; Kátia de Queirós Mattoso, "Os preços na Bahia de 1750 a 1930," in *L'Histoire quantitative du Brésil de 1800 a 1930* [Colloques Internationaux] (Paris, 1973), pp. 167–182. Gadiel Perucci, "Les prix à Recife 1890–1950," in *ibid.*, pp. 219–230.

27. ECLA [Economic Commission for Latin America], *La distribución del ingreso en América Latina* (New York, 1970); Albert Fishlow, "Brazilian Size Distribution of Income," *American Economic Review*, No. 62 (1972), 391–402; Carlos Geraldo Langoni, *Distribuição da renda e desenvolvimento econômico do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1973). For a collection of articles on this topic, see

The historiography on industrialization has been meager until recently, which is hardly surprising in view of Brazil's scant industry before 1945. The lack of readily accessible data meant that the early works by Roberto Simonsen and Henry Spiegel could be little more than essays. Stanley Stein's monograph on the history of the cotton textile industry was a path-breaking study, and has been followed by studies of the capital goods industry by Leff and the steel industry by Baer and Wirth. By the questions they pose and the kind of data they seek, these authors reflect the influence of modern economics, which was largely absent in the descriptive and often anecdotal works such as van Deursen on industrialization and Bastos on steel.²⁸

Fortunately, we now have a burgeoning literature on Brazilian industrialization. A very instructive survey of elite attitudes toward industrialization between 1808 and 1930, especially in debates over tariff policy, may be found in Luz, and, for the era since 1930, in Ianni. These works largely supersede the informative but less systematic approach of Bastos. Dean's study of São Paulo from 1880 to 1945 raises many interesting questions about the links among agricultural interests, financiers and industrialists, although the author's methodology shows surprisingly little influence from modern economic analysis. A wealth of new documentation from archival sources has been gleaned by Stanley E. Hilton, whose forthcoming monograph will include extensive discussion of the views on industrialization held by Getúlio Vargas and other leaders. Earlier interpretations of the timing and character of industrial growth, such as Furtado's general history and Baer's benchmark study, have been subjected to extensive revision.²⁹

Ricardo Tolipan and Arthur Carlos Tinelli, eds., *A controvérsia sobre distribuição da renda e desenvolvimento* (Rio de Janeiro, 1975). Samuel A. Morley and Jeffrey G. Williamson, "Demand, Distribution, and Employment: The Case of Brazil," *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 23:1 (1974), 33-60 raises important questions about applying the standard method of income distribution analysis to a rapidly growing economy in the developing world.

28. Roberto C. Simonsen, *Brazil's Industrial Evolution* (São Paulo, 1939); Henry William Spiegel, *The Brazilian Economy: Chronic Inflation and Sporadic Industrialization* (Philadelphia, 1949); Stanley J. Stein, *The Brazilian Cotton Manufacture: Textile Enterprise in an Underdeveloped Area, 1850-1950* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957); Nathaniel H. Leff, *The Brazilian Capital Goods Industry, 1929-1964* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968); Werner Baer, *The Development of the Brazilian Steel Industry* (Nashville, 1969); John Wirth, *The Politics of Brazilian Development, 1930-1954* (Stanford, 1970); Henri van Deursen, "L'émancipation industrielle du Brésil," *Révue Economique Internationale*, 26:2 (1934), 275-335; Humberto Bastos, *A conquista siderúrgica no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1959).

29. Nícia Villela Luz, *A luta pela industrialização do Brasil: 1808 a 1930* (São Paulo, 1961); Octávio Ianni, *Estado e capitalismo: Estrutura social e in-*

Post-1945 industrialization has been analyzed in a now classic article by Maria da Conceição Tavares. Her analysis became influential in part because it appeared at a moment in the 1960's when economists were attempting to reassess the exact nature of Brazil's growth.³⁰

Industrialization in the capitalist world traditionally has required the emergence of an effective entrepreneurial cadre. Economic historians such as Everett Hagen have often pointed to the apparent scarcity of such figures in Latin America as a possible explanation for the lateness of economic development. Fernando Henrique Cardoso studied Brazilian industrial entrepreneurs in the early 1960's and concluded that they had hardly proved themselves a dynamic, independent force and that they were destined to continue in a role subordinate to foreign-controlled firms if they remained committed to

dustrialização no Brasil (Rio de Janeiro, 1965); Humberto Bastos, *O pensamento industrial no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1952); Warren Kempton Dean, *The Industrialization of São Paulo, 1880-1945* (Austin, 1969); Stanley E. Hilton, *Brazil and the Great Powers, 1930-1939: The Politics of Trade Rivalry* (Austin, 1975). A survey of Paulista industry, especially since 1945, is available in José Carlos Pereira, *Estrutura e expansão da indústria em São Paulo* (São Paulo, 1967); On the periodization of industrial growth, see Furtado, *Formação econômica*; and Baer, *Industrialization and Development*. Among the revisionist works are Nathaniel H. Leff, "Long-Term Brazilian Economic Development," *The Journal of Economic History*, 29:3 (1969), 473-493; Carlos Manuel Peláez, "A balança comercial, a grande depressão e a industrialização brasileira," *Revista Brasileira de Economia*, 22:1 (1968), 15-47; and the same author's *História da industrialização brasileira: Crítica à teoria estruturalista no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1972); Annibal Villanova Villela, "Surto industrial durante a guerra de 1914-1918," in Mircea Buescu, ed., *Ensaio econômico: Homenagem a Octávio Gouvêa de Bulhões*, (Rio de Janeiro, 1972), pp. 535-549; Werner Baer and Annibal Villela, "Industrial Growth and Industrialization: Revisions in the Stages of Brazil's Economic Development," *Journal of Developing Areas*, 8:2 (1973), 217-234; Wilson Suzigan, "A industrialização de São Paulo, 1930-1945," *Revista Brasileira de Economia*, 25:2 (1971), 91-111; Flávio Rabelo Versiani and Maria Teresa R. O. Versiani, "A industrialização brasileira antes de 1930: Uma contribuição," mimeographed (Brasília, Universidade de Brasília, 1974); Francisco Iglésias, "Industrialização brasileira no século XIX," *Revista de História de América*, No. 70 (julio-dic. 1970), 393-420; Albert Fishlow, "Origens e consequências das substituições no Brasil," *Estudos Econômicos*, 2:6 (1972), 7-76, in English in: *International Economics and Development*, edited by Luis Eugenio DiMarco (New York, 1972). Wilson Suzigan, et al., "Uma nota sobre 'Origens e consequências da substituição de importações no Brasil' de Albert Fishlow," is one of several commentaries published, along with Fishlow's rejoinder, in *Estudos Econômicos*, 3:1 (1973).

30. Maria da Conceição Tavares, "The Growth and Decline of Import Substitution in Brazil," *Economic Bulletin for Latin America*, 9:1 (1964), 1-59, which is reprinted in Tavares, *Da substituição de importações ao capitalismo financeiro*, 2d edition, (Rio de Janeiro, 1973). Another important ECLA-sponsored study was published in the same year: "Fifteen Years of Economic Policy in Brazil," *Economic Bulletin for Latin America*, 9:2 (1964), 153-214.

the capitalist model. Cardoso later returned to do a comparative study of industrial elites in Brazil and Argentina, placing them in the context of "associated dependent development."³¹

In his study of industrialization in São Paulo, Warren Dean argued that Paulista entrepreneurs were timid and inept at promoting their own interests. Perhaps the best-known Paulista figure was Count Matarazzo, who is shown in the monograph by J. Souza Martins to have combined the role of import merchant and industrialist. A later Paulista, Roberto Simonsen (1889–1948), has yet to receive the attention from historians that he deserves. Simonsen was a many-sided man, excelling as banker, industrialist, economic historian and, above all, spokesman for the ambitious cadre of Paulista entrepreneurs who seemed destined to furnish Brazil's "national bourgeoisie."³²

Since labor history has been discussed earlier, comment here will concentrate on works which analyze labor supply. Reliable data on employment can be little more than conjecture (based largely on the decennial census) for the pre-1945 era, but Douglas Graham (collaborating with Sérgio Buarque de Hollanda Filho in two cases) has employed ingenious techniques in studying the relationships among migration (both internal and international), urban development, labor supply needs and regional variations in growth. A study which analyzes, *inter alia*, labor productivity between 1920 and 1969, may be found in Singer. A careful investigation of the demand for labor in the São Paulo coffee economy, which was the principal destination of the heavy immigration between 1885 and 1914 is offered by Hollo-

31. Everett E. Hagen, *On the Theory of Social Change: How Economic Growth Begins* (Homewood, Illinois, 1962); Fernando Henrique Cardoso, *Empresário industrial e desenvolvimento econômico no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1964); Cardoso, *Política e desenvolvimento em sociedades dependentes: Ideologias do empresariado industrial argentino e brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro, 1971); Cardoso, "Associated-Dependent Development: Theoretical and Practical Implications," *Authoritarian Brazil: Origins, Policies, and Future* (New Haven, 1973), pp. 142–176. Important work on Brazilian industrialists was also done in Luciano Martins, "Formação do empresariado industrial no Brasil," *Revista do Instituto de Ciências Sociais*, 3 (Jan.–Dec. 1966), 91–138; and Martins, *Industrialização, burguesia nacional e desenvolvimento: Introdução à crise brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1968).

32. J. Souza Martins, *Empresário e empresa na biografia do conde Matarazzo* (Rio de Janeiro, 1967). An indispensable guide to Simonsen's writings is Annibal Freire da Fonseca, *Filinto de Almeida e Roberto Simonsen: Notas biobibliográficas* (Rio de Janeiro, 1952). Roberto C. Simonsen, *Evolução industrial do Brasil e outros estudos*, ed., Edgar Carone (São Paulo, 1973) reprints many short publications now difficult to locate. Dean, *The Industrialization of São Paulo* helps place Simonsen in historical context.

way, who has used the rich statistical records compiled by the São Paulo state government.³³

The role of government in the economy has been a frequent issue for debate during the Republic. Most historical analyses have concentrated on the extent to which the doctrines of Manchester-style liberalism were challenged by Brazilians courageous enough to advocate heterodox views, often in defense of economic nationalism. No single work attempts an overall survey of the government's economic role since 1889, although a valuable starting point is the book by Alberto Venâncio Filho, which reflects the lingering influence of the legalistic approach which has long dominated Brazilian research in this area. An excellent survey of the state's changing role, primarily since 1930, is given in a 1973 article by Baer, et al.³⁴

The concept of systematic state intervention, which underlies the rationale for government planning on the macro-economic scale (affecting both private and public sectors), is largely a post-World War II phenomenon. The issue of planning was bitterly debated in 1943–45, when Roberto Simonsen and Eugênio Gudim were chief spokesmen for the opposing camps. The most complete survey of government planning since 1930 is furnished by Ianni, who gives liberal references to contemporary government publications and discussions of planning (and its application) from academic and political circles. The interesting monograph by Daland, a specialist in public administration, covers the two decades between 1947 and 1967. He analyzes

33. Douglas H. Graham and Sérgio Buarque de Holanda Filho have co-authored two works: "Migration, Regional and Urban Growth and Development in Brazil: A Selective Analysis of the Historical Record, 1872–1970," mimeographed (São Paulo, 1971), and "Interregional and Urban Migration and Economic Growth in Brazil," mimeographed (São Paulo, 1972). Graham has also published: "Internal and Foreign Migration and the Question of Labor Supply in the Early Economic Growth of Brazil," mimeographed (São Paulo, 1973) and "Migração estrangeira e a questão da oferta de mão-de-obra no crescimento econômico brasileiro, 1880–1930," *Estudos Econômicos*, 3:1 (1973), 7–64. Researchers in this area should also consult the comparative study by Jorge Balán, "Migrações e desenvolvimento capitalista no Brasil: Ensaio de interpretação histórico-comparativa," *Estudos CEBRAP*, No. 5 (Julho-Agosto-Setembro 1973), 5–79. Paul Israel Singer, "Força de trabalho e emprego no Brasil: 1920–1969," mimeographed, *Cadernos CEBRAP* 3, (São Paulo, 1971); Thomas H. Holloway, "Condições do mercado de trabalho e organização do trabalho nas plantações na economia cafeeira de São Paulo, 1885–1915," *Estudos Econômicos*, 2:6 (1972), 145–180.

34. Alberto Venâncio Filho, *A intervenção do estado no domínio econômico* (Rio de Janeiro, 1968). Werner Baer, et al., "The Changing Role of the State in the Brazilian Economy," *World Development*, 1 (Nov. 1973), 23–34. Useful historical background may be found also in R. A. Amaral Vieira, *Intervencionismo e autoritarismo no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1975).

the federal government's planning activities from the standpoint of their apparent *political function* and says little about the economic consequences of government action. One of Brazil's best-known examples of a government engaged in economic planning ("coordination" might be more accurate) was President Kubitschek's "Target Program" (1956–61), which has been given a perceptive analysis by Celso Lafer.³⁵ A related topic is the history of the public sector. Statistically comparable data are available only back to 1947 and for the single year of 1939.³⁶

Another approach to the study of the government's economic role focuses on the relationship between political interests and government economic policies, a field now often described as "public policy" analysis. Defined broadly, this might be said to include many of the works cited elsewhere in this section of an economic history, such as the monographs on coffee policy or industrialization. Here mention will be made of only a few of the better-known overall explanations for the political context of economic policy-making. Leff argued that from 1947 to 1964 federal policy-makers were remarkably free of political pressures and operated within an ideological consensus shared by virtually the entire elite. In my study of the same period I laid greater stress on political conflict over policy alternatives, especially in such areas as anti-inflation programs, wage policies, and treatment of foreign capital. A subsequent article included a more general interpretation of the relationship between economic policy

35. Sources on the early debates are given in Skidmore, *Politics in Brazil*, chapter I, fns. 82–83. Octávio Ianni, *Estado e planejamento econômico no Brasil, 1930–1970* (Rio de Janeiro, 1971); Robert T. Daland, *Brazilian Planning: Development Politics and Administration* (Chapel Hill, 1967). Celso Lafer, "The Planning Process and the Political System in Brazil: A Study of Kubitschek's Target Plan—1956–61," mimeographed (Ithaca, 1970), which is published in part in Betty Mindlin Lafer, ed., *Planejamento no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1970). A relatively uncritical survey of Brazil's formal economic planning is given in Jorge Gustavo de Costa, *Planejamento governmental: A experiência brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1971). For a pre-1964 radical nationalist critique of Brazilian planning efforts, see Helga Hoffman, *Como planejar nosso desenvolvimento?* [Cadernos do povo brasileiro: vol. 14] (Rio de Janeiro, 1963).

36. These data are analyzed in Andrea Maneschi, "The Brazilian Public Sector," in Roett, ed., *Brazil in the Sixties*, pp. 185–230. A survey of the public sector between 1889 and 1945 is given in Santos, et al., *Aspectos do crescimento da economia brasileira*, chapter 7; Villela and Suzigan, *Política do governo*. See also Fernando A. Rezende da Silva, *Avaliação do setor público na economia brasileira: estrutura funcional de despesa*, 2nd ed. (Rio de Janeiro, 1974) which is primarily on the post-1964 period, although including some earlier data.

making and authoritarian governments in Brazil, comparing the post-1964 military-dominated regimes and the Estado Novo (1937–45).³⁷

One of the most original attempts to place post-war Brazilian economic policy making in a coherent ideological and historical framework was by Hélio Jaguaribe. It hardly needs adding that Marxists such as Nelson Werneck Sodré and André Gunder Frank have been engaged in spelling out, as their ideological assumptions would suggest, the exact manner in which certain Brazilian social sectors and foreign imperialists forces have manipulated the mechanisms of government.³⁸

Like other developing countries, Brazil has depended on the foreign sector for technology, capital goods and many finished goods. The best overall survey of foreign trade between 1889 and 1945 is to be found in the relevant sections of the chronologically organized chapters in Villela and Suzigan. Data on exports from Bahia for 1889–1930 are given by Jancso. Wirth and Hilton have studied Brazil's struggle to maximize her benefits from the trade with the rival powers of the U.S. and Nazi Germany.³⁹ After 1945 the relationship between foreign trade and industrialization assumed increased importance as Brazil expanded her domestic capacity in the attempt to become self-sufficient in items previously imported. The manner in which Brazil's trade policy influenced her industrial growth ("balanced" or "unbalanced" development?) between 1945 and 1967 is detailed by Bergsman. From 1945 until the mid-1960's the Brazilian government failed to make any significant efforts at diversifying exports, as recent studies by Fajnzylber and Doellinger have shown.⁴⁰

37. Nathaniel H. Leff, *Economic Policy-Making and Development in Brazil, 1947–64* (New York, 1968); Skidmore, *Politics in Brazil*; Skidmore, "Politics and Economic Policy Making in Authoritarian Brazil, 1937–71," in Stepan, ed., *Authoritarian Brazil*, pp. 3–46. The 1937–45 period comes in for detailed analysis in Hilton, *Brazil and the Great Powers*.

38. Hélio Jaguaribe, *Desenvolvimento econômico e desenvolvimento político* (Rio de Janeiro, 1962) which was revised for an American edition: *Economic and Political Development: A Theoretical Approach and a Brazilian Case Study* (Cambridge, 1968); Sodré, *História da burguesia brasileira*; André Gunder Frank, *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America: Historical Studies of Chile and Brazil* (New York, 1967), pp. 143–277; Frank, *Latin America: Underdevelopment or Revolution: Essays on the Development of Underdevelopment and the Immediate Enemy* (New York, 1969), pp. 149–174, 192–200, 333–349.

39. Villela and Suzigan, *Política do governo*; István Jancso, "As exportações da Bahia durante a República Velha 1889–1930: Considerações preliminares," in *L'Histoire quantitative du Brésil*, pp. 335–359; Wirth, *Politics of Brazilian Development*; Hilton, *Brazil and the Great Powers*.

40. Joel Bergsman, *Brazil: Industrialization and Trade Policies* (London, 1970). Fernando Fajnzylber, "Sistema industrial y exportación de manufacturas: Análisis de la experiencia brasileña," mimeographed (Rio de Janeiro, 1970).

The total structure of Brazil's role within the international economy has received much Marxian-oriented writers and scholars. The first (and still influential) study was Caio Prado Júnior, a widely respected scholar whose professional career has twice been disrupted by harrassment from authoritarian Brazilian regimes. A similar Marxian analysis of Brazil's entire economic history, which also fits the republican era into the story of imperialist penetration, was offered by Nelson Werneck Sodré, an ex-Army officer. Greater detail is furnished in Sodré's subsequent study of the rise of the "Brazilian bourgeoisie," although the work is marred by a chaotic organization.⁴¹

Although a subject for endless polemics, the role of private foreign investment has received little documented research. Non-Marxian researchers have conspicuously neglected this area, thus leaving the field to those who often lack training in modern economic analysis and also lack funding to finance expensive programs in data collection and analysis. The available literature includes Rippy's carefully calculated rates of return on British investments, which were the largest single source of foreign capital until the 1920's, while economic links are among the bevy of British influences studied by Richard Graham.⁴² Far more has been written on the role played by foreign investment since 1945. The starting point is the ECLA study of foreign investment in Latin America between 1945 and 1962, which includes a useful background section on the preceding century and a half. The radical nationalist attack on foreign investment grew stronger in the decade after the suicide of President Vargas in 1954, but was largely silenced after the overthrow of President Goulart in 1964.⁴³

Carlos von Doellinger, et al., "Exportações dinâmicas brasileiras," mimeographed (Rio de Janeiro, 1971). The political factors at work are discussed in Steven Arnold, "The Politics of Export Promotion: Economic Problem-Solving in Brazil, 1950-1969" (Ph.D. diss., School of Advanced International Service, Johns Hopkins University, 1972).

41. Caio Prado Júnior, *História econômica*, chapters 21-27; Nelson Werneck Sodré, *Formação histórica do Brasil*, 2nd ed. (São Paulo, 1963), pp. 291-417; Sodré, *História da burguesia brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1964), pp. 161-396.

42. J. Fred Rippy, *British Investments in Latin America, 1822-1949* (Minneapolis, 1959); Richard Graham, *Britain and the Onset of Modernization in Brazil, 1850-1914* (Cambridge, 1968). Further information on foreign investment before 1945 may be found in Eddy Stols, "Les investissements belges au Brésil 1830-1914," in *L'Histoire quantitative du Brésil*, pp. 259-267; and Oliver Ónody, "Quelques aspects historiques des capitaux étrangers au Brésil," in *ibid*, pp. 269-314.

43. ECLA [Economic Commission for Latin America], *External Financing in Latin America* (New York, 1965). An excellent brief survey of foreign invest-

The management of the foreign debt has been a continuous problem since Dom Pedro I assumed responsibility for the Portuguese crown's debt to England in return for recognition of Brazilian independence in 1822. The basic reference work is now Bouças, whose coverage unfortunately stops in 1937, when the coup by Vargas facilitated Brazil's unilateral suspension of payment on the foreign debt. Barroso's angry attack on foreign creditors during that era (1937) reflected the growth of economic nationalism after the Revolution of 1930.⁴⁴

No sector of the Brazilian economy has been more vital than agriculture, both for domestic consumption and for export earnings. The most reliable source of data and interpretation for 1889–1945 is the volume by Villela and Suzigan and the earlier version in Santos, et al. An overall view of the post-1945 period is given by Smith, whose analysis can be supplemented by Nicholls' study of agriculture during the 1960's.⁴⁵

One much-studied area of agriculture is coffee. The multi-volume history of coffee by Affonso de E. Taunay was little more than a collection of information, devoid of any consistent principle of selection and lacking proper documentation of sources. An early study by Sérgio Milliet stimulated much interest because of the questions it raised and the kind of data collected. A skillful work of "human geography" was done on the march of coffee through São Paulo by Pierre Monbeig, while Stanley J. Stein's *Vassouras* focuses on a single

ment in Brazil between 1945 and 1963 is given in Hélio Jaguaribe, "A Brazilian View," in Raymond Vernon, ed., *How Latin America Views the U.S. Investor* (New York, 1966), pp. 67–93. The views of a leading nationalist spokesman may be found in Sérgio Magalhães, *Prática da emancipação nacional* (Rio de Janeiro, 1964). Further references on this topic are given in Skidmore, *Politics in Brazil*, Chapter IV, fn. 42; chapter VII, fn. 44.

44. Valentim F. Bouças, *História da dívida externa da união*, 2nd edition (Rio de Janeiro, 1950). For the external debt of the states during the Old Republic, see Valentim Bouças, *Finanças do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1938). Gustavo Barroso, *Brasil, colônia de banqueiros: História dos empréstimos de 1824 a 1934*, 6th edition (Rio de Janeiro, 1937). For a survey of foreign debt management between 1947 and 1966, see John Thomas Donnelly, "External Debt and Long-Term Servicing Capacity," in H. Jon Rosenbaum and William G. Tyler, eds., *Contemporary Brazil: Issues in Economic and Political Development* (New York, 1972), pp. 95–124.

45. Villela and Suzigan, *Política do governo*; Santos, et al., "Aspectos do crescimento econômico brasileiro," Chapter 2; Gordon W. Smith, "Brazilian Agricultural Policy, 1950–1967," in Howard S. Ellis, ed., *The Economy of Brazil* (Berkeley, 1969), pp. 213–265; William H. Nicholls, "The Brazilian Agricultural Economy: Recent Performance and Policy," in Roett, ed., *Brazil in the Sixties*, pp. 147–184.

Fluminense coffee county between 1850 and 1900, offering a wealth of analysis on such aspects as labor, finance and marketing. Unfortunately Stein's exemplary study has not yet been emulated for other areas, although Warren Dean is preparing a micro-study of the Paulista *município* of Rio Claro.⁴⁶

Brazil was one of the first nations to experiment with a scheme to withhold commodity stocks from the world market ("valorization") in order to maintain high prices. Scholars have only recently analyzed these policies with the instruments of modern econometrics. The pioneer was Delfim Netto, whose 1959 study included a brief survey of past coffee policy as background to his analysis of the impact of past government decisions on the international market. A later study, co-authored by Delfim in 1967, concluded that Brazilian coffee policy since 1945 had been too rigid, thus facilitating the entry of rival producers, especially in Africa. Delfim's research, as well as the dissertation of Edmar Bacha, who analyzed the effect of Brazilian coffee pricing on the world market during the 1951-65 period, were attempts to help contemporary policy makers by explaining the consequences of Brazil's previous efforts to maximize foreign exchange earnings through controls over the quantity and price of its coffee on the world market.⁴⁷

The most detailed analysis of government coffee policy viewed within the context of Brazilian macro-economic history is by Carlos Peláez, who covered the 1906-1945 period. Differing domestic supply responses are analyzed in Geer's study of the International Coffee Agreement of 1962, which devotes only sketchy coverage to earlier oligopolistic marketing schemes. Thomas Holloway's systematic analysis of Brazil's first coffee support program in 1906-1907 (the "Taubaté agreement") has shown that the chief beneficiaries were not the

46. Affonso de Escagnolle Taunay, *História do café no Brasil*, 15 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1939-43). Taunay also published a one-volume version: *Pequena história do café no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1945). Sérgio Milliet, *Roteiro do café e outros ensaios*, edição definitiva (São Paulo, 1946); Pierre Monbeig, *Pionniers et Planteurs de São Paulo* (Paris, 1952); Stanley J. Stein, *Vassouras: A Brazilian Coffee County, 1850-1900* (Cambridge, 1957). For an earlier work, see Roberto Simonsen, "Aspectos da história econômica do café," *Anais do 3º congresso de história nacional* (Rio de Janeiro, 1942).

47. Antônio Delfim Netto, *O problema do café no Brasil*, mimeographed, (São Paulo, 1959); Antônio Delfim Netto and Carlos Alberto de Andrade Pinto, *O café no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1967); Edmar Lisboa Bacha, "An Econometric Model for the World Coffee Market: The Impact of Brazilian Price Policy," (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1968).

Brazilian growers, but the coffee brokers, overwhelmingly non-Brazilian, and their financial backers.⁴⁸

What of the consequences of coffee stockpiling programs on the Brazilian economy? This question has provoked an extensive polemical literature, with Celso Furtado furnishing the most influential interpretation. He argued that the government's deficit spending to purchase surplus coffee during the Depression was a fortuitous example of Keynesian-style pump-priming, because it helped maintain demand, thereby stimulating the industrial sector which could be financed by capital being shifted from coffee. Furtado's thesis has been vigorously contested by Peláez, whose tendentious analysis of the relationship between coffee policy and industrialization is one round in a growing reexamination of the process of industrialization in Brazil.⁴⁹

Among the few other case studies of agriculture are Smith on the commercialization of rice production from 1930 to 1970 and Peláez on cotton. A wealth of data on the sugar industry in the important Northeastern state of Pernambuco from 1840 to 1910 is presented by Eisenberg, who argued that increased capitalization and the shift to free labor did little to reverse the decline in productivity and, therefore, the region's growing comparative disadvantage in world markets. Surprisingly enough, Brazil has produced few historical studies of land systems. For the Empire there is an excellent survey of land policy by Warren Dean, but we have few comparable studies for the Republic. Helpful background is given by Alberto Passos Guimarães in an essay written from a Marxian viewpoint.⁵⁰

48. Carlos Manuel Peláez, "Análise econômico do programa brasileiro de sustentação do café, 1906-1945: Teoria, política e medição," *Revista Brasileira de Economia*, 25 (out.-dez. 1971), 5-211; Thomas Geer, *The World Coffee Economy and Stabilization Schemes* (New York, 1971); Thomas H. Holloway, *The Brazilian Coffee Valorization of 1906: Regional Politics and Economic Dependence* (Madison, forthcoming 1975). For an analysis which covers coffee policy up to the 1960's, see Stephan Krasner, "Manipulating International Commodity Markets: Brazilian Coffee Policy, 1906-1962," *Public Policy*, 21 (Fall 1973), 493-523.

49. Furtado, *Formação econômica do Brasil*; Peláez, "Análise econômico do programa brasileiro de sustentação do café"; Peláez, *História da industrialização brasileira*. Peláez's critique of Furtado's analysis of the relationship between industrialization and the financing of surplus coffee stock purchases has been contested in Simão Davi Silber, "Política econômica: defesa do nível da renda e industrialização no período 1929/1939." (M.A. thesis, Instituto Brasileiro de Economia: Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 1973). Villela and Suzigan, *Política do governo* includes an analysis of coffee policy for each major period between 1889 and 1945.

50. Gordon W. Smith, "Comercialização e desenvolvimento econômico: o estudo de um caso brasileiro," *Estudos Econômicos*, 3 (abril 1973), 89-120; Peláez,

Because of its great importance as a source of energy for modern industry, oil has been a continuous preoccupation of Brazilian governments since the late 1930's. The polemical literature is vast, especially from economic nationalists. Very useful analyses of oil policy as a case study in Brazilian politics have been provided by Wirth and Cohn and Martins. Strangely enough, there is little analysis of the oil industry from a rigorously economic viewpoint.⁵¹

Before leaving the field of economic history it would be well to take note of three important related topics in social history, an area which does not receive separate treatment in this article. The first topic concerns the messianic movements which frequently aroused government repression during the Old Republic. The most famous was the community led by Antônio Conselheiro, liquidated by federal Army forces at Canudos, in the interior of Bahia, in 1897. That confrontation has been immortalized in Euclides da Cunha's *Os Sertões*, but his caricatured yet influential picture of "fanatics" has been sharply contested by recent scholars. Della Cava saw the Canudos rebels not as "isolated" in the backcountry, but as reacting to pressures from state and federal authorities—financial, political and religious. Much of his argument was based on his research into the career of Padre Cícero, the Cearense priest who rose to become the leading political force in his state. Maria Isáura Pereira de Queiroz

"A balança comercial." Much disorganized information is given in Luís Amaral, *História da agricultura brasileira*, 3 vols. (São Paulo, 1939–40). Peter L. Eisenberg, *The Sugar Industry in Pernambuco: Modernization Without Change, 1840–1910* (Berkeley, 1974). A far less clearly focused study is Gileno de Carli, *História contemporânea do açúcar no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1940). Warren Dean, "Latifúndia and Land Policy in Nineteenth-Century Brazil," *HAHR* 51 (Nov. 1971), 606–625. Much detail on São Paulo may be found in Thomas Holloway, "Migration and Mobility: Immigrants as Laborers and Landowners in the Coffee Zone of São Paulo, Brazil, 1886–1934" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1974). Alberto Passos Guimarães, *Quatro séculos de latifúndio* (Rio de Janeiro, 1968). A more recent survey is ECLA [Economic Commission for Latin America], *Economic Survey of Latin America, 1966* (New York, 1968), Part IV. The research published in the latter was sponsored by the Inter-American Committee for Agricultural Development, better known as CIDA, its acronym in Spanish.

51. Wirth, *Politics of Brazilian Development*. Cohn, *Petróleo e nacionalismo*. Luciano Martins, "Politique et développement économique: structures de pouvoir et système de décisions au Brésil: 1930–1964" (Ph.D. diss., University of Paris, 1973). A general history of energy policy is Jean Marie Martin, *Processus d'industrialisation et développement énergétique du Brésil* (Paris, 1966), while Judith Tendler, *Electric Power in Brazil: Entrepreneurship in the Public Sector* (Cambridge, 1968) analyzes the response of foreign-owned power companies to government regulation.

has advanced her own, very different, sociological explanation of Brazilian messianic movements.⁵²

Another messianic conflict, along the contested boundary of Santa Catarina from 1912 to 1916, has been the subject of carefully documented monographs by Maurício Vinhas de Queiroz and Duglas Teixeira Monteiro. An interpretation of the messianic conflicts is closely linked to an understanding of the function of violence and banditry on the local level, especially in the Northeast. The social significance of this violence has become the subject of a growing debate. Rui Facó has argued for a class interpretation of the phenomena, an approach most scholars have found to be oversimplified.⁵³

The second topic deserving note in this brief diversion into social history is immigration. Although Brazil received fewer European immigrants than Argentina or the United States, those who came were of great economic and social importance, especially in the south. There is no comprehensive history of Brazilian immigration, even for the Old Republic, although important research has recently become available. The most informative research has concentrated on immigration in limited regions, São Paulo being the most important. Although small in absolute numbers, the Japanese immigrants have been subjected to careful study for their role in São Paulo agriculture and the extent of their mobility within Brazilian society. The fate of important groups of German and North American immigrants has

52. Euclides da Cunha, *Os sertões* (Rio de Janeiro, 1902); Ralph della Cava, "Brazilian Messianism and National Institutions: A Reappraisal of Canudos and Joazeiro," *HAHR* 48 (Aug., 1968), 402–420; della Cava, *Miracle at Joazeiro* (New York, 1970); Maria Isáura Pereira de Queiroz, *Messianismo no Brasil e no Mundo* (São Paulo, 1965); Pereira de Queiroz, "Miti messianici e trasformazione della società tradizionale in Brasil," in Salvatore Sechi, ed., *Dipendenza e sottosviluppo in America Latina* (Torino, 1972), pp. 255–291. Jovelino P. Ramos, "Interpretando o fenômeno Canudos," *Luso-Brazilian Review*, 9:1 (1974), 65–83, opts for della Cava's approach, at least for Canudos. For a discussion of the bibliography on Euclides da Cunha, see Skidmore, *Black Into White*, chapter 3, fns. 62–77.

53. Maurício Vinhas de Queiroz, *Messianismo e conflito social: A guerra sertaneja do contestado, 1912–1916* (Rio de Janeiro, 1966); Duglas Teixeira Monteiro, *Os errantes do Novo Século: Um estudo sobre o surto milenarista do contestado* (São Paulo, 1974); Rui Facó, *Cangaçeiros e fanáticos* (Rio de Janeiro, 1963). An excellent overview of the literature on this subject is given in Amaury de Souza, "The Cangaço and the Politics of Violence in Northeast Brazil," in Ronald H. Chilcote, ed., *Protest and Resistance in Angola and Brazil: Comparative Studies*, (Berkeley, 1972) pp. 109–131. In Portuguese: "O Cangaço e a política da violência no nordeste brasileiro," *DADOS*, 10 (1973), 97–125.

been spelled out in monographs by Jean Roche, Emílio Willems and Frank Goldman.⁵⁴

The final topic of social history to note here is race relations. Slavery and abolition have attracted more scholarly attention than the role of color in determining social relations during the Republic. The pioneer in exploring this subject has been Florestan Fernandes, whose research and teaching furnished the leadership for a profound reexamination of the reality of modern Brazilian race relations. Yet the exact nature of the multi-racial system and its evolution deserve much more in-depth investigation and analysis. The questions are legion. Was the de facto category of "social race," rather than "physical" race, really predominant? How was it affected by increased European immigration after 1887? What happened to the ex-slaves after manumission, How did the social and economic institutions react to the increase in freedmen? What role did persons of color play in the labor force? To what extent has color continued to determine social and economic mobility? Only with answers to these questions will we begin to understand more satisfactorily the true nature of Brazil's "racial democracy."⁵⁵

54. J. Fernando Carneiro, *Imigração e colonização no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1950) is a useful survey, although sketchy. Carneiro, "Interpretação da política imigratória brasileira," *Digesto Econômico*, 4 (julho 1948), 90-99; 4 (agosto 1948), 119-130; 4 (set. 1948), 110-125; 4 (out. 1948), 106-117. References to the debates on immigration between 1870 and 1930 may be found in Skidmore, *Black Into White*. Thomas H. Holloway, "Migration and Mobility" casts new light on how the immigrants fit into the rapidly expanding economy of the south, a structure analyzed also in José de Souza Martins, *A imigração e a crise do Brasil agrário* (São Paulo, 1973). Arlinda Rocha Nogueira, *A imigração japonesa para a lavoura cafeeira paulista, 1908-1922* (São Paulo, 1973). Hiroshi Saito, *O japonês no Brasil: estudo de mobilidade e fixação* (São Paulo, 1961). Harold D. Sims, "Japanese Postwar Migration to Brazil: An Analysis of Data Presently Available," *International Migration Review*, 6 (Fall 1972), 246-266. Jean Roche, *La colonisation allemande et le Rio Grande do Sul* (Paris, 1959). Frank P. Goldman, *Os pioneiros americanos no Brasil: educadores, sacerdotes, covos e reis* (São Paulo, 1972). Emílio Willems, *A aculturação dos alemães no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1946). A very informative overview of the immigrant in modern Brazil may be found in Manuel Diégues Júnior, *Imigração, urbanização, industrialização* (Rio de Janeiro, 1964).

55. Florestan Fernandes' major works on race relations are: *A integração do negro na sociedade de classes*, 2nd. ed., 2 vols. (São Paulo, 1965) and (with Roger Bastide) *Branços e negros em São Paulo*, (São Paulo, 1971). For a collection of essays published in the 1960's, see Florestan Fernandes, *O negro no mundo dos brancos* (São Paulo, 1972). Further discussion of the bibliography on race relations may be found in the notes to Thomas E. Skidmore, "Toward a Comparative Analysis of Race Relations Since Abolition in Brazil and the United States," *Journal of Latin America Studies*, 4 (May 1972), 1-28; and Skidmore, *Black Into White*, especially chapter 2. For recent analysis by a leading Brazilian

Many other important topics in social history await serious investigation. The social roles of men and women have recently gained attention, but the professions remain largely unstudied. Although lawyers and medical doctors have played a pivotal role in Brazilian public life, as elsewhere in Latin America, we know surprisingly little about the development and characteristics of those professions. The same is true of military and police officers, whose importance is self-evident. Finally, what of the many social institutions whose economic and political significance have been great? What of the football clubs, religious groups (especially the many varieties of spiritualism), and commercial associations?⁵⁶

Foreign Relations

Only in the last decade has the study of Brazilian foreign relations, at least for the period since 1889, escaped the bounds of relatively uncritical narrative.⁵⁷ The predominant power with which Republican Brazil had to deal was the United States, although Britain retained a larger total investment in Brazil until the 1920's. An ambitious survey history of U.S.-Brazilian relations since the early nineteenth century has been written from a radical nationalist viewpoint by Moniz Bandeira. His perspective is hardly surprising, since the principal impulse for such studies in Brazil has come from the advocates of Neo-Marxian or strongly nationalist ideas. Bandeira finds U.S. political power employed to promote other private economic interest, both in the form of corporate investors and of consumers of Brazilian

student of race relations, see Thales de Acevedo, *Democracia racial: ideologia e realidade* (Petropolis, 1975).

56. Examples of recent work on the role (or image) of women in Brazil are: Ann Pescatello, "The *Brasileira*: Images and Realities in Writings of Machado de Assis and Jorge Amado," in Ann Pescatello, ed., *Female and Male in Latin America: Essays*, (Pittsburgh, 1973), pp. 29-58; Colin MacLachlan, "The Feminine Mystique in Brazil: A Middle-Class Image," *Proceedings of the Pacific Coast Council on Latin American Studies*, 2 (1973), 61-73; Mary Karasch, "Black Worlds in the Tropics: Gilberto Freyre and the Woman of Color in Brazil," *Proceedings of Pacific Coast Council*, 3 (1974), 19-30. The kind of new data on urban associations waiting to be analyzed is evident in Michael L. Conniff, "Voluntary Associations in Rio, 1870-1945: A new Approach to Urban Social Dynamics," *Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs*, 17 (Feb. 1975), 64-81.

57. Delgado de Carvalho, *História diplomática do Brasil* (São Paulo, 1959) is essentially a textbook prepared for use in a training course for future Brazilian diplomats.

exports, an interpretation that will undoubtedly provide a target for contrary interpretations from U.S. researchers.⁵⁸

There can be no doubt that the economic basis of U.S. interest in the young Brazilian Republic grew rapidly. Walter LaFeber has argued that U.S. business interests successfully pressured Washington to help the new Republic withstand the rebellion of 1893–94. E. Bradford Burns found that economic ties furnished a “backdrop for diplomacy” which resulted in a close U.S.-Brazilian alliance during the foreign ministry of Baron Rio-Branco (1902–1912). Thus began Brazil’s pro-American policy which was to bring her into both world wars as a combatant ally of the U.S.⁵⁹ In his analysis of U.S.-Brazilian relations in World War II, Frank McCann has found that the U.S. was intent upon “insuring hegemony over Brazil’s economic and military sectors.” He also provides interesting historical evidence of the concern over the “drift to the left” as discerned by the anti-Vargas conspirators in 1945. The U.S. role in Brazilian development grew even more important in the Cold War era, and has become a major topic for debate among scholars and politicians in both countries.⁶⁰

58. Moniz Bandeira, *Presença dos Estados Unidos no Brasil: dois séculos de história* (Rio de Janeiro, 1973) includes extensive citations from the Brazilian Foreign Ministry archives and collections of private papers.

59. Lawrence H. Hill, *Diplomatic Relations Between the U.S. and Brazil* (Durham, 1932) barely goes beyond the end of the Empire and is an example of the very limited, traditionally oriented, diplomatic history. Walter LaFeber, “United States Depression Diplomacy and the Brazilian Revolution, 1893–1894,” *HAHR*, 40 (Feb. 1960), 107–118. LaFeber, *The New Empire* (Ithaca, 1963), pp. 210–218. Joseph Smith, “Britain and the Brazilian Naval Revolt of 1893–94,” *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 2 (Nov. 1970), 175–198 casts doubt on LaFeber’s assumption that the British government supported, or even wished to support, the rebels. E. Bradford Burns, *The Unwritten Alliance: Rio Branco and Brazilian-American Relations* (New York, 1966). For details on the substitution of U.S. for British economic influence, see Victor Valla, “Os Estados Unidos e a influência estrangeira na economia brasileira: Um período de transição, 1904–1928; pt. 1,” *Revista de História*, 42 (jan.–março 1971), 147–174. The best single source on Baron Rio Branco’s long career is Luiz Viana Filho, *A vida do Barão do Rio Branco* (Rio de Janeiro, 1959). The other authoritative biography is Alvaro Lins, *Rio Branco*, 2 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1945). For a useful discussion of bibliography on Rio Branco and his diplomatic accomplishments, see Burns, *The Unwritten Alliance*, pp. 265–74. For detail on another important figure in the foreign policy of the Old Republic, see Luiz Viana Filho, *A vida de Joaquim Nabuco* (São Paulo, 1952) and João Frank da Costa, *Joaquim Nabuco e a política exterior do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1968). During the Old Republic Brazil generally won its boundary disputes. For details on the Acre case see Lewis A. Tams, “Rubber, Rebels, and Rio Branco: The Contest for the Acre,” *HAHR*, 46 (August 1966), 254–273.

60. Dated, but still helpful on the First World War period, is the chapter on Brazil in Percy Alvin Martin, *Latin America and the War* (Baltimore, 1925).

The “independent foreign policy” pursued during the presidencies of Jânio Quadros and João Goulart (1961–64) constitutes one of the most discussed aspects of Brazilian foreign relations. Most analysts have stressed the connection between foreign policy formulation and the nationalist ideological ferment within domestic politics. Policy toward the rest of the developing world has continued to be a key point of controversy among the political elite, and, therefore, among foreign policy makers. An influential figure in this controversy was San Tiago Dantas, a principal architect of the “independent” policy during his brief term as Foreign Minister.⁶¹

The study of Brazilian relations with other major countries has not been extensive. For Britain there is the wide-ranging work by Richard Graham which analyzes a broad gambit of areas of British influence, such as investment, technology, and ideology, thereby telling us much about the fundamentals of Brazil’s socio-economic change in this important period. As for Germany, recent research has shown that grandiose ideas in Germany about the “conquest” of southern Brazil, presumably working through the German immigrant community, had little chance of success. When the Brazilian government stepped in to “nationalize” her German immigrants (and their descendants) in Paraná, Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul during the 1930’s, the task of accelerating assimilation proved relatively easy, despite protests from the Hitler regime.⁶²

Frank D. McCann, Jr., *The Brazilian-American Alliance, 1937–1945* (Princeton, 1973). A strongly nationalist approach is taken in Carlos Estevam Martins, “Brazil and the United States from the 1960s to the 1970s,” in Julio Cotler and Richard R. Fagen, eds., *Latin America and the United States: The Changing Political Realities* (Stanford, 1974), pp. 269–301. A highly critical view of U.S. motives is also evident in Peter D. Bell, “Brazilian-American Relations,” in Roett, ed., *Brazil in the Sixties*, pp. 77–102.

61. Keith Larry Storrs, “Brazil’s Independent Foreign Policy, 1961–1964: Background, Tenets, Linkage to Domestic Politics and Aftermath,” mimeographed (Ithaca, 1973). Celso Lafer and Felix Peña, *Argentina e Brasil: no sistema das relações internacionais* (São Paulo, 1973). H. Jon Rosenbaum, “Brazil’s Foreign Policy and Cuba,” *Inter-American Economic Affairs*, 23 (Winter 1969), 25–45. Wayne Selcher, *Afro-Asian Dimensions of Brazilian Foreign Policy* (Gainesville, 1974). San Tiago Dantas, *Política externa independente* (Rio de Janeiro, 1962) is primarily a collection of speeches. The leading scholarly advocate of the “independent” policy was the noted historian José Honório Rodrigues, whose nationalist reinterpretation of Brazil’s foreign relations may be found in his *Interesse nacional e política externa* (Rio de Janeiro, 1966); and *Brasil e África: outro horizonte*, 2nd. edition (Rio de Janeiro, 1964), translated into English by Richard A. Mazzara and Sam Hileman under the title *Brazil and Africa* (Berkeley, 1965).

62. Graham, *Britain and the Onset of Modernization*. Gerhard Brunn, *Deutschland und Brasilien, 1889–1914* (Köln, 1971) is based primarily on official German

Modern Brazilian history offers no lack of challenging questions. It is therefore not surprising that the last fifteen years have brought an outpouring of research so extensive as to render obsolete many once-standard works. In areas such as labor history and economic history the time may have come already for new attempts at survey treatments incorporating recent research. In others, such as foreign relations or the role of the military in politics, there are probably too many important lacunae in the monographic literature.

Increasing access to unpublished sources, both public and private, will continue to make historians impatient with prevailing interpretations, which are all too often framed in terms imposed by the historical actors themselves. Yet new sources will only prove as valuable as the researcher's methodology makes them. The most important methodological questions depend upon the historian's assumptions. Despite the indisputably valuable contribution of foreign scholars, in the end it will be primarily the Brazilians who shape the vision of their past, in response to the realities of the present and their hopes for the future.

sources. Käte Harms-Baltzer, *Die Nationalisierung der deutschen Einwanderer und ihrer Nachkommen in Brasilien als Problem der deutsch-brasilianischen Beziehungen, 1930–1938* (Berlin, 1970) relies exclusively on sources in West Germany. The most complete study of Brazilian-German relations in the 1930's is Hilton's *Brazil and the Great Powers*.