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THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF
LATIN AMERICA

VOLUME IX

Brazil since 1930

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THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF
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VOLUME I *Colonial Latin America*

VOLUME II *Colonial Latin America*

VOLUME III *From Independence to c. 1870*

VOLUME IV *c. 1870 to 1930*

VOLUME V *c. 1870 to 1930*

VOLUME VI *Latin America since 1930: Economy, Society and Politics*
Part 1. *Economy and Society*
Part 2. *Politics and Society*

VOLUME VII *Latin America since 1930: Mexico, Central America
and the Caribbean*

VOLUME VIII *Latin America since 1930: Spanish South America*

VOLUME IX *Brazil since 1930*

VOLUME X *Latin America since 1930: Ideas, Culture and Society*

VOLUME XI *Bibliographical Essays*

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THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF LATIN AMERICA

VOLUME IX

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GENERAL PREFACE

Since the *Cambridge Modern History* planned by Lord Acton appeared in twelve volumes between 1902 and 1912, multivolume Cambridge Histories, edited by historians of established reputation, with individual chapters written by leading specialists in their fields, have set the highest standards of collaborative international scholarship. The *Cambridge Modern History* was followed by the *Cambridge Ancient History* and the *Cambridge Medieval History*. The *Modern History* was eventually replaced by *The New Cambridge Modern History* in fourteen volumes (1957–1979). And Cambridge Histories of India, China, Japan, Africa, Latin America, Iran, Southeast Asia and Russia as well as various Cambridge Economic Histories and Cambridge Histories of political ideas, religions, philosophy and literature have since been published.

The responsibility for planning and editing a multivolume *Cambridge History of Latin America* was given to Dr. Leslie Bethell, who was at the time (the late 1970s) a Reader in Hispanic American and Brazilian History at University College London, and later (from 1986) professor of Latin American history at the University of London and currently (from 1987) director of the University of London Institute of Latin American Studies.

Since World War II, and particularly since 1960, research and writing on Latin American history developed at an unprecedented rate – in the United States (by Americans in particular, but also by British, European and Latin American historians resident there), in Britain and continental Europe and increasingly in Latin America itself (where a new generation of young professional historians, many of them trained in the United States, Britain and Europe, had begun to emerge). Perspectives changed as political, economic, and social realities in Latin America – and Latin America's role in the world – changed. Methodological innovations and new conceptual models drawn from the social sciences (economics,

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political science, historical demography, sociology and anthropology), as well as from other fields of historical research, were increasingly adopted by historians of Latin America.

The *Cambridge History of Latin America* was to be the first large-scale, authoritative survey of Latin America's unique historical experience during the five centuries since the first contacts between the native American peoples and Europeans (and the beginnings of the African trans-Atlantic slave trade) in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. (Cambridge later published separately a three-volume *Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas* – North, Middle and South – which gave proper consideration to the evolution of the region's peoples, societies and civilisations in isolation from the rest of the world during several millennia before the arrival of the Europeans. These volumes also give a fuller treatment than the *Cambridge History of Latin America* of the history of the indigenous peoples of Latin America under European colonial rule and during the national period to the present day.)

Latin America was taken to comprise the predominately Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking areas of continental America south of the United States – Mexico, Central America and South America – together with the Spanish-speaking Caribbean (Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic) and, by convention, Haiti. (The vast territories in North America lost to the United States, first by Spain, then by Mexico, by treaty and by war during the first half of the nineteenth century were, for the most part, excluded. Neither the British, French, nor Dutch Caribbean islands nor the Guianas were included, even though Jamaica and Trinidad, for example, had early Hispanic antecedents and were members of the Organization of American States.)

The aim was to produce a high-level synthesis of existing knowledge that would provide historians of Latin America with a solid base for future research, be useful to students of Latin American history and be of interest to historians of other areas of the world. It was also hoped that the *History* would contribute more generally to a deeper understanding of Latin America through its history in the United States, Europe and elsewhere and, not least, to a greater awareness of Latin American history in the countries studied.

Each volume or set of volumes of the *Cambridge History of Latin America* examines a period in the economic, social, political, intellectual and cultural history of Latin America.

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Volumes I and II (*Colonial Latin America*), published in 1984, are devoted to the European 'discovery', conquest and settlement of the 'New World', and the history of the Spanish and Portuguese empires in America from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries.

Volume III (*From Independence to c. 1870*), published in 1985, examines the breakdown and overthrow of colonial rule throughout Latin America (except in Cuba and Puerto Rico) at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and the economic, social and political history of the independent Spanish American republics and the independent Empire of Brazil during the half-century from c. 1820 to c. 1870.

Volumes IV and V (c. 1870 to 1930), published in 1986, concentrate on what was for most of Latin America a 'Golden Age' of predominantly export-led economic growth as the region became more fully incorporated into the expanding international economy. It was a period of material prosperity (at least for the dominant classes), significant social change (both rural and urban), political stability (with some notable exceptions, such as Mexico during the Revolution), ideological consensus (at least until the 1920s) and notable achievements in intellectual and cultural life.

Volumes VI–X, which (except for volume IX) appeared between 1990 and 1996, are devoted to Latin America since 1930.

Volume VI, published in 1994 in two parts, brings together general essays on major themes in the economic, social and political history of the region: the fourfold increase in population (from 110 to 450 million); the impact of the 1929 World Depression and World War II on the Latin American economies; the second 'Golden Age' of economic growth (1950–1980), this time largely led by ISI (import substitution industrialization), followed by the so-called 'lost decade' of the 1980s; rapid urbanisation (less than 20 percent of Latin America's population was classified as urban in 1930, almost 70 percent in 1990) and urban social change; the transformation of agrarian structures; the development of state organisation and, in the 1980s, the beginnings of 'state shrinkage'; the military in politics; the advance of (as well as the setbacks suffered by) democracy in Latin America; the (few) successes and (many) failures of the Latin American left; the urban working class and urban labour movements; rural mobilisations and rural violence; changes in the economic, social and political role of women and, finally, the persistence of the Catholic church as a major force in political as well as religious and social life throughout the region, as well as the rapidly growing Protestant churches.

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Volume VII, published in 1990, is a history of Mexico, the five Central American republics (Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua and Costa Rica), Panama and the Panama Canal Zone, the Hispanic Caribbean (Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic) and Haiti.

Volume VIII, published in 1992, is a history of the nine republics of Spanish South America (Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Chile, Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia and Venezuela).

Volume X, published in 1996, is the history of ideas and culture in Latin America since c. 1920 (which is for this volume a more appropriate starting point than 1930). It opens with a long chapter – the longest of any in the entire *History* – by Richard Morse that explores the ‘multiverse of identity’ (both national and regional identity) in Brazil and Spanish America from the 1920s to the 1960s through the writings of novelists, essayists, philosophers, historians and sociologists. The rest of the volume consists of separate chapters on Latin American (Spanish American and Brazilian) narrative, poetry, music, art, architecture, radio, television and cinema.

An important feature of the *Cambridge History of Latin America* volumes is the bibliographical essays that accompany each chapter. These essays give special emphasis to books and articles that have appeared since Charles C. Griffin (ed.), *Latin America: A Guide to the Historical Literature* (published for the Conference on Latin American History by the University of Texas Press in 1971). Griffin’s *Guide* was prepared between 1962 and 1969 and included few works published after 1966. All the essays from Volumes I–VIII and X of the *History* – where necessarily revised, expanded and updated (to c. 1992) – together with an essay on Brazil since 1930 written by the editor in advance of the completion of Volume IX, were published in a single volume, Volume XI: *Bibliographical Essays*, in 1995.

The *Cambridge History of Latin America* is being published in Spanish translation (20 volumes, Editorial Crítica, Barcelona), in Chinese translation (10 volumes, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing) and in Portuguese translation (10 volumes, Editora da Universidade de São Paulo).

PREFACE TO VOLUME IX

The writing and editing of Volume IX of the *Cambridge History of Latin America* on Brazil since 1930, the final volume of the *History* to be published, has been long delayed for a variety of reasons, not least the appointment of the editor (who was also to be one of the principal authors in this particular volume) as director of the newly established Centre for Brazilian Studies in the University of Oxford, inaugurated in 1997. Only when the future of the Oxford Centre had been secured for a second five-year period (2002–7) was the editor, though reappointed director of the centre for a further five years, able to turn once more to the writing and editing of this volume.

The volume offers a comprehensive history of Brazil in the seventy years from 1930 to the beginning of the twenty-first century, during which Brazil experienced profound economic, social and political change. Brazil's population grew from 35 million to 170 million. The population classified as urban rose from less than 30 percent to more than 80 percent (90 percent in the southeast). GDP grew (at least until 1980, after which there followed two 'lost decades' in terms of economic growth) at an average annual rate of almost 7 percent, one of the fastest rates of growth in the world. A traditional society based largely on agriculture was transformed into a modern urban society with a strong industrial base: the proportion of the economically active population in agriculture and rural activities fell from two-thirds to one-quarter, while in industry it rose from 10 to 20 percent. (At the same time, the proportion of women in the economically active population increased from 10 to 40 percent.) Average per capita income rose six times between 1930 and 1980, though it stagnated in the following two decades. (Brazil, however, remained one of the most unequal societies in the world, with more than a third of the population living in poverty.) Infant mortality fell from 160 to 35 per thousand live births and life expectancy at birth increased from 40 to 70. Illiteracy declined from

more than 60 percent to less than 15 percent. And the level of political participation increased dramatically: fewer than two million Brazilians (less than 10 percent of the adult population) participated in the presidential elections of 1930; almost 95 million voted in the presidential elections in 2002 (82 percent of an electorate of 115 million, based on universal suffrage), making Brazil, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, the third largest democracy in the world.

Volume IX Part One consists of four chapters on politics during the fifteen-year presidency of Getúlio Vargas (1930–1945), the Liberal Republic (1945–1964), the twenty-one-year military dictatorship (1964–1985) and, finally, the transition to, and consolidation of, democracy from the late 1980s, culminating in the two administrations of Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1995–2002) and the election of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva as president in 2002.

Part Two consists, first, of three chapters on the Brazilian economy: (1) 1930–1980, fifty years of state-led growth, structural change and rising average per-capita incomes; (2) 1980–1994, fifteen years of mediocre growth, stagnant per-capita incomes, high inflation, indebtedness and fiscal crisis; and (3) 1994–2004, ten years in which a stabilisation plan (the *Plano Real*) was successfully implemented and some reforms were introduced, but in which Brazil failed to find a new strategy for sustained growth and development. These three chapters on the Brazilian economy are followed by a single chapter on social continuity and change from c. 1920 to 2000, with special reference to population, social stratification, social (and geographic) mobility, social inequality, poverty, education, gender and, not least, race.

Brazilian intellectual life and Brazilian culture – literature, art and architecture, music, cinema and television – received extensive treatment in Volume X of the *History: Latin America since 1930: Ideas, Culture and Society*.

As in the previous volumes of the *History*, each chapter in Volume IX is accompanied by a bibliographical essay.

The editor would like to thank Frank Smith, Editorial Director, Academic Books at Cambridge University Press in New York, who waited patiently (sometimes not so patiently) for the ‘missing’ Volume IX of the *Cambridge History of Latin America* and finally agreed to publish it more than ten years after the publication of Volumes X and XI.

He also thanks the contributors to the volume, who each read at least one other chapter, and especially Marcelo de Paiva Abreu, who read and made

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valuable and detailed comments on all of the chapters. Other friends and colleagues, though not themselves contributors, also generously agreed to read and comment on chapters: José Murilo de Carvalho and Boris Fausto (Chapters 1 and 2), João Roberto Martins Filho (Chapter 3), Timothy J. Power (Chapter 4), Victor Bulmer-Thomas (Chapter 5), Pêrsio Arida (Chapters 6 and 7) and Simon Schwartzman (an early version of Chapter 8).

The editor is grateful to the staff of the University of Oxford Centre for Brazilian Studies, especially Kate Candy and Sarah Rankin, for administrative and secretarial assistance and to a doctoral student at the Centre, Matias Spektor, for research assistance in the final stages of the preparation of this volume for publication.

The Assistant Editor at Cambridge, Simina Calin, and her production counterparts at Aptara Inc. – Mary Paden, production manager; Ellen Tirpak, copyeditor; and Jim Farned, indexer – helped turn the manuscript into a book.

Much of the writing of the politics chapters and the editing of the economy and society chapters was done during lengthy stays at Laura and Mario Góes's beautiful and peaceful Pousada da Alcobaça at Correias, near Petrópolis, in the mountains north of Rio de Janeiro.

Finally, without the steadfast support of Maria Eduarda Marques this volume would not have been completed even ten years later than originally planned.

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