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This book examines the life, times, and legacy of Getúlio Vargas, Brazil's dictator and president during most of the period from 1930 to 1954. Levine's chief concern is how Vargas's legacy influenced Brazil, and to what extent his social legislation affected people's lives. Vargas ignored individual rights, working for state-regulated citizenship without disharmony, without the right to dissent. His revolution was partial, one in which new constituencies and rules were grafted onto traditional political practices. Vargas devoted as much effort to manipulating workers as he did to benefiting them. By the end of his long tenure in power, some things had hardly changed at all: the readiness of the armed forces to intervene; the elite's tenacious hold on privilege; and the historical predominance of the Center-South. Brazil's distribution of income remained among the least equitable in the world, but Vargas did not perceive this as a problem that needed to be solved. That Vargas promised more than he delivered did not diminish the adulation that Brazilians held for him. Ordinary people would shrug and say: *O presidente sempre lembrou da gente* ("the president always remembered us").

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Much has changed since I went to Brazil to begin my dissertation research in May 1964, less than two months after the military coup that overthrew Brazil's constitutional government. I intended to study the Vargas period, not knowing at the time that the military regime, wary of the late president's popularity, would make Getúlio Vargas a "nonperson." In fact, Vargas's daughter Alzira may have granted me permission to use her father's archive because she felt that Brazilian historians were reluctant to write about the Vargas era. After 1968, the dictatorship turned repressive. When my book on the Vargas regime was published by Columbia University Press in 1970, several Brazilian publishers contacted me for publication rights, but two different translation drafts were rejected by police censors. The book finally appeared in Brazil ten years later, when briefly it became a best seller, perhaps because readers saw parallels between the post-1964 military regime still in power and the authoritarian Vargas years that I had analyzed.

After the military government yielded to civilian rule during the mid-1980s, interest in Vargas rekindled. CPDOC, a Rio de Janeiro research center established at the Getúlio Vargas Foundation, put teams of staff members to work collecting and cataloging documents and taking depositions from Vargas-era elites. Books and theses began to appear, but few concentrated on Vargas himself or on the impact of his social and nationalist programs. It is telling that there still is no updated, full-scale biography of Vargas; nor is there a detailed analysis of the *Estado Novo*, the 1946 Constitution, Vargas's relations with the military, his foreign policy, or his final term. Equally important, we have no studies addressing the lives of ordinary people during the Vargas era. Vargas's personal journal covering the years between 1930 and 1942 has now been edited

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by his granddaughter, forty-one years after his death, but the diary entries for the most part are dry and sketchy. Vargas never revealed his reactions or motives, even to himself.

This book, an interpretive synthesis based on many years of studying Vargas and modern Brazil, considers a series of fundamental questions. How did Vargas influence the evolution of the Brazilian state? How did Brazil change from 1930 to 1954? What was Vargas's political legacy? How far did Vargas's reforms change day-to-day life, not only in the major cities but throughout the vast country? And why did millions of Brazilians come to revere him if he acted, as wags claimed, not only as "father of the poor" but "mother to the rich"?

Funds for the study came from a collaborative research grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities supplemented by resources from the University of Miami. Matching support was provided by the Brazilian-American Chamber of Commerce of Florida, the Americas Foundation, Bank Cafeeiro, the Embraer Corporation, Varig Airlines, Robert J. Duffy, and Michael Bander.

I am, of course, responsible for the final result. I wish to give special thanks to the beleaguered National Endowment for the Humanities, which was willing to consider my grant application even though my computer (and our house) had been knocked out by Hurricane Andrew in August 1992. Some of the pages of the grant application, in fact, mailed right before the deadline, were water-stained. I appreciate the NEH staff's understanding during those difficult days. I am deeply appreciative of everything the NEH has done to assist scholarship in this country, and hope that the U.S. Congress will come to its senses and increase this agency's budget in the years ahead.

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