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**BRAZILIAN DEVELOPMENTALIST STATE: GENESIS, WEAKNESS AND
ACTIONS IN THE AMAZON**

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At the beginning of the 20th century there was not a Brazilian economy, which would only happen after 1930. What existed were core regional exporters isolates that stood: the coffee in São Paulo and the rubber in the Amazon. The coffee was a capitalist economy, employment; the rubber, with 40% of exports in 1910, was an extractive economy, to the base of the dispensing. The Northeast was also a core exporter – sugar and cotton – but less economically and with crisis of labor, in function of the abolition of slavery. A fourth nucleus located in the hinterlands – livestock, cassava, beans, rice, tobacco, etc. – autonomous producers who attended the domestic supply. There was not a "national economy" because there was not a link between these economic cores, their relations were very tenuous.

From the First World War (1914-1918) started to occur change in direction of growth of the economies of peripheral countries, a process that would gain a decisive impetus in the depression of 1930. Until then the growth of the Brazilian economy had been "out", within the primary standard "exporter". The transformations in the global economy – greater protectionism by the central countries, lower income elasticity of demand for primary products, a lower rate of import in the new cycle of the world economy, the United States, and so on – would have been responsible for a spontaneous process of industrialization, spurred by problems of imbalance in the balance of payments.

In light of this new scenario of transformation of the world economy, the Brazilian economy, which until then had been based agrarian-exporter, would give a turn for the industry standard slow. Before 1930, the source of income and currencies was agriculture, however, in that year, the Brazilian GDP, both in agriculture and

industry, had been reduced in relative terms for 36% and 15%, respectively. The services sector, which had the strongest growth, representing around 50% of GDP. Begins a transformation toward a new economic basis, i.e., the industrialisation, followed by regional integration.

Thus, the industrialization was overlaying the primary production-exporter, guaranteeing the predominance of the variable investment in expansion of the sector. The industrial concentration in São Paulo was without any doubt, greater than any other country in terms of its own size, in terms of its generating capacity of dynamic process of capital accumulation, and in terms of internal expansion of the market.

Consequently, the dynamic center of the economy was to be the internal market, this has ensured the preponderance of the sector connected to this market in the process of capital formation, in the case of the industrial sector. The integration of the national market was the only option for evolution of the model of "inside growth" of the Brazilian economy, put into practice from the beginning of the "restricted industrialization" process. This new pattern of growth would have a special historic significance, not only for the peripheral countries, but for the whole world; it would be a new era in the dissemination of technical progress.

The international crisis and the economic transformations, political and social factors which followed achieve the real basis of support from liberal economic policy until then in force. Born from there, different conceptions of the Brazilian development. In relation to the liberal thinking, he had to go through transformations that enabled its resistance facing the new reality. The economic liberalism is the result of this process, where the prefix "neo" has a very precise meaning, represents that the liberals Brazilians, in their majority, passed to permit, in the new situation post-1930, the need for some healing state intervention of imperfections in the market which, according to recognized, affecting underdeveloped economies like Braz. Development was placed as a synonym of industrialization led by the State. Industrialisation confounded with modernisation, and the modern "changes" continuously.

The general feeling among a large number of Latin American economists, in the decades of 1940 and 1950, indicated the disbelief in relation to the existing economic theory and perplexity about the lack of theories that could be adapted to economic and social realities that they tried to understand and transform.

In this context, historical factors have contributed to the birth of the developmentalist project. The country went through an industrial boom and parallel to

this joined the crisis in the external sector with the outbreak of the Second World War, and consubstanciando this framework, was experiencing a violent centralisation of power by the Estado Novo, which followed the collapse of the Oligarchic State, then emerged as a response, a whole framework of regulation and control of economic activities in the country.

All this was accompanied by a long controversy, passionate and comprehensive, soon polarized by a central idea: the underdevelopment. This would be superseded by the capitalist industrialization, however, planned and supported by the State through the nationalization of sectors considered strategic and segments of the industry. Was the developmentalist policy becoming a reference as a solution to overcome underdevelopment. She became, therefore, a new way to the old theoretical dispute between liberalism and state intervention.

For its execution the state began to create a series of agencies dedicated to the administration of problems of national reach. With this, its civilian and military technicians were brought to consider the issues of national economic development in an integrated manner and comprehensive generating the ideology that provided the arguments of developmental policy.

This ideology supported by Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), a body which sported the credibility of the UN, started with a powerful analytical instrumental liberal who was fully incorporated by most developmentalists nationalists in the public sector, forming the embryo of the developmentalist current nationalistic in the years 1950, one of the lines of thought of greater intellectual militancy in the country. This current of thought, and the attraction of government advocated by supporting policies to industrialization, integrated, to the extent possible, a system of comprehensive planning with state investment in basic sectors.

The developmentalist policy was the ideology of transformation of Brazilian society, not as cost of social classes, but defended by the economical design to achieve the industrialization and regional integration as a means of overcoming poverty and underdevelopment in Brazil, to be achieved by the action of the State, by planning to set the desired expansion of economic sectors and instruments for the promotion of this expansion. In this framework, the State would have a strategic responsibility with the schedule of activities and goals that would overcome the condition of a peripheral economy.

In the immense Brazilian space not yet integrated into national economic space, the Amazon occupying the greater physical space, led the Government of Getúlio Vargas, in the Estado Novo (1937-1946), to establish the Program March to the West, (1938), seeking the national economic integration from the colonization of regions considered "distant and uninhabited", to which they are integrated in this new profile of development. In the discourse of the Amazon river delivered by Getúlio Vargas, in Manaus, on 10 October 1940, the President refers to the region by saying: *"In the same way as the image of the river-sea is for Brazilians to measure of the greatness of Brazil, your problems are, in synthesis, from all over the country. We need to sort the settlement, in addition the yield of crops, aparelhar transport"*

In the year 1940 was already indisputable the notion that without interference or adoption of specific policies geared to regional development, the national periphery was doomed to remain underdeveloped, marginalized from economic dynamics resulting from the capitalist accumulation in this country. At the end of the decade, the North, Northeast and Midwest had 30.7% of the national population, but only contributed with 21.5% of the national product; the Southeast, with 38% of the population, was responsible for almost two-thirds of the national product. This differential of inter-regional growth was accentuated in the years 1950, having increased its participation in the East in the national product, while the national periphery decreased their participation.

This period on the Federal Government began to devote to these regions, policies that seek to regional development, and specifically the Amazon was that did not have a sustainable economic activity (not considered more the economic viability of extraction) and also represented as another obstacle in the emptiness of the population. Were Created Federal Territories, subsequently transformed into French, superintendence of development, regional bank, teaching and research institutions, programs of subsidised financing, infrastructure, transport and communication, and the redefinition policy of the region with the establishment of the Legal Amazon, now incorporating the states of Acre, Amapá, Amazonas, Maranhão, Mato Grosso, Pará, Rondônia, Roraima and Tocantins.

The Government of Juscelino Kubitschek (1956-1961) conceived very well this policy, which materialized in the Program Goals. This had 30 big objectives - in addition to the goal 31, the construction of Brasília - covering the most relevant economic sectors in Brazil. For its implementation, the President established a parallel

administration by executive groups and working groups, to circumvent, without producing resistors, the seizure of the state machine.

The goal of number nine was the construction of ten thousand kilometers of new federal roads; the first revision of this goal increased that number to 12 thousand. In the second revision, in 1958 the mileage has reached 13 thousand, and in 1961, 13,519 km of federal roads had been constructed, among them the road Belém-Brasília. The goal 27 was the automobile industry.

Their actions have continued in the Amazon, from governments in 1964, until the end of year 1970, being intense and promoting great transformations in the region with the policies, programs and projects for fiscal incentives, subsidized rural credit, colonization, highways, poles of development with an emphasis on the Zona Franca de Manaus, with the creation of an industrial pole in the heart of the forest.

Was consolidated the developmentalist state Brazilian who had great impetus with the governments after 1964. But, his weakness appears with the debt crisis that occurred in the decade of 1980, and the gradual change occurred with the opening of the economy in the Collor de Mello (1990-1992) and the Real Plan in 1994.