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IMMIGRATION IN BRAZIL

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SECTION 1. ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC SITUATION

A. Conditions Affecting Employment and Income

(i) The Land and its Utilization

1. Brazil's area of 8,511,190 square kilometres (3,286,170 square miles) is 9 per cent larger than that of the United States, or about the same as the United States plus another Texas. It is approximately four-fifths the size of Europe. Its terrain, however, is much more varied than that of the United States or Europe. Tropical, sub-tropical and temperate climatic zones are found from north to south through the country's 39 degrees of latitude, with consequent variations in natural vegetation and in range of possible degree and type of utilization of the land.

2. Roughly, the tropical zone extends 15 degrees, from about 5 degrees north of the equator to around 10 degrees south; the sub-tropics from there to the Tropic of Capricorn, some 13 degrees; and the temperate area to the southernmost point, at 33° 45", approximately 11 degrees. Altitudes also influence climate so that temperate zone characteristics are often found on the high tablelands in the sub-tropics north of the Tropic of Capricorn. There is considerable variation within the tropical zone itself. Elevation increases, generally, from the low flood plains of the Amazon valley to the south, but with the highest averages in the central western states of Mato Grosso and Goiás. 69.5 per cent of the area of these two states is 301 metres or higher. Brazil as a whole has 42 per cent of its land at these altitudes. The state of Amazonas, in contrast, has 61 per cent of its area under 100 metres.^{1/} A detailed description of the wide variety of combinations of wind, rainfall, humidity and temperature is available in Preston James, Brazil, and will

^{1/} Anuario Estatístico do Brazil, 1948, pp. 7-8

5. It can be seen that only 9 per cent of the area in agricultural establishments is cultivated. Pasture accounts for 43 per cent ; forests for 24 per cent; unusable lands for 6 per cent and 14 per cent was lying fallow. Nationally, only 5.6 per cent of the pasture was artificial or seeded, although this rose to 16 per cent in Sao Paulo and 27 per cent in Bahia and fell to zero in Mato Grosso.

6. These data, even without the testimony of many students of Brazilian agriculture, would seem to indicate that there is a considerable amount of land available for expansion even within existing establishments. At a minimum, much natural pasture could be seeded and thus support larger numbers of cattle. Undoubtedly, much of the present pasture land and a large part of the land lying fallow (29,296,493 hectare in 1940) could be cultivated by applying modern methods.

7. Farming methods in most of Brazil are, however, markedly primitive. Fire, stick, hoe and machete describe the limits of the technology of the vast majority of farms. Smith points out this system, which he and others label "fire agriculture" is "extremely lavish in its use of labor, as well as wasteful of land, soil and timber resources".^{1/}

8. Agricultural machinery provides one of the solutions, of course. Brazil has greatly increased its imports in this field and has recently created a small farm machinery factory. There was a 35 per cent increase in the number of ploughs in use in the country between 1920 and 1940, i.e., from 141,196 to 500,853, and the number has, of course, risen since the census year. Table II shows the distribution of farm machinery by states. The pattern reveals two important factors for a discussion of immigration: (1) the enormous amount of improvement which could take place in agriculture; (2) the high correlation which exists between immigrants and the use of farm machinery. The 5 states with the largest numbers of such machines are also the 5 states with the largest numbers

^{1/} T. Lynn Smith, Brazil, People and Institutions. Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1947, p.41; Henry W. Spiegel, The Brazilian Economy. Philadelphia, Blakiston Co., 1949, pp.157-60

of Europeans. ^{1/}

9. Crop rotation and use of fertilizers are at least as important as farm machinery and these practices are virtually unknown in most of Brazil. The German farmers of Paraná introduced these methods but in recent years the Japanese truck farmers of Sao Paulo have been the best exponents of modern techniques. Fertilizer imports increased from 53,174 metric tons in 1937 to 132,168 in 1947. Local supplies, although still small, are increasing. ^{2/}

10. It is probably physically possible to double Brazil's present cultivated area in the next few decades, but the Abbink report points out that "a more immediate problem facing Brazilian agriculture is the maintenance and restoration of soil fertility of the areas already under cultivation". ^{3/} Weight is given this opinion by the decrease in yields in the 1938-47 decade. Fourteen of the Twenty-one principal products declined, including all of the "big three", coffee, cocoa and cotton. During this period some 2,000,000 hectares were brought into cultivation in those products. ^{4/}

11. There may be something like 16,000,000 acres on which farm settlement is possible in Goiás, northern Paraná and western Sao Paulo, but this depends on growth of population and communication. ^{5/}

12. Coffee is the most valuable crop although its old predominance has been weakening in recent years. It accounted for 23 per cent of the value of 22 agricultural products in 1938 (2,026,891 cruzeiros out of a total of 8,613,811) but in 1947 it represented only 16 per cent

^{1/} Anuário Estatístico do Brasil, 1948, p.35.

^{2/} Wythe, op.cit., pp.120-21; Abbink Report, pp.203-4

^{3/} Abbink Report, p. 198.

^{4/} Anuário Estatístico do Brasil, 1948, p. 79.

^{5/} Paulo Osório Jordao de Brito, "A Fundacao Brasil Central", Revista do Serviço Público, XI, 1 (Jan.-Feb., 1948) p.59. For work of the Foundation see Artur Hehl Neiva, "Aspectos Geográficos da Imigracao e Colonizacao do Brasil". Revista Brasileiro de Geografia. IX, 2 (Abril-Junho, 1947) pp.264-66 and Scott Seegers, "The Big Woods". Américas I, 3 (May, 1949) pp.24-29, 45.

(5,431,479 cruzeiros out of 27,504,674). Corn, rice, cotton and sugar cane increased substantially in ranking by value in that ten year period. The amount of coffee produced and the area cultivated both decreased in the same decade (Table 3.). Corn is the most widely planted crop and takes the place wheat occupies in many temperate zone diets. The raising of wheat is being pushed by subsidies and production increased by 250 per cent in the 1938-47 period. Imports in 1948 amounted to 313,000 tons of wheat and 402,000 tons of flour, but this represented a decline from the previous year of 56,000 and 60,000 tons, respectively. ^{1/}

13. It will be noted that production has increased in 12 of the 21 products listed in Table 4. The most important exception is coffee although cotton also dropped substantially. It must be noted that in recent years agricultural production has failed to keep pace with population growth. Meat marketed dropped slightly between 1935-39 and 1947, from 1,087,000 to 1,041,000 metric tons, which means a greater per capita decrease in meat consumption. ^{2/}

14. Great attention has been paid to Brazil as a source of rubber, vegetable oils, drugs, edible nuts, fibres and waxes. The variety of such products found in the country is great. ^{3/}

15. Vegetable fats and oils are produced from babassú, oitacica, Brazil nut (also used in confectionery), coconuts, tung, castor beans and peanuts as well as a number of lesser known sources - murumuru, ucuuba, curuá, andiroba and piessava. Production for export increased during the war and has laid the basis for a growing domestic industry since prices abroad fell.

16. The same generalization largely applies to jute, carofá, caruauba wax, turpentine, rotenone, mint, impecac, balsam, pyrethrum, bois de rose, and other "war babies".

^{1/} Brazilian Bulletin, No.17, 1949

^{2/} F.A.O., Yearbook of Food and Agriculture Statistics, 1948, p.98.

^{3/} Data for this discussion are contained in: Wythe, op.cit., pp.93-100; Anuário Estatístico, 1948, p.60; South American Handbook, 1948, pp.355-68; Spiegel, op.cit., pp. 194-5

(ii) Forestry

17. Rubber's original home was the Amazon valley but East Indian competition, starting in the 1880.s began to drive Brazilian rubber out of world markets early in this century. Peak production was reached in 1912 (37,500 tons). Millions of dollars poured into the Amazon during World War II raised production to the 30,000's tons were produced in 1947 at a price which is about 3 times that of the Oriental product.

18. Brazil is also noted for the variety and beauty of its tropical woods, mahogany and cedar being the best known outside the country, but it is the temperate zone pine which accounts for 89 per cent of the value of timber exports. However, modern methods promise far greater income from Brazil's vast forests than have yet been known. ^{1/}

19. Domestic uses of timber have increased greatly in recent years. This, plus heedless cutting and burning to clear land for farming, and for charcoal, seriously menace the country's forests. Cutting has been so extensive that climatic changes injurious to agriculture have been caused in several parts of the country.

(iii) Fishing

20. Brazil's resources are enormous but underdeveloped in this field. About 300 marine species exist off the coasts and around 1,800 in the Amazon River, but the whole of the industry needs expansion and improvement before these resources are really tapped. Some idea of the magnitude of the expansion is provided by the Abbink recommendation that approximately 500 new boats are needed, plus additional fish markets, receiving and distribution ports, cold-storage facilities, refrigerated trucks, railroad cars, "and possibly planes". Brazil needs to, and could, triple its present production of some 120,000,000 kilograms annually. ^{2/}

^{1/} Wythe, op.cit., pp. 102-108

^{2/} Abbink, op.cit., pp. 216-25; Wythe, op.cit., pp. 166-68.

/(iv) Mining

development when transportation facilities and growth of population make this feasible.

(v) Manufacturing

24. Sao Paulo, Brazil's greatest industrial center, got its start late in the past century by utilizing power generated at falls fairly close to the city. This, plus heavy customs duties and the importation of foreign workers, has enabled Sao Paulo to make spectacular gains in manufacturing during recent years. Industrial establishments increased by 5,473 per cent between 1911 and 1943.^{1/}

25. Three global events have stimulated manufacturing in Brazil: World War I, the depression of the 1930's and World War II. Each made the country examine its position of dependence on foreign sources for its supplies and the second made it aware of its exposed position as a raw material supplier. Brazil now is the leading Latin American manufacturing country. The number of manufacturing establishments increased from 7,000 in 1914 to 49,418 in 1939 and the gross value of production from 1 billion cruzeiros to 17,479,000,000 in the same period.^{2/} The index of industrial production (1937 = 100) stood at 199 for 1948; at 225 in September, 1949.^{3/}

26. Heavy industries have expanded substantially during the past decade. They represented only about 10 per cent of the total production value in 1939. The index figure for the heavy industries rose to 427 in April 1949 (Base, 1937 = 100).

^{1/} South American Handbook, 1948, p. 373

^{2/} Of course prices rose in that time, probably around 200 per cent. Cf. Spiegel, op. cit., pp. 42-54

^{3/} International Monetary Fund, International Financial Statistics, Jan. 1950, pp. 46-47.

across such facts as freight charges on jute being twice as much from the Amazon valley to Sao Paulo as from India to the same city! ^{1/}

30. Geographic obstacles are only one factor in the lack of suitable facilities; another is the building of most railroads for the purpose of shipping domestic products to foreign markets. Here, as in many other aspects of the country's economic life, the national population entered into the picture only as producers - not as consumers.

31. Passenger and freight traffic on the country's rail network increased substantially from 1936 to 1946, as the following shows: ^{2/}

	<u>1936</u>	<u>1946</u>	<u>% Increase</u>
Passengers carried	165,398,000	298,731,000	180.6
Passenger - kilometers	4,730,042,000	9,376,889,000	198.2
Freight (ton - kilometers)	4,850,954,000	6,568,967,000	135.4
Trackage (kilometers)	33,521	35,335	105.4

32. Equipment, including rolling stock, has not kept pace with the greater demands. The number of coaches increased between 1934 and 1945, 10 per cent; freight cars, 23 per cent and locomotives only 9 per cent.

33. Even though the railroad system covers so little of the country, recent analysis, both Brazilian and foreign, have concluded that the chief immediate need is to concentrate upon reconstruction and re-equipment and on "increasing the density of traffic in opposition to the immoderate extension of the railway network into poorly populated and unproductive zones". ^{3/}

34. A narrow Atlantic coast strip about 500 kilometers wide contains "91 per cent of the entire railroad mileage, 70 per cent of the federal highway system, 89 per cent of the population, and approximately 95 per cent of the cultivated area and the resultant production". ^{4/}

^{1/} Wythe, op. cit., p. 82.

^{2/} Anuário Estatístico, 1948, p. 161; Brazil, 1938. pp. 218, 221-2

^{3/} Abbink, quoting the SALTE plan, a governmental effort to evaluate and rank the country's most urgent needs. Cf. Diário do Congresso Nacional, Suplementos, 19 & 27 de Maio; 11, 12 & 16 de Junho, 1948.

^{4/} Abbink, op. cit., p. 226.

39. The Abbink and Wythe reports suggest that a redistribution of existing facilities is more important than further expansion. ^{1/}

(vii) Foreign Trade

40. Brazil's economy has always been deeply involved in foreign trade. Most of its numerous "booms" have been based on articles of external commerce. Dye-woods, sugar, rubber, cotton, cacao, and coffee have all played their roles, with coffee holding the lead for over a century now. Sugar, in the 1820's was the more important, but the Brazilian industry has fallen by the wayside in the march of technological development. Coffee, which in the 1920's accounted for 69.6 per cent of all exports, by value, had dropped to 35.5 per cent by 1945. Rubber, with 28.2 per cent in the 1901-10 period, fell to 2.9 per cent in 1945. Other traditional export commodities - cocoa, mate, tobacco, cotton and hides and skins have also decreased in importance. They have been counter-balanced by items only recently developed, such as drug sources, and fibres promoted during the war, tropical fruits, rice, chilled meats, and timber. Manufactured products are also important, primarily cotton and silk textiles, rubber tires, and drug products such as menthol and caffeine. ^{2/}

41. The proportion of various products in 1948 exports was: coffee, 41.6 per cent; raw cotton, 15.6 per cent; cacao, 4.9 per cent; timber 4.5 per cent; hides and skins, 3.5 per cent; rice, 3.4 per cent; sugar, 3.2 per cent; and cotton piece goods, 2.2 per cent.

42. Imports have also showed a shift, with emphasis increasing on raw materials and decreasing on foodstuffs and livestock. Machinery, 1948, constituted 22.7 per cent of all import values; vehicles and parts, 20.0 per cent; foodstuffs, 18.6 per cent; miscellaneous raw material, 12.4 per cent; fuel, 10.1 per cent; iron and steel manufactures, 4.7 per cent; chemicals and pharmaceuticals, 4.7 per cent; and textile goods, 2.7 per cent. The largest food item was wheat.

^{1/} Abbink; op. cit., pp. 109-11; Wythe, op. cit., 215-26.

^{2/} Spiegel, op. cit., pp. 117-25.

chemicals, 33 per cent; electrical materials, 36 per cent; textiles and paper, 43 per cent; tobacco and matches, 54 per cent; and furniture and utensils, 199 per cent.

46. Inordinate profits, plus the speculation which is their twin, add to the price the consumer pays. They do not, as some economic theory would indicate, increase the efficiency of the distribution system. marketing of food supplies, in particular, desperately needs improvement.

B. Income and Levels of Living

(i) Distribution of Income by Size

47. Dependable data on distribution by class for Brazil as a whole is lacking, but all observers agree that there is a high degree of concentration in the upper brackets. Gini's index (in which 0 signifies a perfectly equal distribution and 1 a distribution where a single person receives all the income) was calculated at .556 for Rio de Janeiro in 1942 and .502 for Sao Paulo in 1928. Spiegel points out that, "in prewar England, where income concentration was high, the index was only .35". Further, he writes: "Factors accounting for the concentration of incomes are not difficult to enumerate: the high degree of concentration of ownership, both in agriculture and in manufacturing industries; high interest and profit rates; lack of adequate educational opportunities designed to improve income-earning capacities of children in the low income groups; the (regressive) tax system; poor social services; and, in consequence of all these factors, low wages. Important also is the obstinate movement toward higher prices. This factor, in conjunction with the narrowness of the home market and low purchasing power of a large proportion of the population, accentuates the process of concentration of incomes." ^{1/}

(ii) Wages and Salaries

48. Coverage of data on workers' incomes is spotty. No national indices of annual changes exist. Information is fullest and most reliable for

^{1/} Spiegel, op. cit., pp. 28-29.

Table 5 Minimum Monthly Wage Established in 1943 for State Capitals

Capital	Wage (Cruzeiros)
Guaporé	290
Rio Branco - Acre	270
Manaus	260
Boa Vista - Ter. Rio Branco	210
Belém	240
Macapá	195
Sao Luiz	200
Terezina	200
Fortaleza	240
Natal	215
Joao Pessoa	215
Recife	240
Maceió	210
Aracajú	210
Salvador	240
Belo Horizonte	270
Vitória	260
Niterói	320
Distrito Federal	380
Sao Paulo	360
Curitiba	290
Florianópolis	270
Porto Alegre	320
Goiania	240
Cuiabá	240

Source: Anuario Estatístico do Brasil: 1948,
 pages 342-43.

Table 7 Industrial Employees' Wages in State Capitals, 1947
(By number of employees in each interval)

Capitals	Establish- ments	199 Cr. and less	200 to 599 Cr.	600 to 999 Cr.	1,000 to 1,999 Cr.	2,000 Cr. and over	Plus Bonu	Total
Manaus	82	76	1,393	741	285	52		2,554
Belém	142	311	3,879	742	239	63		5,239
Sao Luiz	40	170	3,583	259	61	18	2	4,112
Terezina	18	12	472	30	8	4		527
Fortaleza	80	333	4,196	321	140	57		5,106
Joao Pessoa	20	1,277	1,075	75	40	12		2,495
Recife	335	2,429	19,243	4,628	1,253	299	13	27,991
Maceió	45	829	5,400	288	53	1		6,573
Aracajú	27	162	2,116	142	39	3		2,465
Salvador	103	592	7,097	1,473	531	155	2	9,869
Belo Horizonte	244	1,203	6,400	3,230	989	206	7	12,212
Vitória	41	26	1,282	213	100	16	1	1,554
Niterói	203	290	6,156	5,043	4,174	859	2	16,548
Rio de Janeiro	2,846	2,040	35,903	76,044	55,499	10,386	1,05	180,933
Sao Paulo	4,930	3,143	70,891	116,274	82,847	14,639	2,76	290,568
Curitiba	287	371	4,551	4,453	1,942	250	8	11,648
Florianópolis	31	187	401	130	23	10		751
Porto Alegre	560	242	5,368	10,762	5,457	353	23	22,914
Cuiabá	2	0	36	15	7	1		59
Goiania	8	0	77	24	10	2		113
Natal	34	41	497	83	17	4		645

Source: Anuario Estatístico do Brasil, 1948, page 346.

Note: Data cover only establishments with an annual payroll of more than 100 cruzeiros.

Table 9 Monthly Industrial Wages, Federal District
June, 1947

Industry	Establish- ments	Total	Employees					Plus Bonus
			Receiving specified salaries					
			Cruzeiros					
199 and less	200 to 599	600 to 999	1,000 to 1,999	2,000 and over				
Metallurgy	232	11,585	23	2,730	4,382	3,703	648	119
Mechanical industry	109	9,023	2	1,050	3,324	3,168	966	13
Non-metallic minerals	95	7,750	30	1,620	3,352	1,948	277	15
Paper and paper products	60	2,966	6	1,543	995	312	67	43
Chemicals and pharmaceuticals	327	16,496	25	2,526	8,574	3,827	1,404	140
Textiles	86	31,833	1,695	13,029	11,707	4,609	766	31
Clothing, cosmetics and footwear	370	11,896	119	3,714	4,391	2,859	558	255
Food products	582	12,973	16	2,382	6,303	3,061	537	174
Alcoholic beverages	65	8,926	9	424	2,893	4,855	640	100
Graphic arts	139	5,634	2	1,260	1,549	2,341	404	68
Wood and wood products	252	6,881	19	1,152	2,263	2,864	545	29

Source: Anuario Estatístico do Brasil, 1948. Page 349.

Table 10 Per Capita Monthly Expenditures for Food and Food Costs as Percentage of Total Family Expenditures in Capitals and Interior Districts

1938-39

State	Monthly expenditures per person for food		Food costs as a percentage of total expenditures	
	Capital	Interior	Capital	Interior
Alagoas	33.90	21.30	70.9	87.3
Amazonas	35.70	32.30	56.50	84.6
Bahia	24.90	22.60	69.4	73.7
Ceará	20.80	17.30	58.9	68.7
Espírito Santo	41.00	21.60	68.3	63.2
Goiás	34.60	28.40	59.0	55.3
Maranhão	25.40	23.80	63.4	77.0
Mato Grosso	28.50	29.70	48.7	49.6
Minas Gerais	28.10	28.30	49.4	58.4
Pará	27.30	26.20	67.5	74.7
Paraíba	30.20	22.10	80.5	82.8
Paraná	43.90	32.30	58.6	61.6
Pernambuco	27.10	21.80	68.7	79.3
Piauí	31.60	28.20	67.2	69.0
Rio de Janeiro	37.30	29.00	54.8	60.0
Rio Grande do Norte	24.60	25.80	52.0	72.2
Rio Grande do Sul	47.90	44.60	61.7	69.5
Santa Catarina	30.70	32.60	61.8	65.1
São Paulo	51.10	41.90	54.9	61.4
Sergipe	29.60	18.40	75.8	71.2
Distrito Federal	43.50	--	46.5	-

Note: In 1938-39 a milreis (now called a cruzeiro) exchanged for about 5 U.S. cents.

Source: Adapted from Smith, Brazil, p. 357 and Salário Mínimo, Rio de Janeiro, 1940, Vol. I, pp. 125-253.

Table 11. Average Retail Food Prices, State Capitals 1938 and 1947
(Continued)

Capitals	Potato		Meat		Bread		Milk	
	1938	1947	1938	1947	1938	1947	1938	1947
Porto Velho	-	13,96	-	5,67	-	8,25	-	7,0
Rio Branco	-	21,89	-	6,67	-	7,00	-	3,2
Manaus	1,75	9,83	1,70	9,17	1,72	5,32	1,03	5,0
Boa Vista	-	19,33	-	10,83	-	12,82	-	4,8
Belém	1,30	6,25	1,60	7,13	1,80	5,04	1,25	3,7
Macapá	-	9,38	-	4,00	-	6,67	-	3,0
Sao Luiz	1,48	6,00	2,00	5,65	2,00	5,06	1,50	3,7
Terezina	3,00	3,04	1,85	6,38	2,00	7,92	1,40	3,0
Fortaleza	2,10	4,17	2,29	8,58	2,33	4,56	1,05	3,0
Natal	1,64	4,67	2,35	9,00	2,10	6,92	1,31	2,8
Joao Pessoa	1,17	3,71	1,88	7,25	2,20	5,47	1,20	3,0
Recife	1,05	4,21	2,23	7,00	2,05	5,97	1,20	3,8
Maceió	1,19	5,00	2,20	8,05	1,99	7,60	1,18	2,2
Aracaju	1,33	4,64	2,00	6,81	1,97	5,83	1,00	2,8
Salvador	1,00	4,41	1,97	8,69	1,60	8,25	1,20	3,7
Belo Horizonte	1,99	3,40	1,50	6,20	2,55	5,40	1,47	2,4
Vitória	0,87	3,50	1,80	5,57	2,00	6,00	1,00	2,0
Niterói	0,92	3,73	2,29	6,47	1,73	5,61	0,83	2,0
Sao Paulo	0,68	4,01	2,53	6,00	1,80	5,50	1,16	2,0
Curitiba	0,42	2,48	2,09	5,38	1,86	7,56	0,91	2,6
Florianópolis	0,54	2,47	2,15	7,23	1,77	6,33	0,83	2,0
Porto Alegre	0,58	3,88	1,99	4,40	1,58	5,97	1,00	2,0
Cuiabá	0,79	7,92	1,99	4,92	1,96	8,00	0,72	4,0
Goiania	1,23	2,79	2,00	5,50	2,17	7,71	0,83	1,1
Rio de Janeiro	0,93	4,65	2,00	6,00	1,70	5,47	0,90	3,0

Source: Anuário Estatístico do Brasil, 1948, pp. 337-41.

Table 12 Monthly Food Expenditures, Middle-Class Family of Five
Rio de Janeiro, 1944

Item	Quantity	Cruzeiros	
		Price per Unit	Total
Bread	30 kilogrammes	5.47	164.0
Butter and other fats	6 "	22.86	137.6
Freshmeat	20 "	6.00	120.0
Rice	30 "	3.80	114.0
Milk	30 litres	3.00	90.0
Dried beef	5 kilogrammes	9.83	49.5
Beans	15 "	2.57	38.5
Potatoes	5 "	4.65	23.5
Coffee	5 "	9.70	19.0
Sugar	5 "	3.20	16.0
Eggs, fruit, vegetables, etc.			158.4
Total			930.5

Table 13 Factory Workers' Wages, Federal District, 1946

	Amount in Cruzeiros	Per cent of total
Food	601.00	54.1
Housing	125.10	11.3
Transportation	37.60	3.4
Clothing	122.60	11.0
Hygiene	31.60	2.8
Recreation	37.80	3.4
Education	17.70	1.6
Medicines	24.90	2.2
Doctor	4.10	0.4
Dentist	14.90	1.3
Social Security	47.60	4.3
Miscellaneous	45.90	4.1
Total	1,110.80	100.0

Source: Wythe, Brazil, page 246.

67. Brazil's preponderantly agricultural population (69 per cent) finds only two rivals in the new world; Mexico, with 68 per cent of its gainfully employed in agriculture in 1940 and Colombia with 74 per cent. Other American countries had the following percentages; Peru, 62; Panama, 61; Venezuela, 51; Cuba, 41 and the United States, 18. ^{1/}

Table 14. ^{2/} Occupational Distribution of Working Population, 10 Years and Over

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Agriculture, forestry, fishing, hunting	9,710,783	69.0	8,400,838	1,309,945
Mining and quarrying	133,289	0.9	127,677	5,612
Manufacturing	1,400,056	10.0	1,107,371	292,685
Trade	749,143	5.4	698,202	50,941
Banking, real estate and insurance	51,777	0.4	48,229	3,548
Transportation and communication	473,676	3.4	459,758	13,918
Public Administration (inc. public schools)	310,726	2.2	227,341	83,385
Police and military	172,212	1.3	170,827	1,385
Professional and personal services (inc. public schools)	1,018,461	7.4	540,352	478,109
Total	14,020,123	100.0	11,780,595	2,239,528

68. Textiles accounted, in 1940, for the largest single category of those employed in manufacturing and building. Table 15 lists the chief

1/ Anuário de Estatísticas del Trabajo, 1947-48. pp.8-13

2/ Sinopse do Censo Demográfico, 1940, p.2; Boletim Estatístico do IBGE. Jul.-Set., 1948, p.8; Giorgio Mortara, "A distribuição da população do Brasil segundo ramos de atividade". Revista Brasileira de Economia. Set., 1947, pp. 75-103; Anuário Estatístico, 1948, p. 29.
The figures for mining and quarrying are lower than those in other English sources, e.g., Yearbook of Labour Statistics, 1947-48, p. 8-9; Spiegel, p. 92; Wythe, p.50. The reason for this is the Brazilian system of classifying lumbering, cutting of vegetable fibres, and gathering of oil seeds, rubber, etc., as "extractive" activities whereas that term is usually understood, in English, as pertaining to extraction from the sub-soil. This results in a shift of some 257,000 persons from "extraction" to the agricultural category.

/categories: textile,

D. Demographic Characteristics

(i) Numbers

70. Brazil's population, as enumerated on September 1, 1940, was 41,236,315, the largest in Latin America. It has about half the people of South America and a third of the total in Latin America.

71. Over-all density is 4.9 per square kilometer or 19.5 per square mile, giving it one of the lower man-land ratios of the world. Variations from one part of Brazil to another is great (Table 16.); the Federal District heads with 1,526 persons per square kilometer (3,815 per square mile); the states of Amazonas and Mato Grosso tie for the lowest place with 0.3 per square kilometer (0.75 per square mile).

72. Brazil's population is growing rapidly. Its numbers have quadrupled since 1872 (Table 17).

Table 17. Brazil's Population Growth, 1872 - 1947

1872	10,112,061
1890	14,333,915
1900	17,318,556
1920	30,635,605
1940	41,236,315
1947 (estimated)	48,000,000

Source: Anuário Estatístico, 1948, p. 24

73. The increase of almost 11 million persons between the census years of 1920 and 1940 added an average of about 530,000 per year, but the annual increase between 1940 and 1947 was around 966,000.

Lynn Smith points out that Brazil's population is multiplying at a phenomenal rate, "...the gains since 1900 even outstripping the remarkable increases of population that have taken place in the United States. The comparable rates of growth are as follows: Between 1890 and 1900 the population of Brazil increased 21 per cent compared with a gain of 26 per cent in the United States; but during the next 20 years the percentage increase of population in the United States was only 39 per cent in comparison with 79 per cent in Brazil; and during the two decades since 1920 our own population increase of 27 per cent is considerably less than the growth of 36 per cent in Brazil. For th

/entire half

entire half century since 1890, Brazil's increase of population of 192 per cent is nearly four times our own gain of 52 per cent. ^{1/}
74. Growth differentials between regions are of great importance to the future of the country. The population centre moved south and slightly west between 1920 and 1940. ^{2/} The southern states (Paraná, Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina and Sao Paulo), which in 1890 contained 19.6 per cent of the country's people, in 1940 held 31.3 per cent. The area with the fastest growing population consists of the states of Goiás and Mato Grosso, but they contained only 3.04 per cent of the national population in 1940 compared with 2.24 per cent fifty years before. The eastern region of the Federal District and 5 near-by states dropped from 48.5 per cent in 1890 to 37.9 in 1940.

75. The pattern of population change is quite similar to that of shifts in economic and political power. The southern states have been gradually counter-balancing the older centres of wealth, population and power. It is significant that the 4 southern states contain 72 per cent of the foreign-born in the country.

(ii) Racial Composition

76. Official results of the 1940 census show the following classification by colour:

White (Branços)	26,171,778	63.4%
Mulatto (Pardos)	8,744,365	21.3%
Negro (Pretos)	6,035,869	14.7%
Yellow (Amarelos)	242,320	.6%
	<hr/>	
	41,194,332	100.0%

77. Unfortunately, these data leave several questions unanswered. They do not account for the Indian population, which in recent years has been estimated at around a million persons, ^{3/} nor for the white-Indian crosses, estimated at about 4 million. ^{4/}

^{1/} Smith, p. 135.

^{2/} Arthur Hehl Neiva, Aspectos Geográficos da Imigração e Colonização do Brasil. Conselho Nacional de Geografia, 1947. p. 261

^{3/} Conditions of Life and Work of the Indigenous Populations of Latin American Countries. Geneva, I.L.O., 1949, pp. 17-18

^{4/} Cf. Smith's discussion of "Racial Composition", pp.160-188, which examines all recent important literature on this subject and contributes greatly to clarifying the much-discussed question of race relations in Brazil.

Table 18 Birth Rates for Brazil, by Political Unit
1940

Unit	Rate /(Live births per 1000 inhabitants)		
	Minimum	Maximum	Average
Brazil	39.49	47.72	43.60
Acre	42.60	51.47	47.03
Amazonas	41.55	50.20	45.87
Pará	38.49	46.51	42.50
Maranhão	41.14	49.71	45.42
Piauí	44.41	53.66	49.03
Ceará	45.35	54.79	50.07
Rio Grande do Norte	41.40	50.02	45.71
Paraíba	42.68	51.58	47.13
Pernambuco	38.71	46.77	42.74
Alagoas	38.38	46.37	42.37
Sergipe	38.91	47.02	42.96
Bahia	38.41	46.41	42.42
Minas Gerais	39.91	48.36	44.13
Espírito Santo	44.56	54.75	49.65
Rio de Janeiro	38.73	46.78	42.75
Distrito Federal	35.45	31.96	29.20
Sao Paulo	37.84	45.73	41.78
Paraná	42.51	51.24	46.82
Santa Catarina	45.51	54.99	50.25
Rio Grande do Sul	40.11	48.46	44.28
Mato Grosso	42.90	50.74	46.36
Goiás	42.70	51.60	47.15

Source: Anuario Estatístico do Brasil, 1948, page 44.

a/ The data in Table 18 were arrived at by the technicians of the Brazilian National Census Service, as follows: Census figures were used to establish the total inhabitants and those aged 0-4 on September 1, 1940. Deaths in the previous 5-year period of those 4 years or younger were obtained from the município registers. There was, of course, considerable variation in the coverage, so that two series of rates were constructed for each unit, on "minimum" and "maximum" hypotheses. These were arbitrarily averaged for this table, although it is realized that a weighting would have been advisable. Such a weighting, it is suggested by the Census technicians, might be applied by using the minimum rates for those units in which death rates are low and vice versa.

The rates quoted are consistently higher than those for 1938 quoted by Smith (page 231) from the Anuario Estatístico, 1930-40; closer to those computed from records of Catholic baptisms (page 234). In any case, it is considered that the present table gives an adequate idea of the probable variation.

Table 19 Rural-Urban Differentials in Fertility, 1940, by
Political Units

Fertility ratios
(Number of children under 5 per 1,000 women
aged 15-49)

Units	Total	Capital	Remainder of State
Brazil	643	365	657
Acre	871	689	920
Amazonas	696	493	772
Pará	609	437	667
Maranhao	665	408	688
Piauí	730	535	750
Ceará	760	469	795
Rio Grande do Norte	674	411	666
Paraíba	689	461	709
Pernambuco	609	373	723
Alagoas	629	343	668
Sergipe	627	367	667
Bahia	621	384	645
Minas Gerais	666	398	694
Espírito Santo	752	477	774
Rio de Janeiro	660	428	683
Sao Paulo	672	347	760
Paraná	697	406	744
Santa Catarina	778	483	793
Rio Grande do Sul	650	341	685
Goiás	704	667	707
Mato Grosso	719	588	740

Source: Anuario de Bio-Estatística; Sinopse do Censo
Demográfico, 1939-41. pages 24-34.

Table 20

Death Rates in the Capitals
1940 and 1948

<u>Capital</u>	<u>Deaths per 1,000 population</u>	
	<u>1940</u>	<u>1948</u>
Manaus	17.7	23.3
Belém	22.3	21.5
Sao Luiz	14.3	19.9
Terezina	10.5	24.0
Fortaleza	27.2	31.6
Natal	28.7	40.5
Joao Pessoa	23.1	30.1
Recife	29.0	19.3
Maceió	-	9.9
Aracajú	19.9	22.0
Salvador	25.7	13.4
Vitória	24.6	22.0
Niterói	17.1	4.9
Sao Paulo	13.1	12.0
Curitiba	14.2	9.1
Florianópolis	22.3	35.6
Porto Alegre	20.0	16.8
Belo Horizonte	19.8	22.0
Goiania	-	30.1
Cuiaba	6.8	17.9
Distrito Federal	17.6	4.4

Source: Boletim Mensal do Serviço Federal de
Bioestatística. Ano VII - Nos. 9, 10,
11 and 12, and Ano VIII - Nos. 1 to 9.

Table 22 Ratio between live births and infant deaths,
in the capitals, 1948

<u>Capitals</u>	<u>Infant deaths per 1,000 live births</u>
Manaus	171.2
Belém	173.8
Sao Luiz	132.7
Terezina <u>a/</u>	332.4
Fortaleza <u>b/</u>	433.7
Natal	538.7
Joao Pessoa	235.6
Recife <u>j/</u>	450.7
Maceió <u>i/</u>	201.9
Aracaju <u>b/</u>	301.5
Salvador <u>c/</u>	279.1
Vitória	143.9
Niterói <u>e/</u>	162.5
Sao Paulo <u>d/</u>	86.2
Curitiba	105.4
Florianópolis	170.7
Porto Alegre <u>f/</u>	134.3
Belo Horizonte <u>g/</u>	106.0
Cuiabá <u>h/</u>	73.6
Goiania	133.6
Distrito Federal	113.4

Source: passim.

a/ August missing; b/ December missing; c/ January, September, October, November and December missing; d/ November and December missing; e/ includes only last quarter; f/ July missing; g/ March missing; h/ includes first 3 and last 2 months only; i/ includes only March and October; j/ January only.

87. The most important fact to note about causes of death in Brazil is that the chief causes are all amenable to rapid decrease as public health and sanitation efforts expand and improve and as levels of living rise.

88. Demographers are in substantial agreement that infant mortality rates are "probably the best single index that may be had of the general welfare of a people".^{1/} Table 22 will be studied with this judgement in mind. It is illuminating to compare the various rates with those of other countries. Table 23 shows the nations with the 10 highest and those with the 10 lowest infant mortality rates in 1947. The states with the highest rates are far above even Rumania but it is probable that their high rates are due partly to under-registration of births.

(V) Age and Sex Distribution

89. Brazil's population is young, as is expected in areas of high birth and death rates (Table 24). Forty-two per cent of the people are 14 years or younger, compared with 27.9 per cent in Europe and 25.1 per cent in the United States. Those over 60 amount to only 4.2 per cent to 10.4 per cent in the United States. This leaves 53.3 per cent in the productive ages, 15-59, while the United States has 64.5 per cent. Furthermore, the Brazilian age distribution did not change significantly between 1900 and 1940 whereas there was a decided shift in the United States from the "under 20" to the "over 60" category.

Table 24. Age structure of the population of Brazil, 1940.
(in percents)

<u>Age</u>	<u>Total Population</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
0 - 4	15.6	15.7	15.5
5 - 9	14.0	14.2	13.8
10 - 19	12.9	13.0	12.9
15 - 29	28.2	27.4	29.0
30 - 39	11.9	12.0	11.4
40 - 49	8.3	8.7	8.1
50 - 59	5.0	5.1	4.9
60 - 69	2.6	2.6	2.7
70 - 79	1.0	0.9	1.1
80 - over	0.4	0.3	0.5
Unknown	0.1	0.1	0.1
<u>Total</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Source: Anuário Estatístico, 1948, p. 27.

Table 25 Rural-Urban Distribution of Brazilian Population, 1940

States	Total	Urban a/	Rural	Percentage Rural Populat on	f
Brazil	41,236,315	12,880,178	28,356,133	69	
Acre	79,768	14,138	65,630	82	
Amazonas	438,008	104,789	333,219	76	
Pará	944,644	286,865	657,779	70	
Maranhao	1,235,169	185,552	1,049,617	85	
Piauí	817,601	309,749	693,404	85	
Ceará	2,091,032	475,028	1,616,004	77	
Rio Grande do Norte	768,018	164,248	603,770	79	
Paraíba	1,422,282	311,402	1,110,880	78	
Pernambuco	2,688,240	787,808	1,900,432	71	
Alagoas	951,300	229,126	722,174	76	
Sergipe	542,326	166,241	376,085	69	
Bahia	3,918,112	937,571	2,980,541	76	
Minas Gerais	6,736,416	1,693,040	5,043,376	75	
Espírito Santo	750,107	157,008	593,099	79	
Rio de Janeiro	1,847,857	608,280	1,154,656	62	
Distrito Federal	1,764,141	1,519,010	245,131	14	
Sao Paulo	7,180,316	3,168,111	4,012,205	56	
Paraná	1,236,276	304,539	931,737	78	
Santa Catarina	1,178,340	253,717	924,623	78	
Rio Grande do Sul	3,320,689	1,034,486	2,286,203	69	
Goiás	826,414	142,110	684,304	83	
Mato Grosso	432,265	128,727	303,538	71	

a/ Includes suburban population.

Source: Serviço Nacional de Recenseamento.

Table 26

Net Reproduction Rates of Selected Countries

Continent or Country	Year	Net Reproduction Rat
Africa:		
Union of South Africa (white population)	1936	1,206
America:		
Canada	1940	1,206
United States (white population)	1940	1,023
Asia:		
Japan	1930	1,571
Palestine Moslems	1940	2,170
Europe:		
Belgium	1940	0,748
Bulgaria	1933-1936	1,192
Czechoslovakia	1937	0,755
Denmark	1940	0,987
England and Wales	1937	0,782
France	1940	0,820
Germany	1936	0,934
Greece	1931-1932	1,250
Hungary	1930-1931	1,011
Ireland	1935-1937	1,162
Italy	1935-1937	1,131
Netherlands	1930-1931	1,280
Norway	1939	0,856
Poland	1934	1,110
Portugal	1930-1931	1,334
Sweden	1931-1934	0,755
Switzerland	1932	0,850
Oceania:		
Australia	1940	1,017
New Zeland	1940	1,195

Source: United Nations, Demographic Yearbook, 1948, pages 490-93.

The world-wide depression brought the 1930 and 1932 laws which virtually stopped all immigration. Control over immigration was taken from the states by series of laws during the 1930's. Quota systems were created by a 1934 law and written into the 1937 constitution.

103. All of these laws, decrees and constitutional provisions were taken into account by a special commission appointed in 1938 to study immigration legislation in relation to the country's needs. It liberalized the laws somewhat, but new restrictions followed the advent of World War II.

104. The principal features of the existing laws are summarized hereafter:^{1/}

(ii) Admission

105. Regulation of entrance into the country is based on "the necessity of preserving.....the ethnic composition of the population, and the most valuable characteristics of its European ancestry, as well as the defense of the Brazilian worker".

(iii) Quotas

106. Nationality quotas are 2 per cent of the number entering Brazil in the years 1884 to 1934. The most important qualifications of this general rule are:

- (1) Eighty per cent of each quota must consist of farmers or technicians specializing in some rural industry.
- (2) A person entering under (1) may not change his vocation during the first four years of his residence in Brazil without the permission of federal immigration authorities. (Expulsion from the country is the penalty provided.)
- (3) The following are exempted from the quotas:
 - (a) Immigrants who arrived in groups organized by the government or by officially recognized private parties under the category of "directed immigration";
 - (b) Foreigners married to Brazilians or the Brazilian widow of a foreigner or a foreigner accompanied by his or her Brazilian child.

^{1/} Conselho de Imigração e Colonização, Consolidação das Leis de Imigração, Rio de Janeiro, 1949, 47 pp., is the source unless otherwise noted.

If no Brazilians can be found to utilize their share of the lots, some of them may be disposed of to foreigners, preferably Portuguese, with federal permission. These provisions are supplemented by detailed directions and restrictions attempting to promote the assimilation of the newcomers.

Schools in the colonies must be administered by native Brazilians and taught in Portuguese. Primary texts must be in Portuguese exclusively.

No foreign language periodicals or books may be published in rural areas without specific permission from the federal immigration authorities.

Foreign language associations must be licensed by the Ministry of Justice and are forbidden to receive aid from any public or private group or individual in another country. They must secure local police permission for public meetings. Neither native nor naturalized Brazilians may belong to such organizations. 1/

No commercial, industrial or civic establishment may bear a name in a foreign language. 2/

Religious exercises must be conducted in Portuguese. 3/

109. These requirements indicate the extent to which Brazilian policy has been influenced by:

- a) the depression of the 1930's;
- b) the extreme nationalism which arose during the same period;
- c) unfortunate experiences with German and Japanese "racial cysts" as they are known in Brazil.

110. The war-born business boom plus international efforts on behalf of refugees have acted to revive consideration of immigration policy and practice. For instance, residence requirements for naturalization were raised from two to ten years in 1938 but are lowered to five in a bill now before the Chamber after passing the Senate. Portuguese need wait only one year. 4/ There is a good deal of criticism of the quota laws and

1/ Articles 3, 4, 5; Decreto-lei No. 383, 1938.

2/ Article 42; Decreto-lei No. 406, 1938.

3/ Article 16; Decreto-lei No. 1545, 1939.

4/ Correio da Manhã, 21 January 1949.

114. It is thus seen that official policy rests on a widespread system of restrictions, both on entrance and on freedom of movement within the country. The groups most favoured are Portuguese, Italians and others of the "Latin" culture and farmers.

/Section 3.

come within the competence of the Council. This welter of issues and cases is often further complicated by political misunderstandings between different cabinet officials which are reflected in disputes within the Council.

119. The Council sends selection missions to Europe and is responsible for the immigrants until they are registered in the Ilha das Flores, where they are taken in charge by the National Immigration Department. They are released to states, private organizations or individuals who assume responsibility for placement, etc. Three Council missions were active in Europe in the fall of 1949: in Hanover, Stuttgart and Salzburg. Brazilian consuls worked with IRO officials in other emigration centres. 1/

(ii) International Cooperation

120. Brazil made an agreement with the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees in April 1947, with the Preparatory Committee, International Refugee Organization in April 1948 and with the IRO in November 1948. A Brazilian-IRO Mixed Commission was created in an attempt to avoid some of the difficulties and misunderstandings which had arisen under the first two agreements and to aid the Brazilians in working out more efficient machinery. The Commission, through participation by both national and international representatives, has greatly stimulated state and local interest in receiving immigrants and has helped to create the necessary structures. For instance, before the Commission started to work, only Sao Paulo had either a state reception centre or a placement service. Now, the following states have reception centres and a representative on the Mixed Commission, who canvasses his state for possible jobs: Sao Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, Paraná, Santa Catarina, Rio de Janeiro, Goias and Bahia. These states have taken 86 per cent of all refugees in the past few years; most of the remainder being accounted for by the Federal District, which uses the facilities of Ilha das Flores and the Rio office of the Commission.

121. The Commission, working through the IRO machinery in Europe, aids the selection missions, keeps records of the immigrant's background and training, of his two medical examinations in Europe and the one he receives

1/ "Nem Todos Preferem O Brasil", Correio da Manhã, 8 October 1949.

/at the Ilha das Flores

internationally recognized authority, Dr. Henrique Doria de Vasconcellos, and publishes a bulletin containing both current information and scholarly studies, with summaries in English, French and German.

126. The Brazil-IRO Mixed Commission helped revive some state organisms which had been allowed to die and was responsible for creating new ones in other states.

(v) Private Groups

127. Religious and nationality groups are active in helping solve problems arising from reception, placement and assimilation. Catholic, Jewish and Protestant organizations maintain headquarters and staffs. The Comité Chrétien d'Aide aux Réfugiés, of Paris (which represents Orthodox, Roman Catholic and Protestant churches), recently sent an agent to Brazil and the Catholic Caritas International as well as the Protestant World Council of Churches have representatives.

128. The Papacy is represented by the Catholic Secretariat for Immigration (Secretariado Católico de Imigração), affiliated with the Immigration Division of the Papal Department of State, which helped solve employment and financial problems for 450 clients during 1948 and 1949. ^{1/}

129. The principal nationality groups with formal organizations engaged in assistance to refugees are the Czech, Hungarian, Rumanian and Russian. Older fraternal and mutual aid groups exist among the Italians, Germans, Portuguese, Spaniards, Japanese, Poles, Turks and Syrians.

(vi) Colonization and Settlement

130. Placement of people on the land has always received major emphasis in Brazil's entire history. The vast unpeopled "hinterland" has been stressed since early colonial days; this fact is reflected in the organizational realm. Internal migration as well as immigration is now being stressed and government activities revolve principally around settling Brazil's own "people on the move". Private organizations have also been prominent in this field. Various factors make internal movement large: the wasteful nature of the primitive "fire agriculture" used on most

^{1/} Interview with Adelaide da Costa Azevedo, Presidente da Comissão de Relações Estrangeiras, 9 December 1949.

6. The colonists are to be organized into co-operatives for production, marketing, and buying.
7. Lots are to be given free of charge, along with seeds and the most urgently needed implements. In the beginning the grant is for use only, but after a trial period full property rights are to pass to the colonists.
8. Candidates having five or more children and residing in the locality in which the colonies are established, are to have preference in the distribution of farming plots. Lots will be given only to those 18 years of age or more, who are not land-owners, who have aptitudes for agriculture, and who agree to reside on the concessions. In exceptional cases foreigners possessed of special agricultural knowledge, who can serve as examples and stimuli, may receive lots. No federal, state or municipio employee may receive a concession.
9. Colonists are to receive the following assistance: work at wage or piece work during at least the first year, free medical services and medicines until the "emancipation" of the colony, loans of agricultural machinery and instruments during the first year, and transportation to the seat of the colony from the station or port.
10. The colonist's plot, crops, vehicles, machinery, are to be exempt from state and local taxation until after the colony has been emancipated.
11. Each colonist must clean all drainage channels passing through his land to a width of two metres, and maintain the roads that pass through his holding to a width of seven metres.
12. Colonists may be expelled from the plots and their rights revoked if it is proved that they failed to cultivate the land during the established period, unless it can be proved that they were hindered by a superior force, if they depreciate the land by destroying the timber without subsequent use of the soil, or if they constitute disturbing elements in the colony." ^{1/}

^{1/} Smith, op. cit., p. 567-568.

(vii) Commercial Enterprise

136. Brazil has had a long and varied experience with private promotion of both immigration and colonization. No records were found of the number of such companies which at one time or another have operated in Brazil, but they must have numbered in the hundreds. The laws now regulate them in minute detail. Their licenses depend on convincing the Conselho that plans, personnel and resources are sufficient for the projects they are undertaking. The efforts of some of the companies will be mentioned in the following section.

(viii) Agricultural Credit.

137. Credit facilities for farmers have been expanding greatly in recent years. The Banco do Brasil lent only 191,430,000 cruzeiros for agricultural purposes in 1938 but the total in 1947 was 4,316,164,000, both an absolute and a relative increase. 1/ Credit facilities are, however, far distant from adequacy. The Abbink Commission reports that "present financing methods constitute a chain of successive stages of exploitation — exploitation of the producer by the local storekeeper, who supplies him and who also buys his produce, and exploitation of the local trader by the wholesaler". 2/ The Abbink report and the Salte plan both envisage a reorganization of credit facilities along with improvements in the extension service, the building of warehouses, lowering of machinery costs, soil conservation, disease and pest control, and increases in the efficiency of the distribution system through better transportation, modern markets, etc. The amount to be spent in the 5-year plan period is 3,700,000,000 cruzeiros. 3/

138. Sao Paulo has gone a step beyond production credit. It is helping agricultural labourers who have worked two years on a Paulista fazenda to acquire land on easy terms over a period of ten years. The rationale of the two-year period is that it takes some such time to get an outsider habituated to geographic and cultural conditions in the state. 4/

1/ Anuario Estatístico, 1948, p. 255

2/ Abbink, op. cit., p. 85.

3/ Wythe, op. cit., p. 350.

4/ O Trabalho Agrícola e o Amparo ao Trabalhador, Sao Paulo, 1936. p. 1.

economies. It is instructive to note the ebb and flow of the "pull" exerted by the four American countries (Table XXIX).

Table XXIX. Intercontinental Immigration of Aliens (from all Continents) into the United States, Canada, Brazil and Argentina since 1856

Period	Percentage				Annual average in thousands
	United States	Canada	Brazil	Argentina	
1856-60	78.7	8.6	7.9	4.8	203.
1861-65	78.9	11.1	5.2	4.8	193.
1866-70	81.9	9.6	2.5	6.0	377.
1871-75	80.4	7.7	4.2	7.7	384.
1876-80	73.3	5.9	11.5	9.3	240.
1881-85	81.4	6.2	4.3	8.1	633.
1886-90	66.4	4.8	11.6	17.2	683.
1891-95	67.3	4.1	21.1	7.5	631.
1896-1900	60.8	4.6	18.6	16.0	513.
1901-05	76.8	6.8	5.8	10.6	994.
1906-10	67.1	9.7	5.7	17.5	1,415.
1911-15	61.9	13.1	9.4	15.6	1,229.
1916-20	56.5	15.2	13.8	14.5	266.
1921-24	59.7	11.4	8.5	20.4	713.
1925-28	33.5	22	18	26.5	513.
1929-32	31.4	20	18.5	30.1	288.
1933-37	28.0	6.9	32.7	32.3	100.

Source: Julius Isaac, Economics of Migration, New York, Oxford University Press, 1947. page 63.

Brazil took significant proportions of all immigrants in the world and in the 1891-1900 and 1933-37 periods. The former period marked the peak of Italian farm workers imported to service the coffee crops, largely in São Paulo. The Japanese colonists pushed up the proportion in the latter years.

(iii) Distribution by Nationality

142. Italians have been the largest single group (32 per cent) in Brazil's migration stream since 1821, although they started arriving later than did the Germans and Portuguese (Table XXX). Portuguese follow closely with 30.5 per cent. Spaniards, the third largest component, lag behind with only 12.5 per cent, while the Germans, who in the 1841-50 decade made up 40 per cent of all newcomers, show only 4.9 per cent for the whole period. The late-coming Japanese with 4.0 per cent, have almost as large a proportion as the

TABLE 30. Immigration by Nationalities, by Decades: 1821-1945

Period	Total	Germans	Spaniards	Italians	Japanese	Portuguese	Others
1821-1830	7,423	1,984	-	-	-	-	5,439
1831-1840	2,838	270	-	180	-	467	1,921
1841-1850	6,795	2,719	132	5	-	463	3,476
1851-1860	121,747	18,920	59	24	-	68,918	33,826
1861-1870	97,571	12,772	671	4,923	-	50,162	29,043
1871-1880	219,128	17,006	5,177	60,029	-	75,252	61,664
1881-1890	525,086	21,328	40,799	295,463	-	117,763	49,733
1891-1900	1,129,315	12,489	157,119	678,761	-	202,429	78,517
1901-1910	671,351	17,533	129,241	215,886	1,809	218,193	88,689
1911-1920	797,744	26,120	169,944	134,010	27,497	321,507	118,666
1921-1930	840,215	75,861	76,013	101,083	71,347	286,722	229,189
1931-1940	288,607	24,472	9,937	18,328	86,414	95,740	53,716
1941-1945 a/	18,432	486	275	276	1,548	9,073	6,774
Total	4,707,820	231,474	585,092	1,508,692	187,067	1,437,616	753,879

Source: International Migrations, vol.I; Anuario Estadístico, 1948, p.50

a/ 5 year period.

and 5.48 per cent). These four entities are the only ones which exceed Brazil's average of 3.41 per cent.

148. Two factors make comparison of the position in 1920 and 1940 useful: (1) the immigration restrictions of the 1930's; (2) the increasingly rapid natural growth of the population. The proportion of foreign-born in the nation as a whole decreased from 5.2 per cent in 1920 to 3.4 per cent twenty years later. The state of Ceará, with an insignificant foreign-born population, was the only entity which did not show a decline. Sao Paulo's per cent dropped from 18.2 in 1920 to 11.3 in the last census; the capital district from 20.8 per cent to 12.9 per cent.

(v) Foreign-born, by Nativity

149. Table XXX showed the five principal components of the immigration stream. The data on foreign-born from the 1940 census shed further light on the situation (Table XXXII).

Table XXXII. Nativity of the Foreign-born, a/ 1940

<u>Country of Origin</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
Total	1,283,833	100
Portugal <u>b/</u>	354,311	28
Italy <u>b/</u>	285,124	22
Spain	147,897	11
Japan <u>c/</u>	140,693	11
Germany <u>d/</u>	89,038	7
Turkey <u>e/</u>	45,786	4
Poland	41,039	3
Uruguay	21,744	2
Others	158,201	12

Source: Anuario Estadístico, 1948. p. 35

a/ Excludes naturalized citizens

b/ Includes Vatican and San Marino

c/ " Korea

d/ " Austria and Danzig

e/ " Libya, Palestine, Iraq and Arabia

Portuguese occupy first place, with 28 per cent; Italians second with 22 per cent. Spain and Japan are about tied for third place. Germans, with 7 per cent, rank fourth, while the Eastern Mediterraneans, colloquially called "Turks" and lumped together by the census, have 4 per cent.

/(vi) Nativity Distribution

(viii) Occupational Distribution

152. Only the most general data are available on occupational categories of immigrants and those for 1941-45 only.^{1/} They show the following experience:

Farmers	10.6	per cent
Skilled workers	3.8	" "
Unskilled workers	1.0	" "
Technicians	1.5	" "
Domestics, minors and students	43.8	" "
Other	<u>39.3</u>	" "
	100.0	per cent

^{1/} Anuario Estadístico, 1948, p. 51

TABLE XXVIII

Number of Males per 100 Females in Each State, by Nativity

1940

States	Sex Ratios in the		
	Total Population	Foreign-born Population	Native Population
Brazil	99.96	129.32	99.05
Acre	123.50	188.11	122.73
Amazonas	106.33	165.37	105.54
Pará	100.48	194.20	99.72
Maranhao	98.82	232.19	98.72
Piauí	98.15	216.66	98.12
Ceará	96.75	230.28	96.70
Rio Grande do Norte	97.90	236.56	97.33
Paraíba	96.31	155.13	96.29
Pernambuco	94.65	206.98	94.47
Alagoas	94.30	217.39	94.26
Sergipe	91.24	163.63	91.56
Bahia	95.49	242.76	95.31
Minas Gerais	99.74	150.29	99.47
Espírito Santo	102.96	125.53	102.66
Rio de Janeiro	102.08	171.41	100.97
Distrito Federal	99.14	154.42	92.88
Sao Paulo	104.58	118.52	102.91
Paraná	105.07	122.55	104.16
Santa Catarina	102.39	128.04	101.85
Rio Grande do Sul	100.44	126.86	99.65
Goiás	102.69	192.19	102.50
Mato Grosso	114.14	144.43	112.64

Source: Serviço Nacional de Recenseamento.

Smith, in an excellent chapter on internal migration, says: "The rural Brazilian of the lower classes is notorious for his nomadic or migrator habits, for his lack of permanent attachment to the soil, for his tendency to shift about from place to place. In few nations are such large proportions of the rural people, who in turn are three-fourths of all people, so constantly on the move." ^{1/}

159. The pattern of movement within Brazil closely follows the pattern of foreign settlement. The southern states are the chief receivers of Brazilians from the eastern and northeastern states. However, the present frontier states of Goias and Mato Grosso attract considerable numbers. The presence of free or cheap land, in and outside of federal colonies, has undoubtedly attracted many natives who are not repelled by the idea of a subsistence agriculture. Immigrants, with higher standards of living are not so attracted.

160. It may be thought that those states which are losing people through internal out-migration (i.e., those from Piauí south to Rio de Janeiro, with the exception of Espírito Santo) should be assumed not to offer many opportunities to immigrants. However, it would be a mistake to hold this view too narrowly. There are reasons for believing that persons with better technology and more ideas and initiative can take over land deserted by its former inhabitants and raise productivity substantially. For instance, Japanese colonists have utilized abandoned Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo coffee plantations as truck gardens and made important contributions to the food supply of Sao Paulo and the national capital. ^{3/}

(iv) Refugee Experience

161. The International Refugee Organization brought 36,204 persons to

^{1/} Smith, op. cit., p. 297.

^{2/} Giorgio Mortara, "O Aproveitamento das Apuracoes do Censo Demográfico de 1940 para determinacao das Correntes de Migracao Interior". Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 1947; Sinopse do Censo Demográfico, 1947.

^{3/} Emilio Willems, "The Japanese in Brazil". Far Eastern Survey, 18 (1 : 5-8, Jan. 12, 1949.

Among parallel experiences might be cited those of the Puerto Rican moving onto St. Croix in the Virgin Islands from which the natives are migrating at a rapid rate. Cf. Clarence Senior, Puerto Rican Migration to St. Croix, Rio Piedras, Social Science Research Center, 1947. 60 pp. /Brazil in

Table 35

Distribution of Refugees, by States
(Jan.-Nov., 1949)

<u>State</u>	<u>No. of Refugees</u>	<u>%</u>
Sao Paulo	4,928	34.12
Paraná	3,381	23.40
Rio Grande do Sul	1,738	12.03
Federal District	1,554	10.75
Goiás	793	5.49
Santa Catarina	784	5.42
Rio de Janeiro	517	3.57
Bahia	379	2.76
Minas Gerais	331	2.29
Rio Grande do Norte	15	.10
Ceará	12	.08
Espirito Santo	9	.06
Other States	2	.01
	<hr/> 14,443	<hr/> 100

Source: I.R.O. Office, Rio de Janeiro, Dec. 23, 1949.

164. The largest contingent went to Sao Paulo; the next to Paraná, which in recent years has been stepping up its immigration promotion. The presence of Goiás and Bahia in the list as fairly large receivers comes from an effort on the part of these state governments to attract settlers. Bahia is trying to offset the out-migration which is costing it such heavy population losses.

(vii) Occupation Distribution

165. Data on the occupations of refugees are even more inadequate. Instructions to Brazil's selection missions in Europe have emphasized quotas of 70 per cent farmers and 30 per cent technicians. It is reported that the first 3 groups of refugees selected (1,732 persons arriving early in 1947) contained 72.2 per cent farmers. ^{1/}

^{1/} Artur Hehl Neiva, Deslocados de Guerra, a Verdade sobre sua Selecao. Rio de Janeiro, 1949. p.113.

and is an important urban center with the main streets paved. There are six other such centers in the company lands.

170. The land varies from 500 to 850 meters in altitude, is rolling, completely forested, and mostly is "terra roxa", the soil which is best for coffee. Coffee is the most important crop; shipments out of Londrina in 1948 were valued at 350,882,000 cruzeiros. The next five products, with their values, were: ^{1/}

Beans	25,156,000
Corn	14,726,000
Swine	12,761,000
Rice	6,042,000
Cotton	5,513,000

171. The total value of all commodities shipped out was 431,882,000 cruzeiros from an area which two decades earlier scarcely entered into the national economy. Data are available only for Londrina, but there are other, and larger, municipios on the company land. A few other sets of data will give an impression of the economic development of the area. There were 293 school teachers with 8,431 pupils in 1949; other professional services were supplied by 43 doctors, 27 dentists, 24 druggists, 35 lawyers, and 17 engineers. There were 1,361 vehicles in 1948, compared with 211 in 1936. Taxes collected by local, state and federal governments in the Londrina municipio rose from 81,172 cruzeiros in 1934 to 48,495 cruzeiros in 1948, an increase of 5975 per cent. ^{2/}

172. Industrial establishments number 478; commercial, 878. The most important plants make ceramic, milk and wood products; there are saw mills, coffee roasters, rice polishers, corn mills and bakeries. Grocery stores (157) and bars (160) vie for top place in commerce. The latter, as well as other forms of amusement and relaxation, give Londrina some resemblance to the "wild west" towns on the frontier of the United States. Gun-toting is frowned upon, however, and is generally regarded as unnecessary on the company lands.

^{1/} Norte do Paraná Terra Abençoada. Londrina, 1949. p. 18.

^{2/} O Estado de São Paulo, Out., 1949, No. 12. p. 11.

states for both immigrants and internal migrants.

179. Other parts of state have had a much longer history of colonization. The state counted 90 colonies by the third quarter of the past century 20 of them near the principal city of Curitiba. Twenty nationalities were represented.

180. The whole experience, which entailed much hardship for the pioneers, has been summed up by one student as follows: "the colonies near Curitiba flourished while those in the west almost invariably failed".^{1/}

(ii) Goiás ^{2/}

181. The huge state of Goiás (660,193 square kilometers) is the scene of large-scale colonization, recently promoted. Cattle raising and mining were the only important economic activities until about 20 years ago. An enthusiastic group of young Goianians started a reconstruction campaign in the early 1930's, built an entirely new city for the state capital and began to promote immigration. The completion of a railroad to the town of Anapolis aided economic development, as did the granting of free land in a federal farm colony near Ceres. The state now ships out rice, pineapples, cotton, potatoes, bananas, coffee, sugar, brandy, beans, honey, tobacco, oranges, beeswax, mandioca and corn, as well as hard and soft woods, diamonds, gold, rutile, rock crystal, and hides and skins.^{3/}

182. These activities have attracted people from other regions, but up to now few foreigners. Goiás grew 61.4 per cent between 1920 and 1940 while Brazil increased only 34.6 per cent. The 1940 census gave the state a population of 826,414. Foreigners are few, being 1,854 in 1940 or . per cent of the population. Brazilian legislation forbids foreigners in mining zones and until recently mining was the state's only attraction.

183. Goiás is located mostly on a plateau, with 80 per cent of its area over 300 meters high. There has been talk for 50 years of moving the national capital to Goiás. The proposed federal district would be 1,100

^{1/} Prof. Speridiao Faissol in "Curso Técnico de Colonização", 1949, Aula 14.

^{2/} This section, unless otherwise noted, is based on a field trip in mid-November, 1949.

^{3/} Goiás, Uma Nova Fronteira Humana, Rio de Janeiro, Conselho de Imigração e Colonização (Presidência). 1949. pp.45-72.

187. A high degree of community spirit has been developed and the settlers help each other build their houses. Drunkenness and rowdiness are frowned upon, sports are encouraged, houses are never locked and no jail exists. The development of such high community spirit is a tribute to the work of an exceptional young agronomist, and enthusiast for colonization, Bernardo de Carvalho Sayao. He reports that, given free land, the cost of settling a European refugee family would be about \$1,000 (U.S.) for the first year, after which it should be self-supporting. The cost breakdown is: frame house, \$250; transportation from Rio de Janeiro, \$10; \$600 (at \$50 per month) for food; \$140 for medicine, clothing, etc.

(iv) German Colonies Uva and Itapirapua

188. One hundred German families were settled in these two localities in 1924. Land was given free, but poor soils, lack of roads, malaria and administration caused the complete failure of the Itapirapua project and almost total failure at Uva. Seventeen German families remain at Uva raising cattle and cultivating subsistence crops. They have adopted local inefficient farming techniques and are described as "German-speaking caboclos". Their houses, however, are better-built and cared-for, their food is more varied and nutritious and their contacts with the outside world are constant through radios, newspapers and magazines. Brazilians are now moving onto the abandoned plots at Itapirapua. ^{1/}

(v) Itabira Displaced Person Colony

189. The first cooperative colony of DPs in Latin America is located 120 kilometres from Goiania, the new state capital. Sixty-one DP and Brazilian families are (December, 1949) the vanguard of what is planned as a 200-family settlement on 30,000 hectares (74,100 acres). There are 10 foreign nations represented, Poland, Rumania, Hungary and Jugoslavia being the strongest.

190. The cooperative idea was worked out by some of the DPs on the boat coming to Brazil and at the reception center. Forty families

^{1/} Speridiao Faissol, "A Colonia Alema de Uva", Revista Brasileira de Geografia, XI, 1 (Jan-Marco, 1949), pp. 93-110; Goias. Uma Nova Fronteira Humana, pp. 191-96.

help forthcoming from the civic committee of Itabiraf. The group of 7, named by the state governor on nomination by the local Rotary Club, lent the cooperative 100,000 cruzeiros out of their personal resources. There seem to be sound reasons for believing that, with adequate financing for machinery, fertilizer, seeds and food to carry them over to the next crops, the cooperative will prosper. The remaining land will then be opened to settlement.

(vi) CITAG Colony, Rio Verde

197. An Italian group (Cooperativas Italianas de Técnicos Agricultores) is purchasing 150,000 hectares (380,500 acres) near the Rio Verde in southwest Goiás at an average of 30 cruzeiros per hectare. Plans are made to bring 2000 families, selected in Italy, within 3 years. Loans have been secured from the state government. The immigrants are exempt from state taxation during the 10-year period they are repaying the loan. The first 50 heads of families, chosen to help in clearing land and building houses, arrived in January, 1949 with 30 tractors and ploughs. The families of the first 50 men, plus 50 more men were to arrive in January, 1950, and so on to the limit of 2,000 families. The tempo will increase after the foundations are laid.

198. The emphasis will be upon vegetable oils, milk products, grapes and wine, wheat, wheat-flour products (spaghetti, etc.) and fruit and fruit preserves. Processing of farm products at the colony will be stressed. 1/

(vii) Formosa Colony

199. The most ambitious attempt by a private individual to wed agriculture and industry in the wilderness started recently in eastern Goiás. Mr. Hugo Borghi, a Sao Paulo business man of Italian descent, holds 250,000 hectares in the upper Paraná valley.

200. Main products will be cereals, fruits, meat, poultry, eggs, milk products. The company, faced with the inadequacy of roads and absence of

1/ Aldo Chiappelli, "Nel Centro del Brasile, Un Paradiso per Gli Emigranti". Milano, Tempo XI, 36 (3-10 Sett., 1949) pp. 9-12; for a less optimistic view see "Avventura nel Cuyaz", Bollettino Quindicinale Dell'Emigrazione (Milano) III, 22 (25 Nov. 1949) pp. 428-29.

in the opening of new settlements in the state. Generally the course of procedure is as follows. An individual or family group will acquire title to lands that are far beyond the pale of civilization. These are then held for future gain. Unoccupied and forested, they may receive very little attention for a long period, the principal precautions necessary being those involved in ensuring that unauthorized squatters do not settle on the lands, open small clearings, and through residence acquire a species of squatters' rights to the land. Sometimes rather severe struggles are required to keep such undesirables out, or to expel them once they have established a foothold. This is one of the risks the propertied class takes.

"When the frontier has progressed to within a couple of hundred miles of the lands in question, the proprietors and the owners of the surrounding lands take the next step. Each of them sends a small squad of workers from the older areas, headed by an administrator, to open a fazenda on the property. This calls attention to the new area that is being opened for settlement, and the owners soon begin to receive offers from those who desire to buy lands in the newly opened areas. These offers come from the families who have worked as colonos on the established fazendas, workers who have husbanded their savings until the time should come when they might purchase lands of their own; or they may come from some of their own employees who were sent ahead to open the fazenda. At this stage of the process the owners of the land must play a wise game -- selling enough land to keep the interest alive, but holding enough so that they will later have land to dispose of at the increased prices to be secured as the region becomes more densely settled.

"Thus the process of settlement proceeds. Little capital and slight planning are involved. But the risks are great and the prospective profits are large. The land speculator must take his chances on the tide of settlement turning his way. If it moves in another direction, his chances for a large profit may be lost for a considerable time to come. The projection and completion of the railroad are major

/factors in

In 1919 it was a land of unviolated sertao, unknown and covered with forest. But where 20 years ago the Indians hunted, there exists today a municipio with 80,000 inhabitants, of whom 20,000 are in Marília, a city of 4,000 homes.^{1/} ^{2/}

206. Land prices rose there, of course, just as they did in Paraná. Marília alquieres were selling for 25 cruzeiros in 1914. Land in a large Japanese settlement nearby, but off the railroad, in 1929-30 brought 250 cruzeiros and in 1939 800 cruzeiros.

207. The German and Japanese colonies have been described as "economically successful but culturally and politically dangerous." Inter-marriage with the Brazilians has been less frequent among these settlers than in any other nationality. They have been more closely linked with home governments and more insistent upon maintaining their own language and social institutions. Japanese patriotic organizations and Nazi groups ruled many colonies by threats and by force during the war. Many of the restrictive features of present-day immigration laws stem from efforts to cope with such problems.^{3/}

208. An interesting attempt to solve this problem of what Brazilians call "racial cysts" is the mixed colony of Barao de Antonina, founded in 1931 by the state government. The 516 families residing in the colony in 1940 were distributed as follows:

Brazilians	162	Esthonians	6
Lithuanians	26	Italians	6
Germans	22	Spaniards	5
Poles	20	Czechs	4
Rumanians	17	Portuguese	2
Austrians	17	Swiss	2
Russians	15	Hungarians	2
Japanese	9	Jugoslavs	1

209. The colony was reported in 1940 to be an economic success. It

^{1/} Aristoteles de Lima Camara and Arthur Hohl Neiva "Colonizacoes Niponica e Germanica no Sul do Brasil," Revista de Imigracao, e Colonizacao, Ano II, No. 1, pp. 47-48.

^{2/} Smith, op. cit., pp. 579-80.

^{3/} Emilio Willems, "The Japanese in Brazil", loc. cit.

per family, is 228,600 cruzeiros, or at the official rate of exchange, \$11,430. Careful selection of site and members; planning of economic operations in the dairy field whose products are so desperately needed by Brazil; nearby markets and adequate capitalization would seem to give the new colony a splendid chance for success. That such an investment is far beyond the possibilities for most settlers is obvious but there are also obvious lessons. ^{1/}

(ix) Bahia

214. An economic renaissance is occurring in this state which until 1763 contained the political capital of the nation and was once its richest unit. Stagnation is giving way before the initiative of a young, enthusiastic group of technicians in agriculture and industry. Power for new industries will be furnished by installations at Paulo Afonso falls on the Rio Sao Francisco. ^{2/} The economic plan of the state government calls for attraction of both industrial workers and agriculturalists in order to supply the needs of the new industries and the growing towns and cities which are envisaged.

215. The state has a climate which varies from tropical to sub-tropical depending on altitude. Almost 4/5 of Bahia's area lies at 1,000 feet or more. Resources are diversified: cacao, rice, coconuts, sugarcane, catápe, castor beans, pineapples, cotton, manioc, beans, corn, cantaloupes, tomatoes, cucumbers, grapes, tobacco, babassú nuts, rubber, fiber, bananas, oranges, indicate the agricultural possibilities. Lead, copper, silver, gold, oil and iron are found.

216. The state has budgeted 45,144,000 cruzeiros for a colonization plan to settle 600 families in the next few years, divided as follows: ^{3/}

^{1/} Based on interviews with Dr. Henrique Poria de Vasconcellos, São Paulo's director of immigration and colonization; P.C. van Scherpenberg, Dutch immigration attaché and Baron J. A. van Schwartzenu, first assistant immigration attaché. It should be noted that the colony is located in an area already served by adequate means of transportation and communication and enjoys other public services of built-up regions.

^{2/} Jorge Zarur, A Bahia do Médio São Francisco, Conselho Nacional de Geografia, Rio de Janeiro, 1946. 187 pp; Time, Sept. 5, 1949, p. 22.

^{3/} Plano de Imigração e Colonização para o Estado da Bahia. Secretaria da Agricultura, Indústria e Comércio do Estado da Bahia - Brasil, Bahia, 1949, p.16. /Houses

hectare, starting at the end of the third year of occupancy, with an interest rate of 4 per cent. No taxes are paid during the first 5 years.

221. Tomatoes, at first a specialty of the 55 Japanese families, are now fairly generally grown, as are other truck products, plus rice and corn. The Japanese, the only sizeable foreign group, are obviously the best and hardest workers, but many of the other families have gradually adopted more efficient methods. Possibilities of profit are illustrated by one Japanese family which, using 2 hectares for 25,000 tomato plants, made a net return of 400,000 cruzeiros (\$20,000). The Japanese have a production credit cooperative and good marketing connections through their compatriots in Rio. The others suffer from the chaotic operating conditions of the Rio municipal market.

(xi) Foreigners in Federal Colonies

222. Poles made up the largest group of foreigners among the 24,579 persons in federal farm colonies in 1946. Brazilians number 18,374; Poles 3,875; Germans, 1,791; Japanese, 117; Portuguese, 77; Italians and Swiss, 57 each; Spaniards, 56, and Dutch 48. Others are scattered through 13 nationalities.

SECTION 7. IMMIGRANT CONTRIBUTIONS

223. The world's history points to the greater productivity in ideas, techniques and artifacts of the mixed peoples over the "pure". New ideas, new attitudes, new motivations strengthen a nation; those which isolate themselves fall into a rut and lag behind a dynamic world.

224. Various parts of Brazil exemplify this universal lesson on an international scale. Those which have admitted immigrants in large numbers, or even subsidized them as did Sao Paulo, ^{1/} have forged ahead economically. The northeastern states, once the richest and most powerful, have stagnated while the immigrant-receiving states of the south have outstripped them in economic and social welfare, in political growth and in the extension of democracy.

^{1/} Doria de Vasconcellos estimates that 64 per cent of all the states admitted immigrants between 1890 and 1913 were subsidized. "Alguns Aspectos da Imigracao no Brasil". Boletim do Servico de Imigracao e Colonizacao #3 (Marco, 1941), pp. 21-22.

held 26 per cent of all banking capital. Over a third of all passenger cars in the country belong to Paulistas.

228. These facts are not unrelated to the presence of many more immigrants in Sao Paulo than in Minas as expressed by the data on proportions of foreign-born found in the 1940 census:

Minas Gerais	0.67
Sao Paulo	11.33

The correlation can be made more definite by noting several factors characteristic of Paulista agriculture. Foreigners made up about one-eighth of the state's rural population in 1934 (11.5 per cent). However, they accounted for the following proportions of property, production and values: ^{1/}

Rural population	11.5%
No. of farms	29.9%
Cultivated land	36.7%
Farm value	33.1%
Productive coffee trees	42.1%
Cotton acreage	37.7%
Cane acreage	28.7%
No. of cattle	26.8%

229. Data on ownership of farms or industries in other states are scarce and of uncertain reliability. Germans, in 1924, were estimated to own 16 per cent of all factories in Brazil and 65 per cent of those in prosperous Rio Grande do Sul. Just before World War II 10 per cent of all manufacturing and 12 per cent of all commerce was said to be in their hands. Germans owned 0.43 per cent of the country's cultivated land, produced 8 per cent of the crops; 24 per cent of the crops in the 3 southern states. ^{2/} These figures probably underestimate the German influence since descendants of the original German immigrants are counted

^{1/} Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 293-4, where the analysis of these census data should be consulted for further light on the characteristics of the foreign-born farmer in Sao Paulo.

^{2/} Private memorandum prepared by Dr. Giorgio Mortara, citing Karl Cornelius, *Die Deutschen in brasilianischen Wirtschaftsleben*; Hubert Herring, *The Good Neighbors*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1941, pp. 152-58.

Gustáv Paul Bener, *Landwirtschaftliche Kolonization in Süd-Amerika*. Bern. A. Francke & Co., 1936. pp.71-101.

units per man within two weeks of hiring refugees who then comprised 25 per cent of the personnel.

(c) A Russian emigré, employed in a hat factory in Santa Caterina, made so many valuable suggestions that within a year he had increased production 250 per cent and become assistant manager of the plant which now employs 150 Brazilian workers.

(d) An experienced mushroom grower came close to being rejected because Brazil had no mushroom industry. He found backers and now Brazil has such an industry.

233. All evidence indicates that similar stories could be multiplied ad infinitum. It might be mentioned that these contributors to Brazilian economic expansion represent a contribution by the international community to Brazil of at least \$6,500,000 (U.S.). The I.R.O., to which Brazil does contribute, has paid that sum for transportation alone. The expense to Brazil in 1949 was 760 cruzeiros (\$38. U.S.) per person for food and housing at the reception center and transportation to his new place of work.

234. These results are not surprising, of course. First, most studies have shown that there is a selective factor which helps assure that the immigrant is a person with at least more initiative and courage than those who do not move. Second, it has been seen that the foreign-born have a far heavier concentration in the productive age categories than do the natives, and that there are more males than females. In other words, the immigrant helps carry the heavy load of dependents. Third, the immigrant brings with him attitudes toward responsibility, cleanliness, accuracy and work-habits which are still foreign to many of his new neighbours.

SECTION 8. OBSTACLES AND PROBLEMS

235. Brazil confronts many obstacles and serious problems in attempting to become a front-rank immigration country. Probably the foremost problem is to decide whether or not it wishes to receive substantial numbers of foreigners. There is at the present time no clear answer to that question. Some highly-placed government officials are fervent advocates of large-scale immigration; others, equally important, are vigorously opposed

/to relaxing

of Goias, which is promoting immigration energetically, suffers from the fact that the Mogiana railroad, a narrow gauge line, schedules passenger trains for 40 hours to Sao Paulo. Freight and express shipments may take three weeks or more. This is only a sample of an almost universal situation.

240. Climatic factors are not nearly so serious an obstacle to human occupancy as is sometimes believed. There are tremendous areas in Brazil in which the climate is no worse than that in areas of Europe and North America which are heavily populated. The chief handicap of the tropical regions is probably their extraordinary hospitality to noxious bugs and plant parasites of all kinds. People and lower animals are subject to constant attacks. These pests are more and more yielding to control as tropical medicine advances, but control takes effort, time and money. Where frosts occur each year, nature takes care of much of this work for man.

241. The tropical soil itself is not nearly so rich as it seems. As James explains with reference to the tropical rain forest: "The soils, under such forests, where they are not covered at frequent intervals by newly deposited material, are generally very poor in plant foods and in humus, for the heavy rains percolating through the upper layers of the soil dissolve the soluble minerals, and the vigorous bacterial action under conditions of high temperature and humidity quickly destroys any organic matter that falls to the ground." ^{1/}

242. In addition, the profusion of kinds of plants is itself a handicap under present conditions. Most lumbering operations are based upon temperate zone experiences where only a few different trees are found in a forest, but "in places where the selva has been carefully studied as many as 3,000 different species of trees per square mile have been identified." ^{2/}

^{1/} Preston E. James, Latin America, New York, Oddyssy Press, 1942 p. 36.
^{2/} Ibid., p. 396.

over-emphasis which Brazil has always displayed toward export crops... The "booms" of previous periods, based successively on precious woods, sugar, cacao, rubber and coffee have left institutions designed to serve the foreign market. This has weakened the domestic economy by encouraging the continuance of the high degree of governmental and financial concentration inherited from colonial times to serve the need of a semi-colonial economy. Two examples of other aspects of the same factor are given in a recent book by a Brazilian journalist: "The creation of new industries as often as not goes against the vested interest of international finance and will be thwarted by any means. A vivid example of this is seen in the ruins of the Pedras factory in northern Brazil. Some thirty years ago a Brazilian engineer, financed solely by his own wealthy family, built a small factory on the banks of the Sao Francisco River at the point where its waters crash into the Paulo Alfonso Falls. The factory was to make thread. It was run by hydro-electric power from the neighbouring falls. At the same time Brazil was an important market for British textiles and by-products, including thread. A British textile concern, alarmed by the competition to its most important product, made several unsuccessful attempts to buy the factory, offering far more than it was worth. It finally made such a fabulously high bid that the Brazilian sold it the factory. Thereupon the British dismantled the plant and threw all the machinery into the river, where it can still be seen today. I know fathers who have sent their sons on a sort of patriotic peregrination to Pedras, to see for themselves what they are up against in building the country. This dramatic case is a sample of the problems that countries engaged in creating industry have to meet in their struggle against world cartels. A more recent example is the steel mill at Volta Redonda. President Roosevelt had more than once to hold off North American big steel from bringing pressure against the building of the plant." ^{1/}

^{1/} Hernane Taveres de Sá. The Brazilians. New York, John Day Co, 1947, pp. 161-162

250. A prominent daily newspaper points out that, although some immigration barriers were lowered (temporarily, it turned out), that this "should have been followed logically by the setting up, at least in an elementary fashion, of the machinery required for looking after the selection, transport, reception, hospitality, guidance, unemployment and adaptation of the immigrants. But this did not happen". ^{1/}

251. Reception difficulties were brought to public attention dramatically in April, 1949, when newspapers discovered that 2,400 immigrants were being housed at Ilha das Flores where the maximum accommodations were for 1,500. Lack of organization to place workers and lack of money to pay transportation expenses were given as the reasons for the congestion. ^{2/} It has already been seen that delay in paying federal obligations almost wrecked the refugee colony at Itabirai. The same experience has made it difficult to carry forward other plans for settling pioneer zones.

(f). Restrictive Legislation

252. Brazil seems not only to have copied the restrictive legislation of the early 1920's in the United States but added enough of its own to make it the most highly hedged-in of new world countries. The number of immigrants it is willing to receive is small and restrictions

1/ Diario de Noticias, April, 1949

2/ A Manha, March 6, 1949; Brazil Herald, April 22, 1949

/put upon their

of their homeland political regimes, to transplant totalitarian measures and ways into Brazilian life. ^{1/}

256. It is not surprising therefore that extreme nationalists have often carried greater weight than more far-sighted leaders. ^{2/} However these latter make themselves heard and endeavour to change the existing derogatory attitude towards manual labour, be it foreign or national. ^{3/}

257. The heritage of the past, mentioned above, expresses itself in a number of ways. It is one of the reasons Brazil needs to import skilled workers; white collar occupations are the only ones with prestige value. Another expression of the same heritage is that frequently workers on fazendas are not given decent treatment. This is one of the chief reasons for the trek to the cities and the movement to the open frontier which cause the fazendeiro so much trouble. It is also the main reason why, out of 1,120 DPs taking agricultural jobs in Sao Paulo in 1947, only 30 families remained on the land by mid-1948. Thus, little by little, the fazendeiros are learning that foreigners cannot be expected

^{1/} The Germans talked openly of how they would take over the country and put the Brazilians to work under "efficient masters". (Cf. Luis Segui Gonzales: Politica Migratoria a Infiltración Totalitaria en América. Montevideo, 1947, pp.47-50). Japanese patriots were certain, in December 1949, that General MacArthur was a prisoner of a victorious Japanese army (O Globo, Dec.5,1949).

^{2/} It is to be observed that the United States, without the provocation to which Brazil has been subjected, has had its period of ultra-nationalism and agitation against foreigners, even amongst scholars. Cf., Edward N. Saveth, American Historians and European Immigrants 1875-1925. New York, Columbia University Press, 1948, 244 pp; Edward G. Hartman, The Movement to Americanize the Immigrant, New York, Columbia University Press, 1948, 333 pp; Beatrice Griffith, American Me, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1948, 341 pp; Hugh Carter, ed. "Reappraising our Immigration Policy", The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, vol. 262 (March, 1949) entire issue; and W.S. Bernard, ed., American Immigration Policy: A Reappraisal, New York, Harper & Bros., 1950, 341 pp.

^{3/} Valentin Boucas has written that "we must not insist on the prejudice of lowering the immigrants to the level of the national mestizo. What we must do is to raise our "caboclo" to the standards of the Europeans, giving the former a chance to absorb the customs and habits of the latter, in agriculture and in industry". ("Imigracao Nao é Despesa, é Capital", O Observador Economico e Financeiro, August, 1948, pp. 3-16)

/to acquiesce in

SECTION 9. PERSPECTIVES FOR THE FUTURE

260. Brazil is often called "the land of the future". Some Brazilian writers have expressed the fear that this means "manha" ("tomorrow") but the facts seem to belie them. Industrial production, it has been noted almost doubled between 1938 and 1948. There is now a growing realization that agriculture must be strengthened and expanded, step by step with industrial development. The Abbink Mission believes that the cultivated area of the country can be doubled in the next few decades.

(i) Planning

261. The SALTE Plan, in attempting to expand health services, to promote better nutrition practices, and to increase transportation and power facilities, is laying the foundation for more solid economic advance. The emphasis being placed upon technical knowledge and ability, even if it is possessed by foreigners, is one of the heartening aspects of present day Brazil. The Cooke Mission of 1942 and the Abbink Mission of 1948 illustrate a procedure which has begun to set a pattern.

262. Significant programmes in the fields of health and agricultural development have been carried out during recent years under the joint auspices of the U.S.-financed Institute of Inter-American Affairs and the Brazilian government.

263. Long-range activities of a mixed business-educational character are being carried on in the country by the Rockefeller sponsored American Association for International Development and the International Basic Economy Corporation. They are successfully introducing new concepts and practices into agriculture and industry, e.g. hybrid corn.

264. The quasi-governmental National Council on Geography (Conselho Nacional de Geografia) has embarked on a long-range project to locate all the important areas of unused cultivable land and the preparation of a guide to its utilization.

265. The government is coming to grips with the problems of an inefficient bureaucracy by raising pay and providing housing and incentive programme. A central organisation for civil service and budgetary matters functions

/as an arm

are anxious to come to our country. On the contrary, Brazil never figures as the country for which first preference is expressed."^{1/}

271. It is this kind of frankness which will help to overcome many of the obstacles and solve many of the problems which Brazil faces.

272. Perhaps the administrative machinery will be made flexible enough to handle such details as those pointed out in the previous section on problems. The fact that the 2/3rds law was waived in the creation of the Volta Redonda steel plant may augur well for a broader attitude when economic development would be hampered by a narrow one.

273. The disappearance of totalitarian governments in the home countries of the major immigrant groups, plus the general strengthening of the economy, may help reduce the fear of foreign "cysts" which has helped build up restrictive legislation.

274. The aging of the present foreign-born population has started to tilt the scales toward a less favourable ratio between dependents and the economically active population.

275. This, plus the unfavourable ratio among the native population, lay a demographic base for a positive immigration policy. The developments cited may well lay the basis for vigorous administration of such a policy.

(iv) Specific Colonization Plans

276. The colonization laws, previously outlined, are liberal in their provisions, both for organizers of colonies and for colonists. The expanding economy has again provided a basis for extensive colonization activities and the air is filled with plans. Unfortunately, many of the plans have a distinct air of speculation about them. The promoters are engaged in a gamble; the lives and fortunes of the immigrants are at stake. The possible gains for the speculator are large. The technique has already been pointed out.

277. Public colonization projects, in some of which foreigners may participate, have already been described. They will continue. Some private projects which are already under way have also been mentioned. A complete catalogue of all pending projects would be neither feasible

^{1/} "Nem Todos Preferem O Brasil", Correio da Manhã, October 8, 1949.

282. The experience in the north of Paraná and at various points in Goiás and Sao Paulo will prove extremely useful in guiding new projects.

(v) Investments and Fiscal Policies

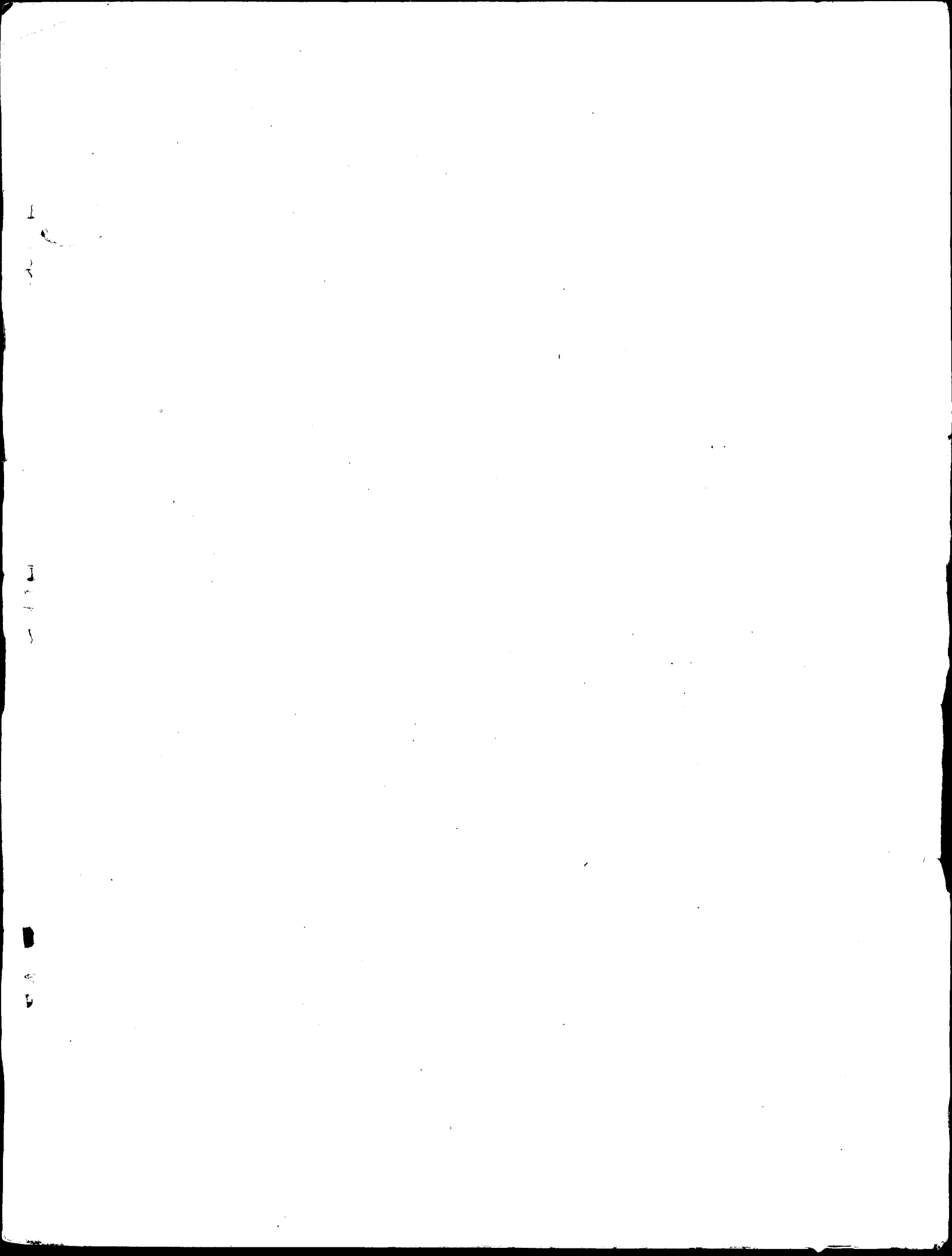
283. Maldistribution of wealth, speculation in land, desire for exorbitant profits, unimaginative entrepreneurs, inadequate channelization and promotion of popular savings and poor direction of both private investment and of forced savings have all been blamed for a large share in Brazil's slow economic development. The institutional changes which would remedy some of these conditions are indicated in detail in the Abbink report. The implementation of the report would give impetus to agricultural and industrial advance and further increase the demand for technically trained persons and skilled workers.

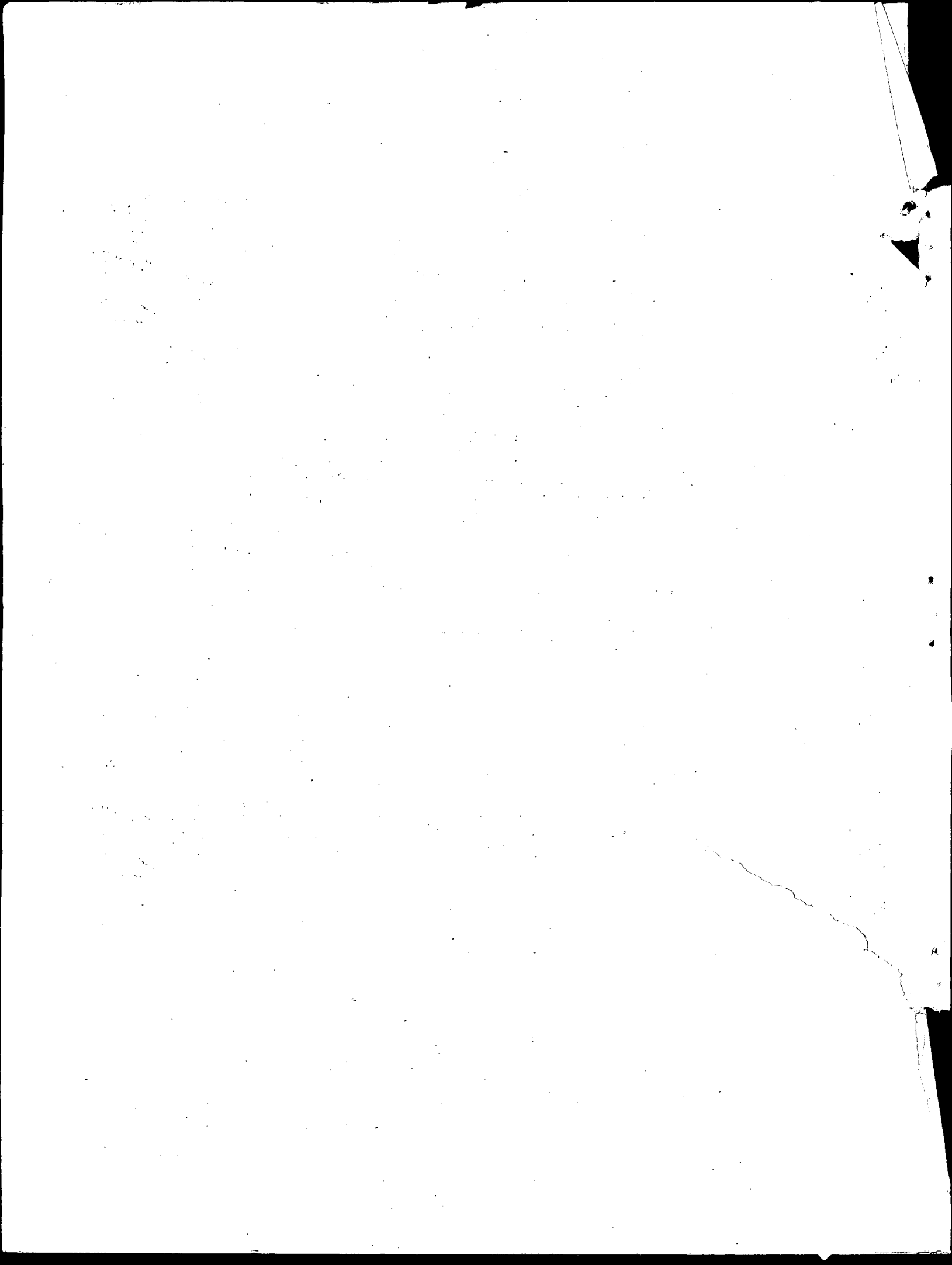
284. There is one important gap in the recommendations, however. Nothing is said about how to get unused agricultural land into production without paying a price which makes farming unprofitable. Some adjustment of the land tax system might be considered as a contribution to the removal of this obstacle to economic development, it is interesting to note that the same suggestion was made in 1875 by Cardoso de Menezes e Souza. One of the major reasons for colonization failures was laid by him to "the lack of a tax upon lands lacking buildings and cultivation^{1/}."

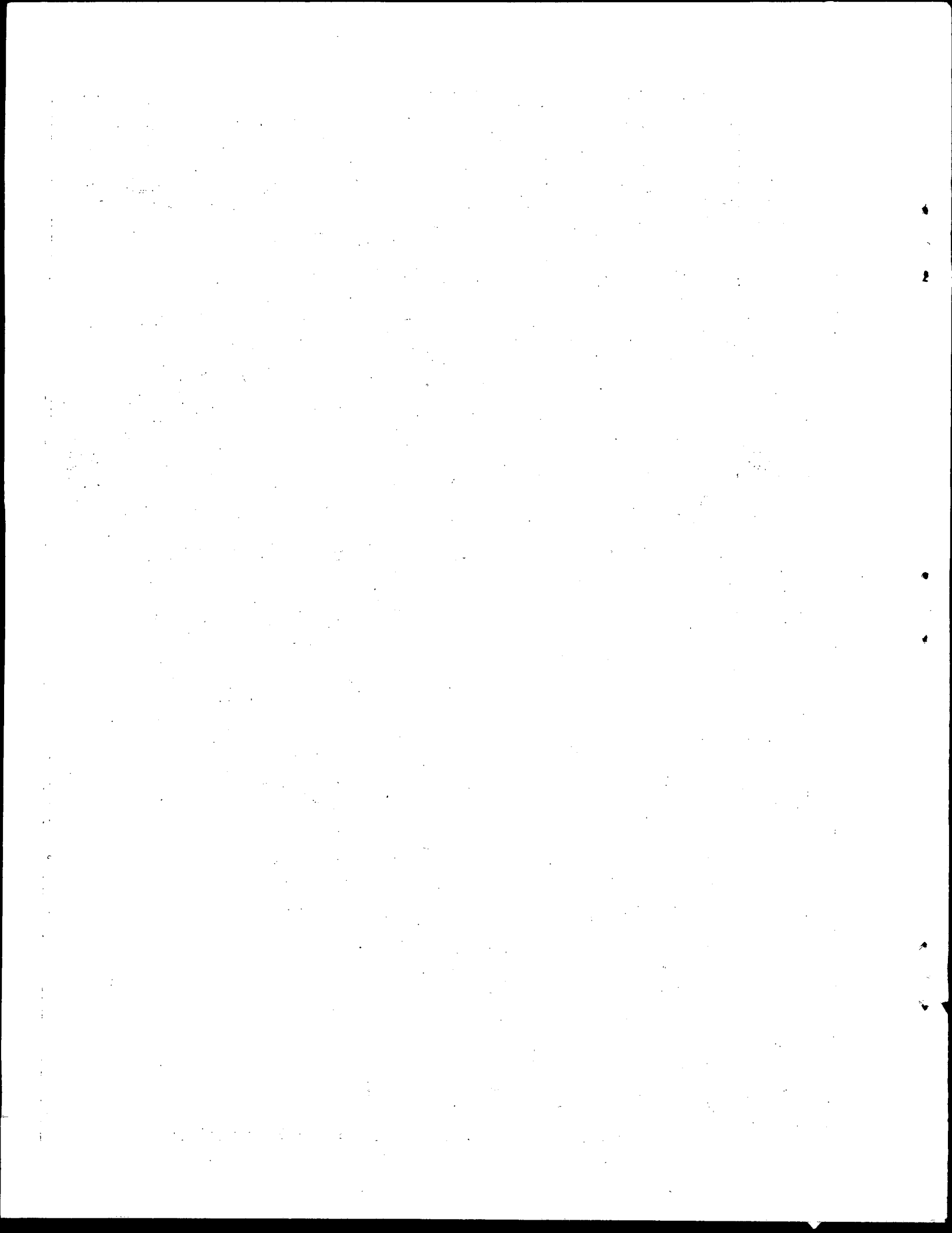
285. Foreign investors are increasingly finding that Brazil offers possibilities. It would seem that there is room for a substantial colonization activity, backed by international funds. The investment would be long-range, but there are opportunities to repeat and improve upon the experience in Northern Paraná, as well as to rehabilitate abandoned areas nearer large markets.

286. A large-scale dairy and meat products industry is desperately needed in Brazil. By-products, such as leather and leather goods, could be developed. Transportation difficulties could be partially overcome by using refrigerated cars and trucks. Thousands of Dutch, Swiss and Volksdeutsche are available from which exacting selections could be made with the aid of the newest developments in aptitude and skill testing.

1/ Op. cit.







not be repeated here.^{1/} His summary is worth noting in view of the fears expressed on the subject by some Europeans:

"Brazilian climates contain a few extremes, either of temperature or of moisture; yet they are by no means so monotonously uniform, or so unbearably hot and damp, that the human spirit is deadened."^{2/}

3. Natural vegetation from the tropical selva of the Amazon Valley to the tall grass on the prairies of the south and the scrub forest of the west-central states. This indicates the great range of crops which could be raised. The area under cultivation in 1945-46 totalled 37,300,000 acres, or 1.8 per cent of Brazil's land.^{3/}

4. The area cultivated had risen from an average of 32,1 million acres during the 1933-42 decade to 18,835,430 hectares (46,523,400 acres) in 1940. It is important to study how the total area in farm properties was utilised in the latter year (Table 1).^{4/}

1/ Preston James, Brazil, New York, The Odyssey Press, 1946. pp.10-19. However, a general idea of the country's climate may be got from the following altitude, rainfall and temperature data for 11 stations ranging from north to south:

	Altitude	Average Annual Temperature (F)	Average annual Rainfall (inches)
Manaus	148	81.0	69.8
Belem	33	78.7	86.0
Natal	10	79.1	57.6
Recife	98	80.3	64.9
Belo Horizonte	2812	68.1	59.3
Tres Lagoas	1148	76.0	44.0
Goiás	1706	75.1	66.8
Rio de Janeiro	197	73.6	43.3
Sao Paulo	2690	63.7	56.2
Curitiba	2979	61.7	55.0
Porto Alegre	49	66.6	50.0

Source: Preston James, Latin America, New York, The Odyssey Press, 1942. 908 pp.

2/ Preston James, op. cit., p.11

3/ George Wythe, Royce A. Wight and Harold M. Midkiff, Brazil, an Expanding Economy. New York, Twentieth Century Fund, 1949, pp.62-6. The total under cultivation in 1947 had risen to 37,939,151 a. (FAO Yearbook of the Food and Agricultural Statistics, 1948, p.184) and unofficial estimates for 1949 placed the area at 42,140,000 acres (Brazilian Bulletin, Feb.1, 1950).

4/ Report of the Joint Brazil-United States Technical Commission, Washington, Department of State, 1949, p.3. (hereafter referred to as the Abbink Report); Anuária Estatístico do Brazil, 1948, pp.6-7

/5. It can be

Brazil: Immigration

TABLE 1. Utilization of Land in Farming Establishments by States in 1940.
(Hectares)

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Cultivated</u>	<u>Pasture</u>		<u>Forest</u>	<u>Fallow</u>	<u>Unusable</u>
			<u>Total</u>	<u>Artificial</u>			
Acre	6,914,709	88,325	61,399	12,191	6,105,257	623,355	36,373
Amazonas	8,500,687	340,144	504,570	27,824	6,186,910	1,121,514	347,547
Pará	10,082,027	493,117	1,717,318	14,288	5,635,790	1,742,016	493,786
Maranhão	3,008,576	286,945	1,034,286	6,211	550,163	899,847	237,335
Piauí	4,811,438	359,079	1,487,665	8,550	1,147,020	1,084,525	733,149
Ceará	8,605,954	1,312,825	2,297,740	7,282	2,287,248	2,171,283	536,858
Rio Grande do Norte	3,321,486	396,678	1,773,253	3,170	399,742	560,693	191,120
Paraíba	3,548,265	733,695	1,272,822	8,597	547,269	666,493	328,006
Pernambuco	3,875,789	865,923	1,135,238	22,217	585,404	949,468	339,756
Alagoas	1,437,266	262,791	236,177	8,301	466,027	388,504	83,767
Sergipe	870,654	116,577	263,178	34,934	120,705	250,187	120,007
Bahia	13,408,150	1,434,436	3,342,664	905,495	3,803,343	3,249,080	1,578,627
Minas Gerais	33,475,881	2,836,598	18,735,520	1,741,795	3,721,479	5,429,288	2,752,996
Espirito Santo	1,988,231	565,285	398,289	125,020	568,646	334,331	121,680
Rio de Janeiro	3,316,043	717,753	1,223,825	67,346	645,883	506,392	222,190
Distrito Federal	45,578	30,244	3,243	56	4,789	8,781	1,521
São Paulo	18,579,827	4,319,804	6,328,595	1,032,220	4,063,360	2,841,892	1,026,176
Paraná	6,252,480	764,370	2,043,482	25,656	1,503,765	1,776,009	164,854
Santa Catarina	4,862,296	70,948	1,817,953	24,347	1,425,481	919,547	228,367
Rio Grande do Sul	20,441,815	1,700,431	14,184,613	35,412	2,139,273	1,638,016	779,482
Mato Grosso	20,707,406	374,295	14,433,146	-	3,657,014	1,229,454	1,013,497
Goiás	19,603,521	352,667	13,839,557	958,296	3,486,875	902,484	1,021,938
BRAZIL	197,720,247	18,835,430	88,141,733	5,072,919	49,085,464	29,296,493	12,361,127

Source: Anuário Estatístico do Brasil, 1948, p. 68.

Table 2. Distribution of Ploughs and Tractors in 1940 by States

<u>Political Unit</u>	<u>Ploughs</u>	<u>Tractors</u>
BRAZIL	500,853	3,380
Acre	6	
Amazonas	36	5
Pará	85	21
Maranhao	71	7
Piauí	132	4
Ceará	725	37
Rio Grande do Norte	571	10
Paraíba	496	13
Pernambuco	3,123	72
Alagoas	1,007	34
Sergipe	569	31
Bahia	1,645	43
Minas Gerais	49,373	253
Espírito Santo	708	24
Rio de Janeiro	8,248	140
Distrito Federal	245	8
São Paulo	168,073	1,410
Paraná	20,498	65
Santa Catarina	21,431	71
Rio Grande do Sul	222,657	1,104
Mato Grosso	719	15
Goiás	345	13

Source: Anuario Estatístico do Brasil, 1948,
page 77.

Table 3 Principal Crops, by Area and Production, 1938 and 1947

Crop	Cultivated Area		Unit	Quantity Produced	
	1938	1947		1938	1947
Sugar cane	473,709	784,794	metric ton	16,581,859	28,444,29
Coffee	3,492,364	2,437,029	60 kilogrammes	23,402,390	15,052,80
Manioc	473,184	828,482	metric ton	6,020,611	10,946,76
Corn	4,253,878	4,323,052	" "	5,559,835	5,502,51
Rice	978,772	1,650,989	" "	1,529,274	2,596,37
Beans	1,001,825	1,583,723	" "	854,167	1,046,23
Cotton	2,350,159	2,384,377	" "	1,018,798	680,81
Potatoes	81,747	116,521	" "	401,777	575,38
Wheat	169,611	381,125	" "	137,268	345,30
Castor beans	114,504	119,057	" "	127,864	166,05
Grapes	24,097	33,504	" "	194,642	163,63
Coconut	37,384	43,432	1000 nuts	133,079	154,06
Alfalfa	22,981	26,354	metric ton	140,666	145,12
Banana	79,483	93,140	1000 bunches	80,140	123,69
Cocoa	180,909	270,014	metric ton	141,839	119,09
Tabaco	91,840	150,237	" "	91,101	101,77
Pineapple	9,849	12,482	1000 fruit	88,710	73,95
Oranges	101,723	78,069	1000 boxes	34,374	30,08
Barley	12,665	12,134	metric ton	17,535	12,21
Oats	8,692	12,197	" "	7,337	10,11
Rye	9,040	11,411	" "	10,696	8,31

Source: Anuario Estadístico, 1948, pages 78-79

(iv) Mining

21. The country's potential wealth from the sub-soil is great. It has a real advantage over many other Latin American countries in the variety of metals and minerals, which include iron (estimated at 22 per cent of the world's deposits), manganese, bauxite, beryllium, bismuth, cobalt, copper, chromite, tin, magnesite, molybdenum, nickel, rutile, scheelite, corundum, tungsten, wolframite and lead. Gold, diamonds, aquamarines, amethysts and quartz crystals are also found. Unfortunately, domestic coal is of only medium grade and accounts for about half of national consumption. Oil resources, which may be large, still await development. One product urgently needed both domestically and throughout most of the world, and which Brazil possesses in large quantities, is phosphate. It also awaits development.

22. The value of the nine principal sub-soil products in 1947 amounted to 501,390,000 cruzeiros, distributed as shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Principal Extractive Products

	1947	Value (000 oz.)	Volume (metric tons)
TOTAL		501,390	
Coal		274,314	1,998,896
Gold		111,475	4,216 (Kgs.)
Salt		52,167	562,570
Iron ore		25,520	590,141
Manganese ore		16,102	166,780
Mica		13,276	1,221
Marble		4,213	12,722
Arsenic		4,003	1,001
Silver		320	631 (Kg.)

Source: Anuário Estatístico, 1948, p.57.

23. Mining is concentrated in the three states of Minas Gerais, Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul which accounted in 1947 for 85 per cent of all production, by value. However, most of the other states are reported to have a considerable variety of minerals and metals awaiting

^{1/} Abbink, op. cit., pp. 111-15, 260-67; Wythe, op. cit., pp. 128-52; Spiegel, op. cit., pp. 207-13.

Other indices of economic activity show changes in monthly averages between 1938 and 1947 as follows: ^{1/}

	<u>1938</u>	<u>1947</u>	<u>% Increase</u>
Cotton cloth (million metres)	70	88	125.7
Pig iron (thousand tons)	10	40	400.0
Cement (thousand tons)	51	76	149.0
Construction licensed (index)	100	236	236.0
Railroad freight traffic (million km. tons)	439	583	132.8
Electric power consumption (million kwh)	48	92	191.7

27. Lack of adequate and cheap power is one of the problems which Brazil is now tackling. The almost two-fold increase in electric power consumption in the 1938-47 period left many unsatisfied needs.

28. This situation exists in spite of Brazil's rank as the fourth nation in the world in water power potential (after Russia, the United States and Canada). Hydro-electric resources are estimated at 14.4 million Kw. (19.5 million horsepower); distributed by political entities as follows: Minas Gerais, 30.6 per cent; Sao Paulo, 13.7 per cent; Paraná, 13.6 per cent; Pará, 9.2 per cent; Guapore, 7.2 per cent; Mato Grosso, 6.3 per cent; Rio de Janeiro, 2.8 per cent; all others, 16.4 per cent.

Potential sources are not too well located from the standpoint of present and future markets, but demand is far ahead of supply in many areas where power could be developed economically. The government's development plan in this field calls for an expenditure of approximately 9.5 billion cruzeiros (around \$500 million U.S.) over a 6-year period. Some 200,000 Kw. per year would be added to the present generating capacity of around 1,500,000 Kw.

(vi) Transportation

29. Possibly there is no greater single need in Brazil than improvement and extension of transportation and communication facilities. The need is particularly great because of what James calls "the poor geographic arrangement of Brazil's superlative qualities". ^{2/} One constantly runs

^{1/} Abbink, op. cit., p. 82.

^{2/} Preston James, Brazil, New York, The Odyssey Press, 1946. P. 2.

35. Brazil's roads and highways are even more inadequate than its railroads. Sao Paulo, with its 650 miles of concrete and 3,750 miles of macadam, has a majority of all the paved roads in the country. Most of the remaining good roads are in states to the south of Sao Paulo. An ambitious highway construction program is included in the Salte plan.

36. Brazil's rivers, in many cases, run the wrong way; e.g., most of the southern part of the country is traversed by rivers which run west and south and enter the Atlantic via the River Plate, i.e., through Paraguayan, Uruguayan and Argentine waters. Such middle-Atlantic streams as the Sao Francisco and the Rio Doce are so broken by falls that they do not serve as passageways to the interior. The huge Amazon valley which can be entered by river, is itself quite isolated from the rest of Brazil. Some 15,000 of the country's 25,000 miles of navigable rivers are in the Amazon basin. River transportation services are in great need of further development.

37. The Atlantic coast of Brazil extends slightly over 5,000 kilometers (3,100 miles) from the boundary of French Guiana to that of Uruguay. There are 18 substantial coastal ports plus Manaus, served by ocean-going vessels although it is 1,000 miles upstream.

38. Air transport has shown spectacular development in the recent past. Planes seem to provide the answers to a number of problems arising out of the great distances and lack of roads, railroads and water transportation facilities. Three commercial aviation companies were founded in 1927. The next decade saw United States, Italian, German and French companies entering the field.^{1/} Developments between 1938 and 1947 are indicated by the following data.^{2/}

	<u>1938</u>	<u>1947</u>	<u>% Increase</u>
Number of companies	8	26	325.0
Planes in service	68	203	298.5
Passengers flown	63,423	818,752	1290.9
Passenger kilometers flown	41,504,000	673,211,048	1522.0
Mail-ton-kilometers	477,940	1,744,639	365.0
Freight-ton-kilometers	438,874	18,976,594	4323.9

^{1/} Inter-American Development Commission, Brazil, pp. 20-21

^{2/} Anuário Estatístico, 1948, pp. 194-5

43. The United States has for many years been Brazil's principal customer and in the recent past, largely as a result of the war, has become its leading supplier as well. The United States took 51.27 per cent of the country's exports in 1945 and supplied 61 per cent of the imports. There has been a substantial increase of trade with the other American republics recently, intensified during the war. Brazil usually has an export surplus, but post-war developments upset this relationship. Import restrictions are stringent, especially for hard currency. They are managed by the Banco do Brazil, which allocates available exchange for the dollar backlog. Imports are licensed and carefully restricted. These measures turned the trade deficit of 1,610 million cruzeiros in 1947 into a surplus of 720 million cruzeiros in 1948. ^{1/}

(viii) Domestic Commerce and Finance

44. Business units are small in both commerce and industry. ^{2/} The "spirit of enterprise" is weak and methods are obsolete in most businesses. This gives newcomers with initiative an opening, especially if they are far-sighted enough to be satisfied with reasonable profits. There are many instances of outstanding success by immigrants whose small shops have been built into important businesses within one generation.

45. The high profits mentality which characterizes Latin America generally is backed up by actualities in Brazilian business. Wythe cites median profits 256 Sao Paulo corporations in 1942; one-third made over 50 per cent and 25 made more than 100 per cent. The Matarazzo firm, controlling 286 enterprises, made 90 per cent on its paid-up capital in 1946-47. Similar profits were reported for 1946 by 480 corporations in the Federal District: glass and ceramics, 8 per cent;

^{1/} International Financial Statistics, Dec. 1949, p.40; the effect of Brazil's international economic relations on the internal situation are penetratingly discussed by Spiegel, chs. 7 & 8.

^{2/} Data on industrial units are analyzed in Spiegel, pp. 225-30, but no similar data were found on commercial establishments.

Sao Paulo and the capital city. However, scattered data do enable comparisons between various parts of the country and between occupations.

49. Minimum wages were set in 1943 for urban workers, and give an indication of regional variations. They are generally close to actual wages except where labour organization is strong (Table 5). Rio and Sao Paulo lead the list, as might be expected.

50. More revealing are the figures for the distribution of wages of retail employees and industrial workers of the state capitals (Tables 6 and 7.).

51. Variation between industries is wide, as is shown by the data for the two chief industrial centers, Sao Paulo and the Federal District (Tables 8 and 9.).

52. Occupational differentials are available only for the Federal District and come from non-governmental sources. The American Chamber of Commerce, in August 1949, made a survey of 15 firms using skilled labour for construction and maintenance and got the following data on hourly wages, in cruzeiros:

Bricklayers	6.50 -
Electricians	8.00 - 9.00
Machinists	8.50 - 15.00
Masons	7.00
Mechanics	10.00 -
Pipe Welders	8.00 - 12.50
Plumbers	6.00 - 9.00
Plumbers' Helpers	4.00 - 5.00

53. The same organization gathered data on monthly salaries paid in September 1949 by 6 representative chemical firms in the capital.

Professional salaries ran as follows, in cruzeiros:

Chemists	2,500 - 3,000
Chemists assistants	2,000 - 2,500
Laboratory helpers	1,000 - 1,500
Chief Chemist (department)	3,000 - 5,000
Head chief chemist	8,000 - 10,000

/Clerical salaries

Table 6

Wages in Retail Shops in State Capitals, 1947

(By number of employees in each interval)

Capitals	Establish- ments	199 Cr. and less	200 to 599 Cr.	600 to 999 Cr.	1,000 to 1,999 Cr.	2,000 Cr. and more	Plus Commi- ssions	Total
Manaus	230	19	538	437	440	117	37	1,588
Belém	257	20	1,633	932	533	142	7	3,267
Sao Luiz	88	71	427	173	92	27	0	790
Terezina	40	2	192	62	50	13	1	320
Fortaleza	234	84	1,092	492	377	123	31	2,199
Joao Pessoa	61	30	355	121	69	22	1	598
Recife	624	20	2,581	2,371	1,588	682	49	7,291
Maceió	112	26	1,070	227	135	31	1	1,590
Aracajú	71	12	223	148	111	11	1	516
Salvador	314	52	1,281	1,175	883	329	40	3,760
Belo Horizonte	316	202	1,625	1,114	754	300	166	4,161
Vitória	100	4	217	292	142	57	10	721
Niterói	68	2	225	530	453	77	35	1,322
Rio de Janeiro	2,049	39	3,627	7,765	16,004	6,580	914	34,929
Sao Paulo	2,358	383	7,607	13,235	15,163	4,958	1,232	42,578
Curitiba	108	13	539	471	511	135	68	1,737
Florianópolis	63	6	452	328	157	68	0	1,011
Porto Alegre	452	47	1,454	2,827	2,293	774	333	7,728
Cuiabá	31	0	91	15	17	1	0	124
Goiania	9	0	19	5	2	1	0	27
Natal	100	24	417	191	140	41	3	816

Source; Anuario Estatístico do Brasil, 1948, page 347.

Table 8 Monthly Industrial Wages, Sao Paulo Municipio

June, 1947

Industry	Establish- ments	Total	Employees					Pl s Bc us
			Receiving specified salaries					
			Cruzeiros					
			199 and less	200 to 599	600 to 999	1,000 to 1,999	2,000 and over	
Metallurgy	505	31,293	244	5,527	13,802	9,758	1,771	91
Mechanical industry	433	27,393	44	3,486	8,321	13,247	2,101	94
Non-metallic minerals	231	15,489	135	3,168	6,671	4,820	648	47
Wood and wood products	416	11,249	69	1,644	4,065	4,751	596	14
Paper and paper products	95	4,820	24	1,549	2,276	745	166	60
Chemicals and pharmaceuticals	330	15,963	240	4,906	5,718	3,653	1,116	30
Textiles	696	88,823	1,741	31,449	38,531	14,118	2,379	05
Clothing, cosmetics and footwear	701	13,470	164	3,819	4,746	3,701	640	00
Food products	618	19,478	317	6,172	7,492	4,241	925	21
Alcoholic beverages	43	9,024	4	11,037	3,452	2,649	453	29
Graphic arts	193	6,356	4	1,112	2,048	2,673	443	76

Source: Anuario Estatístico do Brasil, 1948. Page 349.

Clerical salaries had the following range:

English-Portuguese Stenographer	3,500	-	6,000
Portuguese Stenographer	2,000	-	3,500
English Stenographer	3,500	-	5,000
Bookkeeper (Portuguese only)	2,500	-	4,000
Bookkeeper with some English knowledge	3,000	-	5,000
Accountant (English-Portuguese)	4,500	-	8,000
Clerk typist (Portuguese only) (High School education)	1,000	-	1,800
File clerk-typist (English-Portuguese)	1,800	-	2,500
Mail and file clerk	1,000	-	1,500
Office Boy	450		800

(iii) Cost of Living

54. Wages and salaries are meaningless by themselves. Unfortunately, cost-of-living data are in almost the same chaotic state as the income figures. Certain basic data are available for 1938 and 1939 from a survey covering 584,338 rural and urban families, in all states. Total per capita monthly food expenditures and the percentage they represent of the total family outlay are given for each state capital and "interior" areas in Table 10.

55. Comparability of costs between 1938 and 1947 may be roughly determined from Table 11 which shows prices for principal products in those years, by state capitals. It should be borne in mind that beans, flour and "jerked" beef probably would be the three heaviest components if any weighing of working class food expenditures were possible. In some parts of the country, rice takes the place of flour. Bread consumption is high only in the cities and in the southern states.

56. A small survey made in Rio de Janeiro in 1944 casts some light on the composition of middle class food expenditures in the capital (Table 12). ^{1/} It also makes Tables 6 and 9 more meaningful in terms of what people eat at the prices they must pay.

57. A more ambitious survey in 1946 covered 3,091 workers in 14 large factories in the Federal District. Wages averaged 893 cruzeiros a month

^{1/} The survey was made of 200 families of clerks and minor government employees by a group of students of the University of Brazil. Prof. Speridao Faissol provided the data. No attempt was made at sampling, so the results must be viewed as indicated rather than definitive.

/"other income",

Table 11. Average Retail Food Prices, State Capitals 1938 and 1947

	Beans		Dried Beef		Rice		Sugar		Coffee	
	1938	1947	1938	1947	1938	1947	1938	1947	1938	1947
Porto Velho	-	6,83	-	15,00	-	4,00	-	6,00	-	4,83
Rio Branco	-	5,71	-	21,67	-	5,04	-	7,50	-	6,00
Manaus	1,41	5,08	4,15	15,25	1,24	3,92	1,33	5,04	4,03	1,75
Boa Vista	-	4,72	-	16,50	-	5,92	-	7,00	-	0,00
Belém	1,20	4,22	4,00	17,17	1,29	2,90	1,40	4,38	3,67	0,00
Macapá	-	5,39	-	17,21	-	4,21	-	4,92	-	2,40
Sao Luiz	1,18	4,40	3,89	15,27	0,73	2,25	1,30	4,43	3,80	0,73
Terezina	1,00	3,03	3,30	10,00	0,70	2,64	1,50	4,67	4,00	2,50
Fortaleza	1,23	4,17	3,57	14,33	1,70	3,53	1,68	3,43	3,81	3,26
Natal	0,98	3,29	3,88	13,00	1,70	3,63	1,30	4,00	3,57	1,93
Joao Pessoa	0,97	3,06	3,71	12,46	1,48	3,21	1,18	3,38	1,93	3,93
Recife	0,88	3,08	3,75	12,06	1,13	3,29	1,08	3,30	3,32	3,60
Maceió	0,82	2,89	3,67	12,42	1,81	3,24	1,10	3,30	3,74	0,05
Aracaju	0,88	3,32	3,17	13,50	1,35	3,38	1,11	3,01	3,23	0,52
Salvador	0,80	4,48	3,88	13,46	1,59	3,74	0,80	3,14	3,37	9,05
Belo Horizonte	0,80	3,17	2,91	14,17	0,98	3,89	1,70	3,67	4,59	9,58
Vitória	0,55	2,83	3,37	12,46	1,35	3,50	1,32	3,78	3,05	9,50
Niterói	0,80	3,43	3,53	12,94	1,91	3,88	1,26	3,10	3,28	9,94
Sao Paulo	0,99	2,83	3,58	11,95	1,87	3,96	1,43	3,30	3,22	2,30
Curitiba	0,60	2,08	3,64	14,91	1,38	3,50	1,20	3,84	2,84	1,50
Florianópolis	0,69	2,88	3,65	14,42	1,59	2,85	1,50	4,00	3,67	0,33
Porto Alegre	0,58	2,05	3,07	11,00	1,36	2,78	1,48	4,43	4,41	1,58
Cuiabá	0,63	2,09	4,03	7,00	7,55	2,53	1,39	4,54	2,53	0,00
Goiania	0,85	2,14	2,50	5,80	1,31	2,99	1,92	3,43	3,00	0,00
Rio de Janeiro	1,00	2,57	3,84	9,83	1,79	3,80	1,24	3,20	3,57	0,70

"other income", not further identified, averaged 280 cruzeiros, or a total of 1,173 cruzeiros. Monthly expenditures, detailed in Table 13, amounted to 1,110.80. ^{1/}

58. In general, it may be said that "the dollar now buys no more in Brazil than in the United States. This is a relatively new phenomenon, produced by the violent increase in prices during the past few years."²

59. It is problematic whether there has been any perceptible increase in real wages since 1914, in the opinion of Spiegel.⁷ This is not to say that there has not been some improvement in the position of the working class as a whole, since there has been considerable movement to higher-paid types of employment, especially from agriculture to industry".

(iv) Levels of Living

60. No indices of levels of living have yet been worked out which would enable us to rank Brazil concisely. There is, however, a profusion of clues to help characterize the situation. Only a few of them will be mentioned.

61. One internationally recognized index is the proportion which food expenditure represents of the whole family budget. This varies, in Brazil, from as high as 80-some percent in the interior of Alagoas, Amazonas and Paraíba to 46.5 per cent in the capital (Table 14). Over 50 per cent is considered as signifying low levels of living.

62. Widespread malnutrition in Brazil is reported by all the surveys.^{3/} Infant and general death rates, among the highest in the world, are also important indicators of low levels of living. ^{4/}

^{1/} The study was made by the social service organization for industrial workers SESI, but also without using sampling techniques, either for workers or for factories. It is also doubtful whether workers of the income class studied would have had the surplus noted, even if it be a small one. This survey, too, seems to be merely indicative of the situation.

^{2/} Spiegel, p. 45.

^{3/} F.A.O., "Problems of Nutrition in Latin American". Montevideo, 1948. 11 pp.

^{4/} Cf. paragraphs 96 - 109.

63. Extremely high birth rates are also coming to be accepted as indications of low levels since it is only the poverty-stricken people with little education who display rates in the neighbourhood of 40 per 1000.

0. Employment Patterns

(i) International Comparisons

64. Brazil's economically active population in 1940 made up only 34 per cent of the total. This proportion does not differ greatly from those of other Latin American countries. Most of them are also in the low thirties and the several which report higher percentages can do so only because of differences of definition of the labour force. The United States, with comparable definitions, reported 39.5 per cent in 1940. European countries, on the other hand, show a higher percentage of gainfully employed: 18 out of 25 reporting 45 per cent or higher; 6 had higher than 50 per cent; only 2 were in the thirties, Portugal with 39.5 per cent and Spain, with 36.9 per cent. ^{1/}

65. These differences largely are functions of the age composition of the population. The new world peoples are generally younger than those of Europe, having both higher birth and death rates. Brazil, in this respect, is fairly typical of other countries of Latin America. The differences also arise out of economic organization and social attitudes. Thus, women who work are sometimes looked down upon and therefore are willing to enter the labour force only under unusual circumstances. Some societies (and this includes the Latin American) contain many family workers who are remunerated by food, housing, clothing and occasional cash. Other societies support larger or smaller numbers of persons living on an income.

66. These differences are quite real in their effect upon the economy, of course. Each economically active person in Brazil supported an average of 2.94 persons in 1940, whereas in the United States the load was 1.5.

^{1/} Anuário de Estatística del Trabajo, 1947-48. Ginebra, 1949. p.7.

categories: textiles, 20.6 per cent; construction, 18.6 per cent; vegetable fats and fibres processing, 14.2 per cent; food and beverage, 13.6 per cent; and metalurgical and mechanical, 11.0 per cent. This distribution of workers shows most aspects typical of an economy in the early stages of industrialization, except for the large number employed in building.

Table 15. Employed persons, 10 years of age and over, by principal activities

<u>Activity</u>	1940			<u>Per Cent</u>
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
Metalurgical and mechanical	153,550	150,506	3,044	11.0
Non-metallic minerals	78,166	68,963	9,203	5.5
Vegetable fats and fibres, rubber, etc.	195,702	177,538	18,164	14.2
Processing of industrial animal products ^{1/}	26,024	24,681	1,343	2.8
Chemicals and drugs	32,227	23,701	8,526	2.3
Textiles	290,298	101,218	189,080	20.6
Clothing, cosmetics and footwear	62,672	43,002	19,670	4.5
Foods and beverages	188,220	156,891	31,329	13.6
Construction	262,700	261,056	1,644	18.6
Electricity, gas and ice	37,847	37,050	797	2.7
Graphic arts	29,778	27,099	2,679	2.1
Miscellaneous	42,872	35,666	7,206	2.1
Total	1,400,056	1,107,371	292,685	100.0

^{1/} Hides and skins, furs, feathers, etc.

Source: Boletim Estatístico do IBGE. Jul-Set., 1948, pp.6-8

69. Most of those employed in manufacturing (59 per cent) live in the 4 states of Sao Paulo (428,478), the Federal District, (156,497), Minas Gerais (137,929) and Rio Grande do Sul (103,350). The next largest group is found in Bahia (92,870). The territory of Acre, on the headwaters of the Amazon, contains the smallest number, 629. ^{2/}

^{2/} Anuário Estatístico, 1948, p. 38.

Table 16 Population and Area, by Regions and States
1940

	Population	Area		Population	
		Square Kilometre	Square Mile	Per Square Kilometre	Per Square Mile
BRAZIL					
North					
Acre	79,768	148,627	59,139	0.52	1.3
Amazonas	438,008	1,825,997	705,019	0.24	0.6
Pará	944,644	1,362,966	526,242	0.69	1.8
Northeast					
Maranhao	1,235,169	334,809	129,270	3.69	9.5
Piauí	817,601	249,317	96,261	3.28	8.4
Ceará	2,091,032	153,245	59,168	13.64	35.2
Rio Grande do Norte	768,018	53,048	20,482	14.48	37.7
Paraíba	1,422,282	56,282	21,731	25.27	65.1
Pernambuco	2,688,240	97,016	37,458	27.71	71.5
Alagoas	951,300	28,531	11,016	33.34	86.3
East					
Sergipe	542,326	21,057	8,130	25.76	66.5
Bahia	3,918,112	563,762	217,669	6.95	18.0
Minas Gerais	6,736,416	581,975	224,701	11.58	29.9
Espírito Santo	750,107	40,882	15,785	18.35	47.5
Rio de Janeiro	1,847,857	42,588	16,443	43.39	112.3
Federal District	1,764,141	1,356	524	1,300.99	3,366.6
South					
Sao Paulo	7,180,316	247,223	95,453	29.04	75.2
Paraná	1,236,276	201,283	77,717	6.14	15.9
Santa Catarina	1,178,340	94,367	36,435	12.49	32.3
Rio Grande do Sul	3,320,689	282,480	109,066	11.76	30.4
West-Central					
Mato Grosso	432,265	1,262,572	487,480	0.34	0.8
Goiás	826,414	622,463	240,333	1.33	3.4

Source: Anuario Estatístico, 1948, pages 5 and 25

78. Brazil's outstanding physical anthropologist, Dr. Edgar Roquete Pinto, on the basis of 20 years of study, makes the following estimate of the racial distribution:^{1/}

White	51%
Mulatto	22%
Negro	14%
Caboclo	
(White-Indian)	11%
Indian	2%

79. The records available reveal an increasing proportion of white element in the ethnological composition of the population. For instance, the proportion of whites in various previous estimates was 38 per cent in 1872; 44 per cent in 1890 and 40 per cent in 1908, compared with 63.4 per cent in 1940. The large-scale immigration of the past accounts only in part for this process to which the higher net reproduction^{2/} of the more prosperous classes, plus miscegenation also contribute

(iii) Birth Rates

80. Brazil's fertility is high, being somewhere in the vicinity of 43.6 live births per 1000 inhabitants in 1940. The only other countries in the world reporting a rate of over 40 in 1940 were: Egypt, 41.3; Costa Rica, 43.2; El Salvador, 42.2; Mexico, 44.3; Malaya, 45; Palestine Moslems, 47.4; at the lower end of the scale were Austria and France, with 13.6; United Kingdom, 14.6; Sweden, 15.1; Switzerland, 15.2; Finland, 17.8; United States, 17.9; Denmark, 18.3 and Uruguay, 19.9.^{3/} Data are so inadequate that it is difficult to judge the extent

^{1/} "Contribution to the Anthropology of Brazil". Proceedings of the 8th American Scientific Congress. Washington, Department of State, Vol. II, 1942, pages 241-43.

^{2/} Ibid, page 188. For an enormous amount of material on this and related subjects of the monumental work by the late Arthur Ramos, Introdução a Antropologia Brasileira (Rio de Janeiro, Coleção Estudo Brasileiros V. I, 540 pages, 1943; V.II, 641 pages 1947) especially the chapters (XIV - XIX of V.II) on the process of racial mixture.

^{3/} United Nations, Demographic Yearbook, 1948, pages 260-63.

of differential fertility, but Table 18. gives the variation by political unit.

81. A more meaningful index of fertility which also allows insight into rural-urban differentials, is the fertility ratio, based on the number of children under 5 to each 1000 women aged 15-49. ^{1/}

82. The ratio for 1940 was 642.9 for Brazilian women (Table 19); for the United States it was 281. The 1920 rate for Brazil was 621; for the United States 500. These comparisons reinforce the previous data on the high fertility of the Brazilians. However, somewhat greater variations are found between states and between "urban" and "rural" rates (Table 19). ^{2/}

83. The over-all rural-urban difference was appreciably larger in 1940 than in 1920: 365 to 657 in 1940; 403 to 654 in 1920. The 1920 rural rate was 62 per cent higher than the urban rate, but in 1940 the difference was 80 per cent. The rate in the "hinterland" scarcely changed in the 20 years (654 in 1920 to 657 in 1940) but the rate in the capital dropped from 403 to 365. The southern and eastern states, with more wealth, education and communication, had appreciably lower rates in the capitals while more isolated and poorer states of the west had the highest rates. Wide variations between urban and rural was, however, found in all states.

(iv) Death Rates and Causes

84. High death rates are almost inseparable twins of high birth rates throughout the world. Brazil is no exception. Data are, in general, just as sketchy and unreliable as in the case of births, but rough ideas of the magnitude and variations of the rates may be secured from the partial

^{1/} International practice uses an age interval of 15-44, but statistics are not available for this range.

^{2/} The division into urban and rural using the state capitals and the remainder of the state is generally valid, although it has limitations which vary from one part of the country to another. The population of Sao Paulo, for example, was a bit under 2,000,000 but the urban population of the state was slightly over 3,000,000.

reports. ^{1/}

85. Rates quoted in Table 20 are probably reasonably accurate for Sao Paulo, Curitiba, Florianópolis and Porto Alegre. Data for smaller towns and rural districts are not available.

86. It is, of course, just as important to know the main causes of death as it is to know the death rates. A large proportion of the dying receive no medical care, even in the cities, but something may be learned from the reported causes of death. Generally, the 4 principal killers are tuberculosis, malaria, typhoid and dysenteries. Their rates in the state capitals in 1948 are given in Table 21. Assuming the relative accuracy of the data, much light is thrown on levels of living by these figures. Goiania, the newest sizeable city in Brazil, thus far has no slums and Sao Paulo is comparatively free from them. The large slum population of Rio de Janeiro is undoubtedly responsible for a considerable number of the deaths in the Federal District. The other rates reflect both climatic conditions and the presence or absence of public sanitation facilities such as a safe water supply, swamp-spraying with DDT, etc. Death rates from malaria are low in the temperate south and were reduced considerably between 1940 and 1948 in cities such as Belém (301 per 1000 in 1940; 155 in 1948); Salvador (151 in 1940; 37.2 in 1948); Joao Pessoa (115 to 57) and others where persistent campaigns have been waged.

^{1/} Smith comments on the inadequacy of the data as follows: "For most of Brazil's states and many of its cities to place any reliance whatsoever on these reported rates would be to hypothecate a population of Methuselahs for the country. In a stationary population (i.e., one in which the births year after year exactly equal the deaths, and whose numbers are unaffected by immigration or emigration) a death rate of 10 per thousand population would signify that the life span of every person born alive average 100 years in duration. Obviously the data for Brazil are very incomplete". He concludes that the Brazilian rate was probably around 20 or double that of the United States in 1940 (10.8). Furthermore, the rate has decreased little in the past 150 years when compared with other western nations. (Smith, p.246)

Table 21 Death Rates from Selected Causes in the Capitals
1948

Capital	Deaths per 100,000 population from:			
	Tuberculosis	Malaria	Typhoid and Paratyphoid	Dysenteries
Manaus	345.7	305.3	7.8	35.2
Belém	379.5	154.6	5.2	17.3
Sao Luiz	264.2	34.4	12.9	7.2
Terezina	403.6	65.6	29.2	2.4
Fortaleza	327.7	9.0	10.8	16.2
Natal	276.9	29.5	16.3	106.5
Joao Pessoa	343.8	56.9	9.5	111.4
Maceió	117.0	16.9	2.1	39.0
Aracajú	137.5	25.2	3.4	25.2
Salvador	223.6	37.2	4.6	2.6
Vitória	400.8	14.0	10.0	20.0
Recife	243.6	8.9	4.7	21.2
Niterói	85.4	0.7	2.7	10.2
Sao Paulo	94.7	0.3	2.9	7.5
Curitiba	130.3	0	22.3	24.0
Florianópolis	296.8	50.6	40.5	6.7
Porto Alegre	328.6	0.3	17.2	4.2
Belo Horizonte	279.8	1.9	10.0	22.4
Cuiabá	220.5	9.2	27.6	64.3
Goiania	79.0	22.6	5.6	11.3
Distrito Federal	276.3	25.8	-	3.44

Source: Boletim do Serviço Federal de Bio-Estatística, passim.

Table 23

World Infant Mortality Rates

1947

<u>Countries with Highest Rates</u>		<u>Countries with Lowest Rates</u>	
1. Rumania	199	1. Sweden	25
2. Chile	160	2. New Zealand	25
3. Egypt	153 <u>a/</u>	3. Australia	29
4. Colombia	154	4. United States	32
5. India	146 <u>b/</u>	5. Iceland	34
6. Bulgaria	130	6. Netherlands	34
7. Ecuador	122	7. Union of South Africa	35
8. Peru	114 <u>c/</u>	8. Norway	35
9. Hungary	111	9. Switzerland	39
10. Guatemala	110	10. Denmark	40

a/ 1945

b/ Stated to be incomplete

c/ 1946

Source: United Nations, Monthly Bulletin of Statistics,
August, 1949. Pages 18-19.

90. Obviously the growth potential is high and population increase will be speeded up as public health and sanitation activities are expanded, levels of living rise and deaths thereby decrease.

91. The sexes are almost equally divided: 20,614,088 males; 20,622,227 females. Sex ratios however in the frontier and immigrant-receiving sections and fall in the old north-east and eastern out-migration states. There are, for example, 39,500 more males than females in the western states of Goiás and Mato Grosso; 185,830 more females than males in the 7 states of the northeast. ^{1/}

(vi) Rural-Urban Distribution

92. The occupational pattern has already indicated the overwhelmingly rural nature of Brazilian society. Table 25 shows the distribution by states. The country as a whole shows 69 per cent rural; the state with the lowest proportion, omitting the Federal District, is Sao Paulo with 56 per cent. Maranhão and Piauí, with 85 per cent each, tie for the high record, with Goiás (83 per cent) only a short distance behind.

(vii) Future Population Growth

93. All indications point to a continuation of Brazil's high rate of natural increase. A net reproduction rate, the most useful single measure of future growth for most societies, has not been computed recently. Two such computations have been made. Giorgio Mortara, one of the world's outstanding demographers, gives a rate based on 1890-1920 death rates as 1.955; that based on a 1920 life table was 1.846. These figures are founded on material for the state capitals only and the data were not as dependable as could be desired, but they indicate the probable neighbourhood of the rate. ^{2/}

94. Since Brazil is undergoing a process similar to that which in other countries has lowered the death rate appreciably without affecting the birth rate for some years afterwards, it is probable that the recent net reproduction rate is at least as high as the 1920

^{1/} Anuário Estatístico, 1948, p. 30.

^{2/} Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estadística, "Estudos sobre a fecundidade e a prolificidade da mulher no Brasil", 1949. p.32.

figure. The experience of other countries, (Table 26) shows Brazil to have a phenomenally high rate, surpassed only by that of the Palestinian Arabs and approached only by that of Japan among countries for which data are available.

95. Provisional estimates of future population made by the Population Division of the Department of Social Affairs of the United Nations are:

September 1, 1950	50,198,800
September 1, 1955	53,968,800
September 1, 1960	56,979,700

96. The 1960 total would mean an annual growth of 787,170 for the two decades 1940-60, compared with 530,000 for the 1920-40 period. The 1960 population will contain a larger "surplus" of women - 928,700, and a larger proportion in the productive age categories. There will be about 63 per cent in that range in place of the 53.3 in 1940. This will, however, still be a smaller proportion than most western industrialized countries contain.

SECTION 2. IMMIGRATION POLICY

(i) Background

97. The desire for immigrants to people the hinterland and to give value to Brazil's vast expanse of territory was first given legal expression in 1843, under the Empire. The emphasis was on colonization. The government committed itself to aid such moves, which up to that time had been entirely private, even though the Emperor himself had been a sponsor of colonies. The most important forerunners of some hundreds of colonies which have been formed in the country were organized in 1812, with immigrants from the Azores and in 1818 and 1819 with Swiss farmers.

98. A few years later opposition to official financing of colonies became so strong that any such expenditures were prohibited in 1830. The backbone of the opposition was supplied by the large landowners who wanted immigrants to provide a cheap labour supply. Their case was strengthened by the failure of many early colonies to produce the spectacular results claimed for them.

99. Those who wanted the backlands settled then concentrated their efforts on getting support from provincial governments. Santa Catarina, for example, founded several colonies before national legislation was revised again to encourage immigration and colonization. The Emperor decreed in 1848 that each province be granted an area of six leagues square to be used for colonies.

100. Immigration policy see-sawed back and forth between the "national interest" groups and the large landowners from those days until early in the present century. The over-all emphasis was on the need for immigration, although the role the immigrant was to play was variously interpreted.

101. Conditions began to be laid down in 1910, when again governmental outlays (subsidies, payment of steamship fares, etc.) were forbidden. Restrictions were also placed upon the number of foreign colonists in Brazilian agricultural colonies which had been organized. Only 10 per cent could be foreigners under a 1910 law but the proportion was raised to 30 per cent the following year.

102. More widespread restrictions were adopted in 1921 and 1924 but states were still allowed to continue active promotion, including subsidization.

/The world-wide

(4) Foreign farmers wishing to enter the country after their nationality quota has been filled may be exempted.

(iv) Vocational Restrictions

107. Labour laws provide that two-thirds of the employees in a plant must be Brazilians and two-thirds of the total payroll must go to them.

107(a). Under the 1937 Constitution the liberal professions could only be exercised by natural born and naturalized citizens who had done their military service in Brazil. Only natural born citizens were allowed to revalidate professional diplomas issued by foreign institutions of learning. The 1946 Constitution called for special legislation to determine requirements affecting foreign diplomas. Validation is, in practice, extremely difficult.

107(b). A decree-law amends Article 147 of the Brazilian Air Code by providing that those eligible to perform professional duties on Brazilian commercial planes must be native citizens who have completed their military service in Brazil. Non-professional foreigners must have special permission from the proper governmental authorities and obtain a license

(v) Organized Immigration

108. Immigration may be organized by public bodies, business enterprise or private individuals. The rules which must be followed are set forth in some detail in 9 pages of the codification of immigration laws. The chief points are:

Preference for families of at least 3 able-bodied persons of working age: 15-50 years.

An immigrant imported for a specific undertaking and time may not change his job during the period of his contract without permission of the Federal authorities.

Colonization projects are the most carefully supervised. Private groups must be licensed and meet specifications as to capital, equipment, land, plans, etc.

No colony may consist exclusively of foreigners of one nationality. 30 per cent of the lots of a colony, at least, must be sold or granted to Brazilian colonists; no one foreign nationality may hold more than 25 per cent of the remaining lots. This means that no one foreign group may own more than 17.50 per cent of the total lots.

/If no Brazilians

numerous proposals have been made before both public and private organizations to liberalize restrictive legislation. 1/

111. Further impetus to removal of obstacles was given by the First Brazilian Immigration and Colonization Conference, held in Goiania, Goias, 30 April to 7 May 1949. There representatives of 99 private groups and government agencies (including 18 states and territories) considered 160 papers on various aspects of immigration and colonization. The recommendations were of wide scope and thoroughly in favour of a pre-immigration policy. 2/

112. The official Salte Plan, formulated in 1948, contains the most recent congressional statement of immigration policy. 3/ The Plan states

"Brazil needs immigrants, especially workers from the Latin countries and, in second place, those from the north of Europe. Such immigration must be directed in a systematic manner, after rigorous selection and given the same credit facilities citizens have for the acquisition of land and other real property."

113. The great contribution made by the Japanese colonies in supplying vegetables to Sao Paulo is cited as a model of what other nationalities should be expected to do. The Plan also says, in ten words out of several hundred, that technicians and skilled workers for industry are needed. This slighting of industrial workers and emphasis on farm workers is symptomatic of much of Brazilian thinking on immigration matters. It should be noted, however, that when a major undertaking, such as the Volta Redonda steel works, is being constructed, the two-thirds rule is relaxed. Hundreds of technicians from the United States helped to build the country's most important heavy industrial unit. 4/ Today, 8,000 Brazilians and some twenty United States technicians are employed 5/

1/ E.g., the first Brazilian Economic Conference, called by the Rio de Janeiro Association of Commerce, unanimously adopted a pro-immigration policy. (Jornal do Comercio, 6-7 December 1943).

2/ Conselho de Imigracao e Colonizacao, I Conferencia Brasileira de Imigracao e Colonizacao. Rio de Janeiro, 1949. 83 pages.

3/ Diario do Congresso Nacional (Suplemento) 11 June 1948, p. 66-67. The plan is a 5-year schedule of federal expenditures to promote economic development. Its name comes from the first letters of the words saude (health), alimentacao (food), transportes (transportation) and energia (power).

4/ Spiegel, op. cit., p. 210.

5/ New York Times, 13 March 1950.

SECTION 3. IMMIGRATION AND COLONIZATION INSTITUTIONS

115. Any political structure embodies not only the strength and weakness of the policy it is created to carry out. It also is shaped and influenced by personal and ideological struggles, by political traditions, by economic circumstances, and by "public opinion".

116. Whatever the relative weight of these and other factors might be, Brazil's machinery for promotion and guidance of immigration and colonization is extraordinarily cumbersome. 1/

(i) The Federal Council

117. The Immigration and Colonization Council (Conselho de Imigração e Colonização) which was created in 1938, consists of 13 members. Seven, including the chairman, are named by the President of Brazil. The remaining six are the heads of the following:

National Immigration Department of the Ministry of Labour;
Division of Land and Colonization of the Ministry of Agriculture;
Passport Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs;
Division of Sea, Air and Frontier Police of the Ministry of Justice;
Division of Health in the Ports of the Health and Education Ministry; and the
Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics. 2/

118. The responsibilities of the Council are set forth in considerable detail in the decree creating it. Obviously, if the various aspects of the policies outlined in the previous chapter are to be carried out, the Council would be over-burdened with work, even if it were organized in the most efficient manner possible. The entire range of activities from policy decisions, through shifting of quotas, down to acting on requests of individuals for permission to change from one occupation to another

1/ Fortunately, this fact is widely recognized and commented on. Artur de hl Neiva sums up the situation as he and many others see it in his book O Problema Imigratorio Brasileiro (Rio de Janeiro, 1945, 120 pp.) where he says "among other qualities we have inherited from our Iberian ancestors is the mentality of regimentation....what we need is more immigrants and fewer laws about immigrants". Improvements are contained in a bill at present before the national congress. There are, however, so many conflicting interests involved that it has been in congressional committees for almost two years and final action is still to be taken. Cf. Camara dos Deputados, Redaçao No. 354B, 1948.

2/ Consolidação das Leis de Imigração, 1949, p. 34-39.

at the Ilha das Flores, and arranges group transportation with the state governments. Legal functions of the IRO, exercised through the Commission, include questions of nationality, human rights and problems in regard to civil status, admission, residence, expulsion, punishment and social security and labour law matters. ^{1/}

122. The IRO has, on several occasions, advanced funds to the Brazilian Government in order to avoid cessation of activities or to enable refugees to be transported from the Ilha das Flores to state reception centres. Generally, relations with officials appear to have been cordial; with some they were friendly. However, some resentment has arisen among certain officials who have been annoyed by "interference in Brazil's affairs". The Mixed Commission ceased to exist on 15 February 1950, but the IRO Office continues to work with those state governments which desire immigrants.

(iii) Diplomatic Agencies

123. The only foreign governments with personnel in Brazil devoted to immigration promotion were, in December 1949, the Dutch and Italian. Both attachés have had long experience in such work. The Italian aide has been working in the country for almost a decade; the Dutch for three and a half years. The Dutch government recently decided to terminate its work in view of the paucity of results.

(iv) State Organization

124. States may appoint observers to attend meetings of the National Immigration and Colonization Council. Several of them maintain full-time representatives in Rio de Janeiro to work with the federal authorities. Immigration, which was turned over to the states to handle under general federal supervision by the constitution of 1891, had become a matter primarily for federal action during the Vargas regime.

125. The more important immigrant-receiving states have organisms of their own, e.g., Sao Paulo's Serviço de Imigração e Colonização in the Department of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce. It is headed by the

^{1/} Dados Sobre a Comissao Mista Brasil-OIR. Rio de Janeiro, 1949, 16 pp

farms; the exploitative character of such modern commercial crops as coffee; the collapse of once prosperous areas such as the northeast either because of periodic droughts or of competition from more efficient producers; the extractive nature of the gathering of rubber, nuts, oil-seeds, etc., and the city-ward movements of relatively recent times. ^{1/}

131. Federal colonization work is now carried on under laws which grant certain advantages to colonies formed on federal or state lands by either public or private efforts. ^{2/} The colonies are of four types:

- (a) Colonias Agrícolas Nacionais (National Agricultural Colonies)
- (b) Núcleos Coloniais Granja-modelos (Model-farm Colonies)
- (c) Núcleos Coloniais Agro-industriais ("Factory-farm" Colonies)
- (d) Núcleos Coloniais (Nuclear Colonies)

132. The National Agricultural Colonies (a) would seem to be the most important. Their chief characteristics are as follows:

- "1. The purpose is clearly stated to be the establishment of Brazilians, of limited resources but possessed of aptitudes for agriculture, on the land as proprietors of farms. In exceptional cases foreigners who have special qualifications will be admitted as settlers.
2. The location for each colony is to be carefully selected with reference to climate, soil, streams, or sites for reservoirs, and possibilities of producing electricity.
3. Lots may range in size from 20 to 50 hectares, of which 25 per cent of each is to be preserved in forest. Other forest reserves are to be maintained about the colony.
4. Educational institutions to be established in each colony including facilities for instruction in rural crafts, including work in iron, wood, leather, etc., in addition to a primary school for all children.
5. Breeding stations for the improvement of livestock are to be established in each colony.

^{1/} Cf. Smith, op. cit., Ch. XI "Internal Migration" for a careful analysis of the socio-economic causes and consequences of the movement and indications of its extent.

^{2/} The material which follows is digested from decree-laws No. 944, 1938; No. 2681, 1940; No. 3059, 1941; No. 3266, 1941; and No. 6117, 1943.

133. Types (b) and (c) are rather specialized and not important thus far. No model-farms were reported, and but one "factory-farm" colony. The idea of the latter is, obviously, to combine processing with growing of commodities. There are (1949) seven type (a) and five type (d). Four of the former are located on reclaimed land near the capital and specialize in truck farming, the other performs a similar function near Curitiba, the capital of Paraná.

134. The National Agricultural Colonies, located in seven underpopulated states, are reported to have had room for about 530,000 more persons in 1948. (Table XXVII).

135. Most of the colonies are located at fair elevations with annual average temperatures which do not indicate an uncomfortable climate. Communication with the nearest railroad or port is sometimes time-consuming and expensive, although the most populous (and fastest-growing) colony, Ceres, in Goiás, is only three hours by car from the railhead at Anápolis. (The trouble is that Anápolis is about 40 hours from a major consuming centre over a highly inefficient railroad). The Maranhao colony lies twelve days overland from the river port of Barra Corda, which itself is several days from the state's only sizeable city (population 60,000).

Table XXVII. National Agricultural Colonies, Brazil

State	Area in Hectares	Carrying Capacity		Colonists Already Settled		Altitude (Metres)	Average Annual Temperature
		Families	Persons	Families	Persons		
Amazonas	300,000	10,000	70,000	150	750	82	20
Pará	250,000	10,000	70,000	701	3,505	60	20
Maranhao	300,000	10,000	70,000	578	2,890	105	10
Piauí	300,000	10,000	70,000	300	1,500	a/	20
Goiás	250,000	10,000	70,000	2,500	12,000	650	20
Ponta Para	250,000	20,000	140,000	318	1,590	400	20
Iguaçu	300,000	10,000	70,000	600	3,000	600	20
Total	2,200,000	80,000	560,000	5,147	25,735		

a/ Not known.

Source: Ministerio das Relações Exteriores, Brasil, 1948, p. 216-220.

SECTION 4. IMMIGRATION EXPERIENCE

(i) Extent of Movement

139. Brazil has been one of the four largest American receivers of immigrants since the early nineteenth century. They are, in order: the United States of America, Canada, Argentina and Brazil (Table XXVIII).

Table XXVIII. Immigration to the Americas: 1821-1946

Receiving Country	Period covered	Total ('000s)	Annual average
Argentina	1856-1940	6,651	79
Brazil	1821-1945	4,740	39
Canada	1851-1946	6,701	70
Chile	1850-1910	61	1
Cuba	1901-1937	872	24
Dutch Guiana	1856-1925	62	.5
Guadeloupe	1858-1926	24	.1
Mexico	1911-1946	255	7
Paraguay	1881-1924	22	.5
United States	1820-1946	38,570	506
Uruguay	1836-1926	648	7
West Indies (British)	1836-1924	1,477	17

Source: Imre Ferenczi, "A Historical Study of Migration Statistics" International Labour Review XX, 3 (September 1929) Table I United States Immigration and Naturalization Service, Annual Report, 1947; Canadian Yearbook, 1947; Brazil, Anuario Estatístico, 1948.

140. Thus, Brazil, with almost 5 million immigrants in 124 years, fell far behind Argentina, which took 6,650,000 in 84 years; Canada, which received 6,700,000 in 95 years; or the United States, which took 38 million in 127 years.

(ii) Distribution between the "Big 4"

141. The 19th and early 20th centuries witnessed the uprooting of at least 60 million Europeans and their transplanting in new countries. Some 60 per cent of all went to the United States; 11 per cent to Argentina; 8.7 per cent to Canada and 7.4 per cent to Brazil. Some 7 per cent went to Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. There was, during this period, a competition among the receiving countries to see which could attract the most helpers in clearing wilderness, staking out farms in new territory, and building industries to strengthen their national economies.

proportion as the Germans.

143. Various phenomena can be seen reflected in the changes shown in Table XXX. The 1848 revolution sent democratic Germans to Brazil as it did to the United States, and the after-effects of the first World War are seen in the almost tripling of the number of Germans admitted in 1921-30 over the previous decade. Substantial drops in Italian entrants at the turn of the century came from restrictive action by the Italian government after thousands of complaints of impossible working and living conditions on Brazilian fazendas. The Italian government, in 1902, prohibited the activities of Sao Paulo's agents in Italy. The state then began to subsidize the importation of Japanese field workers.^{1/}

144. The Italian restriction was the second such act in Brazil's experience. The Prussian government in 1850 had prohibited emigration to Brazil after many colonization failures had left Germans stranded and in misery in the interior.^{2/}

(iv) Distribution by States.

145. The only data throwing light on where the immigrants went within Brazil are those on location of foreign-born in census years. It is probable that there has been some migration of foreigners after their first location but it is considered not large.

146. The vast majority of the foreign-born are found in the states from Minas Gerais south. Sao Paulo shows the results of its many years of subsidizing immigration and contains a majority of all, 57.73 per cent (Table XXXI). No entity north of Minas Gerais has as much as 2 per cent of its population foreign-born, and only 3 have between 1 and 2 per cent. None has as much as 1 per cent of the country's foreign-born.

147. Sao Paulo and the capital contain almost equal proportions of foreign-born to their total populations (11.33 per cent and 12.96 per cent respectively). The next highest are Paraná and Mato Gross (5.39% and

1/ Cf. Robert F. Foerster, The Italian Emigration of Our Times, Cambridge Harvard University Press, 1919, pp. 279-319;

Smith, op. cit. p. 279, refers to the literature on the subject.

2/ Artur Hehl Neiva, O Problema Imigratorio Brasileiro, Rio de Janeiro, 1945, pp. 66-67.

Table 31 Distribution of the Foreign-born, 1940, by States

(with 1920 state percentages)

States	Population in 1940	Number of foreign- born	Per cent foreign-born of total population (1920 in pa- renthesis)	Per cent nation's foreign- born popu- lation
Brazil	41,236,315	1,406,568	3.41 (5.2)	100.00
Acre <u>b/</u>	79,768	1,236	1.54 (3.9)	0.08
Amazonas <u>b/</u>	438,000	7,441	1.69 (4.7)	0.50
Pará <u>b/</u>	944,644	11,074	1.17 (2.3)	0.75
Maranhao	1,235,169	1,288	0.10 (0.3)	0.09
Piauí	817,601	285	0.03 (a/)	0.02
Ceará	2,091,032	1,372	0.66 (0.1)	0.92
Rio Grande do Norte	768,013	451	0.05 (a/)	0.03
Paraíba	1,422,282	671	0.04 (a/)	0.04
Pernambuco	2,688,240	6,720	0.24 (0.6)	0.45
Alagoas	951,300	511	0.05 (0.1)	0.03
Sergipe	542,326	290	0.05 (a/)	0.02
Bahia	3,918,112	8,007	0.20 (0.4)	0.53
Minas Gerais	6,736,416	45,546	0.67 (1.5)	3.13
Espírito Santo	750,107	10,943	1.45 (4.4)	0.74
Rio de Janeiro	1,847,857	38,734	2.09 (3.5)	2.70
Distrito Federal	1,763,141	228,633	12.96 (20.8)	16.12
Sao Paulo	7,180,316	814,102	11.33 (18.2)	57.73
Paraná	1,236,276	66,653	5.39 (9.2)	4.68
Santa Catarina	1,178,340	27,201	2.30 (4.8)	1.90
Rio Grande do Sul	3,320,689	109,470	3.29 (7.1)	7.76
Mato Gross <u>c/</u>	423,196	23,207	5.48 (10.4)	1.62
Goiás	326,483	2,507	0.30 (0.4)	0.16

Source: Servicio Nacional de Recenseamento.

a/ Less than .1 per centb/ Mostly Bolivians and Peruviansc/ Mostly Bolivians and Paraguayans

(vi) Nativity Distribution, by State

150. The Japanese are the most heavily concentrated; 98 per cent residing in Sao Paulo. Italians in Sao Paulo represent 70 per cent of their non-naturalized compatriots in the country; the remainder are almost equally divided between Rio Grande do Sul and the Federal District. Portuguese are located about 50-50 between Sao Paulo and the Federal District although some 50,000 are scattered in other entities. Eighty-two per cent of the Spaniards live in Sao Paulo. The Germans, of the major groups, are the most scattered: Sao Paulo has 37 per cent; Rio Grande do Sul, 16 per cent; Paraná, 13 per cent, and Santa Catarina, 12 per cent.

(vii) Naturalization Experience

151. The 1940 census reported that only 122,735 of the foreign-born population of Brazil had been naturalized. This would make slightly over 10 per cent of those probably susceptible to this process.^{1/} This percentage of aliens in the foreign-born population, i.e., about 90 per cent contrasts sharply with the figure of 30 per cent in the United States in the same year.^{2/} This discrepancy is undoubtedly due to a combination of two factors: (1) difficulties in acquiring citizenship, and (2) lack of a feeling that the new country is really "home". Those who do not intend to stay, who have not sunk their roots in Brazilian soil, will be far less likely to become naturalized than those who have cut their old home ties. Those who have become "assimilated", i.e., who feel secure and happy in their new country, generally want to become citizens.

^{1/} If it be assumed that all of the 1,406,568 foreign-born are eligible to become Brazilian citizens except those who had arrived in the 10 years previous to the 1940 census, the total would be 1,118,000. Many of the 288,600 who came in the 1931-40 decade probably were eligible since the waiting period was only 2 years during most of the ten years. The potential number is probably larger than that here estimated, which would make the proportion a conservative one.

^{2/} Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1948. p. 37.

SECTION 5. DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF FOREIGN-BORN

153. Two particularly significant facts stand out in an examination of the few data available on the sex and age distributions of the foreign-born population. First, there is a far higher ratio of males to females than in the national population. Second, there is a far higher proportion in the productive ages than in the total population.

(i) Sex Ratios

154. Brazil's sex ratio is 99.96, i.e., there are that many males per 100 females, or almost 1 for 1. However, there is a wide discrepancy between the ratio of the native population and that of the foreign-born. There are also significant variations between ratios for the various political units within both columns (Table XXXVIII).

155. The higher ratios in the "native" column belong almost exclusively to the states which have been attracting Brazilians from other states and vice versa. A high sex ratio might well be used as an index of frontier conditions, since pioneer populations almost invariably contain more men than women. A low sex ratio, on the other hand, might indicate among other things (1) a region of out-migration, with the women left behind by long-distance migrants, or (2) a highly urban population which contains a large number of women migrants who move from areas fairly near the cities.

(ii) Age Distribution

156. The most startling difference between the two populations is found in the percentage in the productive age intervals. It has been seen that the Brazilian proportion in the productive ages is low. It shows 42 per cent in the 20-59 ages in each sex; the foreign-born population contains 75.4 per cent males and 69.8 per cent females in the same category (Table XXXIV). Thus, the foreign-born population contains around 75 per cent more persons in the productive ages than the native population. The younger ages are much less well represented among the foreign-born and the older ages far outweigh the proportions in the native population. The influence of the restrictive legislation of the past 20 years is apparent in this distribution.

TABLE XXXIV

Age Distribution of Native and Foreign-born Populations, by Sex

	1940 (percentages)			
	Native Population		Foreign-born	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total no.	19,803,477	19,989,179	792,256	7613,345
Age Intervals				
0 - 9	30.4%	30.1%	1.3%	1.6%
10 - 19	24.4	24.5	6.3	7.8
20 - 59	42.0	42.0	75.4	69.8
60 & over	3.2	3.4	17.0	20.6
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Computed from data in Anuário Estatístico, 1948. p. 27.

(iii) Internal Migrations

157. Migratory movement within Brazil is extensive. The 1940 census found that 7 per cent of the total population was living in a different state from that of birth; that 12 states had gained population and 10 had lost by population shifts.

158. These data do not include the intra-state movements, which include both farm-to-farm and rural-urban currents, both seasonal and "permanent"

/Smith, in an

Brazil in the two years from July 1, 1947 to January 30, 1949. This placed Brazil eighth among the receiving countries of the world, in the order: Israel; (117,085), United States (155,529), Canada (79,469), Australia (113,986), United Kingdom (83,084), France (36,965), Argentina (28,156) and Brazil (23,356). Brazil ranked 4th in the Western Hemisphere after the United States, Canada, and Argentina, and second in Latin America, being surpassed only by its traditional rival for immigrants, Argentina. Venezuela, the only other important receiver in Latin America, took only 13,300, about half of Brazil's total. Only Paraguay, of the remaining Latin American countries, came above the 3,000 mark, with 6,915, although Peru got 2,971. ^{1/}

(v) Intensity of Immigration

162. A more valid comparison is obtained by calculating the intensity of immigration, i.e., the proportion of newcomers to the total population. This gives the following result, with countries ranked in order of intensity:

Israel	12.2%
Venezuela	4.2%
Argentina	2.6%
United Kingdom	1.9%
France	1.3%
United States	.83%
Brazil	.76%
Paraguay	.58%
Peru	.37%
Australia	.14%
Canada	.08%

(vi) Distribution by States

163. Refugees arriving during the first eleven months of 1949 went, in general to the same states to which their predecessors had gone (Table 5)

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- 1/ Geneva, International Refugee Organization, 1948-49, p. 86. Incidentally the only three Latin American countries belonging to the I.R.O. are the Dominican Republic, Guatemala and Venezuela.
- 2/ Cf. Julius Isaac, Economics of Immigration. New York, Oxford University Press, 1947. pp.64-5.

SECTION 6. COLONIZATION

166. The richest part of Brazil's immigration experience lies in the field of colonization. Hundreds of colonies have been established since the first foreign colonists were brought over in 1812.^{1/} Colonization received major emphasis until 1880 but as slave importations fell off demand for importation of farm labour rose. Colonization activities have remained secondary until recent years, when they began to assume new importance, particularly in connection with the "march to the west" slogans of the 1930's. Colonization of internal migrants began in the 1920's. Private recruiting and land settlement companies as well as railroads have played an increasingly important role in opening up new territory. The Japanese, primarily under the auspices of a home government-sponsored group, were the most assiduous colonizers until the late 1930's.

167. Only a few examples can be given here to show something of Brazil's experience.

(i). Paraná^{2/}

168. The most dramatic settlement activities of modern times have been of the Northern Paraná Land Co. (Cia. de Terras Norte do Paraná). The company, an English concern until it was purchased by Brazilians in 1940, was founded by colonizers with experience in Rhodesia. Some 3,000,000 acres (515,000 alqueires Paulistas) were purchased in the late 1920's after a world-wide search for good virgin territory. The area, which includes practically all the first-class land in northern Paraná, had only a handful of inhabitants and was covered with almost untouched forest. The nearest railroad was 150 km. east of the eastern boundary.

169. Today the area holds some 250,000 people where there were not 2,500 20 years ago. Land sales began in 1930 and the city of Londrina was founded the following year. It now contains some 37,000 inhabitants

1/ Smith, op. cit., pp.530-81, gives a succinct but inclusive account of Brazil's experience in this field.

2/ Material from interviews during a four-day field trip through the area unless otherwise noted.

/and is an important

173. Many of the earliest settlers were from Danzig and the former Baltic republics as well as German refugees, both Jewish and Christian.

174. Foreigners of some 30 nationalities are decidedly in the minority, however, and are estimated at 15% of the 22,000 landowners. Company officials report interesting differences in the crop preferences of various nationalities. Brazilians and Italians favour coffee; Germans, Lithuanians and Poles prefer wheat, rye, alfalfa and potatoes; Japanese tend to tea and truck gardening.

175. Land prices have soared since selling started. The company bought the land at 100 cruzeiros per alquiere and now sells unimproved lots on the western edge at 2,200 cruzeiros. A railroad, which now reaches almost to the center of the area, is supplemented by 2,000 kilometres (1240 miles) of roads. The company also maintains a 120 kilometre telephone network. These, of course, raise the value of the land, but the real rise comes when coffee trees are planted. Farms near Polandia, the second city of the area, were valued as follows, per alquiere (6 acres):

1933 value	400 cruzeiros
1949 - cleared	12,000 cruzeiros
- forest	10,000 cruzeiros
- planted to coffee	60 to 100,000 cruzeiros

176. Londrina urban land prices have also skyrocketed: a lot of 1,200 square metres bought in 1941 for 25,000 cruzeiros was sold in December 1949 for 1,200,000 cruzeiros.

177. Wages in northern Paraná have been higher than in many other parts of Brazil. Also, the land workers (colono) usually is allowed to inter-plant between rows of coffee trees and sell the produce. This has enabled several hundred colonos working on land on the eastern edge of the area to purchase land farther west on instalments. The "agricultural ladder" so common in the opening of the western lands of the United States is thus found in the area although it is almost entirely unknown in other regions of Brazil.

178. It is not surprising that Paraná is one of the most attractive

/states for

kilometres from Rio and 666 from Sao Paulo. It is only 1,500 kilometres from Belem. Those who hope to build the Brazilian civilization westward and thus strengthen the economy, place great stress upon the advantage to be gained from such a move. It is probable that they underestimate among other factors, the possibility of securing investments totaling 5 billion cruzeiros (\$750 million) necessary for the move.^{1/} However, G. Gas' agitation for the move has helped awaken interest in colonization possibilities there. Prices for farm land run from 100 to 3,000 cruzeiros per alquiere mineiro (4.84 hectares; 12 acres); for grazing land, 30 to 1,600 cruzeiros; jungle costs from 100 to 1,500 cruzeiros and shrub forest 100 to 2,000.

184. The combination of an energetic state administration which believes in bringing in new blood and new habits plus favourable geography have given rise to several important colonies recently.

(iii) National Agricultural Colony, Ceres^{1/}

185. An area of 2,472 square kilometers (958.8 square miles) is being carved out of the wilderness in north-central Goias. It is the most populous federal colony and is growing rapidly. Ten families resided in the colony in March 1944 when the railroad from Sao Paulo was completed to Anapolis. July 1946 found 1,600 families (8,000) persons) there and the number had risen to 2,500 families and 12,000 persons by the end of 1948.

186. The general rules set forth on pages 70 - 71 apply to Ceres. The lots vary from 20 to 50 hectares (49.4 to 123.5 acres) and average 30 hectares (74.1 acres). Migrants usually arrive with nothing but the clothes they wear and a few personal belongings. They come by foot, train, oxcart and horseback. No one but the poor are admitted. They are given temporary shelter and wage-work on road-building and other community projects. They fell trees and clear their own free land in their spare time and build their own homes as soon as they can.

^{1/} Cf. Eng. Lucas Lopes, "Relatorio Técnico". Rio de Janeiro, Comissao do Estudos para Localizacao da Nova Capital do Brasil, 1948. 12 pp.

^{2/} Much of the material from an interview with Miss Virginia Prewett, owner of farm property near Ceres, who is also a newspaper woman of renown.

enrolled at Ilha das Flores before the Conselho de Imigracao was approached by their 5 representatives.

191. The cooperative, formed by 86 immigrants at the Coiania reception center in April 1949, received loans from the state and farm bank to purchase its land. The price was 800 cruzeiros per alquiere of 4.85 hectares, which included about half pasture and worked-over farm land and half virgin forest, plus some wire fences, and stands of a few coffee trees and some mandioc and sugar plants. 2,500 hectares were purchased outright and options secured on 30,000 hectares more at the same price, in order to avoid paying more as a result of their own improvements.

192. The Brazil-I.R.O. Joint Commission donated 200,000 cruzeiros to help the group start and the federal government agreed to lend 1 million cruzeiros to be repaid over 10 years, without interest.

193. The charter members each subscribed 5,000 cruzeiros, payable in 5 years, beginning after the first crop. They elect their own officers, the first president being a Rumanian agronomist. Technical advice comes from a Goias farmer and from a local advisory committee in the nearby village of Itabiraf.

194. The members laid out the road from the highway to their center, have built a brickyard with 2 ovens, and 60 houses, a maternity ward and clinic, a store, a sports field, a telephone line, and a repair shop. A sawmill is being constructed, run by a waterwheel. Most houses now have water wells.

195. The first families located on the land in May, 1949, prepared land, planted and started working on the houses and community facilities. Drought ruined most of the crops and lack of fertilizer and machinery assured almost complete failure for the first season. Machinery and fertilizer could not be bought because the federal loan, promised for May, had not yet been paid by the middle of November. ^{1/}

196. An extremely encouraging aspect of the crisis at the colony was the

^{1/} The federal official daily on Nov. 22, 1949, published an authorization for the payment of 350,000 cruzeiros.

/help forthcoming

railroads, has acquired planes to transport many of its products to towns and cities where the company is planning its own retail outlets.

201. Lots of about 50 hectares are offered for 95,000 cruzeiros (\$4,700 at the official rate) with a house, electricity, inside plumbing, a corral with 5 sows and a boar, 5 cows and a bull and a horse. The colony provides free schools and technical advice plus medical service at cost. There is to be a center where farm machinery may be rented and a production credit plan for seeds, tools and animals.

201. The industrial plants are being built, and settlers are offered work at wages while they are getting a foothold. The first industrial unit is a slaughter house.

203. The Formosa project is being watched carefully by both public bodies and private entrepreneurs for clues as to new approaches to opening up new territory.

(viii) Sao Paulo

The state which has absorbed most of Brazil's immigrants, as well as the largest number of migrants, has done relatively little colonizing. The stress has been placed on farm labourers. The owners of large coffee plantations opposed land settlement unless it was done on a subsistence basis which left the farmers dependent on wage-labour during the coffee picking season. Italians were the chief participants in this type of "colonization". Germans and Japanese have been the colonizers in the more exact sense.

205. Smith summarizes from Brazilian authors both the process and some of the results of opening the land for settlement in western Sao Paulo:

"Professor Pierre Monbeig of the University of Sao Paulo has thrown some interesting light upon the manner of proceeding in the western portion of Brazil's richest state. ^{1/} According to this authority speculation in land may take various forms but it is always present

^{1/} Ensaio de Geografia Humana Brasileira, pp. 25-28, passim.

factors in determining the direction in which settlement goes and the speed with which it progresses. These affect the value of any particular piece of land. But there are also other chances that must be taken by the speculator. In general he knows only the limits -- the streams, or divides -- that surround his lands, and little if anything about the nature of the topography and soil on the tract.

"Monbeig describes in some detail the case of Marília, now a thriving small city on the Alta Paulista Railroad, boasting paved streets, brick and tile houses, movies, electric lights, a bustling business, cotton gins, a cottonseed oil mill, and numerous other accouterments of the thriving Paulista trading center. In 1914 this zone was all virgin forest belonging to Companhia Pecuaria e Agricola Campos Novos. At this time the state government opened a trail starting at Platina near the Alta Sorocabana Railroad, some forty miles to the south of the present location of Marília, and leading in the direction of the "Noroeste" Zone to the north of Marília, an area which was then in the process of settlement. The same year the company opened a large fazenda containing some 20,000 acres, lying on both sides of the trail. The first enterprise was the rearing of swine, followed in 1915 by the planting of some 100,000 coffee trees. This was designed to establish definitely the private possession of the soil. However, the coffee plantings and the swine-rearing enterprises were soon abandoned; the forest reconquered the entire area. Only some years later a new buyer of lands began to subdivide and sell off portions of his holdings. Then the company also began to divide and dispose of its property. Clearings, at first widely separated, spread rapidly, and soon joined with one another. When in 1922 the construction of a new railroad was announced, notice was given of the subdivision of all forest lands in the vicinity. The city of Marília itself was founded in 1928, and since then it has grown with unparalleled rapidity.

/In 1919

continues but no more recent data were found. A study of the personal and family relationships after almost 20 years would be important to an understanding of the "assimilation" process in Brazil. ^{1/}

210. Potentially the most important recent experience would seem to be that of the Dutch cooperative colony near Campinas, about 2-1/2 hours from Sao Paulo by car. Soil experts and agricultural economists scoured Brazil for a favourable location and chose part of a fazenda owned by the Armour Packing Co. The proximity of the Sao Paulo market was a major factor in the choice. Eighty Dutch families, selected by the Catholic Farmers' Association, were brought to Brazil in late 1948, with 400 cows and considerable dairy equipment. The Dutch government does not allow money exports but capital equipment may be taken out. The machinery and cattle imported was valued at 18,000,000 cruzeiros. Land costs were 10,000,000 cruzeiros for 4,840 hectares (12,000 acres) which is to be paid in 10 years, starting at the end of the second year.

211. A federal loan of 3,000,000 cruzeiros and a state guaranteed loan of 100,000 cruzeiros per family up to 100 families were secured. The cooperative plans a membership of 200 families within a few years.

212. Capital costs, in addition to land, animals and dairy equipment, are budgeted as follows for each family with 15 alqueires paulistas (36.3 acres):

Construction of house	15,000 cz.
Construction of stables	20,000 cz.
Agricultural machinery	8,000 cz.
Dairy installation	4,000 cz.
Fencing	4,000 cz.
Wagons, etc.	3,500 cz.
Seeds	2,500 cz.
Contingencies	10,000 cz.

67,000 cz.

213. Maintenance for each family during the first year is estimated at 21,600 cruzeiros. Roughly, it may be seen that the capital investment

^{1/} "A Colonizaco Oficial em Sao Paulo e o Ncleo Colonial 'Baro de Antonina'." Sao Paulo, Boletim do Servico de Imigraco e Colonizaco. No. 2 (Out., 1940) pp.11-28; Pierre Monbeig, "The Colonial Nucleus of Baro de Antonina". Geographical Review 30, 2 (April, 1940) pp. 260-71.

/per family

Houses:	600 x 18,000	10,800,000
Land:	600 x 40 Ha. x 950	22,800,000
Loans:	600 x 900 x 6m	3,240,000
Animals:	600 x 4,400	2,640,000
Farm Machinery:	600 x 6,200	3,720,000
Fertilizers:	600 x 1,000	600,000
		<hr/>
		43,800,000
3% Contingencies		1,314,000
Total		<hr/>
		45,114,000
Expenditure per family		75,200

Thus, a cost of \$3,760 per family is foreseen.

217. Four colonies are already operating and two more are to open soon. The immigrant gets from 30 to 40 hectares (74 to 99 acres) of land, a two-bedroom house, and the other help indicated in the above budget. The colonies are located within the market areas of the capital and truck gardening is stressed.

218. The colonist has free technical assistance at his disposal and for two years gets free loans of animals or machinery. Medical attention and medicines are free during the first year. Payments on the cost of the house and land begin after 2 or 3 years and are due in 10 instalments, at 4 per cent interest.

219. The colonies are small; Rio Seco contains 7 Brazilian, 7 Japanese and 7 Polish families. Emboacira has 4 Japanese and 4 Yugoslavs. The latter, interviewed during December, 1949, expressed themselves as tremendously pleased with their situation. The climate reminded them of southern Yugoslavia; the soil was fertile; the government employees capable and helpful and the neighbours friendly.

(x). Baixada Fluminense ^{1/}

220. The swampy lands which extend for miles back from the Guanabara Bay are now being drained and colonies formed to utilize the exceptionally rich soil. Santa Cruz, about 30 miles from Rio de Janeiro, may be taken as an example. Seven hundred and ninety-three families are located on about 10 hectares (24.7 acres) each, for which they pay 1,000 cruzeiros per

^{1/} Based on interviews during a visit in December, 1949.

225. The demand for small farms and their efficient working, plus the multitude of small industries which were built by the immigrants laid a foundation for the heavier industries being built in recent years. Many of them, too, are due to the initiative of the immigrant.

226. Sao Paulo heads the list of Brazilian states in almost any record of economic advancement. It also has received the lion's share of immigrants. Its progress might be laid to climatic or other geographic factors but for the fact that other states of east-central Brazil have similar climates, extension and resources. Some have even more sub-soil wealth. It is not necessary to search for comparisons as far as Amazonia, which has 7 times more territory than Sao Paulo but only 1/15th of the people. Climate and other geographic handicaps explain most of the difference. Minas Gerais lies right next door. It has over twice as much territory as Sao Paulo. In 1890 Sao Paulo had only 44 per cent of the population of Minas; by 1940 it contained about half a million more. A general idea of the relative economic positions today is given by the value of commodity sales in the two states in 1945:

Minas Gerais	540,800 cruzeiros
Sao Paulo	3,322,300 cruzeiros

Even Rio Grande do Sul, with half the population and the area of Minas showed almost 50 per cent more value of commercial transactions. Sao Paulo accounts for 41 per cent of the transactions of the country, but only 17 per cent of the population.

227. Industrial production for the two states in 1939 also makes an illuminating comparison; ^{1/}

Minas Gerais	1,177,545,000 cruzeiros
Sao Paulo	7,601,721,000 cruzeiros

Sao Paulo, in 1939-40, furnished 44 per cent of the nation's industrial production and over a third of its agricultural commodities, by value. The state's banks made up 32 per cent of the total number in Brazil and

^{1/} Anuario Estatístico, 1948. p.111.

as Brazilians. Foreign-born Germans in 1940 made up only one-fifth of one per cent of the total population, or 90,000 persons.

230. Textiles and clothing, now one of Brazil's most important industries, were primarily an immigrant business. The most recent great contribution was that of the Japanese, who introduced the growing of silk and of Chinese tea. Brazil is now an important producer and exporter of both. The Japanese have also established truck farms on many abandoned coffee plantations and are helping shift the agricultural pattern from extensive to intensive farming.

231. Wherever one goes in Brazil, almost invariably the farms of the foreigners are more efficiently cultivated, the forest has been cleared more thoroughly, the houses are more comfortable and cleaner, health and education levels are higher and the community more in contact with the outside world. ^{1/}

232. The contributions of the relatively few refugees who have come cannot be assessed with any exactness. One indication of the success of the program is the fact that no refugee has returned to Europe, or been expelled. A few case histories may be cited in the absence of any statistics. ^{2/}

(a) A Ukrainian refugee, working as a hired man, has so increased the milk production on a small farm in Goiás that Brazilian farmers come from miles around to watch him work and ask how he does it.

(b) A metallurgical plant in Sao Paulo, already considered an efficient works, stepped up its productivity from 700 to 1,800

^{1/} There are exceptions to this which are important to note. Some immigrants who carved farms out of the wilderness on an individual or small group basis, or their descendants, have sunk to the level of the caboclo. (Cf., A. Carneiro Leas, "Problems of Rural Society in Brazil", *Rural Sociology* 9 (2); 170@77; June 1944; Leo H. Waibel, "A Colonizacão Europeia no Brasil" paper prepared for the I Reuniao Pan-American de Consulta Sobre Geografia, Rio de Janeiro, 12 a 24 de setembro, 1949; Emilio Willems, "El Problema rural Brasileño desde el punto de vista antropológico", *Jornadas (Mexico)* #33, 1945, p.27). This experience needs thorough study. It would seem that isolation of the foreigner from his compatriots, or from other foreigners, has just as deleterious effect as the isolation of the Brazilian from the foreigner!

^{2/} Based on interviews with I.R.O. officials and private individuals, and the Monthly Boletim de O.I.R., Rio de Janeiro.

to relaxing present restrictions.

236. These opinions are, of course, not held in isolated, academic form. They are based upon emphasis which vary with background, training, personality, and experience of the individual. It is easy, out of exceedingly complicated immigration history and with the complex Brazil in scene in mind, to pick out those factors which prove a pre-determined thesis. It is the purpose of this section to examine some of the factors which must be borne in mind. Most of them have been mentioned previously.

(i). Physical factors

237. The classic immigration countries - Argentine, Canada and the United States - have contained vast areas of open grasslands, easy of access, with temperate climates. Brazil contains no such vast areas, in spite of its size. The southern states, which come closest to that description, have been the immigrant-receiving region.

238. There are spots in all the rest of Brazil which contain fairly widespread first-class farming land, but they are far from each other and from consuming centers. The largest single region, the Amazon valley, may contain as much as 1 per cent of usable agricultural land, but transportation difficulties make most of it uneconomical. ^{1/}

239. Most of Brazil's rivers do not contribute greatly to solving the transportation problems of such a huge territory. This puts the burden on railroads, which are obviously more costly to build over hilly terrain than over prairies. Lack of transportation probably has caused more colonization failures than any other factor. Inability to get products to market places colonists on a subsistence basis, with inevitable low levels of living for the colonist and injury to the national economy. Recently, it was reported that "at least a million bags of rice rot every year at Anápolis for lack of transportation." ^{2/} This commercial capital

^{1/} C.F. Marbut and C.B. Manifold, "The Soils of the Amazon Basin in Relation to Agricultural Possibilities", Geographical Review, v.16 (July 1946); F. Ferreira Netto, "The Problem of the Amazon", Scientific Monthly, July 1945, pp. 37-44; Aug. 1945, pp. 90-100.

^{2/} "New Builders for Brazil", Brazilian Business, Sept. 1949, p.13.

(ii) Cultural Factors

243. Other countries have overcome their geographical obstacles; e.g., the rubber producing center of the world moved from Brazil to the East Indies, which are also in the tropics. We must look further than the physical handicaps and into the cultural, i.e., into the obstacles which man himself has created in the path of economic development. These are always many and varied. They are expressed institutions, which have structure, functions and personnel and in attitudes which may or may not be incorporated into institutions.

(iii) Institutional Framework

(a) Land Tenure

244. Pre-industrial economics are dependent primarily upon land for the support of their people. Therefore, land tenure institutions are of basic importance. Smith, after a careful study of Brazil's failure to attract large numbers of immigrants, puts the chief responsibility upon the presence of latifundia, land speculation and shaky land titles. He finds agreement among many Brazilian scholars. ^{1/}

245. It is easy to feel this difference in northern Paraná. The Cia. de Terras Norte do Paraná gives a secure land title, although it achieved the ability to do so after sometimes buying the same land several times. However, just to the west of the Company land pitched battles are fought today over possession of land. ^{2/} Adequate titles are difficult to achieve partly because the archaic "metes and bounds" measuring system is used instead of astronomically determined points.

(b) Economic Imbalance

246. Historical, geographical and attitudinal factors converge in the

^{1/} Smith, op. cit., pp. 410-581; Brazilian Business, op. cit., p.36. Cardoso de Menezes e Souza, in 1875, placed stress upon the same matter: Theses Sobre Colonizacao no Brasil, cited in Smith, pp. 551-2

^{2/} During the field work for this report there were 6 men being tried in Mandaguari for murders committed during disputes over land titles in north-western Paraná.

/over-emphasis

(c). Credit Facilities

247. Possibilities of expansion for the "little" man, the newcomer who wants to open a new business or manufacture a new product are limited drastically by lack of adequate credit facilities. Capital is, relatively, far more scarce than manpower; therefore it demands a higher return. This, plus the history of "booms", the chances of "big money, quickly", make financing of industry difficult with domestic capital. Capitalists demand extremely high rates of interest and expect similar rates of profit. ^{1/} Speculation in real estate siphons off funds which might well be used for economic development as well as holding land out of circulation. ^{2/}

(d). Marketing Facilities

248. The idea of a mass-market does not yet exist in the consciousness of most Brazilian businessmen. This illustrates another vicious circle: no mass market can exist as long as the "effective demand" of the people is so low, but the "effective demand" will not be created until business produces for the mass market and thereby helps create it. ^{3/}

(e). Bureaucracy

249. Recognition of the shortcomings of the bureaucracy has been widespread in recent years and has resulted in a governmental attempt, through a special educational system and selection service to raise performance levels. The specific manner in which one individual or group thwarts the efforts of others to carry on constructive activities in the immigration field are set forth in some detail by the head of one of Brazil's selection missions to Europe. ^{4/}

^{1/} Wythe, op. cit., pp.176-77; Spiegel, op. cit., pp. 232-4.

^{2/} Abbink, op. cit. pp, 8-10

^{3/} It has been said of Sears, Roebuck, which has recently opened stores in Rio and Sao Paulo, that it seems to "generate its own customers". This is partly because it has given a real lift to Brazilian production by gathering together 25,000 items, mostly manufactured in Brazil and a large number made in the country for the first time.

^{4/} Arthur Hehl Neiva, Deslocacao de Guerra.

put upon their activities in the country are large. ^{1/}
253. The restrictions are understandable in view of the stagnation of the Brazilian economy during the 1930's, but a dynamic view is beginning to replace the static. One of the chief obstacles the builders of an expanding economy have to overcome is the restrictive legislation of the depression period.

(iii) Attitudes

254. A feeling of xenophobia is often encountered in the attitude of Brazilians. ^{2/} This feeling expresses itself frequently in a derogatory attitude towards immigrants. Its roots go back to the times of slavery and of the feudal organization which dominated most of the country for centuries.

255. It is also partly the result of certain experiences that Brazil has gone through in the course of years of immigration from Europe and from the Far East. Germans, Italians and Japanese, although they have made impressive economic contributions, have tried under the influence

^{1/} These restrictions have already been examined, but it is important to make it clear how these factors work in actual practice. Three "cases" will indicate what is undoubtedly a serious problem:

1. A Hungarian refugee sausage-maker had succeeded in getting his most important machinery, embodying a new and more economical process, shipped to Brazil. He found that he would have to erect a special building with such specifications that it would prove impossible for him to do business. He also found that the legal complications and restrictions for entering business in the country made economic life too difficult. He therefore secured a permit to enter the Union of South Africa and is now manufacturing sausages in that country.
2. Twelve German refugees arrived in Rio with complete equipment for making fine ceramics. They had worked together for years on quality china. They found that they must hire 24 Brazilians, of whom perhaps 4 would be needed in the plant. They are now producing in Casablanca, North Africa.
3. A Czech came to Brazil with a set of tools for and years of experience in fine engraving. His difficulties led him to move to Nova Scotia after several months of attempting to establish a business in Brazil.

^{2/} E.g., cf. Diario de Noticias, April 22, 1949

/of their

to acquiesce in living and working conditions which Brazilian workers will not endure. According to Dr. Doria de Vasconcellos, the best fazendas are not interested in DP workers. The families they have remain with them for years and when vacancies occur, they have no difficulty in filling them from workers they either know or who are recommended to them.

258. Another expression of the same psychology is the attempt for force farm labourers to stay where they are in spite of poor conditions. Police in many of the areas of out-migration prevent workers from entraining for another part of Brazil. The attitude is expressed in a recent editorial in a Bahia daily. Commenting on the exodus to the south via trucks which ply along the newly opened coastal highway, the paper advocates that no migrant be allowed to leave his locality without a license from a local commission to be named by the secretary of agriculture. 1/

(v) Living Conditions

259. All of these factors together, plus others it was not possible to touch upon, determine the low levels of living of the majority of the country. Immigrants will usually go only to areas which present levels of living better than, or at least equal, to that in the country of their emigration, or provide opportunities for rapid advance. 2/

1/ A Tarde, Salvador, Oct.24, 1949.

2/ It will be remembered that the southern states of the United States never attracted immigrants. Only a handful of the 40,000,000 immigrants to the United States in the past century and a quarter went to the areas characterized by low levels of living, large plantations, labour surpluses, and the same attitudes towards work which flow from feudalism and slavery in other countries. Lack of immigration, in turn, is one of the causes for the backwardness of the South today.

as an arm of the President's office. The number of young, enthusiastic and technically competent government employees one finds in the field is distinctly encouraging.

266. Recently a National Economic Council was formed to "study the economic life of Brazil, give its views on Brazilian economic policies both at home and abroad and suggest effective measures to be taken by the government".

(ii) Reorganisation of Immigration Institutions

267. One of Brazil's outstanding authorities on immigration recently wrote "what the country needs is fewer laws and more immigrants"! The National Immigration Conference echoed this sentiment in matters of organisation; it called for the formation of one responsible body to deal with the entire subject. A law embodying this concept has been passed by the Chamber of Deputies and is before the Senate.

268. The International Labour Organisation is cooperating with the government in the creation of a placement service. This, of course, is an indispensable step toward better distribution of immigrants around the country.

(iii) New Attitudes Emerging

269. It is encouraging to find a new attitude growing up among government officials. Some take the attitude expressed by one official of a northern state who was demanding that immigrants be restricted in their choice of localities in which to settle. Said he, "In spite of the fact that receiving DP immigrants is considered an act of favour — a favour which is only just — the Brazilian authorities are displaying.... an exaggerated kindness...." etc.

270. Others not only see the immigrants as contributors to the economic development of the country, but speak frankly about the difficulties of recruiting people for Brazilian settlement. Senhor Raphael Verissimo Azambuja, for example, head of the selection mission in Austria and Italy told his compatriots recently that "it is important to understand — contrary to what many among us seem to think — that not all the DPs

/are anxious to

nor of great value. However, there are two tendencies which it is important to examine.

278. The first arises from the experience of Japanese colonists. They have almost completely reversed the thinking of Brazilian agronomists, geographers and economists. Formerly, it was customary to go far to the west in search of good soils. Equally important considerations of transportation, communications, markets, etc. were neglected. The Japanese took abandoned coffee farms, fertilized and worked them intensively and made a significant contribution to feeding the urban dwellers.

279. It is now being discovered that there are substantial areas in the state of Rio de Janeiro, for example, which can be placed under cultivation. Food scarcities and high prices in the cities make the development of such areas imperative.^{1/} There are similar opportunities in Minas Gerais, Sao Paulo and other built-up states.

280. An Italian company, with approval from its home government, is organizing four colonies in the states of Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais. The purchase of land, reconstruction of the fazendas, building of new houses, installation of irrigation, drainage, electric light and power and other improvements, plus maintenance of workers, cultivation expenses, seeds, etc., for the first two years amounts to \$4,540 (U.S.) per family.

281. The second tendency is to look upon settlement far from civilization as possible only on a large scale, heavily capitalized, and with enough participants to assure both a local economic base and the community life which most modern people need. There must, of course, be "export" commodities. The possibilities of these vary with the part of the country and the transportation available. The current use of aeroplanes to fly milk, cream, cheese, meat, vegetables and other products to large cities will probably continue until (a) prices fall, or (b) adequate and less expensive land transportation becomes available.

^{1/} A glance at the data in Table I will indicate the possibilities in the state of Rio de Janeiro (1) extending the cultivated area at the expense of pastures and/or (2) increasing the area of cultivated pastures which can support more dairy cattle.

^{2/} See itemization in the prospectus, in Italian, of S.C.L.A.P.I.B. (Società Cooperativa Lavoratori Agricoli por il Brasile) Av. Graça Aranha, 416 Rio de Janeiro. The technicians all had experience in Libia.

287. The experience of other colonies could be utilized to avoid pitfalls. Such a project undoubtedly would have the wholehearted backing of both state and federal governments. It would not only give a push forward to whatever region in which it might be located but could be used to serve as a model and "pilot plant" for many different kinds of the consumer goods industries which Brazil needs.

288. Perhaps an international syndicate, including Brazilians, could be organized to carry out the project. It might well strive to settle around 30,000 experienced European farmers within its new area in the space of three years after opening the land. This, in turn, would attract Brazilians in the same way they have been attracted to northern Paraná. It must be done on some comparable scale, however, if it is to make any impression on a country as large and complex as Brazil or on the problem of the trained and experienced "surplus" human beings in Europe.

