
PLANNING THE TERRITORY OF SÃO PAULO STATE, BRAZIL, IN THE DEMOCRATIC PERIOD: CARVALHO PINTO'S ACTION PLAN (1959 - 1963)

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Along with President Juscelino Kubitschek's Targets Plan and Brasilia, the Action Plan promoted by the São Paulo governor Carvalho Pinto constitutes the apex of the Brazilian state planning experience. Sharing developmentist roots, and thus focusing on physical targets, the Action Plan boosts the Paulista urbanization process and impacts on its cities and territory. Departing from the global scene of postwar and Brazilian modernization after 1930, the paper covers the conjunctural analyses of Paulista economy prepared by the planners; it describes the planning process; it provides a panoramic view of the plan, advancing to public and governmental policies; it considers its results and evaluations. The Action Plan is consistent to the post-war period world and the national economic and political conditions while providing infrastructure to the territory, in favor of economic and social development. However, it reveals the same political and funding limitations visible at the federal level, keeping untouched the agrarian, urban and housing problems, and resulting in no institutionalization of planning, in those years. Thus, being considered in its broader dimensions, Carvalho Pinto's Action Plan reveals the deep marks left by it in the São Paulo state territory.

Keywords

state planning, regional planning, territory, governmental policies, infrastructure

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INTRODUCTION

The postwar is marked in Brazil, by the maturing of state planning and modern architecture, that reach their apex in President Juscelino Kubitschek's Targets Plan (1956 – 1961) and its "synthesis target", Brasilia. Contemporary of these achievements is the Action Plan promoted by the São Paulo state governor, Carvalho Pinto (1959 – 1963). Sharing the developmentist character that marks Brazilian state planning experience at the time, the Action Plan contains extensive physical targets covering investments in infrastructure throughout the territory: hydroelectric power plants, transportation networks, basic industries, as well as agricultural development and social infrastructures such as sanitation, health services and school buildings, buildings for higher education and scientific research. Although it has not included urban designs, these works mark the Paulista territory and cities, residing at the epicenter of the intense process of urbanization experienced in the period.

The Action Plan relies on the broad participation of professionals who worked at former Paulista urban and regional planning institutions. It incorporates conjunctural analyses, methodologies and public policies that tend to be forgotten in favor of its physical achievements, but are important to the understanding of its peculiar contents and directives. This work focuses on this Paulista episode of state planning, considering the social scene of the period, providing an overview of its contents and evaluating its results.

BRAZIL IN THE POST-WAR PERIOD

The "short twentieth century" is marked by a succession of events that culminates in two world wars, interspersed by the breakdown of the New York Stock Exchange (1929), the Great Depression, the rise of Nazi-fascism, and is followed by the Cold War, the American hegemony and the consolidation of the Welfare State. In Brazil, the 1929 crisis affects the agro-export economy and unfolds in the Revolution of 1930, which marks the end of the regional oligarchies dominance of the Old Republic. The Brazilian modernization combines peculiar ways of incorporation of the masses to the social and political process – populism – and state intervention in the economy for industrialization, and shows its conservative character in the reconciliation of old agrarian-exporter elites and emerging urban-industrial elites, arbitrated by the centralized state.

In this context, Hobsbawm's¹ explanations regarding the postwar economic expansion are enlightening. He sets this process in terms of capitalism restructuring and confirmation, on a planetary scale, of previous trends in economic growth and accumulation mode. He describes how the "Age of the Automobile" reaches Europe and then, "more modestly, the socialist world and the Latin American middle-classes" and as "one could recognize the economic development of many Third World countries by the increasing number of trucks"².

This example shows how the expansion results from the "imitation" of technological standards of the second industrial revolution, besides the scientific and technological innovation generated in the period. It shows also how this process occurred in the so-called "underdeveloped" countries. Hobsbawm states that, with advances in science and technology, "the industry and even the agriculture decidedly surpassed for the first time the nineteenth century technology", as well as admits that "in poor regions of the world, the agricultural revolution was not absent, though more irregular"³. The author notes the deficiencies and efforts made by countries like Brazil, Mexico and India in the fields of higher education and scientific and technological research⁴.

Finally, the economy growing internationalization and the terms of trade imbalance between "developed" countries, manufactured goods exporters, and "underdeveloped" countries, commodities exporters, reside at the root of this scenario. This imbalance affects Brazilian industrialization, limiting its importation capacity, in its turn faced by monetary and exchange rate policies⁵. Nevertheless, these restrictions culminate in the political option of the "most dynamic countries of the Third World" for "the segregated and planned industrialization, substituting its own production by importing manufactures"⁶.

Therefore, Mello and Novais⁷ characterize the Brazilian industrialization process between 1930 and 1980 as the incorporation of consumption and production patterns, and technologies of pre-industrialized countries. Faced with the demands of social change imposed by modernization and industrialization, and the ideological polarization between ‘nationalists’ and ‘submissives’, an option is made in the mid-1950s, for the least resistance line: the association among State, foreign capital and, in a lesser degree, national capital.

In addition to overcoming the oligarchic Republic, this process involves the creation of regulatory instruments and means of economic intervention and social policy management on a national scale: Companhia Vale do Rio Doce, Companhia Siderúrgica Nacional, Petrobras, BNDE, Ministry of Education and Public Health, University of Brazil, and retirement and pension institutes. At the same time, there had been since the 1930s the constitution and affirmation of state planning, with the creation of councils, commissions, public offices and increasingly comprehensive and complex plans⁸; and the affirmation of urban and regional planning, with the work of architects and town planners and other professionals at municipalities, universities and pioneering institutions, such as the SAGMACS.

The SAGMACS – Society of Graphic and Mecanographic Analysis Applied to Social Complexes –, is a former Paulista urban and regional planning institution connected to the *Économie et Humanisme* movement⁹. It was founded in São Paulo in 1947 by the Dominican Father Louis-Joseph Lebreton (1897 – 1966), who would afterwards found the IRFED – *Institut de Recherche et de Formation en vue du Développement Harmonisé* (1958)¹⁰. Young planners, architects and town planners who worked at SAGMACS participated intensively in the Action Plan, so that it is considered a major SAGMACS’ staff product until its dismantlement by the civil-military coup of 1964.

THE SOCIAL SCENE AND THE ECONOMIC CONJUNCTURE BY THE ACTION PLAN

The conjunctural analyses included in the Action Plan and the reports submitted annually to the Legislative Assembly of the São Paulo State by the governor unfold the postwar context described herein not only at national but also at state level. The presence of the above-mentioned topics by Hobsbawm, Mello and Novais and Fausto in this documentation is remarkable. At the same time, they reveal the perspective of the government and its planners on such topics.

The Action Plan departs from the fact that industry overcomes agriculture in the state’s GDP in 1953, and the shares of these sectors in state’s GDP become inverted between 1947 and 1958 – from 31% to 24% in the case of agriculture and from 23% to 30% in the case of industry.

Focusing on economic growth, such analysis diagnoses the slowdown of economic activity in agriculture, resulting from the negligence with the domestic market, combined with the stagnation of export agriculture due to the decline in coffee prices, the appreciation of Brazilian currency, the extensive exploitation and exhaustion of the soil, the end of Paulista agricultural frontiers in the 1940s.

The slowdown in industry derives, in turn, from the lack of credit and import capacity. The BNDE – National Bank of Economic Development – focuses its loans on the infrastructure sector; but the investment maturation period in infrastructure keeps production costs high, increasing inflation. The beginning of exploration and oil refining by Petrobras is not enough to reverse the trade balance. The import limitations cause imbalance in the industrial growth, stimulating consumer goods industry at the expense of the production goods industry. Nonetheless, the analyses neither mention the fact that the exchange rate policies reverse coffee export revenues for industrial financing, as stated by Fausto¹¹; nor deal with the import facilities granted to foreign capital by SUMOC’s Instruction 113 (1955), which was in the root of the rapid industrialization of the Targets Plan¹², mostly in São Paulo. The interests of the agrarian exporter elite and the Paulista industrial capital are evident here, since the first opposed the “exchange confiscation” and both were eager for financing and other benefits.

In this sense, the governor's message to the Legislative Assembly in 1960 highlights the sectorial and intrasectorial imbalances, criticizing the economic stimulus exclusively to industrialization and defending the role played by primary sector in the maintenance of bearable life cost; in the supply of commodities, and foreign exchange earnings. It points out the lack of skilled labor and its increasing cost, exacerbated with the installation of the automotive industry. The Targets Plan has not addressed both issues. The Monetary Stabilization Plan implemented by JK when the inflationary outbreak peaks in his last year in presidency is also reproved, as it restricts credit. On the contrary, the report recognizes actions of the federal government towards the installation of production goods industry – especially in São Paulo.

Carvalho Pinto was Finance Secretary when Janio Quadros was mayor (1953-1955) and governor of São Paulo (1955-1959). The governor's message to the Legislative Assembly in 1961 supports Quadros (1961) at the beginning of his brief presidential term, marked by liberal policies. The report avoids critics to the federal government; on the contrary, it points to “decisive moments” and exalts the role of São Paulo in the country development and in the countercyclical stimulus policies to the private sector. It mentions industrial growth – the automotive industry reaches 130,000 units produced in 1960 – and the overcoming of “the most serious aspects” of the supply crisis that occurred in 1959, resulting from the above mentioned intrasectorial imbalance¹³. The implementation of tractor industry in the country, along with “the internal production of transport equipment and the successes achieved by Petrobras in the field of production and refining of liquid fuels and fertilizers” embodies the policy of agricultural productivity increment¹⁴. The sustained industrial growth, despite of the balance of payments crisis, suggests to the planners a greater degree of integration of industry and less dependence on imported goods, resulting from the implementation of mechanical industry, for which the “national ‘engineering’” is primordial.

Finally, the governor's message to the Legislative Assembly in 1962 analyses the political situation in the previous year, when Janio Quadros resigns because of political difficulties, intending his return by acclamation, with increased powers. This does not happen, and the vice-president João Goulart (labors) takes office, however, in parliamentary regime, with reduced powers. In affirming the legality of President Joao Goulart's (1961-1964) possession at parliamentary regime, Carvalho Pinto reveals its more conservative content. SUMOC's Instructions reverse previous interventionist measures in favor of liberal ones, establishing, thereafter, the end of import subsidies, the unification of exchange rates, exportation financing and production goods industry financing – as recommended in the Action Plan and previous governor's messages. Despite of the crisis, Paulista industry keep growing and the state reaches a “self-propulsion stage in its economic and social development”¹⁵.

Such analyses reveal the political orientation of the Paulista government and its planners. On the one hand, they criticize the lack of targets for primary sector and education at the Targets Plan and disapprove the credit restraint in the end of JK's government; on the other hand, they recognize federal initiatives related to production goods industry and praise Petrobras' achievements. On the one hand, they underline the role played by basic education, vocational and higher education in the development and advocate the promotion of development through non-inflationary ways. On the other hand, they welcome liberal policies linked to agrarian and industrial capital interests and São Paulo state's development stage. The opposition to JK government is evident, as well as the support for Janio Quadros government. Both the Targets Plan and the Action Plan are aware of the role of the State in the promotion of development, although their strategies and orientation vary.

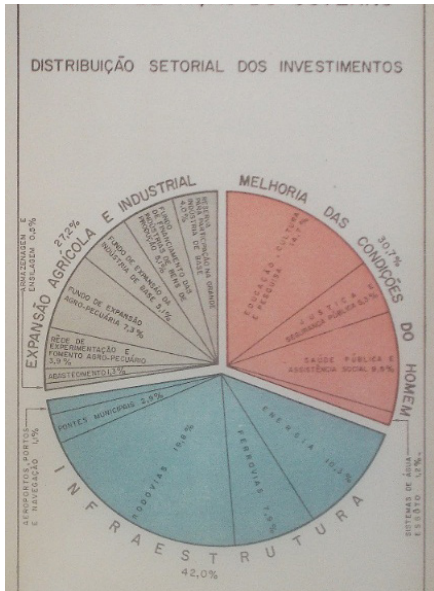


FIGURE 1 Action Plan. Sectorial distribution of investments.

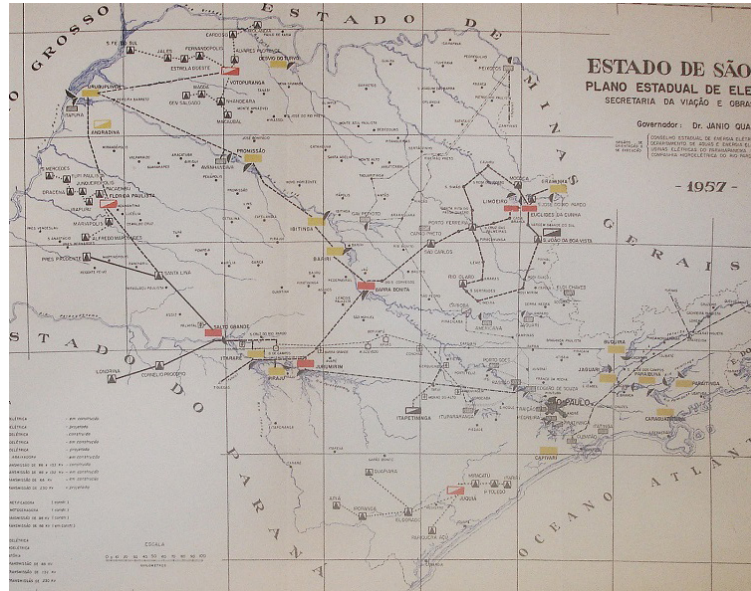


FIGURE 2 State electrification plan, 1957.

CARVALHO PINTO'S ACTION PLAN

JK was elected President by the coalition formed by the PDS – social-democrats – and PTB – labors – which was bequeathed by Getúlio Vargas (1930-1945) and dominated politics since the return to democracy (1945); Carvalho Pinto was elected governor by the coalition led by the UDN – right wing conservatives – and PDC – Christian Democrats. While the first incarnated the existing development project since 1930, the second blended liberal and conservative characteristics and sensitivity to social issues.

Carvalho Pinto articulates the planning activity just after his victory. The decree 34656 dated from 02/12/1959 creates the Planning Group, establishes guidelines and procedures and defines the composition of the Technical Team. The Planning Group was composed of professors from USP – University of São Paulo – and notable figures of public administration, and should prepare the guidelines and government policies; the Technical Team should write and execute the plan, and had broad participation of SAGMACS' staff.

The Targets Plan concentrates 93% of investments in energy, transport and basic industry. The Action Plan repeats investments in infrastructure (42%), but contemplates also the primary sector; putting side by side the investments to the agricultural and industrial expansion (30.7%). It adds a whole group of investments in improving the man's conditions (27%) (Figure 1)¹⁶.

With regard to infrastructure, 70% of the resources are destined for energy and road transportation. The completion of hydroelectric power plants in progress and the beginning of new ones increase the installed capacity from 1.387.000kW to 3.018.000kW. These power plants are situated in the medium courses of the main rivers that cross the São Paulo State, so that the western portions of the territory could be supplied in the short term through the concurrent construction of transmission lines (Figure 2).

The pace of the road network program is maintained, constructing 1.600km and paving 3000 km of roads. The municipal bridge construction program favors the agricultural production flow.



FIGURE 3 University Campus Armando de Salles Oliveira, São Paulo, SP. Partial panoramic view.

The Action Plan allocates the financial resources destined for agricultural and industrial expansion evenly; only the industrial financing funds are not implemented in face of the inflationary scenario of 1960 onwards. It foresees the installation of a network of agricultural development that covers almost all municipalities in a four year period, consisting of more than 308 “crop houses”, 29 agricultural regional offices, 16 heads of agricultural extension and 25 schools of agricultural initiation, all of them built by Ipesp – Institute of Social Security of São Paulo State. The Secretary of Agriculture builds seeds stations, mechanization stations and increases the capacity of warehouses and silos in 150%¹⁷. The CEASA – State Center for Supply S.A. – is created and the Capital Supply Center is built in those years.

About half of the resources dedicated to improving the man’s conditions are destined for education, culture and research. The plan includes the construction of 7,000 classrooms for primary education, 1,100 rooms for the secondary and normal education, 30 new vocational education units of the first cycle, 5 technical schools in partnership with the Union.

The Action Plan boosts the installation of the USP campus in the Fazenda Butantã in São Paulo, planned since its creation in 1934 and defined in 1941¹⁸, by creating the Fundusp – Building Fund of University Campus Armando de Salles Oliveira (Figure 2). Some of the most important Paulista Modern Architects design the former buildings of this campus, such as that for the College of Architecture and Town Planning (1960 – 1968) by Vilanova Artigas (1915 – 1985). These buildings are occupied from 1968 onwards. The plan foresees the incorporation and creation of 23 institutes of higher education at inner cities and the creation of medical schools in Botucatu and Campinas. The origins of Unesp – University of São Paulo State – and Unicamp – University of Campinas – reside in these institutions.

In the health area, the plan aims at the construction of 200 buildings for medical and health care centers, childcare centers, regional laboratories, regional health offices, and hospitals comprising 4,300 beds.

In the sanitation field (1.2% of financial resources), the plan provides for the expansion of water supply for the whole population of the capital in 1958 – increasing by 48% the number of water connections – and for the increase in 53% of the sewage network, also in the capital. In inner cities, the plan aims at increasing the number of buildings served by water connections from 71% in 1958 to 85% – it was 52% in 1950 – increasing the water network in 40% and the sewage network in 54%¹⁹.

THE ACTION PLAN AND GOVERNMENT POLICIES

In addition to physical targets, the Action Plan contains less tangible and known initiatives that are important to the economic and social development of the São Paulo state and mark its territory and cities.

The budget of USP increases 50% in 1959. The capacity of the higher education system increases successively, meeting the needs of the social environment and, in the case of the engineering schools, attending “our industry in full development”²⁰. The first naval engineers and geologists of the country graduate and are absorbed by Petrobras. Government messages cite several pieces of research carried out at USP, Institute of Atomic Energy, Institute of Tropical Medicine and Nuclear Medicine Center, the latter ones installed in 1959. The IPT – Technological Research Institute – performs testing, analyses and research for the industrial sector and for the hydroelectric power plants program²¹. The Secretary of Agriculture invests in the Agronomic Institute, in the Biological Institute and in the Animal Nutrition Center; creates the Agronomic Training Center (Figure 3), the Tropical Center for Research and Technology of Food, and builds large facilities for them.

The DOP – Direction of Public Works – hires more than 120 engineers, architects, designers, clerks and photographers in 1959 to face the production demand of public buildings.

The Carvalho Pinto government is not limited, thus, to the Action Plan. Marcucci²² defines the “Five CP` s flags”: “planning, financial and political unit, agrarian review, confrontation of social issues, balanced nationalism”. The law 5444 dated from 11/17/1959, which “provides on financial measures related to the Action Plan”, establishes innovative tools for budget management for the time. The multi-annual budget avoids political bargaining, enabling the plan²³. The mention to the “planning-budget” is significant²⁴.

Issues relating to the Action Plan funding sources deserve attention, since they involve important political decisions. Action Plan funding sources are located in budgetary and extra-budgetary revenue, state banks and Ipesp. The latter has built about 1,150 buildings for education, health, justice and public security, agricultural development and technical assistance throughout the territory, to be offered on lease to the state secretaries. The law 5444 dated from 11/17/1959 raised the borrowing limit of Paulista municipalities in loans destined to sanitation works from 1/3 to 50% of their budgeted income.

The Action Plan advocated the use of non-inflationary instruments and opposed to increase the tax burden. However, the newly elected governor articulated since before his inauguration the raise in the Sales and Consignment Tax, “the ‘terrible’ famine tax”, “only once previously increased by the Legislative Assembly”. The deputies approved the project, even after Caio Prado Jr. has remained in obstruction in the tribune for three straight days, until he passed out²⁵. This was the funding source of the great energy and transport works in the period.



FIGURE 4 CATI Complex (Coordination of Integral Technical Assistance, former Agronomic Training Center) (foreground) and ITAL (Institute of Food Technology, former Tropical Center for Research and Technology of Food) at Fazenda Santa Eliza, Campinas, SP. Partial panoramic view.

While the Action Plan foresees the creation of FAPESP – Fund for Scientific and Technological Research of São Paulo State –, the controversial Agrarian Review is not included in it, although it is a central political platform of Carvalho Pinto’s government. Its absence certainly results from its polemical character. Again, such initiative reveals more than the buildings, the political orientation of the Action Plan. The agrarian question – concerning the promotion of access to land – remains untouched in JK’s government, and is faced by Carvalho Pinto in a liberal way, just establishing “stimulus norms of rural property rational and economic exploitation”.

RESULTS AND EVALUATIONS OF THE ACTION PLAN

Despite of Ipesp having justified its production of public buildings as a means to protect the pension funds from inflation, this measure proves to be controversial. Political opponents denounce the misuse of these funds and argue that it reduces the amount allocated by Ipesp to housing finance to its insurees.

Despite of the differences between the Targets Plan and the Action Plan, this scenario is common to the Brazilian planning experience in those years: faced with funding restraints, energy, transport and basic industries sectors are prioritized, social areas are attended through pension funds – when they are –, and issues such as housing and urbanization are not touched by public sector²⁶. In the Paulista case, the governor determines the exclusion of such items²⁷. Exactly for this reason, the Action Plan reaches high achievement rates²⁸, as well as the Targets Plan.

If the innovative budget management avoids political bargain, the Action Plan, as well as its federal counterpart, acquire an advertising character²⁹, highlighting the physical targets at the expense of more controversial issues such as the Agrarian Revision, administrative reform, funding sources. In both cases, the conflicts emerged from

the highly polarized Cold War scenario are deviated to planning and its “neutral and apolitical” agents³⁰, enabling governmental action. However, this same politically polarized scenario discourages the planning institutions proposition, because of the supposed socialist character of planning³¹. The resemblance to the Targets Plan emerges once again, in the call for a “parallel administration” based on the creation of government agencies, authorities and working groups to dribble the truncated traditional administrative structure³².

Thus, the non-institutionalization of state planning is considered one of the reasons of Action Plan’s success. At the same time, the plan is criticized as “restricted to a list of works” and because of its non-institutionalization: despite of having prepared the Action Plan II, the group that gathers around the governor dissolves after the defeat of Carvalho Pinto’s candidate, the Secretary of Agriculture Jose Bonifacio Coutinho Nogueira, in the succession race³³. Herein lies a whole range of issues that cause the incorporation of planning in an “uneven and fragmentary” way, as to say, “as it could be applied in Brazil”³⁴.

CONCLUSION

The Action Plan responds to the global and national postwar scene, where topics like industrialization, development, research and development, agricultural revolution, underdevelopment and its consequences are recurrent. The polarized political process and the incapacity of funding and importation are obstacles to Brazilian industrialization, and mark planning initiatives such as the Action Plan.

As the whole Brazilian planning experience at the time, the Action Plan has a developmentist character, consisting in physical targets or policies that depended on them, like those related to basic and higher education, health, scientific and technological research.

On the one hand, the Action Plan recognizes the role played by agriculture, education, public health and sanitation in development, along with the transport and energy. On the other hand, the increase of the tax burden and of the indebtedness of municipalities, and the use of social security funds feed the plan, especially its social areas. Housing and urbanization remain untouched by public sector. Despite the mention to the “improvement of man’s conditions”, the conjunctural analyses and public policies – sometimes not included in the plan – reveal conservative contents. The agrarian-exporter and industrial interests impact on the planning and other government policies.

The Action Plan allocates financial resources of all existing funding sources to the agrarian exporter sector in crisis. However, the Agrarian Revision is faced in a liberal, if not conservative way; it avoids the word “reform” and is not effective.

Despite of the privileged treatment given to this sector, the Secretary of Agriculture José Bonifácio Coutinho is defeated in the elections by Adhemar de Barros, right-wing populist politician who was São Paulo mayor at that time and had power within the urban electorate. This shows the political, economic and social transformations that took place in São Paulo and Brazil towards modernization, industrialization and urbanization, resulting, among others, from the planning initiatives.

The choice for non institutionalization of planning, and the resulting setback at the end of Carvalho Pinto’s government, are product and expression of the vicissitudes and possibilities of Brazilian modernization. Thus considered in its broader dimensions, Carvalho Pinto’s Action Plan reveals the deep marks left by it in the São Paulo State territory and its cities.

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Endnotes

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