



Urban Reform in Brasil (1960-1964)

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Urban reform can be understood as a Latin American political agenda that inspired (and still inspires) many of the continent's countries to deal with their poor and segregated cities. Far from being a technical tool or a closed system of planning, it opens incisively a political dimension of struggle for the transformation of cities, particularly regarding urban land tenure and right to housing. In a very polarized geopolitical context, the Urban Reform Law was conceived in Cuba just after the 1959 Revolution. Approved in 1960, it states that "every family has the right to a decent home". Several measures were formulated to solve the problem, confronting real estate and land speculation, transforming tenants into owners, establishing strategies to produce social housing. In Brazil, in a short period of time (1960-1964), a field of Urban Reform was constructed, concomitant to huge urbanization, planning promises and an insurgent context. Through analysis of different sources, the study highlights progressive political perspectives on urban reform, mobilizing various political and professional alliances, as well as the disappearance of its problematization with the military coup of 1964. This agenda will re-emerge in the 1980s, within the process of democratization.

Keywords: urban reform, housing, Brazil

Introduction

The occasions in which fields of knowledge and their constitutive objects occupy a critical space in critical contexts¹ are not so frequent. That is, moments in which these fields of knowledge, as part of the process of their very construction, in interaction with the broadest social field, are urged to respond to problems that afflict the societal collective in general.

A particularly fertile moment to deal with this issue are the 1960s, with the activation of the banner of social reform in Latin American countries, based on the Cuban experience. In each context, it mobilized political alliances from different horizons, including professional ones. As far as we are concerned here, the politization of the urban issue and of the instruments of regulation and proposals for its resolutions – including urbanism and planning – strained the ways of understanding and operating reality. At the same time, it intensified the interfaces between social universes configured by diverse affiliations and interests. Thus, the greater breadth and depth of the field corresponded to its necessary interrelation and interaction with other fields.

To analyze the intense process of urban reform in Brazil between 1960 and 1964, it is necessary, in the first place, to appeal to some conceptual anchors, making it possible to contextualize the reformist and turbulent situation that characterized the country at that time. A necessary passage through Cuban urban reform makes it possible to enunciate, in the sequence, a situation of clashes between different perspectives involving this issue. It is then time to delve into the main expressions of the progressive reformist field, its composition, forms of action and the meanings attributed to urban reform. This then allows us to characterize this powerful movement and delineate the paths towards its comprehension.

Conceptual anchors

Political banners don't arise out of nowhere and are not the outcome of simple evolution in linear, homogeneous time. They result from complex interactions and overlapping movements between transscalar conjunctures, contexts and propelling agents, mobilizing aspirations, formulations, accumulated experiences, inventions, battles, conquests, defeats, alliances, ruptures.

The banner of urban reform is a clear expression of this process. Formulated and put into practice since the 1960s in Latin American countries, it derives from a set of processes, of practices and theories active since the end of the nineteenth century, updated with different profiles, temporalities, and intensities². Some concepts are fundamental to analyze it.



One of these is the reformist field³. According to Christian Topalov and based on an analysis which has as its point of departure networks of entities, associations, institutions, and conferences in France, between 1880 and 1914, the “laboratories of the new century” were configured. Morphologically autonomous and with intrinsic properties, they aggregate political, institutional, professional, and scientific dimensions. However, to implement the reforms, public bureaucracies will exercise a strong protagonism, breaking the autonomy that previously characterized this set of initiatives. Certainly, this represented a significant transformation in the public sphere. Still, half a century later, the issue of reforms emerges with intensity in Latin American countries, placing an entire continent in search of its place in the world.

After the experience of two world wars, communist revolutions, the flourishing of anti-colonialist struggles, the setting up of an international governance system, the theoretical elaboration that seeks to emancipate itself from the colonized comprehension of underdevelopment, it seems possible to address once again, although evidently with other characteristics, the issue of a restless reformist field present in these countries since the 1950s and, above all, since the 1960s⁴.

In this sense, it is inspiring to activate Braudel’s historical times for these temporal displacements, as well as continental and societal shifts in the endeavor to comprehend this theme. On the one hand, the brief time, allusive to the individual and the event “has long accustomed us to its hasty, dramatic, short-breathed report”. On the other, conjunctural time, carried by economic history. Or “another form of historical narrative appears, call it the ‘recitative’ of the conjuncture, the cycle, even the ‘intercycle’”⁵, varying from some decades to half a century. The combination of these times makes it possible to understand reformist actions, contexts, and situations in a relational and intertwined manner.

Considering that the reforms that are of interest here are those linked to interventions in cities, the concept of the field of urbanism or of urban planning becomes fundamental. In general, Bourdieu understands that social space is constituted by diverse fields, which are at once fields of forces (“whose needs impose themselves on the agents that are involved in it”) and fields of struggles (“within which agents confront each other, with different means and ends, according to their position within the structure of the fields of forces, contributing in this way to the conservation or transformation of its structure”), which delineate “spaces of possibility”, always in interaction⁶.

In other words, like others, the field of urbanism is based on the action of the social groups that produce it. Furthermore, it involves the recognition and delimitation of, albeit with relational and changing borders⁷, sets of problematics, of theoretical and empirical references, of experiences, propositions, disputes, formations, traditions, symbols, and expectations. At the same time, it is a relatively autonomous field, with its own history.

Within these overlapping formulations, it seems possible to address the issue of urban reform in Brazil in the first half of the 1960s.

Brazil in the 1960s: tense and reformist conjuncture

In the 1960s, Brazil was living through a turbulent process, marked by an instable society and a recent democratic experience, as well as structural political and economic issues. In turn, the accelerated mode of urbanization and, above all, metropolization was combined with a situation of fierce geopolitical dispute at the international level.

In terms of internal politics, the newly elected federal government, that took office in 1961, was extremely unquiet, with the elected president resigning after just seven months in office. Vice-president João Goulart, close to left-wing sectors, including the Communist Party, was viewed with great suspicion by conservatives and the military. They imposed a change to the parliamentary regime as a condition for his instatement. However, this was short-lived, presidentialism being reinstated in the beginning of 1963.

If reforms, although fragmented, were already an issue, being an important theme of debate during the electoral process, they became the key word of the governmental projects from then on. In other words, “a politics of development in the current phase of our political formation, should be a politics of reform”⁸. Furthermore, according to the President of the Republic, it was about promoting “economic development guided by criteria of social justice”⁹ through agrarian, urban¹⁰, tax, banking and administrative reforms. University, exchange rate and electoral reforms were also mentioned during this period. Indeed, the politization of planning was central to this situation: “planning constitutes, a basic reform, despite being instrumental. The social and political objectives of the Nation are what dictates the content of planning”¹¹.

In the city and the rural area, the issue of access to land was on the agenda. Among many other elements, conflicts over the agrarian issue, which had been going on for at least a century, strained the situation. The



exacerbation of the urban issue, in which access to housing and infrastructure constituted points of dissatisfaction, mobilization and action were also a cause of mounting tension. Speculative processes, in general, were being questioned and, more specifically, the perspective of the right to property conditioned by social interest gained strength in political conflicts. Although this right was already foreseen by the 1946 Federal Constitution, its practice was incipient and fragile.

It is within this perspective that, in Brazil, urban reform progressively gains forums for public debate and contours of a banner of struggle¹². Between 1960 and 1964, many interpretations and objectives were defined with respect to urban reform, but the first times it is mentioned in the national press derive from the Cuban experience¹³. By directly confronting the issue of property ownership, making it subject to expropriation, the continental repercussions of the measures taken, including in Brazil, were enormous. Discussing this experience, particularly Cuba's position at that moment within the geopolitical disputes and tensions present internationally and, specifically, in the American continent, is essential.

Cuban Urban reform: the radicalization of a banner of struggles

In the aftermath of the 2nd World War, the Cold War brought tension to some parts of the world, but had preserved the Americas, until 1959. The latter was a region relatively controlled by world capitalism – although full of instabilities – through the hegemony of the United States. The Cuban Revolution interrupts this trajectory by bringing another political, economic, and social regime to the heart of the continent. Marked initially by the anti-dictatorial and anti-imperialist struggle, it soon unfolds into socialism.

Urban reform marks exactly this transition between the reformist and socialist periods¹⁴. A deep housing crisis, characterized by a permanent housing deficit and highly speculative processes that govern the production of location as well as properties was widely acknowledged. Bearing this in mind, “the Cuban Revolution considers the right to housing as an essential and unalienable human right”¹⁵, and the *Ley de Reforma Urbana*¹⁶, is drawn up to address this issue in all its complexity. Approved on October 14th, 1960, just over a year after the Revolution, it declares, in its first article, that “every family has the right to decent housing”¹⁷.

A set of principles, procedures and institutions are created with this law to regulate the use of land and properties as well as the production of housing, thus confronting speculation and exploitation of real estate and land. The expropriation of properties used for rental as well as income and the transformation of renters into owners seems to have been, in the field of urban policies, the measures that had the most impact on the international political scene, since they directly confronted property rights. A series of other measures, such as the establishment of the Urban Reform Councils, the definition of the periods of time for achieving the right to housing, the use of unoccupied properties, the issuance of urban reform bonuses, constitute a strategy of public policy elaborated to confront the serious problem of housing, while lending it central importance in the struggle against poverty.

“The Cubans, thanks to their rich experience, are already launching new sociological figures, of which ‘urban reform’ is an example (...) which will certainly make a career in the world, particularly in Latin America.”¹⁸ This recognition derives from the fact that the formulation is also extremely close to the context and challenges posed by urbanization in Latin American countries, in which the issue of housing assumed a central place¹⁹.

Furthermore, the level of political instability and dissatisfaction with living conditions and the forms of international aid, derived from a subaltern position in the geopolitical hierarchy, created in these countries a context more conducive to receiving the new possibilities that emerged from the Cuban experience. The action of progressive political networks and parties, with special emphasis on the communist parties, gave scope and depth to this process. In turn, the revolutionary government itself had this continental action as its objective. The First Declaration of Havana, resulting from the General National Assembly of the Cuban People, assembled on the 2nd of September, 1960, affirms its commitment to the “self-determination, sovereignty and dignity of the brotherly peoples of the Continent”, as well as to “work towards this common Latin American destiny, that will allow our countries to edify a true solidarity, based on the free will of each of them and the joint aspirations of all”²⁰.

It is not by chance that, after a long construction, postponed since the 1950s, the North American government launched a financing program for Latin America. It was called the Alliance for Progress and was announced only a few months after the Declaration of Havana, the Cuban Law of Urban Reform and soon after the United States had severed diplomatic relations with Cuba. Along this path, combating underdevelopment becomes at the same time, combating the so-called communist threat. The speech



delivered by United States president, John F. Kennedy, when presenting the program, on March 13th, 1961, alerts the public of the great danger threatening the continent. He appeals to the unity of the Americas, to the “common revolution” pursued by its countries, to the necessary reforms, to social justice and economic development, goals that can only be achieved within the framework of democratic institutions. Housing and land integrate the main issues concerning basic needs to be satisfied, referred to in both English and Spanish: “Therefore I have called on all the people of the hemisphere to join in a new Alliance for Progress - *Alianza para el Progreso* – a vast cooperative effort, unparalleled in magnitude and nobility of purpose, to satisfy the basic needs of the American people for homes, work and land, health and school - *techo, trabajo y tierra, salud y escuela*”²¹.

It is within the context of this geopolitical dispute that Brazil will experience urban reform and its developments.

Urban Reform in Brazil (1960-1964)

The issue of Cuban urban reform very rapidly entered the space of public debate in Brazil. Its initial manifestations in the newspapers²², in October of 1960, were informative. While coverage of the banner of struggle for urban reform was discussed more or less in-depth, the suppression of the real estate property regime and the suspension of evictions were highlighted. Soon, however, there were reactions against these measures, qualifying them as “crazy” and stating that another kind of housing policy was desirable. There were still those who justified the measures taking into consideration their intrinsic connection with the defense of the revolutionary process and with the popular support they gained, especially from the middle classes. Some months later, however, in May 1961, the issue had already been nationalized: a law proposed in congress²³ provided for the expropriation and sale of residential properties, transforming rents into amortization of the purchase²⁴. The reaction to the proposed measure was immediate, both in terms of support and rejection, and the theme starts to guide a set of movements around the issue of urban reform in the country.

One should note that, in this temporality, an attempt was made to build, as mentioned above, through vigorous action by the US government, an alternative to the Cuban perspective. Housing was given a special place within the program of the Alliance for Progress, being considered part of the social policy to be implemented. The Agreement of the program was signed in August 1961, at the Punta del Este Conference, approved by all countries except Cuba.

Thus, simultaneously with a series of other developments and conflicts²⁵, a polarization starts to build up in Brazil around the banner of urban reform, which gains greater centrality in the reformist agenda²⁶. The importance and strength of the repercussion of Cuban urban reform and its political premises imposes the use of the banner by diverse, although discordant political groups. Thus, it mobilizes Brazilian society, always agglutinating to a greater or lesser degree, parties, organizations, and entities of civil society. On one hand, in a more progressive and structural perspective, urban reform is understood as a way of confronting the issue of property as a strategy to address the issue of housing. On the other, within a more conservative field, without causing a rupture in the status quo, urban reform is circumscribed to housing production operated by means of market mechanisms, including financial, mutual aid and land negotiations. There is also a middle ground, sensitive to the issue of housing and that moves between these two positions depending on how contexts and circumstances are being problematized. This text will focus on the progressive perspective on urban reform in Brazil, highlighting that its own configuration is strained by the simultaneous movements of the other two fields.

This political dispute around the definition and operating modes of urban reform reveals the centrality that it detained at that time in the public agenda. Although the right to housing had already been announced by the Declaration of the Rights of Man in 1793, its problematization was now anchored in a new geopolitical situation and in a context in which intense urbanization substantially incited issues concerning habitation.

The Progressive Field of Urban Reform in Brazil

For Brazil, “it seems that the time has come to recognize as legitimate the right to housing”²⁷. There were several initiatives, alliances, and disputes in this search for urban reform, revealing the movements of the fields of forces and fields of struggles. Four of its main expressions, that worked with each other, will be discussed here.



It is necessary to recognize, firstly, that urban reform, this “new sociological figure” and I would add political one, becomes part of the basic reforms of the federal government, those that should guide, with social justice, the transformation of Brazil. Mentioned explicitly by the President of the Republic in a message to Congress in 1963, it still has an imprecise and fragile formulation. The need for housing policy and regulatory legislation to combat speculation were suggested as means for addressing the obstacles that impede the poorest population from having access to their own houses. As mobilization around urban reform grew, throughout 1963 and the beginning of 1964, the federal government became more aware of this issue, giving it more space. However, it always kept postponing a decision on it²⁸.

Nationally, the legislative construction of urban reform, the second expression of this process, was being elaborated since 1961, as mentioned above. A Bill “based on the Urban Reform decreed by the revolutionary government of Fidel Castro”²⁹ was presented to Congress in May 1961 by Congressman and engineer Sergio Magalhães, of the *Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro – PTB* [Brazilian Labor Party]. Its first article declared, “of public utility for the purpose of expropriation for social interest all apartments and residential houses leased to the same tenant for ten years or more”. At the same time as it expropriated, exercising a constitutionally foreseen right, it also provided compensation for the owners and other operational measures. The proponent hoped that the approval of the project would be “proof of the possibility of carrying out social reforms within a democratic regime”³⁰. The project, however, was shelved, being presented once again, without changes, two years later, in March 1963, in the wake of the Presidential statement on the issue.

In November 1963, a new bill was proposed in Congress by Congressman and architect Artur Lima Cavalcanti, also elected by PTB. PL 1329/63 foresees the creation of the Superintendency of Urban Policy [*Superintendência de Política Urbana – SUPURB*]³¹, an eminently planning body. It represented a significant change, for its goal was to act directly on the construction of an institutional framework. The attributions of *SUPURB* contemplated, among other things, the responsibility for expropriation of urban real estate for public utility or social interest; the creation of a special fund for urbanization and housing; as well as undertaking plans for mutual aid. These are considered prior measures to a necessary urban reform, a second phase, which should focus on the “revision, updating and even restriction of property rights”³² due to its association with land and real estate speculative processes. This would require – and constitutes a source of much controversy – constitutional review, particularly in the chapter that refers to the forms of compensation arising from expropriations. At the beginning of 1964, given that the bill was not progressing through parliament, work began on the idea of establishing *SUPURB* via presidential decree, which was continually postponed.

In addition to proposed laws and decrees, there is also a set of parliamentary fronts to be mentioned, not be detailed here, which were structured on defending the reform agenda, and urban reform specifically, together with other social segments.

The mobilization of these segments constitutes the third expression of urban reform. The political situation, already tumultuous, was aggravated by the increase in rents and the possibility of expiration of the tenancy law³³. The defense of the need to alter the constitution as one of the paths designed for urban reform, changing the form of payment of eventual expropriations, also fueled various movements³⁴. The social fabric, emulated by various types of organizations defending different principles and interests became progressively active between 1960 and 1964³⁵.

The formation, right in the early 1960s, of fronts of movements that sought to associate peasants, workers, and students for reforms and against imperialism must be stressed. In addition to proposals of marches to Brasilia or civic vigils in the city to pressure for reforms, the idea of establishing the First Popular Parliament of Brazil was also put forward. Likewise, programmatic fronts of action were defined, such as the Unity and Action Pact, for which 15 guidelines were listed, including urban reform. Always present in the diverse initiatives, it was justified as necessary to put an end to real estate speculation and to the concentration of properties or as a solution for home ownership.

Large assemblies of workers, bringing together seafarers, dockers, railway workers and public servants, important workers’ strikes, or national union meetings were also in favor of urban reform as the only solution to the housing problem or owning a home. The National Congress of Banking and Insurance workers took a more radical stance, formulating diverse demands. Amongst them were urban reform, with the expropriation for public and social interest as well as constitutional reform³⁶.

Entities of solidarity and protection to tenants were also important agents acting in defense of urban reform. Organized occupations of land and property were promoted, as well as protest marches against the expulsion of populations from their living quarters, all articulated around the banner of urban reform.



The action of the Catholic Church, in those sectors inspired by the encyclical *Mater et Magistra*, of 1961, was also felt with intensity, whether by the organizations linked to it or by the practice of religious people. Lectures in workers' organizations, declarations in the newspapers or effective experiences of housing production were carried out by different segments of the Catholic hierarchy, that defended the implementation of urban reform as a necessary measure to achieve housing adequate to the dignity of the human person. At the same time, the criterion of free competition to guide programs aimed at resolving the housing issue was questioned.

Finally, as the fourth expression of movements for urban reform, there was "first attempt to find a technical solution for the anguishing problem of housing in the country"³⁷. Promoted by *IPASE – Instituto de Previdência e Aposentadoria dos Servidores do Estado* [Institute of Social Security and Retirement for Employees of the State] and by IAB – Institute of the Architects of Brazil, the Seminar Housing and Urban Reform – s.HRu³⁸, held in Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo in 1963, conceived urban reform from the perspective of national interest as well as from a technical one. Therefore, in line with various other reformist expressions, it was now a question of "obtaining, through the seminar, a clear definition of Brazilian Urban Reform."³⁹ A set of proposals was outlined, relating to a national housing and urban planning policy and its institutional construction, including *SUPURB*, mentioned above. Urban reform, in the Seminar's final document, was defined as "the set of State measures aimed at the equitable use of urban land, the regulation and allocation of equipment to urban agglomerations providing decent housing for all families"⁴⁰. Cautious in its formulation, it seemed to respond to the political strategies of the federal government and sectors of the legislative body concerning urban reform, giving it an institutional structure and principles of social justice.

The different social categories present in the seminar – in addition to the architects, there were union leaders, politicians from different parties, high-ranking public servants, social workers, urbanists, sociologists, economists – explicit, once again, the articulation of various political and professional expressions that sought to build urban reform in Brazil as its own political field. Although with varied but similar formulations, with the city as its epicenter, an entire, complex movement was underway to search for possibilities of social and political transformation to overcome the profound injustices and inequalities to which a large part of the population was subjected.

Conclusion

Throughout this reflexive path, the construction of urban reform as its own political field, articulated to the Brazilian reformist agenda, seems evident. The longer period of building rights is brought to life in the very short period of searching for reforms now. Through housing, it is the living conditions in the city that are called into question and the reasons for their existence problematized. Difficult to construct, requiring theoretical-conceptual, legal, and political articulations, in a field always mined by the defense of the status quo, urban reform reveals itself as a category of practice. It is as a practice in a field of struggles under construction that it carries the set of mobilizations in its defense.

Within the field of urbanism and urban planning in particular, the Seminar on Housing and Urban Reform, convened by a professional entity and a social security institute, may be considered, in conjunction with the entire network, as a participant and privileged interlocutor of this entire process. This role places the s.HRu in a distinct position from so many other events, that are, for the most part, professionally or academically circumscribed. It is the formation of a political field specific to urban reform, which allows us to understand the presence of so many different political agents in a meeting of this kind.

The violent interruption of this process brought about by the military coup in 1964, will dismantle and submerge these social experiments, drastically interrupting an incipient and fragile process of construction of democracy, republic, and justice, of which the Brazilian city sought to be a part and an expression. Progressive urban reform practically disappeared from the public agenda from then on, with most of its protagonists impeached, imprisoned and/or persecuted by the regime of force that was imposed. It returns to the scene almost 20 years later, with the process of redemocratization.



¹ Kingdon, *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies*.

² Part of this conceptual framework is discussed in Fernandes, *Reforma urbana no Brasil: inquietações e explorações* [Urban reform in Brazil: concerns and explorations]. A brief panorama of debates concerning the concepts of reform and Revolution is also constructed there.

³ Topalov, *Laboratoires du Nouveau Siècle*.

⁴ According to Hobsbawm, *Tempos Interessantes*, 396, “there wasn’t any [leftist] intellectual from Europe or the United States who did not succumb to the spell of Latin America, a continent in which apparently the lava of the social revolutions bubbled”.

⁵ Braudel, *História e Ciências Sociais*, 263 e 266.

⁶ Bourdieu, *Espaço Social e Campo do poder*, 50

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Goulart, *Mensagem ao Congresso Nacional*, 9

⁹ Ibid., 10

¹⁰ Differently than the perspective adopted here, the term urban reform will also be used by some authors in Brazil, since the mid-1980s, to describe large operations of urban transformation à la Haussman, highlighting, above all, their character as public works and the ideologies they carry. For example, Pereira, *A Reforma Urbana de Pereira Passos* [The urban reform of Perreira Passos]. It may also be the case that authors name initiatives retrospectively when the expression had not yet been formulated as such.

¹¹ Goulart, *Mensagem ao Congresso Nacional*, 18

¹² Although it does not carry the name of urban reform, a reformist sense of regulation of the city in Brazil dates back to the 1920s, expanding from the 1930s and 1940s. In general, it is led by a more technical political spectrum and aims to curb speculative processes, limit the right to property and exercise more public control over processes of growth and extension of the cities.

¹³ One of our main research sources are approximately 1.800 articles concerning urban reform published between 1960 and 1969 in 50 newspapers from different parts of the country. A greater volume of articles, however, is from Rio de Janeiro, the city that had recently lost its post as federal capital to Brasília. The role of international news agencies and of diverse information networks also played a significant role in this diffusion.

¹⁴ Suárez Pérez, Caner Román, “*A 55 años de la Ley de Reforma Urbana*”

¹⁵ Cuba. *Ley de Reforma Urbana*, 771

¹⁶ Already in 1953, the Moncada Program, although defeated on that occasion, considered housing conditions tragic, requiring immediate action to address them. Castro, *La História me absolverá*, 14

¹⁷ Cuba. *Ley de Reforma Urbana*, 771

¹⁸ Ramos, “*Ponto de Vista Nacional*”, 4

¹⁹ Since the 1950s, the intensification of processes of urbanization in Latin America, although at varying degrees and paces, has placed the issue of housing as an inescapable topic of governmental action. Also worth noting is the important role played by international agencies, particularly the OAS. See Montoya Pino, Ramirez Niero, Aravechia-Botas, *CINVA: Un Proyecto Latinoamericano*.

²⁰ *Primera Declaración de la Habana*, 1, 4

²¹ Text of an Address by President John F. Kennedy, 1

²² We used as our references, 4 publications from different political fields: the liberal newspaper, the *Diário da Noite*; a progressive newspaper, the *Última Hora*; a weekly communist newspaper, the *Novos Rumos*; and a conservative newspaper, the *Tribuna da Imprensa*, all based in Rio de Janeiro.

²³ It was elaborated by Congressman Sérgio Magalhães, from the *Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro – PTB* [Brazilian Labor Party], which housed several deputies also linked the Communist Party, which was then illegal.

²⁴ *Diário da Noite*, “*Reforma Urbana*”, 3

²⁵ This very turbulent period will not be discussed here in greater detail, but it involves movements and disputes of different scopes and significance in the early 1960s, such as, among others: the nationalization of US properties in Cuba and the Cuba-USSR agreement; the attempt to invade the Bay of Pigs, in Cuba, supported by the USA; Che Guevara is distinguished with the *Ordem Nacional do Cruzeiro do Sul* [National Order of the Southern Cross] by the President of the Republic; regulation of the remittance of profits from Brazil to the exterior; the expulsion of Cuba from the OAS.

²⁶ In the period between 1960 and 1964, among the set of reforms mentioned above, the agrarian and urban reforms are those that were able to gain the support of a large part of the sectors mobilized in favor of transformations in the country.

²⁷ Magalhães, “*A Reforma Urbana*”, 4



²⁸ The initiatives of some of the state governments also deserve to be highlighted in this construction. However, it is not possible to approach them in detail here.

²⁹ Diário da Noite, “Reforma Urbana”, 3

³⁰ Magalhães, *PL 2975-61*

³¹ We cannot fail to make a connection with the creation of SUPRA – *Superintendência de Política Agrária* [Superintendency of Agrarian Policy], in October 1962, which had, among its responsibilities, “planning, promoting, executing and insuring execution (...) of the agrarian reform”. Brasil, *Lei Delegada 11/62*, art. 2^o

³² Câmara dos Deputados, *Projeto de Lei 1329/63*

³³ Law approved in 1950, number 1300/50, it offered protection to tenants and was renewed annually, always generating great public discussion due to the conflicting interests between owners of rented properties and residents.

³⁴ The aim was to amend ¶ 16 of article 141 of the 1946 Federal Constitution, relating to the methods of compensation for expropriated properties, from payment in cash to payment in public debt securities, with a 20-year term.

³⁵ The source of these information are articles published in the 4 newspapers mentioned in footnote 22.

³⁶ See note 34.

³⁷ Batista, “Solução Técnica para a Habitação”, 2

³⁸ For an analysis of the Seminar, see Fernandes, “Reforma urbana no Brasil”

³⁹ IAB, “Seminário de Habitação e Reforma Urbana”, 24

⁴⁰ IAB, “s.HRu. Seminário de Habitação e Reforma Urbana”, 19

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