

After noting the Castello Branco government's "native unwavering resentment against international communism" (a monolith non-existent for some time, as beleaguered Moscow can testify), the author concludes that after 1964 the Brazilian government dropped efforts to increase economic ties with the Soviet bloc. What then of the trip to the Soviet Union by Castello Branco's Planning Minister, Roberto Campos, in 1965? What of the ninety-million dollar loan to help finance a bituminous shale project that indirectly resulted from his visit (the largest loan ever negotiated between Brazil and a Communist country)?

The thin research on Brazilian politics is interlaced with maldroit generalizations, such as (p. 60) that "in a matter of decades, Brazil will be a fully industrialized country" (whatever this might mean). Or that "since irrational political movements have little chance to take root in Brazil, totalitarianism cannot be considered as inevitable" (p. viii). The last statement is a non sequitur, neither half of which could be substantiated by any evidence offered here.

In sum, the author has failed to explain the political forces at work in Brazil in the nineteen sixties, contenting himself with superficialities that neglect the work of Brazilian scholars such as Juárez Brandão Lopes, Francisco Weffort, and Leôncio Martins Rodrigues. The least one can ask of "introductory" surveys such as this is that they be based on a mastery of the existing scholarship in the country being discussed. Having failed this test, Dubnic falls far short of the lavish encomiums offered the unwary reader in the Foreword.

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*Civil Service Reform in Brazil. Principles versus Practice.* By LAWRENCE S. GRAHAM. Austin, 1968. University of Texas Press for the Institute of Latin American Studies. Latin American Monographs. Tables. Notes. Appendix. Bibliography. Index. Pp. ix, 233. \$6.50.

This is an attempt to explain why efforts to reform the Brazilian civil service have gone wrong. The author has interviewed public administrators and studied theoretical writings of the past twenty-five years. He finds that the goals and methods of public administration in Brazil derive from European juridical tradition or from out-of-date North American theorists, and that the administrators themselves are unable to come to grips with the reality of

politics or with the requirements of economic and social development.

Graham's explanations are interesting. He shows that civil service reform accumulated enemies because of its origins in Vargas' personal superministry, the DASP (Departamento Administrativo do Serviço Público). There the mandarins of the upper bureaucracy cultivated a chilling Weberian ideology that justified their own position of power as much as it exalted a neutral objective of efficiency. Every president since 1945 continued to use civil service reform, furthermore, as a disguise for executive discretion. As a result, the merit system has always seemed elitist, centralist, and arbitrary to lower bureaucrats and to politicians in general.

Political patronage has been a much more formidable problem. Graham sees it as a relatively new phenomenon. Before 1937 the bureaucracy was small and provided places for the downwardly mobile. Since 1945, at any rate up to the coup of 1964, the public trough had to accommodate a new group elbowing its way upward with the aid of populist or labor-machine parties. For the well-educated scions of decadent oligarchies a written examination posed no obstacle, but the white collar *arrivistes* had to be granted mass dispensations.

The predominance of the spoils system does not dismay Graham, partly because he sees it as a way of "integrating" a mass society, a social objective more important than economy and efficiency. He also thinks that at this stage patronage is essential to the operation of an open political system, a fact understood thoroughly only by Kubitschek, who managed to combine political deals with development goals. Graham considers the maintenance of a liberal democracy as important as social integration, not for inadmissible subjective reasons—so he would have us believe—but because only that "style" of government generates the feedback needed to control effectively a political system undergoing rapid transformation.

Other problems are taken into account, but only in passing. How can the bureaucrats already hired be trained to look upon their sinecures as real jobs? How can incompetent personnel be directed to administer a merit system for the hiring and training of others? The simple fact of size and inertia makes civil service reform at this late date a staggering undertaking. Graham insists on a clear understanding of the social and political system that shapes the bureaucracy because he wants to see the training of public administrators improved. Nevertheless these considerations make civil service reform

appear to be just another lever without a fulcrum in the workshop of the developmentalists.

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WARREN DEAN

*Estrutura e expansão da indústria em São Paulo.* By JOSÉ CARLOS PEREIRA. São Paulo, 1967. Companhia Editôra Nacional. Biblioteca Universitária. Tables. Notes. Pp. xvii, 201. Paper.

The city of São Paulo and its metropolitan area today possess one of the largest and most diversified industrial establishments in the so-called underdeveloped world. The study under review is an attempt to analyze this region's industrial growth, basically around the following themes: rapid growth and subsequent recent stagnation; favorable and then negative effects from inflation; the preponderance of state and foreign enterprise in the newer industrial sectors; and finally, the effects of increasing industrial concentration upon development.

The book's essential conclusions are approximately as follows: São Paulo's industrial growth, dating back to the first decades of this century, was most rapid in the 1950s. Industry has become increasingly diversified, and plants have increased in size and capital intensity. Labor productivity rose primarily in the period after World War II. The author highlights the preponderance of government and foreign firms in the newer and larger-scale industries. He attributes this primarily to the very underdeveloped Brazilian capital market.

For the author, the most serious problems facing Paulista industry in the 1960s have been excess capacity and slow growth, caused by lack of demand. Pereira has two rather different explanations of this. First, inflation, by raising the cost of holding idle cash, stimulated firms to overinvest as a hedge against inflation—causing excess capacity. This is a plausible but unsubstantiated hypothesis. Later the author seems to agree with Ignácio Rangel, an unorthodox Brazilian economist, that ever increasing profit-wage ratios in industry, because of non-competitive pricing behavior, have reduced real demand below what is needed for full capacity production. The remedies which he prescribes all look to increasing the real income of wage earners and therefore the level of real aggregate consumption demand. He believes that ceiling price controls on food products can help considerably by reducing noncompetitive profits in marketing, despite their dismal failure in the past. Equally important might be increases in the real minimum wage to raise real