



Building Brazil. Part 1: 1900-1964

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Building Brazil

Part 1: 1900–1964



1928–32

Michael Hensel and Rumi Kubokawa

In 1943 the Museum of Modern Art in New York mounted an exhibition entitled 'Brazil Builds', which drew the attention of an international audience to pre-modern and modern Brazilian architecture. The AA has now launched a series of exhibitions, 'Brazil Still Builds', sponsored by the Lina Bo and P. M. Bardi Institute in São Paulo, which will survey the development of Brazilian architecture since 1943.

In conjunction with the exhibitions, this two-part article outlines the intricate relations between the evolution of the political system and the architecture of Brazil during the twentieth century. Throughout this century, Brazilian politicians have used new building projects as an opportunity for enhancing their popularity and prestige, as well as promoting the idea of such architecture as a symbol of modernization. Since public building was often politically motivated, it was necessarily affected by changes

in the power structure, and many projects came to a standstill as a result of political succession and a disinclination on the part of the newly elected government to fulfil the plans of the previous one. Thus the building of Brasília and the transfer of the capital were carried out according to a strict schedule that ensured its completion within a single presidential term.

In 1964 a military coup d'état interrupted the process of modernization for more than two decades. The first part of this article examines the early stages of modernism, from the beginning of the century until the coup, thus establishing the historical background to the exhibition of work by Vilanova Artigas and Affonso Eduardo Reidy at the AA in June 1998 (see p. 56). The second part, to be published in 'AA Files' no. 38, will examine developments since 1964, and relates to exhibitions on the work of Paulo Mendes da Rocha and of five young practices.

'Most importantly, if we wish to give [architecture] the human content it lacks, we must take part in the political struggle.'

Oscar Niemeyer

After Brazil's independence had been proclaimed in 1822, the country's first prime minister, José Bonifácio, proposed to move the capital city from Rio de Janeiro to the more secure interior of the country.

In 1826 a French artistic mission consisting of painters, sculptors and architects was invited to found the Escola Nacional de Belas Artes (ENBA) in Rio de Janeiro. Thus the European Beaux Arts tradition was transplanted to Brazil, and endowed with an authority which stifled developments of a distinctively local, let alone national, character.

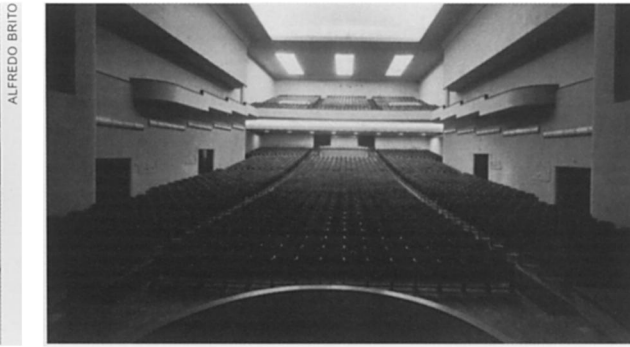
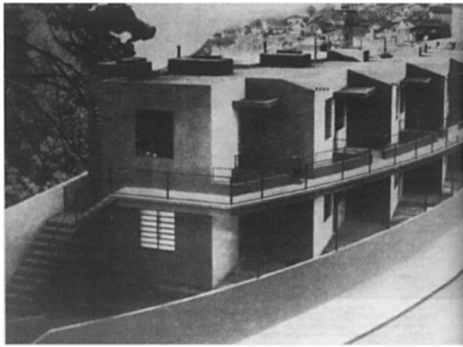
The revolution of 1889 marked the end of the Brazilian monarchy, but it left many tensions unresolved. The republicans had turned to the army for help with overthrowing the monarchy and subsequently with implementing economic and social reform, and for the first time in the nation's history it was ruled by a military dictatorship. However, the old local and regional oligarchies soon re-established their control over most of the country.

A decision was made to establish the new capital city in the Planalto Central – a high plateau in the

state of Goiás, approximately in the centre of the country – and the location and size of the federal district were outlined by 1892. The scientist Luiz Cruls headed a commission that determined potential locations for the new capital, but the unstable political situation prevented further progress until 1920.

In 1894 military rule was replaced by civilian rule and a law prohibiting two successive terms by the same president was enacted. This law was to have a significant impact as politicians sought ways to perpetuate their regime, sometimes turning to a military-backed dictatorship or at least pursuing short-term goals during the first term of office in order to secure re-election.

During this period the emergent ruling class favoured the idea of pursuing a European-style urban civilization. Around 1914, however, there was an attempt to develop a national style of architecture. José Mariano Filho, director of the Escola Nacional de Belas Artes (ENBA), advocated the neo-colonial baroque style, in opposition to the prevailing historical eclecticism and Jugendstil, but despite his efforts the school continued to promulgate a predominantly French tradition in architecture. However, two years later the work of Alexandre Albuquerque marked a decisive change. The codes for minimum daylight in new buildings adopted by planners in São Paulo were



1932

1936

1936–43

ALFREDO BRITO

FUNDAÇÃO OSCAR NIEMEYER

based on his scientific studies of sunlight in relation to buildings. Thus the local climate became a factor in determining the character of the country's architecture.

In 1922, the centennial of Brazil's independence, the foundation stone for the new capital city was laid, but again no further action was taken. In the same year the Republicans refused to accept the elected presidential candidate supported by the government and the generals. Lower-ranking officers of the armed forces in the Rio de Janeiro area rebelled, and although this rebellion was suppressed, its aims gave rise to the ideology called *tenentismo* (the word *tenente* means lieutenant, which reappeared in later years).

The 'Week of Modern Art' in São Paulo in 1922 introduced the new modernist avant-garde and its cultural and aesthetic revolution. Exhibitions, lectures and recitals focused mainly on the fine arts, literature, music and dance; architecture being a relatively minor component. The event clearly aimed at freeing the arts from their past cultural dependence on Europe. Ironically, however, it was the European avant-garde that became the model for a Brazilian national style. Another irony is the fact that the main financial sponsor of the Modern Art Week, Paulo Prado, was a member of the coffee oligarchy, one of the groups whose conservative views and entrenched political power would soon come under attack from the avant-garde which he sponsored. Prado also organized and financed Le Corbusier's visit to Brazil in 1929. But conflict only surfaced when the modern movement became involved with politics and when, in turn, local oligarchs began to identify it with Leftist political aims and social and economic changes that threatened to undermine their power.

The first Brazilian architectural manifesto, 'Futurismo?', was published in 1925 by the Russian *émigré* architect Gregori Warchavchik, who praised the aesthetics of machines and proclaimed concrete to be the building material of the new epoch. In the same year Rino Levi, who as a student of Piacentini at the Academy of Art in Rome had come in contact with the works of Poelzig, Mies van der Rohe, Gropius, Neutra and Le Corbusier, wrote in a São Paulo news-

paper that 'the movement manifesting itself today in the arts and especially in architecture is worthy of note. Everything leads us to believe that a new era is about to begin, if it has not already begun.'

Warchavchik built the first cubist houses in São Paulo in 1927. Lucio Costa, on seeing an article about this project, began to abandon the neo-classical style. Julio de Abreu Junior designed the first modernist block of flats in São Paulo, completed in 1928. Concurrently, Rino Levi designed and constructed the Columbus building – his first modernist work of major importance in São Paulo and the first block of luxury flats to be built there – in a style which is somewhat reminiscent of Erich Mendelsohn's expressionism.

When Le Corbusier first came to South America in 1929, he gave ten lectures in Buenos Aires and also visited Brazil, where he met Warchavchik and subsequently recommended him to Sigfried Giedion as a South American representative of CIAM. Warchavchik in turn recommended Lucio Costa, who took part in the CIAM meetings from 1934. Le Corbusier's visit also caused fundamental changes in his own work, first evidenced in an urban planning proposal for Rio which incorporated and emphasized the contours of the landscape.

During this period the electoral system was notoriously corrupt, there were no properly organized national parties, and public order could only be upheld by repression. Political reforms, when they were introduced, were inadequate to prevent the revolution in 1930, led by Getulio Vargas and a diverse mix of bourgeois factions. Even with military support, it took nation-wide mobilization and a considerable armed struggle to topple the old regime. Although the Communists had refused to endorse the revolution and were politically insignificant, they soon came to be regarded as a threat by both the old and the new élites.

At first the urban middle class and the military accepted the dictatorship, suspending their liberal ideals in an attempt to prevent the return to power of the rural oligarchies – whose dependants represented the vast majority of voters – and in order to retain a role in the rapidly expanding bureaucracy. The new

1928–32 Rino Levi:
Columbus building, São Paulo

1932 Lucio Costa & Gregori
Warchavchik: Gamboa
Workers' housing, Rio de
Janeiro

1936 Rino Levi: Ufa-Palácio
cinema, São Paulo

1936–43 Lucio Costa, Oscar
Niemeyer, *et al.*: Ministry of
Health and Education, Rio de
Janeiro



1939

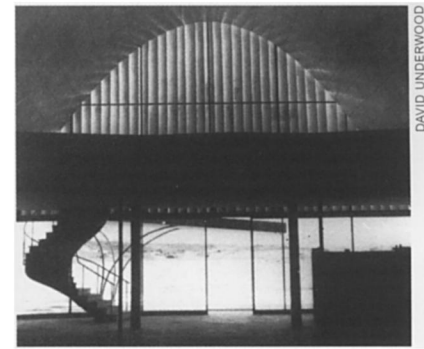
1939 Lucio Costa & Oscar Niemeyer: Brazilian Pavilion, New York World's Fair

1942 Oscar Niemeyer: Casino at Pampulha, Belo Horizonte

1943 Oscar Niemeyer: Chapel of São Francisco de Assis, Pampulha, Belo Horizonte



1942



1943

administration initiated a programme of national reconstruction. Although bureaucratic and authoritarian, it established the basis of the technocracy, the welfare state, and the industrial plant of modern Brazil, as well as a growing political patronage for modernist culture and architecture.

Prior to 1930 a formal system of education for architects (and hence a formally constituted profession) hardly existed and the building sector was dominated by civil engineers. The route to architectural practice was either through the scientific curriculum of the polytechnics of Rio and São Paulo, leading to professional degrees in engineering, or the fine arts curriculum of ENBA in Rio de Janeiro. In 1930 the 28-year-old Lucio Costa was appointed as the new director of ENBA. The model he adopted for the renewal of the institution was that of the Bauhaus. However, out of respect for the older professors he did not attempt to change the school radically but introduced a number of parallel courses. Corbusian theory became the focus for architectural education, but there was also considerable interest in the formal language of the Brazilian baroque, leading to a change from orthogonal modernism in the work of the Rio-based modernists. Costa invited Affonso Eduardo Reidy, who had just finished his studies at the school, Warchavchik, and the German functionalist Alexander Buddeus to join the department of architecture. Amongst the students were Oscar Ribeiro de Almeida, Soares Filho, Oscar Niemeyer and Roberto Burle Marx. Only a year later, in 1931, Costa was forced to resign under pressure from the traditionalist and conservative professors. Nevertheless, his short directorship had a tremendous influence on the future development of Brazilian architecture.

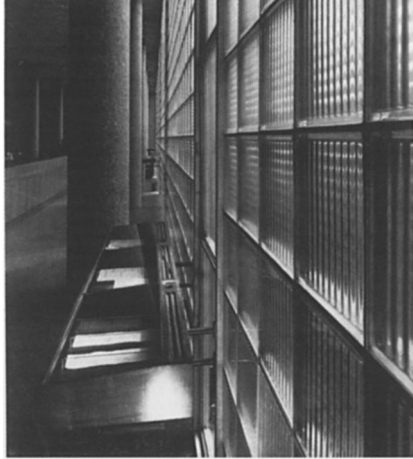
Meanwhile, the architects mentioned above, having been sacked collectively from ENBA, followed a variety of career paths. Costa and Warchavchik worked together for two years in Rio and São Paulo. Reidy entered the *Servicos de Arquitetura e Urbanismo* of the Rio de Janeiro prefecture and spent most of his career as head of the architecture section, as well as serving as director of the urban planning service.

In 1932 there was another civil war, which ended when the newly established National Constituent Assembly approved a new constitution and prepared for the election of 1934 in which Vargas was elected president. Within certain constitutional limits Vargas was able to continue the gradual modernization of the Brazilian nation. A year later, strong political movements emerged on both the Left and the Right. As the Left began to develop a mass base, a militant Fascist counter-movement gained strength on the Right. A united front of radical Leftists attempted a revolt against the government, which, though unsuccessful, left an enduring legacy of anti-Communism.

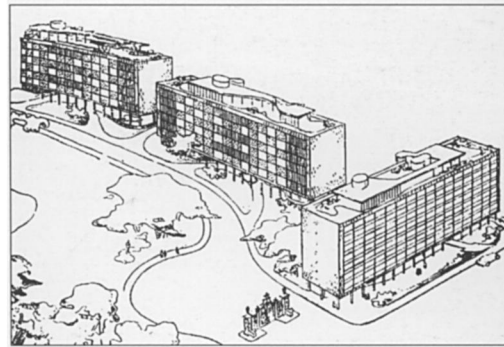
A competition for the new Ministry of Education and Health in Rio de Janeiro was announced in 1935 [see 'Brazilian Corollary' by Carlos Eduardo Comas, *AA Files* no. 36]. All the modernist proposals were disqualified by the conservative jury, but the progressive Minister of Culture, Gustavo Capanema, decided to commission Lucio Costa to prepare a new proposal. The design team assembled by Costa in 1936 was composed of Carlos Leão, Reidy, Jorge Moreira, Ernani Vasconcellos and Oscar Niemeyer, who had finished his studies in 1934 and had since worked for Costa. Le Corbusier was invited to act as an advisor. The resulting project was described by Costa as the 'final milestone of the new Brazilian architecture'. Le Corbusier, who had made two proposals which were not adopted, nevertheless tried on several occasions after the second world war to take credit for the design.

Soon after it opened in 1942, the Ministry of Education and Health Building attracted attention in Europe and the United States as the embodiment of Brazilian modernism. Phillippe Goodwin, who was visiting Brazil to collect material for the forthcoming *Brazil Builds* exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, described it as 'the most advanced building of the Americas'.

Le Corbusier was also invited to advise on the scheme for the new University of Rio. The team for this project consisted of the Brazilian CIAM group, which included Costa, Reidy, Niemeyer, Carlos Leao, Firmino Saldanha, José de Souza Reis, Jorge Moreira



1947



1948–54



HUMBERTO FRANCESCHI

and Angelo Bruhns. Once again the project team put forward a proposal that was quite different from the one by Le Corbusier. It was never built, though many of the key features reappear in Costa's 1957 scheme for the monumental axis of Brasília. The final design for the project was produced by a new team led by Jorge Moreira.

Vargas re-established his dictatorship in 1937, after a campaign which played on fear both of the oligarchies and of Communism. During the previous eight years development had been guided by the ideology of the *Estado Novo*, which was modelled on Roosevelt's New Deal and on Mussolini's Fascism. In theory Brazil's political structure, like that of the United States on which it is based, allows for a balance of power between the federal government and that of the states, but in reality the federal government became more powerful.

In 1938 the Ministry of Labour launched a competition for the Brazilian Pavilion for the 1939 World's Fair in New York, the theme of which was 'The World of Tomorrow'. The aim of the competition was defined as a search for an architectural definition of 'what a Brazilian building wants to be'. Costa won first prize, but decided that Niemeyer's second-prize proposal was more convincing and invited him to collaborate on a new scheme, together with Burle Marx, who did the landscape design. The enthusiastic reception given to the pavilion demonstrated the publicity value that architecture can provide for a developing country seeking to establish itself as a modern nation-state.

In the same year Warchavchik invited Vilanova Artigas to collaborate on a competition for a new municipal hall in São Paulo. The design team took second prize and, as a result, Artigas received his first academic appointment as assistant professor at the *Escola Politécnica* at the University of São Paulo.

Also in 1938, Lucio Costa received a commission through Benedito Valdares, the Governor of Minas Gerais, to design a hotel in the centre of the historical city of Ouro Preto. Once again, he stepped aside for Niemeyer. This project opened the way to further important commissions from Valdares. Upon finish-

ing the hotel in 1940, Niemeyer was invited to design for Pampulha, a new district of Belo Horizonte, the nucleus of a new leisure and entertainment complex situated next to an artificial lake. The mayor of Belo Horizonte, Juscelino Kubitschek de Oliveira, was enthusiastic about the scheme and decided to carry out the project immediately. (He had rejected an earlier plan for Pampulha by Alfred Agache which proposed a working-class residential area, in favour of an élite suburb that would gain political backing from the industrial bourgeoisie.)

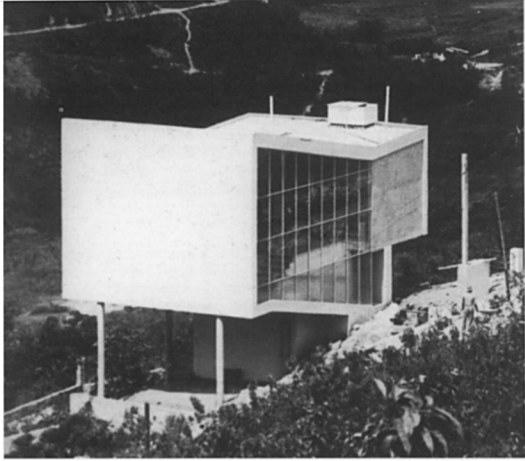
Niemeyer completed the Pampulha project in 1943. Consisting of a casino, a yacht club, a dance hall, an unbuilt tourist hotel, and the church of São Francisco de Assis (finished in 1944), this project is regarded by many critics as the true beginning of Brazilian modernism. However, left to private speculation, it was beset with severe problems. The housing and the necessary infrastructure were not built, the lake became polluted, and, apart from the yacht club, none of Niemeyer's buildings was used for its planned function. Later, Pampulha was condemned by a number of international critics as evidence of the failure of Brazilian modernism.

It is clear from the critics' reactions that they made no distinction between the design of the building complex and its management, which was a recurring problem in the changing political and social climate of Brazil. Some critics also failed to appreciate the more expressive and fluid modernism of the Rio school of architecture (represented by such architects as Costa, Niemeyer and Reidy) as distinct from the Corbusian formality of the São Paulo school (such as Vilanova Artigas and Paulo Mendes da Rocha).

In 1945 President Vargas, no longer able to ignore international as well as internal pressure to return to representative government, established the Social Democratic Party. Elections took place and José Linhares became president. Vargas was thus able to depart from office with honour and dignity, and without losing the support of the armed forces. In the fifteen years between 1930 and 1945, he had overseen the end of the hegemony of the rural coffee bourgeoisie, and the rise of the new, urban, industrialist

1947 Rino Levi: Paulista Bank of Commerce, São Paulo

1948–54 Lucio Costa: Guinle Park, Rio de Janeiro



1949

1949 Vilanova Artigas: Czapski House, São Paulo



1951

1951 Lina Bo Bardi: The Glass House, São Paulo



bourgeoisie. But those who felt that their interests were threatened by his policies called for his withdrawal. It was around this time that the increasing urbanization of the population led to the appearance of shanty towns, known as *favelas*.

A general amnesty in 1945 freed all political prisoners. Oscar Niemeyer recalls:

A friend of mine called me asking if I could receive at my office some Communists who had just left prison and I put them up in the ground floor rooms. This group included Luiz Carlos Prestes, and the daily contact with him and his companions meant a great deal to me . . . And the office in Conde Lages became the headquarters of the Metropolitan Committee of the Brazilian Communist Party and I allied myself to the party for good . . . from then on, politics seemed to command all my decisions.

Niemeyer was thereafter committed to Communism, and Vilanova Artigas also became an active member of the Party.

Eurico Gaspar Dutra was elected president in 1946. A central aim of his administration was the establishment of long-term stability. The Communist Party, seen as a major threat to such stability, was ruled illegal, the Brazilian Workers' Confederation was closed, and diplomatic relations with the USSR were severed. But instead of establishing a truly liberal democracy the new regime saw the return to power of the agricultural oligarchies.

In 1946, Lina Bo, who had worked with Gio Ponti and had also been editor of *Domus*, and the well-known journalist Pietro Maria Bardi visited Brazil. At a reception in the Institute of Brazilian Architects in Rio they made the acquaintance of Costa, Niemeyer, Rocha Miranda, the Roberto brothers, Athos Bulcao, Burle Marx, and others. Later, Bardi was invited to establish an art museum in either Rio or São Paulo and, since financial resources for the new museum seemed to be available, Bo and Bardi decided to settle in São Paulo.

In the following year, Oscar Niemeyer was invited by the United Nations to join the committee of architects responsible for the design of the organization's headquarters in New York City. The final design was a combination of the proposals by Le

Corbusier and Niemeyer. At the same time, Artigas visited the USA on a scholarship from the Guggenheim Foundation, and came into contact with several members of the Bauhaus.

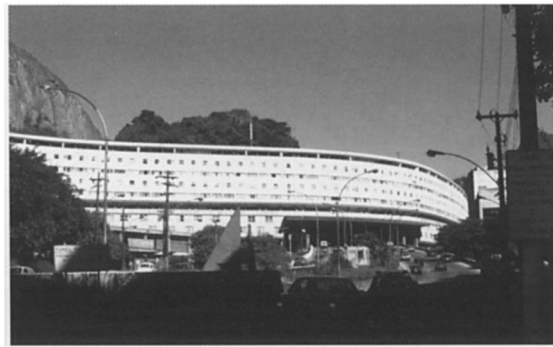
The Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism of the University of São Paulo was founded in 1948, allowing the architecture course to gain independence from the engineering and fine-arts courses. On his return from the USA Artigas took up a teaching post there, and began to argue for a critical revision of the curriculum and the educational system.

In the same year, Reidy began work on the Pedregulho residential complex (1948–54) in collaboration with Carmen Portinho, an engineer and director of the Department of Popular Housing for the prefecture of Rio. This project followed a series of innovative housing projects which had been built in the countryside since 1937 but owing to its larger social concerns it was hailed by international critics as a singular achievement. Reidy resigned from the *Servicos de Arquitetura e Urbanismo* in 1950 as a result of changes made to his plan for Morro de Santo Antonio. Only a year later, he was called back by the new prefect, but left once again after subsequent political changes.

With the support of the main political parties and the military, Vargas was re-elected as President in 1950. But tensions built up swiftly and the opposition began to suspect an attempt to return to dictatorship. In turn, the President grew impatient with resistance to his attempts to modernize the country and establish a social welfare state. In the following years growing inflation and the decision by the United States to cut public investment in Brazil precipitated an economic crisis. Hostile propaganda, fear of Communism, and military interrogations led Vargas to submit his resignation in 1954. This was rejected by the generals. Vargas, now under intolerable pressure, responded by shooting himself. He left behind a letter in which he accused international economic and financial interests of obstructing his attempts to form a modern nation and of intentionally pushing the economy into crisis. This had the effect of transforming public opinion, and Vargas became a patriotic martyr.



1954



1954



1957

1954 Oscar Niemeyer: Fourth Centenary Exposition, Ibirapuera Park, São Paulo

1954 Affonso Eduardo Reidy: Gavea housing development, Rio de Janeiro

1957 Rino Levi: Entry for the Brasília competition (Third Prize)

The year of Vargas's suicide marked the four-hundredth anniversary of the founding of São Paulo. Niemeyer was commissioned to design the buildings for Ibirapuera Park, the site of an exhibition that was to mark the centenary. Burle Marx delivered a very fine landscape design for the project, but it was rejected. Amongst the European architects who visited the exhibition were Gropius, Ernesto Rogers, and Max Bill. Niemeyer's buildings were strongly criticized by the visitors as lacking in formal discipline, eclectic and increasingly oblivious to social concerns. Niemeyer subsequently decided to visit Europe to study its architecture, and after this tour his work began to change. His design for a museum of modern art in Caracas in 1955 marks a transition from the fluid forms of his earlier career to a disciplined and monumental neo-classicism. Ironically, this change was to become the source of later criticism of his work, particularly in Brasília.

In 1954 Reidy resumed his position in the Department of Architecture and Urbanism in Rio. He began work on the Gavea residential complex, in which he developed the principles of the Pedregulho project, and on the Museum of Modern Art. Burle Marx was commissioned by him to design Flamengo Park on the landfill in Guanabara Bay, which became the site both of the museum and of Santos Dumont Airport.

In the same year aerial photographs were taken of the proposed location of the new capital city, and the American firm of Donald Belcher, in collaboration with the Institute of Urban Design of Cornell University, was commissioned to identify five alternative sites. Roads and a temporary airport were immediately built in the new federal district. The presidential elections of 1955 were won by Juscelino Kubitschek, a centrist politician. Kubitschek's programme of 'fifty years of progress in five' emphasized transportation, energy, manufacturing, and the construction of a new capital. In order to promote industry and a modernized urban society, economic development was given priority over social welfare measures, and the rights of the rural oligarchies remained intact.

Oscar Niemeyer, Paul Pena Firme and Roberto Lacombe were commissioned to formulate the brief of

a competition for the plan of the new capital in 1956, and in the following year the first prize was awarded to Lucio Costa's scheme. Design and construction began immediately.

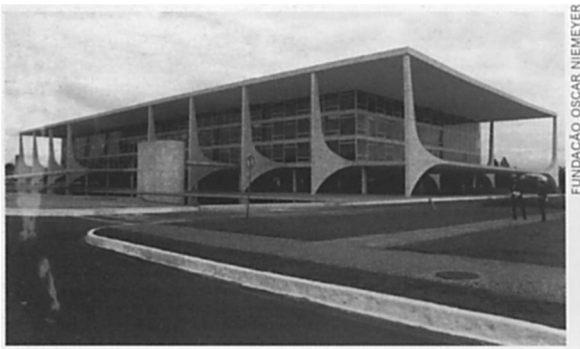
Concurrently, Lina Bo Bardi began the design work for the Museum of Modern Art in São Paulo, an innovative building consisting of a sunken base containing the civic hall, a theatre and an auditorium; the suspended mass of the museum; and, between the base and the suspended mass, the Belvedere, a square for public and social events.

From 1959 inflation rocketed and the United States and the International Monetary Fund refused Brazil's appeal for increased financial aid. Unwilling to decrease investment in his campaign to modernize Brazil, Kubitschek, in the manner of Vargas, began to blame foreign obstructionism for the crisis. In order to assure re-election in 1965, Kubitschek rejected the economic forms that were stipulated by the IMF, although these would have resulted in long-term financial stability.

Niemeyer's Communist sympathies caused him to be called before the Political Police in 1959 but Kubitschek managed to postpone the summons by drawing attention to the importance of Niemeyer's role in building the new capital city. The inauguration finally took place on 21 April 1960, a date that was chosen to commemorate the Portuguese discovery of Brazil on 21 April 1500. After a visit to Brasília, Brian Eastwood wrote:

[Brasília's] architectural contributions are: firstly, the reconciliation of the need for formality with an architectural expression which reflects the mood of today; secondly, the linking of interiors and exteriors of buildings and welding them to the terrain in such a way that neither people nor vegetation have to obey a clear-cut, hard demarcation between inside and outside – resistance to the concept of the sealed, air-conditioned box. The final contribution lies in the making of a city which has little concern with normal Real Estate operations and which shows on the ground, in a single city, many of the planning ideas otherwise scattered around the world. (*AA Journal*, November 1961)

The presidential election of 1960 was won by Janio Quadros. Tensions between the advocates of modernization and the conservative oligarchies led to a



1958

1958 Oscar Niemeyer:
Planalto Palace, Brasília

1957–68 Lina Bo Bardi:
São Paulo Museum of Art



1957–68



deterioration in the political situation, and a year later the country was once again on the brink of civil war. Quadros had failed to consolidate his position and was forced to resign in favour of Joao Belchior Marques Goulart. However, the conflict between the president and congress continued.

A new building designed by Vilanova Artigas and Carlos Cascaid for the Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism of the University of São Paulo was completed in 1961. Artigas, together with Rino Levi, Helio Duarte and Abelardo de Souza, was part of a commission which in 1957 had formulated a programme of educational reform that would have completely restructured the course, introducing a multi-disciplinary system. Professor Lourival Gomes Machado, who became dean in 1962, attempted to implement this programme, but the process was interrupted by the *coup* of 1964.

During the early 1960s the universities, particularly the University of Brasília, had played a key role in opposing *bacharelismo*, the predominant strain of traditionalist rhetoric, which had become associated with the conservative position and the inability to deal with social and economic problems. At this time of awakening of political consciousness in the country, the educator Paulo Freire devised a programme that would result in increased levels of literacy, and hence the addition of large numbers of the formerly illiterate to the electoral rolls. Together with the aggressive student movement backed by the National Union of Students, this was viewed as a major threat which might shift the power structure of the country. The nationalist Left, with its strong links to political, labour and student groups, once again became the focus of anti-Communist paranoia.

Moreover, the leftist leader Brizola was gaining popularity amongst the urban working class and was an increasing influence on Goulart. Before the elections of 1964 the President, who with the support of Brizola was now even more powerful, announced the intention to introduce agrarian reforms and to nationalize some parts of the private sector. He also wanted to legalize the Communist Party and to end the literacy qualification for voting rights. Meanwhile, Brizola

advocated a popular revolution. The growing dismay of the middle class, the military and the business community, together with the rural oligarchies, forced a *coup* which ousted the government. Installing a rightist military dictatorship, the junta imposed an increasingly authoritarian system.

Only in 1974 did the slow process of democratization begin again, but it took another decade to be implemented. During the dictatorship, censorship affected every aspect of cultural life. All progressive thought was condemned as subversive, and many of the leading figures in the modernization of Brazil were banished or imprisoned. Niemeyer, who had supported Goulart's reforms, and other leftist architects went into exile, as did Artigas, who was later imprisoned. Reidy did not witness any of these oppressions. He died just before the *coup* took place.

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