

6-1-1998

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Urban Labor History in Twentieth Century Brazil

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The Brazilian Curriculum Guide Specialized Bibliography, Series II

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Produced pursuant to a grant from the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

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This bibliography is a collaborative project undertaken with support from the Arts and Sciences Research Council of Duke University. It was carried out while Alexandre Fortes was engaged in a program of graduate training at Duke University through the Programa de Doutorado no País em Estágio no Exterior of the Fundação Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior. John French took primary responsibility for the introduction to the bibliography and Alexandre Fortes had the major responsibility for the annotations. All the material was reviewed by both collaborators. Translation from the Portuguese by Adriana Johnson.

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Urban Labor History in Twentieth Century Brazil

Political society is divided into proprietors and those who own no property; the former are infinitely fewer than the latter, as is well known. The proprietor tries to buy as cheaply as possible the only possession of the propertyless or wage earner, his labor. The latter in turn tries to sell it as dearly as possible. In this struggle, the weaker contestant although greater in numbers usually succumbs to the stronger.

—Luís dos Santos Vilhena in late eighteenth century Bahia¹

Introduction

An important strain of Brazilian social thought, even among the dominant classes, has long recognized the conflicting interests that divide those who labor and those who are labored for. More than a century after Santos Vilhena, Brazilian industrialist Jorge Street was equally frank in a famous June 1919 article on the “social question.” Although dealing with “free” labor in an emerging industrial society, Street wrote that “inevitable, grave disagreements and antagonisms” were created because of the worker’s “absolute dependence” upon his employer, which allowed management “to impose the maximum of production for the minimum of salary” while regulating wages and working conditions according to its “advantage and needs.”² Writing a year earlier, the industrialist and future Senator Roberto Simonsen was likewise forthright. The workers, he wrote, favored a goal of “limited output and unlimited salaries,” while the employers held

1. Cited by Stuart B. Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society: Bahia, 1550-1835*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 435 from Luís dos Santos Vilhena, *A Bahia no Século XVIII* (Bahia: 1969), III, p. 919.

to a "diametrically opposed point of view." Thus the industrialist, seeking "to pay the least possible for each unit of production," confronted his workers, who sought "the highest possible pay for each unit of time."³

Street and Simonsen shared with Santos Vilhena a recognition of the structural roots of social antagonism. They differed from their Bahian predecessor, however, because their vision was rooted in the emerging social reality of industrial wage labor in a handful of cities like São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Yet the extent and impact of this incipient process of economic and social transformation in 1920 can be easily overestimated. Early twentieth century Brazil was still an essentially agrarian and rural society characterized by an undemocratic system of oligarchic parliamentarianism.

In truth, Brazil in 1920 shared more in common with the society of a century earlier than it would with the Brazil of sixty years later. By 1980, Brazil had been transformed into an overwhelmingly urban and heavily industrialized society that was characterized by mass political participation as well as an anti-democratic military dictatorship. These profound social and economic transformations were directly linked to Brazil's rapid economic growth between 1950 and 1980, years in which the population soared from 52 to 119 million residents. "Between 1947 and 1980, the Brazilian Gross National Product grew at an average rate of 7.1% annually" while manufacturing grew at an average annual rate of 8.5% spurred by "the remarkable expansion of the durable consumer goods industry, which grew at an average rate of 15.3 percent annually, reaching growth rates of over 23% annually at the expansive moments of the cycles" such as 1955-1962 and 1967-1973 (Faria in Bacha and Klein 1989: 145).

2. Jorge Street, "O reconhecimento dos sindicatos operários," *Jornal do Comércio*, 13 June 1919; in: Evaristo de Moraes Filho, ed. *Idéias sociais de Jorge Street* (Brasília/Rio de Janeiro: Senado Federal/Fundação Casa Rui Barbosa, 1980), pp. 406-408.
3. Cited from the annual report of Simonsen's Companhia Construtora de Santos in Heitor Ferreira Lima, *Tres industrialistas brasileiros* (São Paulo: Alfa-Omega, 1976), pp. 158-59.

These four decades of accelerated economic growth had a profound, transformative impact on Brazilian society.⁴ By 1980, the economically active population in manufacturing, mining construction, and transport in Brazil had doubled from 15% in 1920 (1,443,000 employed) to 29% in 1980 (12,572,000 employed) (Keck 1992: 12-13). As late as 1950, only 21% of the Brazilian population lived in cities of more than 20,000 residents while 58% of employment was still tied to agriculture and mining; thirty years later 46% lived in such cities and only half as many jobs were linked to agriculture and mining (Faria in Bacha and Klein 1989: 143-4). Overall, Brazil's urban population had increased from 36% in 1950 to 68% by 1980 while non-agricultural employment, as a percentage of the economically active population, had increased from 40% to 71% of the population (Merrick in Bacha and Klein 1989: 16).

Although the Brazil of 1920 is demographically and economically distant from the society of 1980, the existence of workers and workers' movements link the worlds of early and late twentieth century Brazil. Street and Simonsen were preoccupied with the "social question," after all, because of the impact of the unprecedented generalized strike movements of 1917-1919 that swept cities such as São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Porto Alegre, and Salvador. With industrial workers numbering less than a quarter million in a nation of 31 million in 1920, the struggles of this tiny minority of urban workers were enough to frighten employers and the oligarchical state but far too weak to threaten their control or to win effective legal recognition of trade unions.

4. "So rapidly has this change occurred," note Bacha and Klein, "that its ramifications are little understood. The current generation finds itself living in a modern industrial society, but their parents were born into a different world. [Even] contemporary critics, when viewing their nation from the perspectives of an advanced industrial society, cannot understand the anomalies within their own world, which still exhibits many traces of its former rural and slave-bound antecedents" (Bacha and Klein 1989: 1).

Although Brazil's first national workers' congress was held in 1906, the highly visible social protagonism demonstrated by urban working people in 1917 announced the arrival of a new social and political actor on the national scene. Coinciding with the Russian Revolution, the strikes that paralyzed the nation's urban centers, however briefly, came as an enormous shock to the Brazilian establishment while seeming to offer a political opportunity for other, discontented, groups. Indeed, the effort to come to terms with this "threat" and "promise" would preoccupy the statecraft of Getúlio Vargas when he came to power after the Revolution of 1930. The Vargas regime's intricate corporatist system of state-sponsored and state-financed trade unions would decisively shape the subsequent trajectory of labor in Brazilian society; in addition, it defined the terrain of later academic debates about workers and their role.

The new urban workers' struggles of the early twentieth century stood in marked contrast to Brazil's past history of popular mobilization in the countryside (slave rebellions, runaway slave communities [*quilombos*], riots [*quebra-quebras*], banditry, and messianic movements). These strikes marked the fragile beginning of what would become, by the last quarter of the twentieth century, a vast and deeply-rooted trade union movement. In 1917, an activist minority of labor militants, numbering in the thousands at the most, was capable of leading masses of workers in struggle in the face of vigorous opposition by employers and the state. Yet through no fault of their own, these labor militants were not yet capable of achieving an enduring collective organization of wage earners. In the Brazil of 1920, it made no sense to even ask about the scale or reach of union membership, given the absence of sustained forms of representation.

Trade unions by the 1970s, in contrast, were already large, well entrenched, and relatively powerful institutions that blanketed all corners of Brazil and encompassed both urban and rural laborers. Between 1960 and 1978, the number of union members had increased 3.5 times among urban employees, going from 1.2 million to 4.35 million (in both years about 23% of the economically active population was found in industry). Given the

lack of recognized legal unionization among rural working people in 1960, it was even more striking that rural union membership in 1978, at 4.5 million, was larger than in the urban sector (Tavares de Almeida 1983: 193-194; Maybury-Lewis 1994).

Although severely restricted by an anti-labor military regime, the generation of Brazilian unionists active in the 1970s were operating from an institutional power base of some substance. Although facing a repressive government, a dynamic "New Unionism" emerged that was epitomized by Luis Inácio "Lula" da Silva, leader of the dramatic metalworkers strikes of 1978-1980 in the industrial ABC region of greater São Paulo. In dramatic struggles that galvanized the country, Lula and his compatriots proved themselves capable, in the long run, of more aggressively defending working-class interests while preserving and expanding their institutional power base. By 1992, the 7600 union locals in urban and rural Brazil had sixteen million members, almost as many unionists as the entire population of Brazil in 1900 (17 million). Overall, the unionized were broken down into eight and a quarter million among urban workers and employees and seven and a half million among rural workers; the urbanites even included a half million unionized liberal professionals (DIEESE 1996: 136-138).

But numbers are not everything, especially in a situation where tangible government-mandated medical, dental, and legal benefits (*assistência*) have long served as a powerful incentive for union affiliation. The key question is: how effective are the trade unions in contemporary Brazil? To what degree can they legitimately claim the loyalty of their members? And to what extent can they mobilize their members as well as those workers they only represent in negotiations with employers? One measure of a labor movement's capacity for mobilization can be seen by looking at trends in strike participation across time. If strikers measured in the thousands in 1917, the numbers had risen into the tens of thousands by 1946 and to hundreds of thousands between 1957 and 1964. By 1980, mass participation in the strike waves of the late 1970s had reached into the millions and a newly dynamized trade union movement proved capable, over the next

decade, of conducting truly national general strikes for the first time in Brazilian history. It is estimated that two to three million workers and employees participated in the 1983 general strike, a number that rose to 10 million each in 1986 and 1987, before finally peaking at 22 million on the first day of the 1989 general strike (10 million still stayed out on the second day!). In the 1989 stoppage, it is estimated that a startling 37 percent of the urban work force had participated in the first day of the general strike (Sandoval 1993: 186).

The unfolding of these four general strikes demonstrated an unprecedented capacity for coordinated national action by labor. Achieving a striking degree of leadership centralization, each successive movement was marked by an increasing breadth of participation as more and more states joined the protests. Moreover, within each state there was an extension of strike participation into smaller cities and towns as the strike movements became less concentrated in state capitals and large cities (Sandoval 1993: 186).

Yet this capacity to launch protest strikes, at a moment of severe economic instability, may not be the most meaningful test of the strength of workers' struggles. It is possible, after all, that workers, as well as the wider society, may grant the legitimacy of trade union action only when it is narrowly restricted to economic questions directly concerned with workers' paychecks or employer/employee relations. Given this reality, it is sensible to ask whether organized workers in Brazil have achieved any broader influence in the society and polity as a whole. In 1917, the workers movement had a minimal political impact due, in no small part, to the absence of significant political participation of any sort in most of the country (electoral participation stood at one percent of the adult population in the elections prior to 1930). The advent of effective mass political participation in the 1945 elections, by contrast, saw worker-oriented parties (the *Partido Comunista do Brasil* and the *Partido Trabalhista do Brasil*) sweep urban voting with the newly-legalized Communists winning a surprisingly high ten percent of the national vote. Although more diffuse, the impact of workers

continued to grow during the subsequent Populist Republic from 1945 to 1964 as the urban and working class population increased over the next decades.

When the political sequel to the "New Unionism" emerged in 1979 (the *Partido dos Trabalhadores*), the PT's labor-led project of social and political transformation demonstrated a surprising long-term capacity for growth. In the elections of 1988, the PT won the municipal governments in Brazil's largest city (São Paulo), two other state capitals (Porto Alegre and Vitória), and several medium-sized cities including the old "Red port" of Santos (the Brazilian Barcelona of the First Republic and a center of Communist strength prior to 1964). "Altogether some fifteen million Brazilians, about ten per cent of the population, came under PT rule" (Branford and Kucinski 1995: 79).

In the first round of the 1989 presidential election, the PT's candidate Lula won 12 million votes (16.5% of the national vote) while his vote total in the second round rose to 31 million (43%); in the end, he lost to the candidate of the right, Fernando Collor, by only six percent of the national vote. In the presidential election of 1994, Lula lost to Fernando Henrique Cardoso, a former leftist who was the candidate of a right/center-left coalition, but still increased his votes to 17 million (27% of the national electorate) in the first, and only round of the election.⁵

Clearly, there are firm grounds for concluding that Brazilian workers and workers' movements have established themselves, across the twentieth century, as social and political actors of the first order. Yet few if any scholars or commentators have chosen, even today, to narrate the history of Brazil's workers in such up-beat terms: as the story of an expanding, ever-

5. Sue Branford and Bernardo Kucinski, *Brazil, Carnival of the Oppressed: Lula and the Brazilian Workers' Party* (London: Latin American Bureau, 1995), p. 75.

more organized, and more deeply rooted movement that has achieved remarkable success in both the industrial relations and political arenas.

The predominance of more pessimistic narratives reflects the inability of workers' movements, as yet, to fundamentally affect the immense poverty and extreme social inequality that plague Brazil. Indeed, the high degree of concentration of wealth, land, and income links the eighteenth century Brazil of Santos Vilhena with the early twentieth century Brazil of Street and Simonsen; realities whose impact continues to be felt in Brazil as a new millennium approaches. As Hoffman notes, Brazil is a world champion in inequality as well as soccer and represents a "classic case of rapid [economic] growth with growing income concentration" (Hoffman in Bacha and Klein 1989: 198-99).⁶ In the mid-1980s, fifty percent of the national income was still taken by the top ten percent of households while the bottom forty percent received only seven percent of the national income (Bacha and Klein 1989: 7; DIEESE 1995).

This historical legacy has had an important impact on Brazilian intellectual and academic life as it concerns labor. Traditional historical studies in Brazil, noted the pioneering labor studies scholar José Albertino Rodrigues, had always preferred the study of the distant colonial past and neglected the republican period and contemporary events. Moreover, the "individualistic and political-military preoccupations" of these early histo-

6. Hoffman notes that "inequality in income distribution in Brazil seems to be one of the highest in the world. It is certainly far higher than in the developed countries." A Gini coefficient of income distribution by households is 0.530 in Brazil in 1970 while 0.404 in the U.S. and 0.382 or less in France, Canada, Sweden, and the United Kingdom (Hoffman in Bacha and Klein 1989: 198). This is linked to the absence of a free peasantry, which is in turn tied to the historical inheritance of slavery: "concentration of land ownership in Brazil is very high and remarkably stable....The overall degree of concentration of land ownership has not changed in the last six decades at least....The extreme concentration of land ownership is one of the factors in the Brazilian model of rapid growth with inequitable distribution" (Hoffman in Bacha and Klein 1989: 210-11).

rians led to a neglect of economic and social factors (only in the 1930s would such topics come into focus with the innovative Marxist historiography of Caio Prado Junior) (Rodrigues 1979: 3-4).

Yet these lacunae were not enough in themselves, Rodrigues observed, to explain the "non-existence, until recently, of a concern" for urban laborers. Equally important, he argued, was the "strong dose of [class] prejudice" and disdain towards work and workers "generated by our patriarchal and slavocratic traditions" (Rodrigues 1979: 3-4). Indeed, the very origin of the most commonly used Portuguese term for work and worker (as in *trabalho* or *trabalhador*) is directly linked to degraded and coerced labor. The Latin origin of the verb *trabalhar* derives from the word *tripaliare* meaning "to martyr with a *tripaliu* (an instrument of torture)."⁷

The strongly negative associations of the word "labor" was not unique, of course, to the Luso-Brazilian world. As Mexicanist social historian John Womack has reminded us, "in every European language, labor meant pain, effort, pangs, distress, poverty, loneliness, abandonment, ordeal, adversity, [and] trouble"; "labor was what slaves, serfs, or peasants did, typically in the fields, without the right to choose time or crop, subject to Nature, victims of necessity."⁸ The result, Womack noted, was a European intellectual tradition of disdain for labor and laborers stretching across two millennia; an attitude that was, at least if not more, strongly characteristic of Brazilian slave-holding society and its weakly developed intellectual life.

7. Aurélio Buarque de Holanda Ferreira, *Novo dicionário da língua portuguesa* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Nova Fronteira, 1986), p. 1695. As Mark Healey pointed out, the English word *travail*, meaning "physical or mental work, especially painful exertion, hardship, [and] suffering," reflects the same origin in the Latin word for the torture instrument known as the *trepalium*. In an obscure English usage of *travail* as a verb, it means to "torment, distress, afflict, weary [or] tire" (*The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* Leslie Brown ed. [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993], vol. 2, p. 3377).

It is thus not surprising that intellectuals in Brazil, where the final shift from ownership of human beings to "free" wage labor came in 1888, only began to direct their attention to labor and laborers in the mid-twentieth century. During the 1910s and 1920s, interest in the workers' movement began to appear as elements of the middle classes and elites came to see urban workers as potential allies in their own emerging struggles, whether against middle class dependency upon their social superiors or in protest against rival regional oligarchies. More significantly, a small but increasing number of intellectuals were attracted to labor-linked political ideologies such as anarchism, Communism, and Marxism, which provided useful weapons in their struggle to simultaneously negate the existing order and to win a place for themselves within Brazilian society.

Yet even as this interest emerged among some intellectuals, Rodrigues reminded us in 1968, urban workers and their political movements were still, for the most part, subject to the "full force of that [inherited class] prejudice" as well as "a certain amount of fear in the face of something that could threaten the bases of that same traditional society" (of which the middle classes were an important if dependent component). There was for many, he wrote in the aftermath of the 1964 military coup, "a fear of confronting a taboo issue" when dealing with trade unionism, which was "more feared and misunderstood than studied according to objective criteria" (José A. Rodrigues 1979: 2-4).

The scholarly neglect of urban workers first began to change in the 1950s in the south-central regions of Brazil. The unexpected political and

8. John Womack Jr., "The Historiography of Mexican Labor," in *Labor and Laborers through Mexican History*, ed. Elsa Cecilia Frost, et al. (Mexico/Tucson: El Colegio de México/University of Arizona Press, 1979), p. 739. A contrast was usually drawn between "labor" and the more admirable connotations of the word "work" (self-directed, linked to artisanry, and productive). Nonetheless, intellectual life since the Greeks tended to disdain both indiscriminately. In Portuguese, the analogous contrast might be between the *trabalhador* and the *operário*.

industrial militancy of workers after 1945 attracted the attention of a newly professionalized class of academic intellectuals, especially a group of sociologists associated with the Universidade de São Paulo. Although distant from the workers' movement, the young USP intellectuals clearly identified workers as an integral part of their broad vision of modernity, national development, and democracy; the dream of "heavy industry guaranteed by universal suffrage" in the epigram of Alfredo Bosi.⁹

The process of approximation between intellectuals and the workers' movement that began in the late Populist Republic was interrupted by the 1964 military coup with its extensive union interventions. The late 1960s, however, saw a generation of radicalized students take their politics with them into the blue collar workplace—often with limited direct impact, at least on workers—but this experience did acquire mythic proportions with memorable events like the 1968 strike in Osasco. Despite the subsequent dispersal of these student-associated labor initiatives, the terrain had nonetheless been laid for the enormous enthusiasm with which many intellectuals met the massive auto strikes of the 1970s in ABC.

The centrality of this generalized wave of industrial militancy to the national struggle against the military regime brought even more intellectuals into a dialogue with workers, as well as into the newly-formed PT (especially in São Paulo). The resulting flood of studies of workers and workers' movements emphasized working class autonomy as the center of scholarly and political debate. And unlike the previous generation, these researchers found ample evidence of the workers' capacity for agency, for changing the historical trajectory of the country. They also discarded, once and for all, the fatalistic notions of structural determination that characterized previous scholarly visions that had found workers to be "passive" or "accommodated."

9. Alfredo Bosi, "Prefácio: um testemunho do presente," In Carlos Guilherme Mota, *Ideologia da cultura brasileira (1933-1974)* 6th ed. (São Paulo: Ática, 1990), p. iv.

The ensuing labor studies boom in the 1980s was marked by a wide-ranging interest in different aspects of contemporary working class life and by an increasing concern with past periods of worker struggle. Yet with the exception of the pre-1930 anarchist era, the workers' movements after 1930 were almost always interpreted as dependent not autonomous in orientation given their link to the state and to vanguard or populist parties. Approaching events in an ahistorical manner, as a complete novelty, most of these studies viewed the "New Unionism" and the PT as "totally without precedent in Brazilian working class history." As French noted in 1992, they "proved incapable of moving beyond images of corporatist domination, elite manipulation, or insidious co-optation in their efforts to come to terms" with workers' struggles before 1964 (French 1992: 282-3, 268; French 1995).¹⁰

This combative stance, shared both by leaders of social movements and those who studied them, fit well into the upswing of struggles that marked a decade that finally brought an end to the military dictatorship in 1985. As a framework for political action and intellectual understanding, this emphasis on class conflict and an idealized "independence" of class action worked well within a political dynamic still polarized between the pro- and anti-military camps. It offered the forecast of an alternative future and helped inspire the very successes that would shift the nature of discourses about, and academic discussion of, popular organization and mobilization in Brazil after 1985. The resulting historiographical shift, that took hold in the 1990s, was linked to a new emphasis on "active citizenship."¹¹ The emergence of this type of formula goes back to the 1984 campaign for direct

10. "Unfortunately," French went on, "contemporary activists and sympathetic analysts have too often adopted a stance of alienation from past workers' struggles in Brazil. In dealing with the populist era, they have unwittingly accepted the claims advanced by the workers' enemies, the antipopulists of the pre-1964 period. Although meant to demonstrate confidence in the working class, the vigorous assertion that everything is radically new in fact suggests a strong fear that the workers' natural state, as defined by a defeatist vision of the past, is one of weakness and impotence" (French 1992: 283; French 1995).

elections for President and the 1992 movement in favor of the impeachment of President Collor. In both cases, people in the vast majority of urban centers took to the streets in defense of a demand that united a wide political and social spectrum around the desire to regain the right to elect the president or in indignation at the exposure of a level of presidential corruption that was shocking even for Brazilians historically accustomed to the private appropriation of the public good.

As important as the diverse results of these mobilizations, however, was the way in which labor, leftist, and popular movements became inserted in the new Brazilian polity after 1985. In this regard, labor's active participation in the elaboration of the new democratic constitution of 1988 is symbolic. While labor and the left had participated in the constitutional deliberations of 1946, it was followed within the year by an outlawing of their party and suppression of the independent-minded labor movement. Looking back at 1988, however, we see leftist parties that have now enjoyed more than a decade of legal existence, as has a left-led national labor confederation—with each having achieved surprising successes. During the New Republic, workers, labor and leftist leaders have become increasingly involved with the construction and administration of a wide variety of institutions and programs that could be used to express worker protest and meet popular demands. Under these conditions, the labor movement in Brazil, as well as the political projects based on it, have confronted new problems of institutionalization, of participation, and negotiation. With time, the dichotomy of autonomy and dependence seemed insufficient as an instrument for understanding contemporary reality.¹² The intellectual challenge was increasingly clear: How could scholarly analysis reflect or be useful to this generation of fighters in their new capacities as mayors, city councilmen, deputies, and senators; as municipal and state administrators and functionaries; as leaders of at-times quite powerful trade union organi-

11. We are referring to a paradigmatic text that opened new possibilities for analysis based on the participatory mechanisms of the new Brazilian Constitution of 1988 (Maria Vitória Benevides, *Cidadania ativa* [São Paulo: Ática, 1992]).

zations; or as militants in dangerous and difficult struggles, especially in the countryside, who nonetheless now have important allies within the Brazilian political system and even the state (not to mention in the international arena as in the case of Chico Mendes and the rubber tappers).

Therefore it is not surprising that "citizenship" would come to play a more important role in the academic discussions of the 1990s regarding the relationship between society and politics, economy and polity, workers and the state. A new democracy logically demanded, it seemed clear, a notion of citizenship that differed from that of a dictatorship.¹³ From an intellectual point of view, the concept was not new but the "wave" of citizenship that swept the country after 1992 prompted intellectuals to revise their earlier framing of this key theme and opened space for the initiation of new lines of research in the history of Brazilian labor.

The field of labor studies in Brazil today is in a state of transition that is strongly marked by the search for a convincing reconceptualization of the history of past working class and popular struggles. In summary, one might argue that a shift is occurring in which history, not sociology, is increasingly seen as the cutting edge of current efforts to advance our understanding.¹⁴ The new generation of Brazilian students of labor are especially concerned to better understand the linkage between the struggles before 1964 and those that followed 1978. "The prominence and success of labor and the PT in the Nova República," French noted in 1992, "suggests the urgent need to deepen understanding of workers, trade unionism, and

12. "While judging populism in light of a one-sided concept of class conflict," French observed in 1992, "the corporatist consensus on Brazilian populism failed to understand that struggles between social classes can only play themselves out through a complicated web of alliances... While later scholars have been infatuated with debates about the autonomy of the workers' movement, or the lack thereof, the real challenge for São Paulo's postwar labor movement was how to maximize their leverage within this inconsistently prolabor system" during Brazil's last period of electoral democracy before 1964 (French 1992: 268, 282; French 1995).

electoral politics between 1945 and 1964, during the last extended period of democratic rule. The issues facing workers and unionists today, it should be clear, are not totally new: these challenges have in fact been faced by previous generations, at times with success" (French 1992: 282; French 1995).¹⁵

The challenge is clear: how are we to achieve a new way of understanding the history of workers in Brazil? How do we transcend the heated debates of the 1960s and 1970s, with their denunciations of populism, without losing the political and moral urgency that informed those clashes of opinion? And as we move beyond old polemics, how do we do so without being dismissive or condescending? Perhaps it is not so much that the prior generation was wrong, as that their "mistakes" were "right" for *that* moment in the history of both Brazil and the academic field of inquiry. It may be that their efforts are simply inadequate in terms of the understanding of past class conflicts that we need today, in light of contemporary problematics, both economic and political.

13. The scholarly vogue for discourse about citizenship is by no means restricted to labor studies and embraces, in fact, a wide spectrum of political outlooks. From the perspective of labor historians, however, it is worth emphasizing that the ideal of autonomous citizenship, when separated from a class analysis of power, contains limitations that may lead to its instrumentalization as a support for the *new* status quo (with its glaring and unchanged social deficits). How do we avoid a false separation between the fight for individual rights and electoral participation and the unfolding of collective struggles between social classes? In summary, how can we expect to broaden the social, economic, juridical, and political contours of citizenship for the majority if "citizenship" is divorced from the distribution of power and wealth between social classes? Otherwise, we run the risk of slipping into an acceptance of the classic liberal understanding that sees citizenship as a purely a matter of juridical rights and formal electoral participation, conceived of as attributes of individuals. This is of special concern when the concept of citizenship is discussed, as it is all-too-often in Brazil, based on an idealized notion derived from the advanced capitalist states of western Europe or the United States.

14. Such a shift towards history, if borne out, is occurring at a moment when labor sociology has reached new heights of sophistication and technical accomplishment in its study of contemporary reality (Castro and Leite 1994).

Finally, how we are to learn new ways of telling the story of Brazilian workers and their struggles? How do we do so in a way that illuminates and empowers both workers and their allies? And how do we keep an eye on the prize while we are in the midst of explaining the give and take, ebb and flow, of everyday life and struggle. "Whatever their politics, the forces of labor in Brazil today will need a great deal of inspiration to meet the challenges they face. Their struggles will be made a trifle easier if they can feel at ease with past progressive and working-class struggles; if they can feel the pride, accomplishments, and heroism of earlier generations; and if, after tasting the bitterness of past defeats, they can still understand the flawed and incomplete victories—but victories nonetheless—that followed" (French 1992: 283-4; French 1995).

As we tackle these challenges, it is good to be reminded of the wise advice of Emília Viotti da Costa who once "explained to a young assistant professor anxious to make his mark on the field that, while ambition is laudable, the most lasting intellectual contributions in history have come not from attacking parodied versions of earlier generations of scholars but from critical and respectful engagement with that work. Each generation of scholars [and activists] sees clearer and farther if it can stand on the shoulders of its predecessors" (French and James 1997: vii).

-
15. The electoral dimension of working class struggle is in particular need of further study, especially the variation in the political cultures of voting among working peoples. "An exclusive emphasis on interclass relations" and conflict, French wrote in 1992, "can grossly distort the analysis of electoral politics, which is decisively shaped by intraclass divisions, fractions, and substrata. The successful analysis of such a political system requires a further refinement of our understanding of the variety and complexity of alliances at all levels... The restoration of democracy in Brazil and elsewhere on the continent in the 1980s highlights the importance of social and political alliances, placing the subject at the top of Latin Americanist research agendas" (French 1992: 282; French 1995). There is still much to be done if we are to understand the architecture of power, much less the dynamics of Brazilian capitalism as a totality and its place in the crisis-racked "New World Order" of our day.

This bibliography contributes to this process of scholarly rethinking and re-*vision*-ing by laying out the impressive accomplishments of those who have studied urban labor in Brazil. Looking back at the modest beginnings of this area of research at mid century, it is clear that Brazil has seen an extraordinary expansion in the number, quality, and sophistication of empirical studies of urban labor—with an increasingly broader representation of scholarly disciplines and geographical regions. These efforts at intellectual comprehension are a tribute to the significance, influence, and increasing power of the new social class of urban wage laborers in twentieth century Brazil. It is also a portent of future changes in Brazil, whether hailed as a promise or utopia by some Brazilians or feared by others as a threat to their power and privileges. As we strive to better understand the Brazilian social formation in all its complexity, we must not forsake the *linha mestre* that links the intellectual study of labor to the social transformation that workers' movements have always represented—and that is needed now, more than ever, in Brazil and the United States.

Defining the Nature and Scope of this Bibliography

This specialized bibliography focuses on urban wage labor in the twentieth century, especially in the industrial sector. Thus it does not cover the history of labor under slavery despite its relevance for the conceptualization of the history of work and workers in Brazilian society (as argued in Reis 1997). Nor does it deal with the large literature on rural social movements. Overall, it aims to provide a representative and comprehensive, but by no means exhaustive, inventory of the articles, books, and memoirs that have been most important to the study of the history of labor in Brazil (whether in terms of their coverage and findings or their place in the evolution of scholarly debate). In any such selection, important studies have no doubt been overlooked but we hope to rectify such shortcomings in an expanded future Brazilian edition.

This bibliography also has a clear thematic and analytical orientation: the primary focus is on organized workers' movements in their relationship to political and industrial life. Rather than focussing on the lives of all those who labor, we emphasize the collective expressions of working class agency. The category of workers' movements, however, is not defined as being narrowly about trade unions as such (that is the labor movement proper). Rather, it includes the political projects, institutions, and movements associated with organized workers; that is, attention is also paid to the wider penumbra of intellectual activists and leftist groups who play an important role not only in the functioning of the workers' movement but in defining its significance for society as a whole. This does not mean, however, that the bibliography deals comprehensively with leftist movements or intellectual life (although a slice of that literature is included where directly relevant to labor struggles).

The bibliography consists of 350 entries and a slightly larger number of bibliographical citations. Although historically-oriented, the bulk of the items are written by scholars from other fields, especially sociology, which was the first to take up the study of urban workers as an academic inquiry. There is also an overwhelming preponderance of Portuguese-language works: only one in four of the entries are in English and, if we exclude English publications by Brazilians, the number of works by non-Brazilians falls to one in six.

In compiling the bibliography, enough interesting, little known and recently published items were included so that it should prove useful even to those who have already mastered the basic bibliography. A special effort was also made to list unusual items like memoirs, novels, plays, cartoon collections, and photo albums. As much as possible, information has been included on both English and Portuguese editions in those cases where the work is available in both languages. Unfortunately, the vast quantity of unpublished Brazilian conference papers, research reports, and theses have not been included given the difficulty most readers would have in locating them for consultation. In a few instances, however, masters thesis

and doctoral dissertations have been included where the work in question is of special significance or influence.

Chronologically, only a few cites deal with the late nineteenth century although coverage begins to pick up after 1906, the year of the first national workers' congress, and then becomes more voluminous after the upsurge of strikes and radicalism at the end of World War I. Works on the years up to 1930 constitute more than a quarter of the items overall, almost half deal with labor during the years between 1930 and 1964, and roughly one quarter cover the period after 1964 (where no attempt is made to be more than suggestive given the scope of scholarly production on contemporary labor). In terms of the organization of the bibliography, readers should be cautioned that items appear in only one section. A collection of primary source documents, for example, will appear only in part three even though it deals with a period covered in a later chronological section. Likewise, a book that crosses the chronological boundaries between sections will only be listed once in the time period that receives the greatest attention.

Given the concentration of industrial workers and industrial production in the south-central region of Brazil, it is not surprising that this bibliography concentrates on São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro trailed by Rio Grande do Sul and Minas Gerais. The Rio-São Paulo geographic bias mirrors the current contours of field of labor studies in Brazil. In most writing about "Brazilian" labor, as Sílvia Petersen noted in 1995, "a part is taken for the whole" and the case of São Paulo-Rio, which is "also a regional study (even though undoubtedly the economically and politically hegemonic region), is given a national or global definition" (Petersen 1995: 131-2).

The virtual absence of most of the Northeast from this bibliography is only the most glaring example of this geographic bias. It can be explained in part by a weakly integrated national intellectual market that is far from

guaranteeing circulation from the periphery to the center. Moreover, it is also possible that some poorer and more weakly industrialized states may not yet have mobilized their scarce intellectual resources to examine what may seem, on the surface, to be a less significant history of workers' movements in their respective states.

Our false but operative definition of "Brazil," Sílvia Petersen reminds us, also introduces important conceptual distortions into our understanding of the history of working people in Brazil (that is, of those who labor, meant in the broadest sense). To arrive at a truly national history, we will need to redefine and expand our existing analytical categories so that they can better encompass the diversity of interests, forms of organization, traditions and political cultures of Brazilian laboring folk. To remedy these glaring weaknesses, we will need to cross many frontiers, to use Petersen's apt metaphor, as we set out to increase the intellectual power and reach of labor studies in the future.

Annotated Bibliography

Bibliographies and Archival Guides

Archivo Storico del Movimento Operaio Brasileiro [Historical Archives of the Brazilian Workers' Movement] at the Giangiacomo Feltrinelli Foundation. *Microfilm Catalogue 82*. (Milan: Giangiacomo Feltrinelli Foundation, 1982). 21 pages. *Microfilm Catalogue 83*. (Milan: Giangiacomo Feltrinelli Foundation, n.d.). 28 pages.

Arquivo Edgard Leuenroth. *Catálogo: coleção de jornais brasileiros*. (Campinas: AEL-IFCH, UNICAMP, 1994). 140 pages. Complete listing, in alphabetical order, of all Brazilian newspapers held by of the archive, with information on the publication of each one.

Arquivo Edgard Leuenroth. *Cadernos AEL #2: Comunistas e comunismo*. (Campinas: AEL-IFCH, UNICAMP, 1995). 142 pages. Contains the following guides to AEL holdings on the PCB: Cláudio Henrique de Moraes Batalha and Sandra Lúcia Pereira, "Periódicos comunistas do Arquivo Edgard Leuenroth," 103-130; and "Fontes sobre o Partido Comunista Brasileiro no Arquivo Edgard Leuenroth," 133-36.

Arquivo Edgard Leuenroth. *Guia 1990*. (Campinas: Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas, UNICAMP, 1990). 95 pages. A description of the materials that make up the diverse holdings, collections of documents and newspapers that constitute the archive, as well as its instruments of research and publication.

Arquivo Público do Estado de Rio de Janeiro. *DOPS: a lógica da desconfiança*. (Rio de Janeiro: Arquivo Público do Estado de Rio de Janeiro, 1993).

Arquivo Público do Estado de Rio de Janeiro. *Os arquivos das polícias políticas: reflexões de nossa história contemporânea*. (Rio de Janeiro: FAPERJ, 1994).

Bertonha, João Fábio. "Os arquivos policiais e judiciários: fontes para a história social e política brasileira do Século XX." *História Social*

[UNICAMP], no. 2 (1995): 193-195. Brief description of the contents, forms of organization and access to police and judicial archives. The DOPS and the Tribunal de Segurança Nacional archives are fast becoming one of the fundamental sources for the study of Brazilian social history.

Carneiro, Maria Luiza Tucci. *Livros proibidos, idéias malditas: o DEOPS [Departamento Estadual de Ordem Política e Social]*. (São Paulo: Arquivo do Estado/Estação Liberdade, 1997).

Chilcote, Ronald H. *Brazil and its Radical Left: An Annotated Bibliography on the Communist Movement and the Rise of Marxism, 1922-1972*. (Millwood, N.Y.: Kraus International Publications, 1980). 455 pages. This indispensable bibliography contains 3084 citations to material by and about the Communist Party and other Marxist and leftist movements in Brazil. In addition to books and pamphlets, it includes an even more extensive section of articles, each with some annotation. This section is especially useful because it contains so many articles from the PCB's newspapers and periodicals. It also includes a thorough "Annotated List of Periodicals" (pages 375-425) that covers many of the journals held in the Leuenroth and Astrojildo Pereira collections. If pursuing a given topic, individual, or place, consultation is greatly facilitated because of the inclusion of detailed indexes.

Davis, Darién, J. "The Arquivos das Polícias Políticas of the State of Rio de Janeiro". *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 31, number 1, 1996. Pages 99-104.

Brant, Vinícius Caldeira. "Bibliographe commentée: Ouvriers et syndicats du Brésil." *Sociologie du Travail* 9, no. 3 (1967): 352-361. A pioneering bibliography of 100 annotated items.

Ferreira, Maria Nazareth. *A imprensa operária no Brasil (1880-1920)*. Augmented version of 1978 ed (São Paulo: Ática, 1988). 93 pages. Based on the holdings of the Arquivo Edgard Leuenroth, the author has compiled an "Account of labor newspapers and magazines" from 1847 to 1986 (pp. 63-85). In each case, the year of appearance of the

title is listed along with the name of the publisher and the city in which it appeared.

Gordon, Eric, Michael Hall, and Hobart A. Spalding Jr. "A Survey of Brazilian and Argentine Materials at the Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis in Amsterdam." *Latin American Research Review* 8, no. 3 (1973): 27-77. A rich survey of relevant holdings at the Internationaal Instituut Voor Social Geschiedenis in Amsterdam. Includes a complete list of newspapers and books, the majority of which concern anarchist activity in São Paulo between 1900 and 1922, but also containing materials of other periods and locations.

Healey, Mark, and Russell E. Smith. *Labor, Mercosur, and Latin American Regional Integration: A Bibliography*. (Miami: Center for Labor Research and Studies of Florida International University, 1996). A comprehensive compilation of citations on all three of these topics.

Lobo, Eulália Maria Lahmeyer et. al. *Guia dos jornais operários do Rio de Janeiro*. (Niterói: Oficina de História, 1988).

Morris, James O., and Efrén Córdova. "Brazil." In *Bibliography of Industrial Relations in Latin America*, (Ithaca: New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University, 1967). This early but still useful compilation of items on labor contains 35 pages of citations on Brazil, 15 of the total dealing with labor law (itself divided into 7 topical headings).

Petersen, Sílvia Regina Ferraz, ed. *Guias para o estudo da imprensa periódica dos trabalhadores do Rio Grande do Sul (1874-1940)*. (Porto Alegre: Editora da UFRGS, FAPERGS, 1989). 104 pages. The primary sources for the study of work and workers in Rio Grande do Sul are precarious for the First Republic, Petersen argues, given official lack of interest and police hostility. "In such circumstances, the role of the periodic labor press becomes indispensable" as a "source of greater continuity for the reconstruction of the initial stage of the Rio Grande do Sul labor movement." This valuable guide includes information as to the "location, identification and access to consultation of press material located until now." Each item includes the frequency,

the name and address of the publisher, the date founded or cited, the address, and where copies can be consulted.

_____. "O movimento operário brasileiro: bibliografia (Livros, artigos, revistas, folhetos)." *Revista do Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas da Universidade Federal de Rio Grande do Sul*, no. 8 (1979-80): 175-217. Over 900 alphabetized citations, unannotated, "bringing together not only works whose content specifically deals with the Brazilian labor movement but all material which in some manner refers to the movement." Includes primary and secondary material covering all periods but does not include articles from labor or leftist journals.

_____. "O movimento operário brasileiro: bibliografia (II) (Livros, artigos, revistas, folhetos)." *Revista do Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas da Universidade Federal de Rio Grande do Sul* 9 (1981): 175-199. 200 additional items that supplement her earlier bibliography on labor in Brazil as a whole. It also includes a separate bibliography of more than 150 items dealing with the gaúcho labor movement including their archival location.

_____. "Sobre a documentação da história dos trabalhadores do Rio Grande do Sul existente em dois arquivos europeus." *Estudos Ibero-Americanos* [PUC-RS] 22, no. 2 (1996): 231-235. A brief survey of material on Rio Grande do Sul from the Internationaal Instituut Voor Social Geschiedenis in Amsterdam and the Archivio Storico del Movimento Operaio Brasiliano in Milan. The author did not use the comprehensive survey of the former offered in Gordon et al. (1973).

Rodrigues, José Albertino. "Bibliografia [Anotada]." In *Sindicato e desenvolvimento no Brasil*, (São Paulo: Símbolo, 1979), 199-223. An annotated bibliography that is still useful for its listing of government and legal publications.

Rodrigues, Leôncio Martins, and Fábio Antônio Munhoz. "Bibliografia sobre trabalhadores e sindicatos no Brasil." *Estudos CEBRAP*, no. 7 (1974): 151-171. An influential essay and annotated bibliography of 100 items that served to define the emerging field of labor studies in Brazil in the 1970s. Discussion is divided into five parts: the history

and formation of the labor movement, workers' attitudes and orientations, trade unionism and the workers' movement, strikes and industrial conflicts, and ideologies and doctrines.

Trento, Angelo. *Do outro lado do Atlântico: um século de imigração italiana no Brasil*. Translated by Mariarosaria Fabris and Luiz Eduardo de Lima Brandão. (São Paulo: Nobel/Instituto Italiano di Cultura di San Paolo/Instituto Cultural Ítalo-Brasileiro, 1989). 574 pages. Includes an appendix listing "The Italian-language press in Brazil, 1765-1960," organized chronologically and by state.

Viera, Oldegar Franco. *Bibliografia brasileira de direito do trabalho*. (Salvador: Universidade da Bahia, 1958). 257 pages.

Literature Reviews and Methodological Reflections

Batalha, Cláudio, "A historiografia da classe operária no Brasil: trajetória e tendências". In Marcos Cezar de Freitas (org.), *Historiografia brasileira em perspectiva*. (São Paulo/Bragança Paulista: Contexto/Universidade São Francisco, 1998)Pages 145-158, 435-439.

Castro, Nadya Araújo, and Márcia de Paula Leite. "A sociologia do trabalho industrial no Brasil: desafios e interpretações." *BIB [Rio de Janeiro]*, no. 37 (1994): 35-59.

Cattani, Antonio David. *Sindicalismo: ação-reflexão. Cadernos da EDUCS no. 2 (Caxias do Sul: Editora da Universidade de Caxias do Sul, 1989). 157 pages.*

Dutra, Eliana de Freitas, and Yonne de Souza Grossi. "Historiografia e movimento operário: o novo em questão." *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Políticos*, no. 65 (1987): 101-130.

Erickson, Kenneth Paul, Patrick Peppe, and Hobart Spalding. "Research on the Urban Working Class and Organized Labor in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile: What is Left to be Done?" *Latin American Research Review* 9, no. 2 (1974): 115-142.

French, John D. "The Origin of Corporatist State Intervention in Brazilian Industrial Relations, 1930-1934: A Critique of the Literature." *Luso-Brazilian Review* XXVIII, no. 2 (1991): 13-26.

_____. "Workers and Populism: Past and Present in the Brazilian Labor Movement." In *The Brazilian Workers' ABC: Class Conflicts and Alliances in Modern São Paulo* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 1-16.

_____, and Daniel James. "Squaring the Circle: Women's Factory Labor, Gender Ideology, and Necessity." In *The Gendered Worlds of Latin American Women Workers: From Household and Factory to the Union Hall and Ballot Box*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), 1-30.

Hall, Michael M., and Paulo Sérgio Pinheiro. "Alargando a história da classe operária: organização, lutas e controle." In *Libertários e militantes: arte, memórias e cultura anarquista*, edited by Antonio Arnoni Prado, (Campinas: Instituto de Estudos da Linguagem/UNICAMP, 1985), 96-120.

Paoli, Maria Célia. "Os trabalhadores urbanos na fala dos outros. Tempo, espaço, e classe na história operária brasileira." In *Cultura e identidade operária: aspectos da cultura da classe trabalhadora*, edited by José Sérgio Leite Lopes, (Rio de Janeiro: Universidade Federal de Rio de Janeiro/Museu Nacional/Marco Zero, 1988), 53-101.

_____, Éder Sáder, and Vera da Silva Telles. "Pensando a classe operária: os trabalhadores sujeitos ao imaginário acadêmico (Notas de uma pesquisa)." *Revista Brasileira de História* 3, no. 6 (1983): 129-149.

_____, and Éder Sáder. "Sobre 'classes populares' no pensamento sociológico brasileiro (Notas de leitura sobre acontecimentos recentes)." In *Aventura antropológica: teoria e pesquisa*, edited by Ruth Cardoso, (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1986), 39-67.

Petersen, Sílvia Regina Ferraz. "Cruzando fronteiras: as pesquisas regionais e a história operária brasileira." *Anos 90* [Universidade Federal de Rio Grande do Sul], no. 3 (1995): 129-154.

Pinheiro, Paulo Sérgio. "Trabalho industrial no Brasil: Uma revisão." *Estudos CEBRAP*, no. 14 (1975): 123-127.

Vianna, Luiz Werneck. "Apontamentos sobre a questão operária e sindical." *Encontros com a Civilização Brasileira*, no. 13 (1979): 51-63.

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Viotti da Costa, Emília. "Brazilian Workers Rediscovered." *International Labor and Working Class History*, no. 22 (1982): 28-38. A useful review of the document collections on labor in the First Republic compiled by Carone (1979) and Pinheiro and Hall (1979).

_____. "Experience versus Structures: New Tendencies in the History of Labor and the Working Class in Latin America—What Do We Gain? What Do We Lose?" *International Labor and Working Class History* 36 (Fall 1989) (1989): 3-24. Available in Portuguese as "Estrutura versus experiência. Novas tendências na história do movimento operário e das classes trabalhadoras na América Latina: O que se perde e o que se ganha," *BIB*, no. 29 (1990).

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300, 120 pages. Volume 1 offers a theoretical Marxist critique of the PCB's analysis of rural social relations, especially the similarity between the agrarian reform proposal of the PCB and that of the Vargas regime. Volume 2 contains items documenting conflict in the countryside, organized by year, that are drawn from court records and newspaper accounts. Volume 3 is an index to the accounts in volume 2.

Carone, Edgar. *Movimento operário no Brasil*. Volume 1: 1887-1944. Volume 2: 1945-1964. Volume 3: 1964-1984. (São Paulo: DIFEL, 1979, 1981, 1984). 578, 276, 314 pages. A rich and wide-ranging selection of documents makes up the first volume although the second and third volumes for the years after 1945, while useful, are far weaker in terms of the range of documents, the comprehensiveness of coverage, and the variety of topics covered.

_____, ed. *O P.C.B.* Volume 1: 1922-1943. Volume 2: 1943-1964. Volume 3: 1964-1982. (São Paulo: DIFEL, 1982). 350, 333, 400 pages. Key collection of documents from the most important leftist group active in the labor movement prior to the 1970s.

Confederação Operária Brasileira (COB). *A voz do trabalhador. Orgam da Confederação Operária Brasileira. Coleção Fac-similar 1908-1915*. Prefácio de Paulo Sérgio Pinheiro (São Paulo: Imprensa Oficial do Estado, Secretaria de Estado da Cultura, Centro de Memória Sindical, 1985). A beautiful facsimile edition, reproduced in a 13 1/2 by 18 1/2 inch format, of the 71 issues of the official publication of the Confederação Operária Brasileira (COB).

Fagundes, Lúcia Ketzer et al. *Memória da indústria gaúcha das origens a 1930: documentos*. (Porto Alegre: Editora da UFRGS, 1987). 343 pages. Contains sections dealing with "work in factories" (68-143), "urban social problems: nourishment, housing, transportation" (245-270), and "collective work conflicts" (271-343).

Frederico, Celso, ed. *A esquerda e o movimento operário, 1964-1984. Vol 1: A resistência à ditadura. Vol. 2: A crise do "milagre brasileiro". Volume 3: A reconstrução*. (São Paulo/Belo Horizonte: Novos Rumos/Oficina de Livros, 1987, 1990, 1991). 348, 243, 356 pages. A splendid col-

lection of aptly contextualized primary source documents from the various leftist groups that played such a vital but, today, too often neglected role in laying the groundwork for and shaping the upsurge of industrial militancy and political radicalism in São Paulo in the 1970s. It covers the initial response to the 1964 coup, the difficult years after 1968, and the political opening of the following decade. This fair-minded collection successfully challenges an all too convenient approach that sought to de-emphasize the Marxist left's contribution to the working class struggles of the late 1970s.

Khoury, Yara Aun. *As greves de 1917 em São Paulo e o processo de organização proletária*. (São Paulo: Cortez, 1981). 221 pages. Khoury's extremely useful and carefully-selected compilation of articles from the working class press offers a comprehensive view of the general strike of 1917 in the city of São Paulo.

Kocher, Bernardo, and Eulália Maria Lahmeyer Lobo, eds. *Ouve meu grito: antologia de poesia operária (1894-1923)*. (Rio de Janeiro/São Paulo: UFRJ/Editora Marco Zero, 1987). 151 pages. Divided into thematic sections, this collection offers a representative sample of the didactic and politically-engaged poetry written during the First Republic by worker militants or by intellectuals drawn to the workers' movement.

Nogueira, Marco Aurélio, ed. *PCB: vinte anos de política*. (São Paulo: Livraria Editora Ciências Humanas, 1980). A collection of official documents of the Partido Comunista Brasileiro stretching from the 1958 Declaração de Março, which established a self-critique concerning the line of class confrontation and revolutionary action adopted after 1947, to the beginnings of the party's reorganization in semi-clandestine conditions, a process propelled by the return of political exiles to the country in 1979.

Petersen, Sílvia Regina Ferraz, and Maria Elizabeth Lucas, eds. *Antologia do movimento operário gaúcho (1870-1937)*. (Porto Alegre: Editora da UFRGS, 1992). 488 pages. A model anthology of primary sources dealing with workers and the working class movement in Rio Grande do Sul from 1870 to the Estado Novo. It ranges widely in terms of

themes, time frame, and types of documents. If only we had similar collections for every Brazilian state.

Pinheiro, Paulo Sérgio, and Michael M. Hall. *A Classe operária no Brasil: documentos (1889 a 1930). Vol. I: O movimento operário. Vol. II: condições de vida e de trabalho, relações com os empresários e o Estado.* (São Paulo: Brasiliense/Alfa-Omega, 1979). 320, 347 pages. An extremely useful and influential collection of documents that has profoundly shaped the field. Indispensable for those beginning to study labor in Brazil during the First Republic.

Prado, Antonio Arnoni, and Francisco Foot Hardman, eds. *Contos anarquistas: antologia da prosa libertária no Brasil (1901-1935).* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1985). 150 pages. A selection of stories from the principle journals of the anarchist workers' movement. It is organized around projections of a libertarian utopia, the repudiation of the state and the bourgeois order, anarchist morality, urban misery and the every-day life of laborers.

Smith, Russell E., and Mark Healey. *Labor and Mercosur: A Documentary Collection.* (Durham: The Duke-UNC Program in Latin American Studies, 1994). 320 pages of hard-to-locate trade union documents dealing with the Common Market of the South (Mercosur). It includes relevant resolutions on economic integration and Mercosur from the various trade union confederations in Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, and Paraguay, as well as documents from the Coordinadora de Centrales Sindicales del Cono Sur and continental confederations such as FIT-TVCC/ORIT, ORIT, CIOSL (ICFTU), and CLAT. Of particular interest are the sequence of documents from the regional meetings of bankworkers and metalworkers. Some Mercosur documents, a Mercosur organogram, and a chronology of relevant meetings and actions are also included. Available for US \$22 from the Duke-UNC Program in Latin American Studies, Duke University, Box 90254, Durham, NC 27708-0254. Telephone: (919) 681-3980. FAX: (919) 681-7966. Add US\$5.00 for foreign air mail.

Vianna, Marly, ed. *Pão, terra e liberdade: memória do movimento comunista de 1935*. (Rio de Janeiro/São Carlos: Arquivo Nacional/Universidade Federal de São Carlos, 1995). 587 pages. Useful collection of documents dealing with the so-called Intentona Comunista of 1935.

Workers and Workers' Movements to 1930

Estudos Ibero-Americanos [PUC-RS] 22, no. 2 (1996): 244 pages. Special issue on labor in the First Republic in Rio Grande do Sul. Offers a comprehensive selection of the abundant recent research on early labor in Rio Grande do Sul. The fourteen studies cover the political context of the labor movement, anarchism, labor newspapers, female participation, workplace discipline, and Italian immigration. Also includes a selection of photos.

Addor, Carlos Augusto. *A insurreição anarquista no Rio de Janeiro*. (Rio de Janeiro: Dois Pontos, 1986). 219 pages. Reconstructs the November 1918 attempted anarchist insurrection in Rio de Janeiro both within the socio-political context of the city and the country in the first two decades of the twentieth century and within the context of the anarchist movement's prior trajectory. Sources include establishment newspapers as well as the labor press, accounts of labor congresses and business groups and official state documentation.

Alves de Seixas, Jacy. *Mémoire et oubli: Anarchisme et syndicalisme révolutionnaire au Brésil: Mythe e histoire*. (Paris: La Maison des Ciencias de L'Homme, 1992). 299 pages. A study of the origins and development of anarchist and socialist thought in Brazil, with research specifically on Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo between 1890 and the 20s. Alves de Seixas highlights the production of labor images and identities, the influence of doctrines such as Positivism and Social Darwinism on the origins of the Brazilian left and the changes in strategy stemming from the growth of Communists in the labor movement, both in their contemporary impact as well as in the subsequent construction of a historical memory of the period. The study's principal source is the labor press.

Amado, Jorge. *Jubiabá*. Translation of 1935 ed. (New York: Avon, 1984). 292 pages. A novel narrating the saga of Antonio Balduino, a circus boxer who, inspired by the spirit of the pai-de-santo Jubiabá, joins the workers of Salvador as they organize a strike against the oppression to which they're subjected.

Andrade, Sílvia Maria Belfort Vilela de. *Classe operária em Juiz de Fora: uma história de lutas (1912-1924)*. (Juiz de Fora: Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, 1987). 204 pages. A study of the industrialization of the mineira city of Juiz de Fora and of the living and working conditions of its workers and their first experiences of struggle. Analyzes the formation of the first workers' associations in the city and the unfolding of three general strikes, in 1912, 1920, and 1924. Uses as primary sources the daily press, labor press, and the documents of labor organizations and congresses. Also includes an appendix of original documents and photos.

Arquivo Storico del Movimento Operaio Brasileiro [Historical Archives of the Brazilian Workers' Movement] at the Giangiacomo Feltrinelli Foundation. *Memória & História #3: Roberto Morena* (São Paulo: Editora Novos Rumos, 1987). 287 pages. Special edition dedicated to the memory of the Communist labor leader Roberto Morena. Includes two articles, a testimony, a series of documents relating to the evolution of Morena's militancy (between the 20s and 60s), and a list of the newspapers that constituted his personal archive.

Arquivo Storico del Movimento Operaio Brasileiro [Historical Archives of the Brazilian Workers' Movement] at the Giangiacomo Feltrinelli Foundation. *Memória & História #2: Cristiano Cordeiro*. (São Paulo: Livraria Editora Ciências Humanas, 1982). 255 pages. Contains texts of articles from the 1920s and 1930s written by this founder of the PCB in Pernambuco. Also contains two useful articles on labor and the left in the state: Antonio Paulo de Moraes Rezende, "Aspectos do movimento operário em Pernambuco: 1914-1920." 23-66 and Michel Zaidan Filho, "Notas sobre as origens do PCB em Pernambuco: 1910-1930," 67-77.

Arquivo Edgard Leuenroth. *Cadernos AEL #1: Operários e Anarquistas Fazendo Teatro*. (Campinas: UNICAMP, 1992). 127 pages. Systematization of information on labor and anarchist theater in Brazil contained in documents of the archive's collection. It includes an account of plays, articles of the labor press related to these plays and addresses of the places of performances, in addition to articles written by researchers of UNICAMP analyzing aspects of this production.

Bak, Joan L. "Labor, Community and the Making of a Cross-class Alliance in Brazil: The 1917 Railroad Strikes in Rio Grande do Sul." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 78, no. 1 (1998). Analyzes the two strikes that, in July-August and October of 1917, paralyzed the Compagnie Auxiliaire de Chemins de Fer, the primary railroad company of Rio Grande do Sul. Emphasizes the role of inter-class alliances and the worker's mobilization of nationalist sentiments (particularly anti-American ones) in order to guarantee support for the movement. Bak further highlights the relationship of the strike to the conflicts involving various economic groups from different countries with interests in the railroad industry and the State Government of Rio Grande do Sul that culminated in the take-over of the company.

Bandeira, Moniz, Clovis Melo, and A. T. Andrade. *O ano vermelho: a revolução russa e seus reflexos no Brasil*. Reprint of 1967 ed. (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1980). 378 pages. An analysis of the impact of the Russian Revolution of 1917 on Brazil and its influence on the various paths adopted by the national left, including an appendix with accounts, interviews and articles of diverse contemporary sources. Based fundamentally on the daily and labor press, as well as on documentation of the political groups that would later form the Partido Comunista do Brasil in 1922.

Barboza de Araújo, Rosa Maria. *O batismo do trabalho: a experiência de Lindolfo Collor*. (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1981). 193 pages. An analysis of the administration of the first Brazilian Minister of Labor, Lindolfo Collor, (1930-32) who headed the ministry until he cut his political ties to Getúlio Vargas. The text concentrates principally on an analysis of the "trabalhista" discourse from the Aliança

Liberal campaign until the first years of the Vargas administration, as well as on the legislation elaborated in the Collor administration and the sequence of political events shaping it.

Batalha, Cláudio Henrique Moraes. "Le syndicalisme 'Amarelo' à Rio de Janeiro (1906-1930)." Doctoral dissertation in history, University of Paris I, 1986. 2 vols, 509 pages. A study of the reformist union currents, which fought for leadership of the workers movement with those oriented towards direct action, that dedicated themselves to the fight for legal measures aimed at improving labor conditions and wages. These unionists did not hesitate in appealing to intermediaries, such as politicians and government authorities, in order to advance their demands. The study seeks to reconstitute the trajectory of this current which, although numerically significant, has had its importance minimized in most of the historiography of labor that has usually dismissed it as being the product of mere state manipulation.

Beiguelman, Paula. *Os companheiros de São Paulo*. (São Paulo: Símbolo, 1977). 111 pages. Essay on the evolution of labor militancy among immigrants in São Paulo in the period ranging from 1889 to 1920. Beiguelman focuses on the integration of coffee producers and the emerging São Paulo industry. The essay counts as its primary sources the newspapers published by the labor press in the first decades of the twentieth century. The study originated in research conducted for Azis Simão (1966/1981).

Blass, Leila Maria de Silva. *Imprimindo a própria história: o movimento dos trabalhadores gráficos de São Paulo no final dos anos 20*. (São Paulo: Loyola, 1986). 127 pages. A reconstruction of the course of struggles of one of the skilled groups with the strongest tradition of struggle in the period preceding 1930. The study focuses on the 20s, a decade shaped by important transformations in the forms of labor organization and by political conflict between libertarians and Communists within the labor movement.

Blay, Eva Alterman. *Eu não tenho onde morar: vilas operárias na cidade de São Paulo*. (São Paulo: Nobel, 1985). 332 pages. A study of "vilas op-

erárias" (company-sponsored worker housing) in São Paulo and the role they played in its inhabitants' experience as workers. Starts off with an analysis of the origin of the vilas as an alternative proposed by a segment of the business sector in reaction to the problem of workers' living conditions at the turn of the century. In the second part, the text reflects upon the memories of the current inhabitants in their capacity as workers and upon the role played by the relationships they've established with the housing, either as renters or as owners. Uses as sources *Atas da Câmara Municipal*, daily and labor press and oral testimonies.

Bodea, Miguel. *A greve de 1917 e as origens do trabalhismo gaúcho (Ensaio sobre o pré-ensaio de poder de uma elite política dissidente a nível nacional)*. (Porto Alegre: L & PM Editores, n.d.). 103 pages. Essay seeking to identify the origins of a "trabalhista" political project in the particularities of the relationship between political elites and working classes in the First Republic of Rio Grande do Sul. Focuses on the relationship of Governor Borges de Medeiros with the state-wide strike of railroad workers and with the general strike of Porto Alegre, both in 1917. The research is based exclusively on the press of the period.

Borges, Stella. *Italianos: Porto Alegre e trabalho*. (Porto Alegre: EST Edições, 1993). 172 pages. Based on the author's Master's Thesis, this study describes the urban context of Porto Alegre at the end of the nineteenth century, identifying the particular ways in which Italian immigrants inserted themselves economically, socially and culturally into the city. Contains a large amount of information on associations, press, economic activity and other information about the city's Italian colony, in addition to a proper name index of Italian immigrants.

Campos, Cristina Hebling. *O sonhar libertário (Movimento operário nos anos de 1917 a 1921)*. (Campinas: Ponte/Editora da UNICAMP, 1988). 189 pages. A study of labor movements in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo during one of the instances of greatest strike activity during the Old Republic, emphasizing the utopian aspect of the anarchist ideology that was hegemonic at the time. The research is based upon both labor and daily press, as well as official publications.

Caulfield, Sueann. "Getting into Trouble: Dishonest Women, Modern Girls, and Women-Men in the Conceptual Language of *Vida Policial*, 1925-1927." *Signs* 19, no. 1 (1993): 146-76. See also Sueann Caulfield. "In Defense of Honor: The Contested Meaning of Sexual Morality in Law and Courtship, Rio de Janeiro, 1920-1940.", Ph.D. dissertation in History, New York University, 1994. A study of the representation offered between 1925 and 1927 by the Rio de Janeiro magazine *Vida Policial* concerning the supposed risks to Brazilian society and family triggered by transgressions of female behavioral norms. The study points out how the male authors of the magazine, through the identification of "deviations" such as the circulation of prostitutes outside their "zone", the adoption of masculine customs by modern young women and even the flight of poor girls, disguised as men, from their families, registered the resignification of gender identities developed by segments of the female population through new performances.

_____, and Martha de Abreu Esteves. "Fifty Years of Virginity in Rio de Janeiro: Sexual Politics and Gender Roles in Juridical and Popular Discourse, 1890-1940." *Luso-Brazilian Review* 30, no. 1 (1993): 47-74. Brings together the conclusions of two studies on prosecutions of rape and deflowering in Rio de Janeiro throughout the periods 1904-1911 and 1918-1940. The article analyzes the popular classes' search for institutional mediation (police and judicial) in order to resolve problems regarding notions of virginity and feminine honor. The authors reconstruct the standards of morality and their shifts throughout these periods, integrating transformations in popular culture and in projects of "civilizing" the working classes' sexual behavior.

Challoub, Sidney. *Trabalho, lar, e botequim. O cotidiano dos trabalhadores no Rio de Janeiro da Belle Époque*. (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1986). 249 pages. A reconstruction of every-day life as experienced by workers in Rio de Janeiro at the beginning of this century based on criminal prosecutions and announcements in the police section of daily newspapers. On the basis of the daily conflicts expressed in these episodes,

Challoub identifies the variegated formulations of interests and beliefs that existed in several social segments of the city. At the same time, Challoub unveils the operation of mechanisms of control erected to ensure urban "hygiene" and "security" in the face of the risks represented by poverty.

Dean, Warren. *The Industrialization of São Paulo, 1880-1945*. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1969). 263 pages. In Portuguese: *A industrialização de São Paulo (1880-1945)*. (São Paulo: DIFEL, 1971). A study of the formation of the industrial complex of São Paulo, its connections with the coffee economy and its dynamics of pronounced growth following import-substitution undertaken during the First World War. Warren highlights the evolution of class consciousness and the organization of business sectors, through the elaboration of ideas and proposals on the so-called "social question" and on prospects of national development.

Decca, Edgar Salvadori De. *O silêncio dos vencidos*. (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1981). 209 pages. This influential essay traces the construction of the official memory of the 1930 Revolution and the part it plays in the silencing of the experiences of proletarian struggle such as those generated under the coordination of the Bloco Operário e Camponês between 1928 and 1929 in São Paulo. The author analyzes the discursive universe in which themes such as industrialization, democracy and Revolution circulated at the time between sectors of the labor movement, the liberal political opposition and the emerging class organization of the São Paulo bourgeoisie. The research concentrates on newspapers and documentation produced by businesses.

Decca, Maria Auxiliadora Guzzo. *A vida fora das fábricas: cotidiano operário em São Paulo (1920/1934)*. (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1987). 135 pages. A study of the living conditions in working class neighborhoods, combined with the development of technical discourses (engineers, hygienists, social assistants, etc.) aimed at the resolution of the so-called "social question." The research is based on the daily press, other newspapers of general circulation and the labor press.

Dias, Everardo. *História das lutas sociais no Brasil*. Reprint of 1962 ed. (São Paulo: Alfa-Omega, 1977). 330 pages. An account of labor struggles in Brazil from the outset of the century until 1934, written by the distinguished militant worker Dias, a typographer by profession. Emphasizes the development of syndicalist organization and the diffusion of socialist ideas within the labor movement.

Dulles, John W. F. *Anarchists and Communists in Brazil, 1900-1935*. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1973). 603 pages. In Portuguese: *Anarquistas e comunistas no Brasil*. 2nd ed (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 1972). Dulles offers a reconstruction of the political course of Brazilian anarchist and communist groups in their first decades of activity. Abundantly documented both in terms of written sources as well as testimonies, the study deals mainly with Rio and São Paulo but also includes facts on the Northeastern and the Southern regions of the country.

Dutra, Eliana de Freitas. *Caminhos operários nas Minas Gerais*. (São Paulo/Belo Horizonte: Hucitec/Editora UFMG, 1988). 225 pages. An analysis of the evolution of the mineiro labor movement in the First Republic, centering on a study of the particularities generated by workers organizations in Juiz de Fora and Belo Horizonte. While anarchist and Communist influences penetrate the labor movement of the first city, a Catholic orientation dominates the development of unionism in the second city. The analysis combines a study of the daily press, labor newspapers, worker organization statutes, official documents and oral testimonies.

Esteves, Martha de Abreu. *Meninas perdidas: os populares e o cotidiano do amor no Rio de Janeiro da Belle Époque*. (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1989). 212 pages. Study of feminine sexuality among the popular classes of Rio de Janeiro between 1900 and 1913. Esteves' principal sources are criminal prosecutions of indecent assault, rape and kidnapping, generally involving laundresses and domestic workers employed in the center and harbor regions of the city. The analysis concentrates on the development of normative discourses that are le-

gally based, as well as on alternative discourses regarding normative standards of sexual conduct.

Fausto, Boris. *Trabalho urbano e conflito social (1890-1920)*. (São Paulo: DIFEL, 1976). 283 pages. A classic study of the formation of the Brazilian urban working class based upon the experience of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. Fausto analyzes the proposals and strategies of the main political currents operating in the labor movement and in two key strike situations (1906-1907 and 1917-1920). Based upon the labor press and official documentation.

Foot, Francisco, and Victor Leonardi. *História da indústria e do trabalho no Brasil (Das origens aos anos vinte)*. (São Paulo: Global Editora, 1982). 416 pages. Foot and Leonardi paint a picture of the origins of industrialization in Brazil and the development of the labor movement in its first decades of activity. The authors analyze the insertion of Brazil in the international division of labor, particularities of the accumulation of capital, characteristics of the middle and working classes of the country, living and working conditions and the evolution of the labor movement, with emphasis on the organization of political parties, strikes, congresses and cultural manifestations. Contains information on labor organization in the North, Northeast, South and interior of the Southeast, all of which is remarkably scarce in work of this range on the period.

Gattai, Zélia. *Anarquistas graças a Deus*. (Rio de Janeiro: Record, 1979). 271 pages. Portrays the daily life of a family of Italian immigrants in São Paulo at the outset of the century. Based upon the personal memories of the author who reconstructs an eclectic familial universe influenced both by her father's anarchism and her mother's Catholicism.

Gertz, René E., ed. *Memórias de um imigrante anarquista (Friedrich Kniestedt)*. (Porto Alegre: EST Edições, 1989). 165 pages. A Portuguese translation of the compilation of memoirs of an important German anarchist leader, who immigrated to Porto Alegre at the beginning of the century, that originally appeared in print as sections of the newspaper "Das freie arbeiter" published by Kniestedt until 1937. Highlights of

the compilation include an account of his initiation into the craft skills involved with the manufacturing of brooms in Germany at the end of the nineteenth century, the organization of the Labor Federation of Rio Grande do Sul, the libertarian pedagogical experience of the Escola Moderna and the anti-nazi struggle within the German immigrant community in Brazil.

Gitahy, Maria Lúcia Caira. "The Port Workers of Santos, 1889-1914: Labor Movement and Urban Culture in an Early 20th Century City." Doctoral dissertation in history, University of Colorado, 1991. 364 pages. See also Maria Lúcia Caira Gitahy. *Ventos do mar: trabalhadores do porto, movimento operário e cultura urbana em Santos, 1889-1914*. (São Paulo/Santos: Universidade Estadual Paulista/Prefeitura Municipal de Santos, 1992). Study of the relationship between urban culture and the labor movement in Santos during the Belle Époque. Analyzes the labor process in the port and its relationship to strike activity throughout the period, as well as the relationship between portworkers and the other working class occupational groups in the city.

Gordon, Eric. "Anarchism in Brazil: Theory and Practice, 1890-1920." Doctoral dissertation in history, Tulane University, 1978. 335 pages. A study of the Brazilian anarchist movement, with special emphasis on the analysis of the political ideas expressed in the labor press, organizational and mobilization tactics, and their educational and cultural activities. Contains a chapter of the experience of the Colônia Cecília and anarchist ideas on changes in domestic relations and "free love."

Hahner, June E. "Women and Work in Brazil, 1850-1920." In *Essays Concerning the Socioeconomic History of Brazil and Portuguese India*, edited by Dauril Alden and Warren Dean, (Gainesville: University Presses, 1977), 87-117. An analysis of the structure of employment, working conditions, salaries and attitudes toward women and their jobs in Brazilian urban centers of the period, with emphasis on Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. Primary sources include population censuses as well as the daily and labor presses. Examines the impact of differences in education on the opportunities opened up for female work.

_____. *Poverty and Politics: The Urban Poor in Brazil, 1870-1920*. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986). A study of the living conditions, occupational structure and collective identity among the urban poor of Rio de Janeiro. Offers innovative information on diet, sub-standard housing, sickness, culture and popular disturbances. Analyzes as well the relationship between this urban population and different forms of "Jacobin" politics at the end of the XIX century, and the attempts at political and union organization of the workers.

Hall, Michael M. "Immigration and the Early São Paulo Working Class." *Jahrbuch für Geschichte*, no. 12 (1975): 393-407. An article that reexamines the role played by immigration in the development of the working class in São Paulo. It questions the myth of the radicalism of workers that arrived from Europe that was used by some scholars to explain the labor struggles at the beginning of this century which were contrasted with the subsequent rise of populism that was seen as being associated with the substitution of such immigrant workers by native rural migrant workers. Hall emphasizes the difficulties imposed by geographic mobility and the preponderance of immediate individual economic interests that were characteristic of the intense and accelerated flux of manual work propelled by the coffee economy as factors that both disorganized and limited the efficiency of worker struggle.

_____, and Hobart A. Spalding Jr. "The Urban Working Class and Early Latin American Labour Movements, 1880-1930." In *Cambridge History of Latin America. Volume IV: c. 1870 to 1930*, edited by Leslie Bethell, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 325-365. Analyzes the characteristics of the economy, the middle class and the State in Latin America as well as the particularities of working class composition and working conditions. Establishes a division into three decisive instants: one before 1917, another marked by mobilizations between 1917 and 1920 and a third impacted by the emergence of the communist movement in the 20s. The authors emphasize the influence of the Mexican Revolution as a genesis of the experiences of

State-controlled unionization which were subsequently to become common in several Latin American countries.

_____, and Paulo Sérgio Pinheiro. "The Clarté Group in Brazil." *Le Mouvement Social*, no. 111 (1980): 217-234. For a longer Portuguese version: "O grupo Clarté no Brasil: da revolução nos espíritos ao Ministério do Trabalho." In *Libertários no Brasil*, edited by Antonio Arnoni Prado (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1986), 251-287. Recreates the organization of the intellectual group that planned to mobilize an "international of thought" based on its central nucleus in France, its relationship with the internal conflicts of the socialist movement during the division of the Second International and its influence in Latin America and, in particular, in Brazil. In the Brazilian case, Clarté served as a reference both for the organizers of the Partido Comunista do Brasil, such as Astrojildo Pereira, as well as for the moderate socialists, such as Maurício de Lacerda and Evaristo de Moraes, who would later constitute part of the nucleus elaborating the social legislation of the first stages of the Vargas regime.

_____, and Marco Aurélio Garcia. "Urban Labor". In Michael L. Conniff and Frank D. McCann. *Modern Brazil: Elite and Masses in Historical Perspective*. (The University of Nebraska Press, 1989). 161-191. An essay that offers a summary overview of the evolution of the workers' presence in the social and political life of Brazil between 1890 and 1980 as formulated by the revisionist historiography that developed under the impact of the "new unionism" of the end of the 1970s.

Hardman, Francisco Foot. *Nem pátria, nem patrão: vida operária e cultura anarquista no Brasil*. Reprint of 1983 ed. (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1984). 199 pages. An analysis of the "cultural politics" of the anarchist movement at the beginning of the century in Brazil. The author combines the study of these cultural practices and their place in the conception of social transformation with a literary analysis of the fictional production representative of the period.

_____. *Trem fantasma: a modernidade na selva*. (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1988). 291 pages. An analysis of the construction of the Madeira-Mamoré railroad in its two stages (1878-9 and 1907-12), during which approximately 6,500 workers from various parts of the world died as a result of working conditions and tropical diseases in service of a project that was never completed. The author combines the social history involved in this tragic enterprise with an analysis of the significance of the railroad as a symbol of modernity and expression of the moment of worldwide diffusion of the industrial technology associated with neocolonialism.

Hecker, Alexandre. *Um socialismo possível: a atuação de Antonio Piccarolo em São Paulo*. (São Paulo: T. A. Queiroz, 1988). 225 pages. A reconstruction of the evolution of the socialist reformist leader and subsequent primary organizer of the anti-fascist movement in the Italian colony of São Paulo. It is based fundamentally on the vast journalistic production of Piccarolo, the newspapers directed by him and other organs of labor and national press between the end of the nineteenth century and the 30s.

Keremitsis, Eileen. "The Early Industrial Worker in Rio de Janeiro, 1870-1930.", Ph.D. dissertation in History, Columbia University, 1982. 204 pages. A study of the socio-economic conditions and activities of the working classes of Rio de Janeiro of the time, as well as their relationship with changes associated with processes of urbanization, industrialization and political transition. The author uses employment records as well as the labor and national presses as fundamental sources, concentrating on an analysis of shoe-makers, trolley-car drivers and weavers.

Leme, Dulce M. Pompeo. *Trabalhadores ferroviários em greve*. (Campinas: Editora de UNICAMP, 1986). 269 pages. A case-study of the strike undertaken in 1906 by the railroad workers of the Companhia Paulista, in the coffee region of the interior of São Paulo. The study recreates the historical context of the introduction of railroads, related to the expansion of the coffee industry dating from 1870, and then

concentrates on the evolution of the railroad workers' movement and strikes called by other workers in demonstrations of solidarity.

Linhares, Hermínio. *Contribuição à história das lutas operárias no Brasil*. Reprint of 1955 ed. (São Paulo: Alfa-Omega, 1977). 98 pages. A chronological narration of struggles, demands and creation of labor organizations between the end of the last century and the 50s. The author was a militant of the Partido Socialista Brasileiro.

Lins do Rego, José. *O moleque Ricardo*. (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1935). 282 pages. Narrates the daily life of a young boy who exchanges the "miserable life" in a sugar mill in the interior of Pernambuco for a "better and unknown" life in Recife. As background, the author presents the social problems confronted by workers and their constant defeats in the face of the political disputes of Recife in the 30s. The novel also highlights the conflicts confronted by the main character when he participates in the Caixa de Auxílio dos Padeiros, and his imprisonment and confinement in Fernando de Noronha due to his participation in a strike by the bakers.

Lobo, Eulália Maria Lahmeyer. "Condiciones de vida de los artesanos y de la clase obrera en Rio de Janeiro en la década de 1880 hasta 1920." *Revista Latinoamericana de Historia Económica y Social*, no. 5 (1985): 91-126. Detailed research into salaries, prices and housing in order to offer a panorama of the living conditions of the working class and artisans in Rio de Janeiro. Simultaneously, the author relates the analysis of these conditions to the debate on the process of the primitive accumulation of capital for industrialization.

_____, Lia A. Carvalho, and Myrian Stanley, eds. *Questão habitacional e o movimento operário*. (Rio de Janeiro: Editora UFRJ, 1989). 229 pages. Two essays analyzing the period between 1880 and 1930, one referring to Rio de Janeiro and the other to Buenos Aires. Living conditions and the evolution of rent prices are analyzed together with their consequent impact on working class family budgets and strategies for survival and labor struggle.

_____, et al. "Evolução dos preços e padrões de vida no Rio de Janeiro 1820 a 1930. Resultados preliminares." *Revista Brasileira de Economia* 25, no. 4 (1971): 235-266. Presentation of collected data and its statistical processing. Lobo contextualizes the factors which influenced the composition and cost of eating as well as other necessary subsistence costs of the period's popular classes. See also Eulália Maria Lahmeyer Lobo, "Estudos das categorias sócio-profissionais, dos salários, e da alimentação no Rio de Janeiro de 1830 a 1930." *Revista Brasileira de Economia* 27, no. 4 (1973): 129-176.

Magnani, Silvia Ingrid Lang. *O movimento anarquista em São Paulo (1906-1917)*. (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1982). 189 pages. Study of the internal debates and organizational practice of the anarchist-led workers movement in São Paulo based on the labor press.

Manoel do Ó and Ação Católica Operária. *100 anos de suor e sangue: homens e jornadas da luta operária do Nordeste*. (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1984). 139 pages. A posthumous homage based on the memories of a labor militant from Pernambuco who died in 1969, a few days after turning 100 years old. Includes the narrative of his migration from the interior of Pernambuco to Recife, strikes from 1909 and the following decades, as well as a synthesis of the ideas that oriented the political activities of Ó.

Maram, Sheldon Leslie. *Anarquistas, imigrantes e o movimento operário brasileiro, 1890-1920*. (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1979). 180 pages. Classic study of the relationship between foreign immigration to São Paulo, Santos and Rio de Janeiro and the origins of the labor movement in these cities. Maram emphasizes the problem of inter-ethnic relations and repression as obstacles to class organization. The research also identifies the differences between anarchist policies and the attempts to organize Socialist or labor political parties. It uses personal archives of politicians and militant workers, newspapers of the labor press and the national daily press, as well as other official documents and accounts of labor organizations.

_____. "The Immigrant and the Brazilian Labor Movement, 1890-1920." In *Essays Concerning the Socio-economic History of Brazil and Portuguese India*, edited by Dauril Alden and Warren Dean, (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1977), 178-210. Analyzes the impact of the preponderance of immigrants from southern Europe (Italians, Portuguese and Spaniards) in the origins of the Brazilian labor movement, putting forth the thesis that this composition contributes to the limitations of that labor movement. With immigrant predominance in both the rank-and-file and leadership, the labor movement suffered from factors such as the deportation of activists, internal ethnic divisions, and xenophobic anti-union campaigns—all of which had a decisive impact in weakening and disarticulating workers' struggles.

_____. "Labor and the Left in Brazil, 1890-1921." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 57, no. 2 (1977): 254-272. Analyzes the causes that led to what the author identifies as the inefficiency of the Brazilian labor movement in its first decades of existence, focusing on São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Santos. Undertakes comparisons, in particular with the Argentine case, attributing the fragility of the Brazilian movement to the high concentration of non-specialized workers and to the great proportion of women and children in the work force, as a result of the dominance of the textile industry.

Marçal, João Batista. *Primeiras lutas operárias no Rio Grande do Sul: origens do sindicalismo rio-grandense*. (Porto Alegre: Livraria do Globo, 1985). Collection of short essays concerning pioneering labor associations that emerged at the end of the nineteenth century in Rio Grande do Sul and the first attempts to organize in different occupational groups. Offers a panorama of state-level union life in the First Republic.

_____. *Os anarquistas no Rio Grande do Sul*. (Porto Alegre: Unidade Editorial, 1995). 207 pages. Collection of short biographical accounts of the main libertarian leaders and ideologues active in the state throughout the first decades of this century.

- Martins, José de Souza. *A imigração e a crise do Brasil agrário*. (São Paulo: Pioneira, 1973). 222 pages. Analyzes the immigration of families of Italian peasants to Brazil stretching from 1870 to 1910, with special focus on the part played by subsistence farming in its relationship to the ideology of social ascent through work in a context shaped by large coffee land-holdings that were traditionally slave based. Dedicates particular attention to the creation of forms of mutual assistance and the development of an agrarian-based communitarian utopia.
- Moraes, Evaristo de. *Apontamentos do direito operário*. Reprint of 1905 ed (São Paulo: LTr Editora, 1971). 131 plus 150 pages. Includes a detailed introduction by Evaristo de Moraes Filho, i-lxxi, that places his father, a pioneering labor lawyer and social reformer, into broader historical perspective.
- Moraes Filho, Evaristo de. "Introdução" to Rui Barbosa, *A questão social e política no Brasil*, (São Paulo/Rio de Janeiro: LTr Editora/Fundação Casa de Rui Barbosa, 1983), ix-xlvii. Presents the classic speech offered by the illustrious liberal politician and ideologue during his campaign for the Brazilian presidency in 1919. This speech was responsible for popularizing the expression "social question," which came to identify the growing preoccupation with the new social problems spurred by the effects of industrialization and urbanization and the persistence of "traditional" rural poverty.
- Moreira de Albuquerque, Marli Brito. "Porto do Rio de Janeiro: estigma e história." *Revista Rio de Janeiro* 1, no. 87-93 (1985). Study of the composition, organization and living standards of grocers and porters in the port of Rio de Janeiro between 1904 and 1920. Analyzes the stigma of marginality attributed to the dock region of the city and its effect on these workers.
- Moura, Clóvis. *Sacco e Vanzetti: o protesto brasileiro*. (São Paulo: Brasil Debates, 1979). 79 pages. Essay regarding the repercussion that the imprisonment, trial and execution (in the United States between 1920 and 1927) of two Italian anarchist workers had on organized Brazilian

workers. Research based on the labor press and published testimonies of militants.

Moura, Esmeralda Blanco Bolsonaro de. *Mulheres e menores no trabalho industrial: os fatores sexo e idade na dinâmica do capital*. (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1982). Study of female and child labor within the industry of São Paulo in the 1910s. Analyzes working conditions and the debate concerning its regulation that involved the labor movement, business groups and the State.

Neves, Maria Cecília Baeta. "Greve dos sapateiros de 1906 no Rio de Janeiro: Notas de pesquisa." *Revista de Administração de Empresas* 13, no. 2 (1973): 46-66. Studies the case of the strike which stretched from August to September of 1906. Includes an analysis of the particularities of the shoe industry, forms of organization and ideological expression of business groups and workers, as well as the specification of demands and reconstruction of the strike's evolution.

Paoli, Maria Célia. "Working-class São Paulo and its Representations, 1900-1940." *Latin American Perspectives* 14, no. 2 [#53] (1987): 204-225. Article on the living and working conditions of the working class of São Paulo, highlighting the relationship between its spatial segregation in neighborhoods next to the factories and the material and symbolic constitution of two distinct social universes within the city. The author points out how this construction of appropriate spaces of sociability impacted the definition of grassroots organizational forms and mobilization around demands, as can be perceived by the qualities of the strikes of the period.

Passos, Mauro. *A classe trabalhadora em Minas Gerais e a Igreja Católica: a ponta de uma memória*. (São Paulo: Edições Loyola, 1991). 143 pages. Composed essentially of a selection of passages taken from documents of Catholic organizations involved in struggle alongside the working class between 1900 and 1930 in Minas Gerais. The introductory essay deals with the constitution of the religious discourse on work and the social figure of the worker.

- Pena, Maria Valéria Junho. *Mulheres e trabalhadoras: presença feminina na constituição do sistema fabril*. (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1981). 227 pages. Study of woman's labor between the end of the last century and the 50s, centering around the articulation between capitalist development and patriarchy. The research bases itself on an analysis of census-based data, legislation, the national press, articles of the *Boletim do Ministério do Trabalho Indústria e Comércio* and bibliography pertaining to the labor movement and the left in the period.
- Pereira, Astrojildo. *Ensaaios históricos e políticos*. (São Paulo: Alfa-Omega, 1979). 240 pages. A collection of five essays ("A formação do PCB," "Sociologia ou apologética," "Manifesto da contra-revolução," "Campo de batalha" e "Rui Barbosa e a escravidão") written between 1929 and 1945 by the anarcho-syndicalist ex-militant and founder of the PCB. Pereira constitutes one of the decisive intellectual influences within the party in its first years of activity, but was subsequently ousted from this position upon the adoption of a "workerist" politics and the establishment of tighter bonds with the Communist International.
- Petersen, Sílvia R. Ferraz. "As greves no Rio Grande do Sul (1890-1919)." In José Hildebrando Dacanal and Sergius Gonzaga (org.). *RS: Economia e política* (Porto Alegre: Mercado Aberto, 1979). 277-327. Article examining the evolution of strike activity in the state throughout the period, its insertion in the process of labor organization and its relation to the local political context. Contains a detailed survey of work stoppages, including duration, locale, skill categories, motives and additional observations.
- Pinheiro, Paulo Sérgio. "O proletariado industrial na Primeira República." In *História da civilização brasileira*, Volume III, Tomo 2, edited by Boris Fausto, (São Paulo: DIFEL, 1977), 136-178. Historical essay covering the period between 1889 and 1929. Analyzes the industrialization process, working conditions and the development of the labor movement, basically through a chronology of strikes and Congresses. The essay is fundamentally grounded on bibliography (containing previous research undertaken by the author) which includes references to published memoirs of militants and the press.

- Pinto de Góes, Maria Conceição. *A formação da classe trabalhadora: Movimento anarquista no Rio de Janeiro, 1888-1911*. (Rio de Janeiro: Zahar, 1988). 110 pages. Research based on the analysis of a great variety of labor newspapers from Rio de Janeiro, stressing the preparatory process and consummation of the national Labor Congress of 1906. The author indicates contradictions between the rationalism of the anarchist doctrine and the cultural pluralism and religious syncretism present at the time in Rio de Janeiro's heterogeneous working class.
- Prado, Antonio Arnoni, ed. *Libertários no Brasil: memória, lutas, cultura*. (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1986). 307 pages. Collection of texts including two testimonies (Antonio Cândido e Boris Fausto) based on friendship with Brazilian anarchists and 12 articles reconstructing the experiences of groups that were to be the key to the diffusion of libertarian ideas in the country.
- Rago, Margareth. *Do cabaré ao lar: a utopia da cidade disciplinar. Brasil: 1890-1930*. (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1985). 209 pages and photos. Study of the anarchist movement in São Paulo and the confrontation between its utopian discourse of social transformation and disciplinary projects of the control of factory work, urban hygiene, and the relationship between "scientific" knowledge and the definition of model families that elites attempted to impose upon the proletariat.
- Reis, João José. "The Revolution of the *Ganhadores*: Urban Labor, Ethnicity and the African Strike of 1857 in Bahia, Brazil." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 29 (1997): 355-393. Article on the week-long pioneering shut-down of black workers, both slave and free, that transported merchandise and people in the streets of Salvador. Emphasizes the importance of street culture, the preservation of the cultural identity of different ethnic African groups and the development of organizational forms adequate to these groups as preconditions to the unleashing of a mobilization of such capacity in 1857.
- Ribeiro, Maria Alice Rosa. *Condições de trabalho na indústria têxtil Paulista (1870-1930)*. (São Paulo/Campinas: Hucitec/Editora da UNICAMP, 1988). 207 pages. Research on the origins of the cotton textile

industry in the state of São Paulo, including an analysis of the productive process and business organization, as well as of working conditions and the impact that the first attempts at labor legislation had in the sector. Uses for its primary sources the business press and documentation.

Silva, Adhemar Lourenço Junior. "A greve geral de 1917 em Porto Alegre." *Anos 90*, no. 5 (1996): 183-205. Study of the relationships between the State and the labor movement of Porto Alegre in the Greve Geral of 1917, grounded primarily on national press coverage of the event. Through a comparison of the 1917 strike with the 1918 general strike, Silva concludes that the Partido Republicano Riograndense was permeable to worker demands, especially during electoral periods, without, however, allowing such demands to constitute a defining principle of political orientation. At the same time, the author observes the consolidation, within the labor movement, of a sector favorable to the Partido Republicano and the more disciplined organization of the anarchists in opposition to this development.

Silva, Fernando Teixeira da and Maria Lúcia Caira Gitahy. "O movimento operário da construção civil santista durante a primeira guerra mundial (1914-1918)". In *História Social*, no. 3 (1996): 87-124. An analysis of the difficulties faced by construction workers in Santos in a period when their sector's expansion was interrupted due to the effects of the retraction of international commerce in the port. During the First World War the workers had to deal simultaneously with unemployment and with the new business strategy, directed by Roberto Simonsen, aimed at breaking their control over the labor market.

Simão, Azis. *Sindicato e Estado*. Reprint of 1966 ed (São Paulo: Dominus Editora/Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 1981). 227 pages. This was one of the first classic studies on the origins of Brazilian unionization and the changes undergone in its organizational characteristics as it began to face State and political party intervention. Simão analyzes the characteristics of São Paulo industry in its early stages of development, working conditions and the forms taken by collective work conflicts and union organization before and after 1930.

Skidmore, Thomas E. "Workers and Soldiers: Urban Labor Movements and Elite Responses in Twentieth-Century Latin America." In *Elites, Masses, and Modernization in Latin America, 1850-1930*, edited by Virginia Bernhard, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979), 79-126. An analysis of the characteristics of the Latin American labor movements in its early stages, with emphasis on Brazil, Chile and Argentina. The author situates the labor struggle and the responses it encountered in the region's political system within the context of the growing politicization of the urban populations that so shaped the period.

Soihet, Rachel. *Condição feminina e formas de violência: mulheres pobres e ordem urbana, 1890-1920*. (Rio de Janeiro: Forense Universitária, 1989). 394 pages. Study of the gender norms defining the social roles of women in Rio de Janeiro, their connections to social conditions and to intellectual and political projects dedicated to confronting problems identified with the presence of urban working classes in the city.

Weinstein, Barbara. "Impressões da elite sobre os movimentos da classe operária: A cobertura da greve em *O Estado de São Paulo* 1902-1907." In *O bravo matutino. Imprensa e ideologia: O jornal O Estado de São Paulo*, edited by Maria Helena Capelato and Maria Lígia Prado, (São Paulo: Alfa-Omega, 1980), 135-176. An analysis of the way the principal daily newspaper tied to the São Paulo elite handled the strike-oriented movements that occurred in the fledgling stages of the Brazilian labor movement. The author contextualizes the journalistic coverage within the context of the class articulation of São Paulo's business groups when faced with the new problem of urban labor.

Wolfe, Joel William. "Anarchist Ideology, Worker Practice: The 1917 General Strike and the Formation of São Paulo's Working Class." and critique by John D. French, "Practice and Ideology: A Cautionary Note on the Historian's Craft." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 71, no. 4 (1991): 809-46, 847-855. Wolfe puts forth the thesis that female laborers performed a vanguard role in the general strike of 1917, expressing a dynamic of autonomous grassroots mobilization, independent of anarchist organizations and militants, which persisted in a subterranean fashion throughout the 20s and even in subsequent

years. The critique offered by French points out the fragility of the article's documentary grounding as well as the dichotomous reading offered by Wolfe regarding the relationship between leaders and followers and the underestimation of the social constructions of gender roles as inhibiting a more active public participation by female workers.

Zaidan Filho, Michel. *Comunistas em céu aberto 1922-1930*. (Belo Horizonte: Oficina de Livros, 1989). 139 pages. A study of the oscillations in the policy developed by the PCB between initial formulations, which in the author's opinion point to a "national-popular" perspective, and the theses of the Communist International which framed Brazil within a strategy defined for "colonial and semi-colonial" countries. The study elaborates a reaction to the critiques, characteristic of the revisionist historiography of the end of the 70s and beginning of the 80s, which identified a complete ideological subordination of the PCB to the IC in this period.

_____. *PCB (1922-1929): Na busca das origens de um marxismo nacional*. (São Paulo: Global, 1985). 142 pages. Essay on the constitution of the PCB, its affiliations with the Communist International and the political debates concerning its activities within the labor movement and its strategy for a Brazilian revolution. In embryonic form, this essay points towards the conclusions commented above.

Workers and Workers' Movements, 1930-1964

Alexander, Robert J. "Part One—Brazil." In *Labor Relations in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile*. (New York: Mc-Graw Hill, 1962), 25-136. Offers a good general description of the system of Brazilian labor relations during the Populist Republic.

Almeida, Maria Hermínia Tavares de. "Estado e classes trabalhadoras no Brasil (1930-1945)." Doctoral dissertation, Universidade de São Paulo, 1978. 275 pages, appendices, bibliography. A pioneering study of the impact that the adoption of labor legislation after 1930 had on

union activity. It is based on a study of São Paulo but draws conclusions about the more general political project of the Vargas government as well as on its relationship with the dominant classes and workers. In the case-study itself, Almeida analyzes the evolution of employment in diverse sectors of industry and offers data on recognized unions and labor disputes. Includes a collection of strikes reported in the São Paulo labor newspaper "A Platéia" between 1930 and 1935.

Almino, João. *Os democratas autoritários: liberdades individuais, de associação política e sindical na Constituinte de 1946*. (São Paulo: Brasilense, 1980). Study of the Constituent Assembly debates regarding political and labor rights in 1946 coming on the heels of the Estado Novo dictatorship.

Alvim, Maria Rosilene Barbosa. "Trabalho infantil e reprodução social: o trabalho das crianças numa fábrica com vila operária." In *Condições de vida das camadas populares*, edited by Luiz Antonio Machado da Silva, (Rio de Janeiro: Zahar, 1984), 59-81. This reexamination of the question of child labor contrasts classic formulations of the issue in England during the Industrial Revolution with an analysis of the case of a textile worker's housing development in Pernambuco. Concentrates on the analysis of the relationships between child labor and family structure. See also Maria Rosilene Barbosa Alvim: "Notas sobre a família num grupo de operários têxteis." In *Mudança social no nordeste: a reprodução da subordinação*, edited by José Sérgio Leite Lopes, (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1979).

Amado, Jorge. *Os subterrâneos da liberdade. Volume 1: Os àspersos tempos. Volume 2: Agonia da noite. Volume 3: A luz no túnel*. 31st reprint of 1954 ed (Rio de Janeiro: Record, 1980). 375, 318, 372 pages. A literary reconstruction of the clandestine struggle against the Estado Novo dictatorship, including the period in which many members of the Communist Party, to which Amado belonged, and other oppositional groups spent time in prison. The action takes place on several planes, including worker resistance in the port of Santos. Although controversial in terms of its facticity, especially as it concerns descriptions of the

PCB's leftist adversaries, the book is the most widely known portrait of the period's political struggle.

Anastasia, Carla. "A 'estratégia da solidariedade' O Congresso Pró-Unidade Sindical [de 1934 em Minas Gerais]." *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Políticos*, no. 73 (1991): 53-73. A reconstruction of the preparation and consummation of the Congress of mineiro workers which took place at the moment when conflicts between the labor movement and the State became increasingly radicalized in the mid 30s.

Andrews, George Reid. *Blacks and Whites in São Paulo, Brazil, 1888-1988*. (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1991). 369 pages. Study regarding the tendency to exclude Afro-Brazilians from access to socio-economic opportunities, starting from the period of the abolition of slavery and European immigration to the informal obstruction of attempts to ascend to middle-class professions. Andrews questions the myth of "racial democracy" and analyzes the alternative forms of struggle that the Brazilian black movement has searched for throughout various historical moments.

Antunes, Ricardo. *Classe operária, sindicatos e partido no Brasil*. (São Paulo: Cortez, 1982). 187 pages. Study of the relations between the labor movement, the union legislation established at the beginning of the 30s and the generation of the political strategy of the Communist Party between 1930 and 1935. The study concentrates on the relations between spontaneous struggles, the development of class consciousness and the constitution of vanguards. Aside from the labor and daily press, it includes research into the documentation produced by unions of typographers, metalworkers and bank employees of São Paulo.

Avelar, Sônia Maria. "The Social Basis of Workers' Solidarity: A Case Study of Textile Workers in São José dos Campos, [São Paulo] Brazil (Volumes I and II)." Doctoral dissertation in Political Science, University of Michigan, 1985. 637 pages. A study of the mobilization of textile workers in the most important city of the Paraíba Valley during years of radicalization (1956-64) of the country's political process.

Avelar analyzes strikes and other forms of mobilization, the impact of the division of labor on the cohesion of the workers, process of union organization, profile of unionists, nature of demands, industrial paternalism, living standards and other significant elements for the contextualization of the case under study.

Barsted, Dennis Linhares. *Medição de forças: o movimento grevista de 1953 e a época dos operários navais*. (Rio de Janeiro: Zahar, 1981). 204 pages. Barsted undertakes research of an anthropological nature on the development of collective identity and conquest of rights among the naval workers of Baía da Guanabara during the strikes of 1953. Based as much on accounts of militants as on the study of historical documentation of the period.

Bastos, Abguar. *Prestes e a revolução social: fatos políticos, condições sociais e causas econômicas de uma fase revolucionária do Brasil*. Reprint of 1946 ed. (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1986). 311 pages. Reconstruction of the political trajectory of Luís Carlos Prestes between the 1924 mobilization that was to be the genesis of the Prestes Column and Prestes' liberation in 1945 after almost nine years in prison. Analyzes the national and international social and political context, the meanings of Tenentismo and Communism in Brazil and the positions assumed by Prestes throughout the various historical moments.

Bastos, Tocary Assis. "Anotações sobre a greve dos bancários em Minas." *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Políticos*, no. 14 (1962): 111-128. Bastos offers a description and analysis of a strike of bank employees that took place in 1961 in Minas Gerais. The study creates a counterpoint between the characteristics of this stoppage and another of the same group in 1946. Includes profiles of the members of the "vanguard group" in the strike's organization and observations on the folklore of the work stoppage.

Benevides, Maria Victoria. *O PTB e o trabalhismo. Partido e sindicato em São Paulo: 1945-1964*. (São Paulo: Brasiliense/CEDEC, 1989). 171 pages. Case-study of the PTB in São Paulo, from the process of its foundation (including a struggle for control over the party between

Getúlio Vargas, Adhemar de Barros and Jânio Quadros), its division in various decisive electoral moments, and passing finally through the rise of Ivete Vargas as the regional party leader. Analyzes the electoral accomplishments and profile of those elected, as well as the relationship of the party to unions and worker demands.

Berardo, João Batista. *O político Cândido Torquato Portinari*. (São Paulo: Edições Populares, 1983). A study of the political outlook of the famous Brazilian painter Portinari. Born in the interior of São Paulo, Portinari ran in 1947 as the senatorial candidate of the Communist Party in the state.

Bernardo, Antonio Carlos. *Tutela e autonomia sindical: Brasil, 1930-1945*. (São Paulo: T. A. Queiroz, 1982). 211 pages. Essay on the development of the official union structure as the State's response to processes of industrialization and evolution of the labor movement. Bernardo concentrates primarily on the years between 1930-45 but also offers an interpretation regarding the trajectory of labor struggles in the first decades of the century. At the center of the author's preoccupations is the significance of the persistence of state-dominated unionism as a problem for the strengthening of democracy in Brazil.

Berno de Almeida, Alfredo Wagner. *Jorge Amado: política e literatura*. (Rio de Janeiro: Campus, 1979). 313 pages. An analysis of Jorge Amado's literary production in its different stages, in relation to his political activities and to the social repercussions of his texts. Classifies Amado's literature as pertaining to three groups (proletarian novel, socialist realism and picaresque novel), identifying the evolution from one to another and its historical context.

Bezerra, Gregório. *Memórias. Primeira parte: 1900-1945. Segunda parte: 1946-1969*. 2nd ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1979). 345, 255 pages. Memoirs of the legendary communist leader from Pernambuco. Covers most of his life trajectory and militancy, including an explication of his position regarding the principal political questions impacting the Brazilian left during the period. A soldier of peasant background, Bezerra participated in the Intentona Comunista of

1935 and was elected Federal Deputy in 1946. He continued to be one of the main leaders of the PCB until the 70s, even while in exile in the USSR after 1969.

Blay, Eva Alterman. *Trabalho domesticado: a mulher na indústria paulista*. (São Paulo: Ática, 1978). 294 pages. Using census data, this study provides useful statistical information on the distribution of women within the labor force in São Paulo.

Boito Jr., Armando. *O sindicalismo de Estado no Brasil: uma análise crítica da estrutura sindical*. (Campinas/São Paulo: Editora da UNICAMP/Hucitec, 1991). 312 pages. Sociological study dedicated to formulating a theoretical interpretation of official unionism as a "Structure" in the Althusserian sense. Proposes to demonstrate how the union structure reproduces itself constantly through the distortions it provokes in the practices of the labor movement, nullifying all attempts to transform union practices from the inside.

Braz de Araújo, José. *Operários em luta: metalúrgicos da Baixada Santista (1933-1983)*. (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1985). 306 pages. Study of the evolution of the Sindicato dos Metalúrgicos of Santos, São Vicente, Cubatão and Guarujá, from its inception until the reorganization that the Brazilian labor movement underwent during the process leading to the creation of CUT (Central Única dos Trabalhadores) and CONCLAT (Conferência Nacional das Classes Trabalhadoras) in 1983.

Canêdo, Letícia Bicalho. *O sindicalismo bancário em São Paulo no período de 1923-1944: seu significado político*. (São Paulo: Símbolo, 1978). 220 pages. Reconstruction of the union organization of this group of white collar employees from the period before official unionism through its consolidation during the Estado-Novo. Grounds itself, among other sources, on the systematic study of internal documentation and union publications, as well as the daily press.

Cavalcanti, Paulo. *O caso eu conto, como o caso foi. Da Coluna Prestes à queda de Arraes. Volume 1. Memórias. Volume 2: Memórias políticas*. (São Paulo/Recife: Alfa Omega/Editora Guararapes, 1978/1980). 409, 412

pages. Memoir of a writer from Pernambuco concerning the political processes he witnessed and with which he was involved in the state. It starts with his childhood, moving through his activities as deputy and subsequently as advisor to governor Miguel Arraes before 1964. Includes an account of the repression unleashed against the left during the Military Dictatorship and the debates and confrontations that shaped the left's reorganization when the country began redemocratizing.

Celso de Lima, Joaquim. *Navegar é preciso: memórias de um operário comunista*. (São Paulo: Diniz, 1984). 194 pages. Autobiography of a militant worker born in the interior of São Paulo who worked in bakeries, railroads and ports in the Baixada Santista starting in 1944, and then moved to Porto Alegre in 1951, at which time he became affiliated with the PCB. As part of his party duties, Celso da Lima relocated to the coal mines in the interior of Rio Grande do Sul where he operated until 1958, returning after this time to the capital of the state. Opting for the Partido Comunista do Brasil during the split of 1962, he moved to São Paulo in 1965 and was then taken prisoner in 1976 and submitted to torture by the regime's apparatus of repression.

Cerqueira Filho, Gisálio. *A "questão social" no Brasil: crítica do discurso político*. (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1982). 229 pages. Analysis of the evolution of the way both dominant and contestatory political discourses dealt with the "social question" throughout different historical moments of the Brazilian republic. Includes extensive analysis of legal and political discourse about labor as well as of the labor press and texts published by the national press during Labor Day commemorations.

Chaia, Miguel Wady. *Intelectuais e sindicalistas: a experiência do DIEESE (1955-1990)* (Ibitinga, SP: Humanidades, 1992). 204 pages. Historical analysis of the process of constitution of and activities by DIEESE [Departamento Intersindical de Estatística e Estudos Sócio-Econômicos]. Focusing on the part played by DIEESE in changes experienced in union practices of the period, the author calls attention to the tensions in the relationship between intellectuals and unionists. It uses an

analysis of the publications of the institution and the testimonies of some of its most distinguished members.

Cohn, Amélia. *Previdência social e processo político no Brasil*. (São Paulo: Editora Moderna, 1980). 245 pages. Study of the relationship between the development of social security welfare and the dynamic of Brazilian society between 1945 and 1960. Starts off with an analysis of the relation between unionism, political populism and the welfare system by occupational sector, culminating with the approval of the Lei Orgânica da Previdência Social, which opened the door for the subsequent unification of the system in 1966.

Conselho Estadual da Condição Feminina. *Mulheres operárias*. (São Paulo: Nobel/Conselho Estadual da Condição Feminina/Centro de Memória Sindical, 1985). 128 pages. Accounts of the life histories, work and union militancy of five workers from São Paulo: two weavers, a shoe-maker, a seamstress and a metal-worker. Organizes the testimonies into sessions on trajectories leading up to factory work, the double work-day, the question of femininity, and the meaning of participation in unions.

Corrêa dos Santos, Hercules. *A classe operária e seu partido*. (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1980). 247 pages. Memoir written by a weaver who became one of the principal communist union leaders of the country. The memoir covers the period from the 40s until the end of the 70s, including Corrêa dos Santos' migration from Espírito Santo to Rio de Janeiro in search of work until his entry into and development of his union and party militancy. Includes as well the positions of the author and his party on the prospects of the labor movement and the fight for redemocratization at the end of the military dictatorship.

Corrêa dos Santos, Hercules. *Memórias de um stalinista*. (Rio de Janeiro: Opera Nostra, 1996). 122 pages. Memoir of 45 years of communist militancy of the former unionist who went on to occupy a distinguished position as a parliamentary member and party leader. Written after his leaving the party, in 1989, this memoir heavily criticizes mistakes that he feels both he and the party committed.

Costa, Hélio da. *Em busca da memória: comissão de fábrica, partido e sindicato no pós-guerra*. (São Paulo: Scritta, 1995). 249 pages. Analyzes the emergence and diffusion of work-place organizations among the São Paulo working classes during the post-war conjuncture. Repudiating the traditional thesis that identifies these organizations as a reaction both contrary and external to official unions, Costa demonstrates how, despite their political and organizational autonomy, these grassroots commissions interacted with, renovated and, in some cases, even strengthened the unions.

Costa, Sérgio Amad. *O C.G.T. e as lutas sindicais brasileiras (1960-1964)*. (São Paulo: Grêmio Politécnico, 1981). 151 pages. Study of the "Comando Geral dos Trabalhadores" and its insertion in the political process at the outset of the 60s, with special emphasis on the growing politicization of union struggles in 1963 and 64. Also includes a chapter on the relationship between the CGT and the peasant struggles happening at the time. Fundamentally based upon research in the daily newspapers, magazines and labor press of the period.

D'Araújo, Maria Celina Soares. *Sindicatos, carisma, e poder: o PTB de 1945 a 1965*. (Rio de Janeiro: Editora da Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 1996). 190 pages. Study of the trajectory of the Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro, highlighting contradictions between its call for the political participation of the workers and its ties to conservative and anti-democratic political structures and practices. D'Araújo analyzes the relations the party had with unions, parts of the economic elite and the State, as well as its changes in political orientation and the conflicts and schisms that shaped the history of the PTB.

Delgado, Lucília de Almeida Neves. *CGT no Brasil, 1961-1964*. (Belo Horizonte: Editora Vega, 1981). 151 pages. Synthetic study of the trajectory of the "Comando Geral dos Trabalhadores," one of the most important organizations of the Brazilian union movement at the beginning of the 60s. The items broached include: process of formation, relationship with union structure and with its rank-and-file, relationship with the Communist Party, demands, strikes and internal organiza-

tion. The research is grounded on bibliographic review, newspapers and interviews with unionists.

_____. *PTB: do getulismo ao reformismo (1945-1965)*. (São Paulo: Marco Zero, 1989). 317 pages. Analysis of the PTB's party project and its transformations during the Populist Republic. Delgado suggests a division in the party's history between a "getulista" period (1945-54), distinguished by personalism, patronage and pragmatism, and a "reformist" period (1954-65) when leftist ideology became hegemonic.

_____, and Michel Marie Le Ven. "Marzagânia: fábrica, vila operária e movimento sindical." *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Políticos*, no. 73 (1991): 155-172. Analysis of the 1961 strike of a textile factory located in the city of Sabará, Minas Gerais. Delgado makes use of oral history in order to identify the meaning that this experience of struggle had for the workers of the factory.

Dias, Eduardo. *Um imigrante e a revolução: memórias de um militante operário 1934-1951*. (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1983). 121 pages. A memoir written by a Spanish immigrant who arrived in Santos in 1926 who worked in the glass-making and textile industries. Recounts the everyday life and work in the Moóca neighborhood in São Paulo city and in the interior of the state, as well as Dias' grassroots militancy in the Communist Party.

Durham, Eunice R. *A caminho da cidade: a vida rural e a migração para São Paulo*. 3rd reprint ed (São Paulo: Editora Perspectiva, 1984). 245 pages. Anthropological analysis of internal migration based upon various groups of rural origin who moved to São Paulo after 1950. Analyzes the structures of tradition in their communities of origin, the particularity of their cultural baggage and its influence on the way the migrants faced the problems they encountered in the processes of migration and adaptation to the urban environment.

Erickson, Kenneth Paul. *The Brazilian Corporative State and Working-class Politics*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977). 225 pages. In Portuguese: *Sindicalismo no processo político no Brasil*. (São

Paulo: Brasiliense, 1979). 241 pages. Study of the role that a corporative labor structure (including unions and Labor Ministry) played in incorporating workers into the Brazilian political system. Highlights the political power of union leaders and their influence in the mediation between union activity and governmental policy.

_____. "Populism and Political Control of the Working Class in Brazil." In *Ideology and Social Change in Latin America*, edited by June Nash, Juan Corradi and Hobart Spalding, (New York: Gordon and Breach, 1977). Pages 118-144. Analyzes the development of populist politics in Brazil between 1930 and 1964, stressing the connections between a perception of rising foreign domination and the emergence of strong nationalist feelings. Identifies the moments of the "populist radicalization" of 1953 and 1963 as responses to the increased deterioration of the worker's living conditions. Through an analysis of the Labor Ministry's budget, Erickson points out how even as control of the labor movement was relaxed during these moments, this did not translate into increased resources and that, in fact, social programs suffered cuts. Erickson further emphasizes the contradictions between the worker's growing mobilization and the populist politicians' lack of interest in effective social change and argues that the weaknesses this produced were an explanatory factor in the 1964 coup.

Falcão, João. *O Partido Comunista que eu conheci (20 anos de clandestinidade)*. (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1988). 460 pages. Falcão's account of militancy in the PCB between 1938 and 1957, year in which he broke off ties with the party during a crisis caused by the secret report of the XX Congresso do PCUS. In addition to his own personal memories and those of his companions in militancy, this intellectual from Bahia also uses party documentation and an analysis of information on the political conjunctures of the period.

Ferreira, Jorge. *Trabalhadores do Brasil: o imaginário popular*. (Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 1997). 132 pages. Study regarding

the relationship between the State and popular political culture in the first Vargas administration. Main sources are letters sent to the president as well as the "processos" opened by the Secretaria da Presidência for the handling of the demands and suggestions they contained. Contains a chapter on the experience of communists in prison during the Estado-Novo.

Fontes, Paulo. *Trabalhadores e cidadãos. Nitro química: A fábrica e as lutas operárias nos anos 50*. (São Paulo: Annablume Editora, 1997). 190 pages. Fontes investigates Nitro química, a factory that was paradigmatic in terms of the interaction between private capital and the State in the Brazilian nationalist-developmental era. He describes the ascent and bankruptcy of the industrial project and the way in which workers experienced it. The author concentrates on the complex process of interaction and reciprocity between worker's organizations and industry policies of well-being as a case-study of how a consciousness of rights developed among Brazilian workers during the 50s.

Fortes, Alexandre. "'Buscando os nossos direitos...' Trabalhadores e organização sindical na Porto Alegre de 1933 a 1937." Masters thesis in history, Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 1994. 229 pages and appendices. A short version was published in *Cadernos Porto e Vírgula* n° 13, Porto Alegre, Secretaria Municipal de Cultura, 1996. This study of the unions of bakers and metalworkers in Porto Alegre in the mid-30s focuses on the strike mobilizations they unleashed and their impact on the Federação Operária do Rio Grande do Sul's attempt to enforce labor legislation. Analyzes as well the appropriation of legal discourse and the legitimacy it inadvertently conferred upon the worker's struggles regarding the conquest of rights and the active practice of citizenship. Uses the labor press, daily press, testimonies and union proceedings.

_____. "Como era gostoso meu pão francês: a greve dos padeiros de Porto Alegre (1933-1934)." In: *Anos 90*, n 7, 1997, pp. 88-124. Analyzes the change in context of the worker struggles which occurred with the labor legislation decreed by the Vargas administra-

tion, using as a case-study the strike of bakeries in Porto Alegre between December 1933 and February 1934. The study demonstrates how the unionism of the time sought to redefine the governmental discourse of social harmony by preserving the autonomy of organized collective pressure while, at the same time, it legitimized its activity by saying that it was fighting for the application of the law.

French, John D. *The Brazilian Workers' ABC: Class Conflicts and Alliances in Modern São Paulo*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992). 378 pages. In Portuguese: *O ABC dos operários: lutas e alianças de classe em São Paulo, 1900-1950*. Translated by Lólio Lourenço de Oliveira. (São Paulo/São Caetano do Sul: Editora Hucitec/Prefeitura Municipal de São Caetano do Sul, 1995). 351 pages. On the basis of a case-study of the São Paulo ABC region, French reinterprets the meaning of the constitution of the industrial proletariat as a class and of its incorporation into political participation. A large and diverse array of sources are used to create a narrative of the evolution of labor organization in the region both in terms of the development of state and national polities (particularly in regards to the elaboration and implantation of official union structure) and with the organization of political parties that sought support among the working class (PCB and PTB). French further links these developments with the dynamic relations between popular struggle and political participation after 1945.

_____. "Drowning in Laws but Starving (for Justice?): Brazilian Labor Law and the Workers' Quest to Realize the Imaginary," *Political Power and Social Theory* (1998). This detailed study of the interpretation and operation of the CLT system at mid-century demonstrates the (mis)administration of the CLT in São Paulo, ties it to the nature of elite statecraft, and analyzes the ambivalent and conflicted attitude towards the CLT that thus characterized labor militants and union leaders during the Populist Republic.

_____. *The Metalworkers of ABC, 1950-1980: Linking Consciousness and Mobilization in Brazil* (unpublished manuscript, forthcoming).

ing). A book-length study of the metalworkers unions of ABC both before and after 1964. Special attention is paid to understanding the nature of union leadership, in terms of both shop-floor organizing and building a union, recruiting members, handling grievances, running slates in union elections, and conducting strikes. Argues that Lula and the "new unionism" of the 1970s represented a fulfillment of the aspirations of the pre-1964 union leaders, while offering an analysis of how changes in the consciousness of workers made the struggles of the 1980s possible.

_____, and Mary Lynn Pedersen [Cluff]. "Women and Working Class Mobilization in Postwar São Paulo, Brazil 1945-1948." *Latin American Research Review* 24, no. 3 (1989): 99-125. See lightly revised version in French and James, *The Gendered Worlds of Latin American Women Workers* (1997). Analyzes the meaning of women's political participation in postwar Brazilian elections that were shaped by the novelty of the massive participation of urban workers as they become a significant electoral base, as well as by the inauguration of a "populist political system." Focuses on the impact that the experiences of union mobilization and the organization of Comitês Democráticos Progressistas (CDP) (created upon the initiative of the PCB) had on the formation of female political leadership such as that of Carmen Savietto in the São Paulo ABC. Highlights the importance of the mobilizations in redefining relationships between family, community, gender norms and political participation.

_____, and Daniel James, eds. *The Gendered Worlds of Latin American Women Workers: From Household and Factory to the Union Hall and Ballot Box*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997). 320 pages. Collection of articles concerning different aspects of the experience of female workers in Latin America, with studies on Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Columbia and Guatemala. In the case of Brazil, the articles deal with the "professional" and "domestic" education of women between 1910 and the 1950s (Weinstein), the experiences of factory work and family relations in the oral histories of textile workers (Veccia) and the

union and electoral participation of women in the ABC between 1945 and 1948 (French and Cluff).

Füchtner, Hans. *Os sindicatos brasileiros: organização e função política*. (Rio de Janeiro: Edições Graal, 1980). 259 pages. Combines a study of the judicial particularities of the official Brazilian union structure, both in the city and in the country, with an analysis of the insertion of unionism in the national political process between 1930 and 1964. Main sources include bibliography, legislation and reports of sociological and economic research undertaken by groups such as the DIEESE.

Galvão, Patrícia [Pagú]. *Industrial Park: A Proletarian Novel*. Translated by Elizabeth and K. David Jackson. First English translation of 1933 Brazilian ed (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993). 153 pages. The novel depicts the workers' universe of the Brás neighborhood in the 30s in São Paulo. The author, Patrícia Galvão, participated actively in the brief moment of convergence of the Modernist aesthetic vanguard and communist militancy in São Paulo and became renowned for her extremely advanced feminist positions. For more information see Augusto Campos, ed. *Pagú-Vida-Obra*. (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1982).

Gomes, Ângela de Castro, Dora Rocha Flaksman, and Eduardo Stotz, eds. *Velhos militantes. Depoimentos de Elvira Boni, João Lopes, Eduardo Xavier, Hilcar Leite*. (Rio de Janeiro: Zahar, 1988). 204 pages. Brings together testimonies reconstructing the life stories of four militants born between the end of the last century and the 1910s. The resulting panorama illustrates the diversity of the experience of labor struggle in the country in the first half of this century from the point of view of gender, ethnicity/race (black, Portuguese-Brazilian, Italian-Brazilian, Portuguese), occupation (seamstress, housewife, baker, metal-worker, sailor, dry-cleaner, journalist), region (Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul) and politics (anarchism, communism, Trotskyism).

_____. *Burguesia e trabalho: política e legislação social no Brasil, 1917-1937*. (Rio de Janeiro: Campus, 1979). 318 pages. Study of the

interrelationships of business groups, State and the social question in the period stretching from the wave of general strikes that hit the country's main urban centers in 1917 to the Estado Novo coup. Analyzes the development of Brazilian social legislation in a comparative perspective, the positionings of the main representatives involved in its debate, and the relation between the repression and protection of workers. Emphasizes the role played by the discussion concerning legal standardization of work relations in the class organization and policies of the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie.

_____. *A invenção do trabalhismo*. (São Paulo/Rio de Janeiro: Vértice/Instituto Universitário de Pesquisas do Rio de Janeiro, 1988). 343 pages. Ângela Castro Gomes' book is a major work analyzing the confrontation between different political discourses that attempted to define worker's identity from the late nineteenth century to 1945. Focusing on the change in Labor Ministry policies from 1942 that conferred a more active profile to State corporatism and official unions, Castro Gomes disavows the classical approaches that had emphasized only the Estado-Novo's repressive actions against workers.

Gonçalves, Alcindo. *Lutas e sonhos. Cultura política e hegemonia progressista em Santos 1945-1962*. (São Paulo/Santos: Editora UNESP/Prefeitura Municipal de Santos, 1995). 194 pages. Study of the electoral results in the so called "populist period" of Santos that was one of the main poles of the country's labor struggles. The author analyzes the ways in which issues of liberty, autonomy and social transformation were constantly present in the options chosen by voters from different political currents, such as Communism, Adhemarismo and Janismo.

Grossi, Yonne de Souza. *Mina de Morro Velho: a extração do homem. Uma história de experiência operária*. (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1981). 265 pages. Reconstructs the organizational trajectory and struggles of a mining community in Nova Lima (Minas Gerais) between 1934 and

1964. The research is based on a large volume of oral interviews with workers and other inhabitants of the area as well as a press analysis, union documents and other sources, such as the proceedings of the local Câmara de Vereadores. The book is noteworthy for its careful articulation between labor process and experience, union organization and development of a political labor militancy linked to both the Communist Party and the Catholic left.

Guarnieri, Gianfrancesco. *Eles não usam black-tie*. (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1989, 6th ed.). 115 pages. Play written in 1955, performed for the first time in 1958 and filmed at the outset of the 80s, which was to become one of the landmarks of the "new Brazilian theater." Portrays the daily life and conflicts generated by the choice between militancy and accommodation as it was experienced by a working-class family living in a shantytown.

Harding, Timothy Fox. "The Political History of Organized Labor in Brazil." Doctoral dissertation in History, Stanford University, 1973. 681 pages. Study of the evolution of Brazilian unionism from its inception until 1964, organized according to the different political conjunctures determined by the succession of presidents. A work based fundamentally on bibliography, involving analysis of official documents and the press.

Ianni, Octávio. "Condições institucionais do comportamento político operário." *Revista Brasileira*, no. 36 (1961): 16-39. Essay on the incorporation of the urban proletariat into the national political process. Ianni seeks to question the thesis of the "importation" of anarchist and socialist ideas at the beginning of the century, pointing to the development of labor militancy on the basis of the experience of social and political conditions in Brazil. Questions as well the exclusivity of economic determinism in the constitution of the working class, highlighting the necessity for an analysis of the general institutional context of the society in order to comprehend both the development of class consciousness and its forms of political expression.

Koval, Boris. *História do proletariado brasileiro 1857 a 1967*. Translated by Clairce Lima Avierina. Translation of 1968 Russian ed. (São Paulo: Editora Alfa-Omega, 1982). 568 pages. Work of a Soviet Brazilianist whose central objective is to examine the "fundamental stages of class struggle of the Brazilian proletariat" and the role played by the Communist Party as "revolutionary political vanguard of the proletariat and all the workers". Based in great part on the documentation and bibliography produced by the PCB and the Third International.

Lazzarotto, Valentim Ângelo. *Pobres construtores de riqueza: absorção da mão-de-obra e expansão industrial na metalúrgica Abramo Eberle: 1905-1970*. (Caxias do Sul: Editora da Universidade de Caxias do Sul, 1981). 199 pages. Case-study of Eberle, one of the main metallurgical industries of Rio Grande do Sul, located in the city of Caxias do Sul, the main urban center of the region of Italian immigration in the state. Includes a history of the industry, an analysis of business policies and its relationship with various segments of workers that constitute its labor force, as well as analyzing the worker's recruitment. Uses factory personnel records as a principal source.

Lobo, Eulália Maria Lahmeyer, Antônio Oliveira, Bernardo Kocher, Eduardo Navarro Stotz, Fátima Sebastiana Gomes Lisboa, Pedro Tórtima, Mariza Simões, and Luiza Mara Braga Martins. *Rio de Janeiro operário: natureza do Estado e conjuntura econômica, condições de vida e consciência de classe*. (Rio de Janeiro: Access Editora, 1992). 461 pages. A synthesis of the conclusions of various investigations on the working class of Rio de Janeiro between 1930 and 1970. The work is organized in chapters pertaining to the period's different conjunctures, emphasizing the changes in relationship between labor movement and State, as well as between rises and declines of the struggle and the development of economic cycles.

_____, and Eduardo Navarro Stotz. "*Tira o retrato do velho, põe o retrato do velho.*" *O movimento sindical contemporâneo e o fim da era Vargas: uma avaliação*. (Miami: Center for Labor Research and Studies, 1998). 23 pages. Analysis of the relationship between current

challenges faced by Brazilian union movements and the questions that orient the historiography of labor produced in the country. Demonstrates how the unilateral critique of corporativism put forth by the academy and the "new unionism" is being used by the current government to legitimate the weakening of the mechanisms for the collective defense of workers. On the other hand, Lobo points out how changes in the productive structure—with the increasingly precarious nature of employment and contractual relations of work—brings back the problem of the articulation between organized and non-organized sectors which shaped the origins of the Brazilian labor movement.

Lopes de Almeida, Fernando. *Política salarial, emprego, e sindicalismo 1964-1981*. (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1982). 113 pages. Study of the imposition of controls and limits to collective bargaining after the military coup and the consequent drop in wages, which is associated with unemployment, that would constitute the panorama of principal problems faced by the workers. Based fundamentally upon the analysis of census data and economic indicators, as well as legislation and labor jurisprudence.

Lopes, Juarez Rubens Brandão. *Crise do Brasil arcaico*. (São Paulo: Difusão Européia do Livro, 1967). 193 pages. For a sympathetic evaluation of this study see José Sérgio Leite Lopes "Sobre os trabalhadores da grande indústria na pequena cidade: crítica e resgate da 'Crise do Brasil arcaico' [de Juarez Rubens Brandão Lopes]." In *Cultura e identidade operária: aspectos da cultura da classe trabalhadora*, (Rio de Janeiro: Universidade Federal de Rio de Janeiro/Museu Nacional/Marco Zero, 1988), 147-170. Investigation of the founding of a textile industry in the interior of Minas Gerais, the particular form that industrial work relations took on in this context and its change under the pressure of the sector's crisis and the intensification of labor exploitation. The case-study leads the author to elaborate a general hypothesis regarding the role that phenomena like industrialization and unionization play in the transformation of traditional social relations into practices defending class interests.

_____. "O ajustamento do trabalhador à indústria: mobilidade social e motivação." In *Sociedade industrial no Brasil*. Reprint of 1960 piece. (São Paulo: DIFEL, 1964), 22-95. For a small excerpt in English, see: "Aspects of the Adjustment of Rural Migrants to Urban-Industrial Conditions in São Paulo, Brazil." In *Urbanization in Latin America*, edited by Philip H. Hauser, (New York: UNESCO, 1961), 234-248. The article examines the obstacles to the integration of the migrant peasant into modern industry; specifically the lack of identification with the proletarian condition and with factory work. Lopes identifies the absence of collective experience, in addition to the kinship and neighborhood structures, as a powerful inhibitor of union organization, to which the new working classes of rural origin would remain distant and marginal.

Lopes, José Sérgio Leite. *A tecelagem dos conflitos de classe na cidade das chaminés*. (São Paulo/Brasília: Marco Zero/Editora Universidade de Brasília, 1988). 623 pages. In one of the most distinguished examples of interdisciplinary dialogue between history and anthropology in Brazil, Leite Lopes reconstructs the trajectory of a group of workers in a large textile industry located in the suburb of Paulista, in the metropolitan region of Recife. The author reveals the way in which the workers developed particular forms of organization and class consciousness, from the daily forms of resistance to union struggle, despite the construction of paternalistic company policies that sought to control the lives of workers in this "company-built town."

Lothian, Tamara. "The Political Consequences of Labor Law Regimes: The Contractualist and Corporatist Models Compared." *Cardozo Law Review* 7, no. 4 (1986): 1001-1073. Important comparative study of the Brazilian and North American systems of labor relations and the consequences they generated in terms of collective organization of workers and development of their demands and policies. See the later critique by Stanley Arthur Gacek. "Revisiting the Corporatist and Contractualist Models of Labor Law Regimes: A Review of the Brazilian and American Systems." *Cardozo Law Review* 16 (1994):

21-110. And her response: Tamara Lothian, "Reinventing Labor Law: A Rejoinder." *Cardozo Law Review* 16 (1995): 1749-1763.

Lowy, Michael and Sara Chucid. "Opiniões e atitudes de líderes sindicais metalúrgicos." In *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Políticos*. # 13 (1962). 132-169. Article based on research conducted with the São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro delegates to the second national metalworkers congress (Itanhaem, 1959). Based on responses to a questionnaire, the authors construct indices of status, integration into urban life, participation in union life, and political radicalism, which are later followed by the formulation of general conclusions.

Loyola, Maria Andréa. *Os sindicatos e o PTB: estudo de um caso em Minas Gerais*. (Petrópolis: Vozes/CEBRAP, 1980). 143 pages. Study of the relationship between the textile unions of Juiz de Fora and the organization of the Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro, starting from the implementation of official unionism in 1930 until the attempts to maintain a space of resistance after the 1964 coup. Includes a contextualization of the local particularities of industrialization and urbanization.

Machado, Dyonelio. *Os ratos*. (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1966, 3 ed.). 161 pages. Novel originally published in 1935, about a day in the life of Naziazeno, a public functionary in Porto Alegre. The action starts with a discussion between the protagonist and a milkman who threatens to stop delivering milk unless Naziazeno pays what he owes him. The narrative goes on to describe Naziazeno's thousand and one strategies and tricks, from the request for an advance from his boss, to a bet in an illegal casino and negotiations with a money-lender, until he obtains the money only to then imagine, as he is sleeping, exhausted after the long day, that it is being eaten by rats. The author, a journalist and psychiatrist, was the state president of the Aliança Nacional Libertadora in 1935, imprisoned in the same year for attempting to organize a strike of workers of the printing industry, and subsequently elected State Deputy by the PCB in 1946. For more information see: Dyonelio Machado. *O cheiro da coisa viva. Entrevistas, reflexões dispersas e um romance inédito: o estadista*. (Rio de Janeiro: Graphia, 1995). 268 pages.

- Maffei, Eduardo. *A batalha da Praça da Sé*. (Rio de Janeiro: Philobibliion, 1984). 113 pages. Reconstruction of the background to and development of the 1934 armed conflict between members of political forces of the left and the Ação Integralista Brasileira, which occurred in the very center of the city of São Paulo. Active in the period, the same author has also written a sequence of novels dealing with São Paulo through the 1930s: *A greve* (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1978), *Maria da greve* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1979), and *A morte do sapateiro: a saga dos anos 30*. (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1982).
- Mainwaring, Scott. *The Catholic Youth Workers' Movement (JOC) and the Emergence of the Popular Church in Brazil*. (Notre Dame: Kellogg Institute, University of Indiana, 1983). 53 pages. For a fuller version in Portuguese, see: "A JOC e o surgimento da Igreja na base (1958-1970)," *Revista Eclesiástica Brasileira* 43, no. 169 (1983): 29-92. Article on the catholic organization created to work with young Catholic workers. Emphasizes the transformations of the JOC between 1958-1970 and its influence on the development of the Catholic Church's pastoral activities with different popular sectors in Brazil.
- Mangabeira, Wilma. "Memories of 'Little Moscow' " (1943-64): Study of a Public Housing Experiment for Industrial Workers in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil." *Social History* 17, no. 2 (1992): 271-287. Mangabeira presents an analysis of working class culture and political behavior on the basis of a case-study of a housing-development in the Rio de Janeiro suburb of Realengo, nicknamed "Moscouzinho" for the links of many of its inhabitants with the Communist Party. Through a combination of oral history and archival research, the study discusses the struggle for housing and the meaning of the political identification attributed to its protagonists.
- Maranhão, Ricardo. *Sindicatos e democratização (Brasil 1945/1950)*. (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1979). 123 pages. Study of the activities of the union movement in the political conjuncture between 1945 and 1950, focusing on the development of the strikes that shaped the period. Maranhão examines the constitution of factory commissions, organizations such as MUT (Movimento Unificado dos Trabalhadores) and its

relations with the union policies of the PCB. Main sources are the daily and party presses.

Marçal, João Batista. *Comunistas gaúchos: a vida de 31 militantes da classe operária*. (Porto Alegre: Tchê!, 1986). 152 pages and photos. Composed of short biographical accounts, Marçal's book is extremely useful as an introduction to the multifaceted universe of communist militancy in Rio Grande do Sul between the 1920s and 60s.

Martins, Eloy. *Um depoimento político (55 Anos de PCB)*. (Porto Alegre: Gráfica Pallotti, 1989). 228 pages. Second memoir of the author, a Communist metalworker, union leader, and elected councilman of the PCB in 1947. The book covers his infancy in Laguna (Santa Catarina), migration to Porto Alegre, entrance into the Bloco Operário e Camponês in 1928 and into the PCB in 1933 as well as Martin's experience of union and party organization throughout the next 55 years. Contains as well an analysis of the evolution of the Brazilian political scene and the directions taken by the left throughout the period.

Mattos, Marcelo Badaró. "Sobre novos e velhos sindicalismos no Brasil: Rediscutindo dicotomias." In: *Anais of the Fourth International Conference of the Brazilian Studies Association in Washington, D.C.*, 13 November, 1998. A thoughtful and provocative critique of the false dichotomy in the scholarly literature between "old" pre-1964 and "new" post-1978 unionism using evidence drawn from his doctoral work on labor in Rio de Janeiro.

Mazzo, Armando. *Memórias de um militante político e sindical no ABC*. (São Bernardo do Campo: Secretaria de Educação, Cultura e Esportes da Prefeitura Municipal de São Bernardo do Campo, 1991). 148 pages. Memoir with photographs by a Communist from São Bernardo do Campo. Especially rich on his days as a furniture worker in the 1930s and on the era of the Estado Novo and the post-war era when he served as a PCB state deputy and was elected mayor of Santo André in 1947 only to be barred from taking office.

Miglioli, Jorge. *Como são feitas as greves no Brasil?* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1963). 134 pages. Pioneering study of the peculiar

nature of strikes in Brazil, with emphasis on the period, at the beginning of the 60s, of intense strike activity. Identifies the motivations that lead the workers to strike, the forms adopted in organizing the strikes, and the struggle against repression. Miglioli also offers a typology of strikes according to various factors (duration, tactics, etc.).

Moisés, José Álvaro. *Greve de massa e crise política (Estudo da greve dos 300 mil em São Paulo-1953-54)*. (São Paulo: Livraria Editora Polis Ltda., 1978). 167 pages. Study of the connections between ideology, party and social class based on the analysis of the 1953-54 strike in São Paulo that represented an important inflection in the trajectory of the labor movement of the populist period. Highlights the role played by workplace commissions as a form of organization that challenges the official union structure.

Moraes Filho, Evaristo de. *O problema do sindicato único no Brasil: seus fundamentos sociológicos*. Reprint of 1952 ed (São Paulo: Alfa-Omega, 1978). 403 pages. Pioneering legal study of the nature of Vargas' administration's labor legislation written by the son of one of the main intellectuals involved in its elaboration in the beginning of the 30s. Moraes proposes a differentiation between the legalization of unions in the first stage of the Vargas administration and its officialization during the Estado-Novo dictatorship.

Morel, Regina Lúcia de Moraes. "História incorporada e identidade coletiva entre trabalhadores aposentados da Companhia Siderúrgica Nacional." In *O Trabalhador Carioca*, edited by Alice de Paiva Abreu et al, (Rio de Janeiro: J.C. Editora Ltda, 1995), 61-96. Morel uses testimonies of metalworkers retired from the CSN, alongside written documentation, in order to recreate the period that stretches from the origin of the business in 1941 until the end of the 60s. Focuses on the formation of the work-force, the changes in its system of administration, and the impact of these developments on the workers' definition of their collective identity.

Negro, Antonio Luigi. "Ford Willys anos 60. Sistema auto de dominação e metalúrgicos do ABC." Masters Thesis in History, Universidade Es-

tadual de Campinas, 1995. 214 pages. An excerpt was published as "Raízes do novo: comunistas e metalúrgicos nas origens do 'sindicalismo autêntico'." *História e Perspectiva* [Uberlândia], no. 12-13 (1995): 195-212. Through the study of one of the most "modern" Brazilian industries at the end of the 50s and beginning of the 60s, Negro synthesizes the paths by which the culture of rights developed in the new automobile factories. Negro demonstrates how workers took the concessions offered by the industry—both in the minutia of daily work and in moments of acute conflict during strikes—as rights, breaking the system of factory domination that intended to trade benefits packages for the passivity of workers.

_____. "Servos do tempo." In *De JK a FHC, a reinvenção dos carros*, edited by Glauco Arbix and Mauro Zilbovicius, 89-132. (São Paulo: Scritta, 1997). Negro examines the installation of the country's first automobile factories, their links with national-developmental policies, and their strategies, both in relation to the design of products appropriate for a national market and for the recruitment and training of labor, constituted in great part by migrants of rural origin. The article demonstrates how the organizational and cultural bases for the subsequent development of "new unionism" was launched by the integration of these migrants into the category of metalworkers and by their elaboration of notions of occupational dignity.

Nunes, Antonio Carlos Felix. *PC linha leste*. (São Paulo: Livramento, 1980). 103 pages. Stories taken from the author's participation in the PCB's rank-and-file organization between 1954 and 1964. Nunes, a worker in the east zone of São Paulo, describes working conditions and characteristics of local daily life, the process of labor organization and the contradictions between this grassroots activity and the official line of the Communist Party.

Paoli, Maria Célia Pinheiro-Machado. "Labor, Law and the State in Brazil: 1930-1950." Doctoral Dissertation in History, Birkbeck College, University of London, 1988. Study of the change in terrain of the class struggle in Brazil represented by the adoption of labor legislation after 1930 and its use as an instrument for the worker's conquest of citizen-

ship. Analyzes the tensions between the search for conciliation, which characterized the doctrine of state corporativism, and the continual re-emergence of confrontation on the basis of a tradition of autonomous proletarian struggle.

Pereira, Luiz. *Trabalho e desenvolvimento no Brasil*. (São Paulo: DIFEL, 1965). 302 pages. Sociological investigation of workers in capitals and industrial cities in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Minas Gerais. Focuses on the problems of skilled labor in the industrial sector, migratory processes from country to city, as well as the relation between division of labor and internal differentiations of the working class. Pereira contextualizes the cases under study within a more global analysis of the particularities of the formation of the Brazilian working class and its relationships with business sectors and economic processes.

Pessanha, Elina G. da Fonte, and Regina Lúcia de Moraes Morel. "Gerações operárias: rupturas e continuidades na experiência de metalúrgicos no Rio de Janeiro." *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais* (Rio de Janeiro) 6, no. 17 (1991): 68-83. Compares the experiences of struggle of workers from the naval industry of Niterói and Rio de Janeiro on the one hand, and the workers of the Companhia Siderúrgica Nacional de Volta Redonda on the other hand. Based on investigations previously undertaken by the authors, the article integrates the history of these workers with the history of their productive sectors and factories.

Pinheiro, Paulo Sérgio. *Estratégias da ilusão: a revolução mundial e o Brasil, 1922-1935*. (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1991). 379 pages. Pinheiro examines the development of the relationship between the International Communist project of world revolution and the Tenentista movement in Brazil, culminating with the ascent of Luiz Carlos Prestes to the head of the PCB and the failed insurrection of 1935. Based on twenty years of research in Brazilian, North-American and European archives, the book contextualizes the trauma of the "Inten-tona" in its relation to the fragility of the PCB's political and strategic concepts as well as to the violence that the State exercised systemati-

cally not only against militant revolutionaries, but also more generally against the so-called "dangerous classes."

Prestes, Maria. *Meu companheiro: 40 anos ao lado de Luiz Carlos Prestes*. 2nd ed (Rio de Janeiro: Rocco, 1993). 188 pages. Memoir of a communist militant who, at 20 years of age, was appointed to the task of guaranteeing the security of Prestes, with whom she then developed a romantic relationship and had an extensive family. The narrative unfolds across various decades of persecution, clandestine conditions and exile, until the return to Brazil after the 1979 amnesty, the rupture with the PCB and the final years of Prestes, who died in 1990 at 92 years of age.

Ramalho, José Ricardo. *Estado-patrão e luta operária: o caso FNM [Fábrica Nacional de Motores]*. (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1989). 244 pages. Case-study of the workers of the "Fábrica Nacional de Motores," the only state-run automobile industry in Brazil, from its creation (40s) until the first strike occurring after its sale to the Italian FIAT company (1981). The author integrates a reconstruction of this labor group's trajectory with the debate about the meaning of different political moments, highlighting themes of nationalism, populism and the incorporation of rural migrants into cutting edge industries. Ramalho places himself within the debate produced by the historiographical revisionism of the 80s regarding the problems of the historical agency of workers and the relationship between labor movement and political struggle. The empirical research is grounded on extensive work in oral history and analysis of newspapers.

_____. "Empresas estatais da primeira geração: formas de gestão de ação sindical." In *O trabalhador carioca*, edited by Alice de Paiva Abreu et al., (Rio de Janeiro: J.C. Editora Ltda, 1995), 37-60. Examines forms and organizational strategies of worker's resistance in Brazilian state-run industries. Ramalho uses conclusions of specific studies on the Fábrica Nacional de Motores, the Companhia Siderúrgica Nacional and the Companhia Vale do Rio Doce to arrive at general conclusions regarding the link between the insertion of these

state-run industries in national-developmental projects and the development of mechanisms of control which spread from the production process to the sphere of social reproduction. Focuses as well on the particularities of union activity in this context.

Ramos, Graciliano. *Memórias do cárcere*. Reprint of 1953 ed. (São Paulo: Livraria Martins Editôra, 1969). Unfinished memoir of the years (1936-37) that the author, one of the greatest Brazilian novelists of all time, was imprisoned for his political activity. Written during his sickness and published after his death in 1953, the book is notable for the psychological density of the characters and description of the experience of political imprisonment.

Rodrigues, José Albertino. *Sindicato e desenvolvimento no Brasil*. Reprint of 1968 ed. (São Paulo: Símbolo, 1979). 223 pages. Rodrigues' classic work was one of the first to analyze the trajectory of unionism in Brazil before and after 1930 growing out of his experience as a founder of DIEESE. Analyzes the construction of official unions through an interaction between the State's formulation and promulgation of laws, on the one hand, and the response by business and labor which mediated the implementation of these laws on the other hand.

Rodrigues, Leôncio Martins. "Do anarquismo ao nacionalismo (Transformações no comportamento operário)." In *Conflito industrial e sindicalismo no Brasil*, (São Paulo: DIFEL, 1966), 101-211. Essay which pioneered the division into a "before" and "after" 1930 in the historiography of the Brazilian labor movement. To this end, Rodrigues analyzes factors such as the change in the composition of labor, the increase in the influence of urban groups and the intervention of the State in relations between capital and labor. On the basis of these elements, the author advances the thesis that the passivity of Brazilian unions in the face of state control is due to the substitution of European immigrants by national rural migrants at the core of the working class.

_____. *Industrialização e atitudes operárias (Estudo de um grupo de trabalhadores)*. (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1970). 217 pages. In this pio-

neering study of the workers of an automobile industry in the ABC region of greater São Paulo, Rodrigues analyzes the significance of the integration of rural migrants into factory work, highlighting the worker's perception of this change as one of social ascent, and the obstacles this perception presented for the development of class consciousness. Based on a 1963 survey undertaken by the author with a sample of the factory's workers, as well as on Rodrigues' own observations of work at the factory.

_____. "Sindicalismo e classe operária (1930-1964)." In *História Geral da Civilização Brasileira. Tomo III: O Brasil republicano. Vol. 3: Sociedade e política (1930-1964)*, edited by Boris Fausto, (São Paulo: DIFEL, 1981). This essay systematizes the thesis, already present in his earlier works, that the change in the nature of union activity after 1930 was a function of the loss of the voluntary nature of association that characterize the unions of "occidental countries." The working class's acceptance of populism's manipulative practices, through the mediation of official unions, is explained as the result of changes occurring in the nature of the State, the political system, and dominant ideologies and political values as well as a product of shifts in industrial technology and the organization of factory work, including the occupational and technical composition of industrial labor.

Roio, Marcos Del. *A classe operária na revolução burguesa. A política de alianças do PCB: 1928-1935*. (Belo Horizonte: Oficina de Livros, 1990). 338 pages. Roio analyzes the substitution of the national-popular strategy that the nucleus of the PCB elaborated in embryonic form in the 20s by the "proletarianism" preached by the Communist International as well as its combination, after 1930, with militarism (associated with the entry of Prestes and his followers into the party), a combination culminating in the attempted insurrection of 1935. Research based on the press and documentation of the labor movement and the Brazilian and Latin-American left in the period.

Sandoval, Salvador A. M. *Social Change and Labor Unrest in Brazil since 1945*. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993). 245 pages. In Portuguese: *Os trabalhadores param: as greves no Brasil 1945-1990*. (São Paulo: Ed-

itora Ática, 1994). Sandoval studies the evolution of the relationship between the labor movement and the State throughout various historical moments. Centered around strike activity, the study is based on quantitative database, of strikes reported in São Paulo newspapers, which is used to analyze changes in labor organization's power of pressure and bargaining.

Sáder, Eder, Michael Löwy, Sandra Castro, and Helena Hirata. *Movimento operário brasileiro 1900/1979*. (Belo Horizonte: Editora Vega, 1980). 110 pages. Collection of four essays of a para-didactic nature covering the historical conjunctures of 1900-1929, 1930-1945, 1945-64 and 1964-79. Offers a good synthesis of the general interpretation of the Brazilian labor movement's trajectory held at the end of the 70s by the segment of the left not associated with the Communist Party.

Santana, Marco Aurélio. "Partido e militância sindical: a atuação comunista no Sindicato dos Metalúrgicos do Rio de Janeiro (1947-1964)." *Revista de Sociologia e Política*, no. 8 (1997): 73-94. Article based on the author's master's thesis which describes the activity of militants linked to the PCB in the Metalworkers Union of Rio de Janeiro during the populist period. Santana's main interest is the extent to which the PCB was able to implement its political strategy within the union.

Santos, Roberto. *Leis sociais e custo da mão-de-obra no Brasil*. (São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 1973). 393 pages. Study of the impact that Brazilian social legislation had on the cost of labor. In the first part, Santos analyzes the different juridical elements that affected the value of salaries and benefits in regards to various occupational categories as well as their relation to the economic theory of salaries. In the second part, he seeks to identify the economic and social repercussions of wage legislation in Brazil, systematizing various formulas for the calculation of real wages.

Santos, Raimundo N. "Una história obrera de Brasil: 1888-1979." In *Historia del movimiento obrero en América Latina*, edited by Pablo González Casanova, (México: Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales de la UNAM, 1984), 9-72. This essay divides the history of labor accord-

ing to the succession of political strategies in the labor movement or general political junctures, depending on the period. Based on secondary literature.

Sarti, Ingrid Andersen. *Porto vermelho: os estivadores santistas no sindicato e na política*. (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1981). 185 pages. Case-study of the portworkers of Santos in the years between 1954-64, a period in which they, as well as other workers in Santos, occupied the spotlight in national labor struggles. Includes analysis of the particularities of the labor process and the labor contracting system, as well as of traditions of worker radicalism in the city since the beginning of the century.

Segatto, José Antonio, José Paulo Netto, José Ramos Neto, Paulo César de Azevedo, and Vladimir Sacchetta. *PCB: memória fotográfica 1922-1982*. (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1982). 175 pages. Documentary narrating 70 years of party history through important photographs of different moments of its trajectory. Includes a detailed chronology and introductions to each historical period.

Silva, Fernando Teixeira da. *A carga e a culpa: os operários das docas de Santos: direitos e cultura de solidariedade 1937-1968*. (São Paulo/Santos: Editora Hucitec/Prefeitura Municipal de Santos, 1995). 260 pages. This book examines the way in which dock-workers from Santos, generally defined as a privileged group among Brazilian workers, were capable of acting as a vanguard and generating precedents for the general conquest of rights, while paving the way for the intervention of the labor movement in the definition of national-developmental policies before 1964. Through an analysis of the particularities of the business organization, labor process and worker culture of the dock-workers, Silva demonstrates how the workers' solidarity-based actions gained legitimacy by using the political heritage of the Vargas era (mechanisms of labor justice and the discourse of social justice) prevalent in the Brazilian society of the time.

Simão, Azis. "O voto operário em São Paulo." *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Políticos* I, no. 1 (1956): 130-141. Pioneering analysis of the re-

sults of the post-war elections of 1945-1947, which demonstrated the São Paulo working class's pronounced preference for the PCB and for the PTB. Analyzes the particularities of districts in regards to the level of worker concentration, as well as postulating the age, occupational and gender profile of voters of each of the parties.

Sindicato dos Bancários e Financieiros de São Paulo, Osasco, e Região. *A história dos bancários: lutas e conquistas, 1923-1993*. (São Paulo: Sindicato dos Bancários, 1994). Institutional history of the union. Includes reproductions of photographs and leaflets used in their mobilization.

Souza Martins, Heloisa Helena Teixeira de. *Igreja e movimento operário no ABC*. (São Paulo/São Caetano do Sul: Editora Hucitec/Prefeitura Municipal de São Caetano do Sul, 1994). 253 pages. Research on the development of Catholic Worker's militancy between 1954 and 1975 in the region of the Santo André diocese (which includes the whole ABC region), with particular emphasis on the performance of the JOC and its influence on the later constitution of the "new unionism." Uses, among other sources, documents archived in the labor section of the Ecumenical Center of Documentation and Information (CEDI) and extensive interviews.

_____. *O Estado e a burocratização do sindicato no Brasil*. (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1979). 190 pages. Sociological study of the bureaucratization of labor conflicts associated with the development of the official union structure in Brazil. Includes analysis of the legislation on union organization in terms of its potential effects on the operation of the unions, as well as the political role that unionism played in the historical junctures of 1945-64 and 1964-68.

Spalding, Hobart A. Jr. *Organized Labor in Latin America: Historical Case Studies of Urban Workers in Dependent Societies*. (New York: Harper and Row, 1977). 297 pages. Chapter 5 is entitled "Labor and Populism: Argentina and Brazil" (151-207). In so far as concerns Brazil, this study synthesizes the principal political events related to the labor movement and its relation with electoral and labor politics between

1930 and 1964, highlighting the periods of the two Vargas administrations and the "populist radicalization" of 1961-64.

Stein, Stanley. *The Brazilian Cotton Manufacture: Textile Enterprise in an Underdeveloped Area, 1850-1950*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957). 273 pages. In Portuguese: *Origens e evolução da indústria têxtil no Brasil (1850-1950)*. Rio de Janeiro: Campus, 1979). Study on the development of the cotton-weaving sector in Brazil from 1850-1950. Analyzes the characteristics of the national economy and the conditions it offered for the founding of the industry, its relation with the national cultivation of cotton, the pioneering enterprises in the mid-nineteenth century, the characteristics of the work force and its organization, and the relation between the evolution of industry and economic cycles throughout the period.

Stolcke, Verena. *Coffee Planters, Workers, and Wives: Class Conflict and Gender Relations on São Paulo Plantations, 1850-1980*. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988). 344 pages. Pioneering interdisciplinary study combining history and anthropology, that views the role played by São Paulo's coffee economy in the transition to free wage labor and the transformation of the state into the center of the national economy from the perspective of peasant families that experienced this process. Analyzing the constitution of historical memory, working conditions and relations, the book opens up a new perspective on 130 years of history that changed Brazilian society completely.

Stralen, Terezinha Berenice de Sousa van. *Trincheira de lutas: ação sindical e política dos bancários de Belo Horizonte (1932/1964)*. (Nijmegen: Kotholieke Universiteit Nijmegen (Holland), 1995). 321 pages. History of the Sindicato dos Bancários of Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais, from its inception until the intervention suffered during the 1964 military coup. Uses union documentation, press, labor legislation and oral testimonies. Part of the recent tendency that seeks to remake Brazilian labor historiography by studying regions outside the Rio-São Paulo axis.

- Telles, Jover. *O movimento sindical no Brasil*. Reprint of 1962 first ed. (São Paulo: Livraria Ciências Humanas, 1981). 289 pages. Combines an account on the trajectory of the author as a union leader with data and analysis of the main events of the Brazilian labor movement between 1946 and 1962. The author, a leader of the coal-miners of São Jerônimo, was elected state deputy by the PCB in 1947, and became one of the most important national party leaders at the time.
- Troyano, Annez Andraus. *Estado e sindicalismo*. (São Paulo: Símbolo, 1978). 184 pages. Case-study centered around the chemical workers of the city of São Paulo between the early 30s and the strikes of 1957. Analyzes internal changes in the unions after the labor legislation of the 1930's which led to the transformation of the old Sindicato dos Empregados da San Paulo Gaz Company into the Sindicato dos Trabalhadores nas Indústrias Químicas e Farmacêuticas de São Paulo.
- Valença, Ana Lúcia de Santa Cruz Oliveira. *Sindicalismo bancário [Carioca]: origens*. (São Paulo: Oboré, 1990). 96 pages. Study of the union organization of bank-employees in Rio de Janeiro between 1929 and 1935. Based on union documentation, from the bank-employee's Caixa, from the Instituto de Aposentadorias e Pensões, as well as on the daily press, Valença reconstructs the demands, mobilizations, and internal political disputes of the union as well as the 1935 repression that prefigured the Estado Novo.
- Valim, Ana [compiler, coordinator, and author]. *50 anos de luta 1933/83*. (Santo André: Sindicato dos Trabalhadores nas Indústrias Metalúrgicas, Mecânicas e de Material Elétrico de Santo André, Mauá, Ribeirão Pires, e Rio Grande da Serra, 1983). 101 pages. Description of the history of the union based on interviews with union leaders and activists.
- Veccia, Theresa Rita. "Family and Factory: Textile Work and Women's Lives in São Paulo, Brazil, 1880-1940," Ph.D. Dissertation in history at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1995. 403 pages. Analyzes the impact of factory labor, particularly in the textile industry, on the lives of women in São Paulo in the 60 years shaped by influx of immigrants and by urban and industrial growth. Includes chapters on the

incorporation of women into the labor market, anarchist discourses on woman and the family, business policies and housing developments, the 1917 strike, work relations in the 20s and the role played by a notion of the "obligations" of women in the construction of gender identity.

_____. "My Duty as a Woman": Gender Ideology, Work, and Working Class Women's Lives in São Paulo, Brazil 1900-1950." In *The Gendered Worlds of Latin American Women Workers*, edited by French and James, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), 100-146. Article analyzing the life stories of former workers living in the "Maria Zélia" housing development in São Paulo. Emphasizes the meaning of the experience of factory work, as well as family relations, within a life cycle strongly marked by gender roles and rigidly defined notions of morality.

Vianna, Luiz Jorge Werneck. *Liberalismo e sindicato no Brasil*. (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1976). 288 pages. Following a political science approach to the studies of labor in Brazil in the mid 70s, Werneck Vianna develops an analysis of the particular evolution of state policies in relation to workers. The period studied ranges from the proclamation of the Republic (1889) to the end of employment stability (estabilidade) with the creation of the Fundo de Garantia por Tempo de Serviço, one of the main legislative changes in work relations introduced by the military dictatorship in 1966. The author demonstrates that, far from being mutually exclusive, corporativism and liberalism coexisted and in many cases worked together in the history of the Brazilian Republic.

Vinhas, Moisés. *Estudos sobre o proletariado brasileiro*. (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1970). 279 pages. Essay on the class structure of Brazilian society and the particularities of the composition of the working classes. Contains theoretical chapters, dedicated to the concept of social class and its application to national reality, and others concentrating on the analysis of census data on occupational, gender and age distribution, as well as the level of concentration of labor per enterprise. Concludes with a discussion of class consciousness and forms of organization of the country's workers.

. *O partidão: a luta por um partido de massas 1922-1974*. (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1982). 268 pages. Study of the political trajectory of the PCB through almost 50 years, centering on the contrast between the party's strength and democratic nature in the moments in which it achieved mass activity and the militarization and sectarianism which characterized the party in moments of more intense repression. Includes appendixes with significant party documents from each critical historical moment.

Weffort, Francisco Corrêa. "Origens do sindicalismo populista no Brasil (A conjuntura do após guerra)." *Estudos CEBRAP*, no. 4 (1973): 65-105. See also Francisco Corrêa Weffort: "Democracia e movimento operário: algumas questões para a história do período 1945-1964. [Três Partes]." *Revista de Cultura Contemporânea* [São Paulo] 1, no. 1, 2, 3 (1978-1979): 7-13, 3-11, 11-18. Contesting the determining weight that the sociology of the 60s attributed to factors such as the composition of the work-force in defining worker behavior, Weffort points out the necessity of studying specific historical periods and the need to preserve the relative autonomy of the political sphere when formulating explanations for the populist era. In analyzing the reasons for the persistence of the corporatist union structure, the author stresses the role of decisions that political actors like the Communist Party made in key moments such as 1945, when the possibility of a rupture with state control and the recreation of autonomous unionism was conceivable.

. *O populismo na política brasileira*. (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1978). Analysis of populism as the form through which the popular masses emerged on the stage of national politics. Weffort identifies the main similarities and differences between leaders such as Getúlio Vargas, Adhemar de Barros and Jânio Quadros, and the manipulative nature of their relations with voters and supporters, pointing as well to the disassociation between worker's demonstrated preference for communist leaders in union leadership and their support for populist leaders in electoral disputes.

Weinstein, Barbara. *For Social Peace in Brazil: Industrialists and the Remaking of the Working Class in São Paulo, 1920-1964*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996). 435 pages. A study of the social policies carried out by the industrialists of São Paulo through SESI and SENAI, state-funded agencies of social welfare and vocational education that were created in the 1940s. Directly administered by the industrialists, these agencies were part of a project of molding the working class through the application of the techniques of scientific management, rational work organization, and applied psychology. The study analyzes the initial adhesion of workers to these programs, despite their suspicions of the employers, and charts the strategic shift by employers in the 1950s when they replaced the initial project of constructing "social peace" with a more openly repressive policy which led up to their support of the military coup of 1964.

_____. "The Model Worker of the Paulista Industrialists: The 'Operário Padrão' Campaign, 1964-1985." *Radical History*, no. 61 (1995): 92-123. Analysis of the annual employers campaign that *O Globo* newspaper and the Serviço Social da Indústria (SESI) have developed since 1964 for the choice of a worker that best represents the qualities of discipline, productivity and creativity they considered appropriate for workers. Weinstein reveals the existence of an alternate interpretation of the virtues of the "model worker" which surfaced in moments in which workers had greater autonomy in the choice of candidates. At such moments production workers were selected as "model" workers instead of the supervisors usually chosen in more restricted and directed processes.

_____. "Unskilled Worker, Skilled Housewife: Constructing the Working-class Woman in São Paulo, Brazil." In *The Gendered Worlds of Latin American Women Workers*, edited by French and James, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), 72-99. Study of the impact of experiences of "occupational" or "domestic" education of women, created by the initiative of or in connection with business groups of São Paulo between the 1910s and 40s, and the definition of gender roles considered appropriate for the project of national industrial de-

velopment. Stresses the SESI-SENAI system as an element linking the business and state activities in this regard.

Welch, Cliff. "Labor Internationalism: U.S. Involvement in Brazilian Unions, 1945-1965." *Latin American Research Review* 30, no. 2 (1995): 61-89. Welch examines the development of United States policies aimed at actively intervening in the direction of Brazilian unionism and the evolution of such policies as a result of the changes of the period. Based fundamentally on the study of pertinent Department of State documentation.

_____. *The Seed Was Planted: The São Paulo Roots of Brazil's Rural Labor Movement (1924-1964)*. (University Park: Penn State University Press, 1997). This meticulously researched book explores grassroots efforts to organize rural workers in an important agricultural region in Brazil's most economically dynamic state. It pays close attention to the wider political and legal framework that helped to determine the pace, direction, and intensity of rural mobilization in São Paulo since 1924, especially during Populist Republic from 1945 to 1964. Overall, Welch makes an outstanding contribution to a new political history of modern Brazil by challenging the notion that rural workers were unable to meaningfully participate in the politics of the Vargas era.

Wells, John. "Industrial Accumulation and Living-standards in the Long-run: The São Paulo Industrial Working Class, 1930-75 (Part I and II)." *The Journal of Development Studies* 19, no. 2 & 3 (1983): 145-169, 297-328. Analyzes the relationship between the living standards of São Paulo's working class and the process of industrial accumulation as part of a wider debate regarding the income trends of dispossessed groups in semi-industrialized countries. Highlights questions such as wages, cost and quality of living, and consumption of food. Contradicts the notion that the majority of the population lived in conditions of absolute impoverishment during the period and points to changes in the standard of consumption.

Wiarda, Howard J. *The Brazilian Catholic Labor Movement*. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Labor Relations and Research Center, 1969). 95 pages. Study of the CBTC (Confederação dos Trabalhadores Brasileiros Cristãos), its origins and history, while emphasizing the connections between its program, ideology and objectives and changes experienced by the Brazilian society after the 30s. Also focuses on the internal dynamics of the labor movement of Catholic orientation: its activities and organizational structure, decision-making process and political conflicts between different sectors.

Wolfe, Joel William. *Working Women, Working Men: São Paulo and the Rise of Brazil's Industrial Working Class, 1900-1955*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993). 312 pages. Historical study of the development of the working class in the city of São Paulo during the first half of the century. Emphasizes the textile and metalworking industries and contrasts the rank-and-file labor movement with organized groups on the left. Also stresses the importance of gender roles for labor and business strategies. Uses oral testimonies, public archives, and business and labor documentation.

Workers and Workers' Movements, 1964 to the Present

Abramo, Laís Wendel. "Greve metalúrgica em São Bernardo: sobre a dignidade do trabalho." In *As lutas sociais e a cidade: São Paulo: passado e presente*, edited by Lúcio Kowarick. (Rio: Paz e Terra, 1988). Analysis of the 1978 strikes of metalworkers in the ABC region of São Paulo, as a moment in which a collective reaction to the daily injustices experienced by metalworkers emerged. The study explains the social context of the city of São Bernardo do Campo and the peculiarities of the metallurgical sector at the end of the '70s. The author illustrates how the combination of industrial authoritarianism and precarious working conditions, salary reductions, job instability and the extension and intensification of the work day, produced a sense of humiliation among workers. On the other hand, collective mobilization gave

rise to a working class discourse, centered on the idea of dignity, which spread into the public domain.

Abreu, Alice Rangel de Paiva, and Elina Gonçalves da Fonte Pessanha, eds. *O trabalhador carioca: estudos sobre trabalhadores urbanos do Estado do Rio de Janeiro*. (Rio de Janeiro: J. C. Editora, 1994). 170 pages. Contains three chapters dealing with metalworkers in addition to one each on female labor force participation, gender and subcontracting in the garment industry, and child labor as a social problem.

Acero, Liliana, Claudia Minoliti, Alejandra Rotania, and Nora Perez Vichich. *Textile Workers in Brazil and Argentina: A Study of the Interrelationships Between Work and Households*. (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 1991). 305 pages. Comparative study of the impact of structural changes in the processes of industrialization of the 70s and 80s on the working class family structure. The study is based on two surveys, covering around 1,000 members each, of textile workers' families in Petrópolis, Brazil and Buenos Aires, Argentina. The life-story based approach focuses, among other subjects, on variations in the administration of income, the distribution of domestic tasks and attitudes toward fertility and sexuality.

Almeida, Maria Hermínia Tavares de. "O sindicato no Brasil: novos problemas, velhas estruturas." *Debate e Crítica*, no. 6 (1975): 49-74. Focusing on the particularities of the new workers of the automobile industry in the Brazil of the post "economic miracle", Almeida judges the state-controlled union structure to be a limitation on the bargaining power of this sector. The period's tendencies lead the author to formulate the hypothesis that the ABC's metalworkers might come to constitute the basis on which a unionism along American lines might develop in Brazil.

_____. "Novo sindicalismo' and politics in Brazil." In *State and Society in Brazil: Continuity and Change*, edited by John Wirth et al. (Boulder: Westview, 1987), 147-178. This study analyzes the formation of the Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT), its policy differences with the moderate opposition to the military dictatorship promoted by the

MDB, its performance in the first democratic elections (1982 and 1985) and the dilemma faced by the PT between being an instrument of social protest and occupying a space in the established political order.

. "O sindicalismo brasileiro entre a conservação e a mudança." In *Sociedade e política no Brasil Pós-64*, edited by Bila Sorj and Maria Hermínia Tavares de Almeida (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1983), 191-214. Analysis of the continuities of "new unionism" with the traditional corporatist unionism, with special emphasis on their relationship to political parties. The study focuses on the evolution in union membership between 1940 and 1978 and the characteristics of the unions participating in the first conference of the Congresso Nacional das Classes Trabalhadoras (CONCLAT) in 1981 in regards to their distribution according to productive sectors and their political options.

. *Crise econômica & interesses organizados*. (São Paulo: Edusp, 1996). Based on her doctoral dissertation.

Antunes, Ricardo. *A rebeldia do trabalho (O confronto operário no ABC paulista: as greves de 1978/80)*. First ed. (São Paulo: Unicamp/Ensaio, 1988). Analysis of the strikes that took place between 1978 and 1980 in the ABC region of São Paulo which constituted the framework for the emergence of the new unionism in Brazil. The study focuses on the relationship between worker protest and the construction of a platform for proletarian power, analyzing the main political disagreements in the union movement regarding those matters. The study's main sources come from labor congress documents and press, national press and militants' testimonies.

Barboza de Oliveira, Geraldo Junior. "Negros das áreas carboníferas do sul de Santa Catarina: marginalidade social e segregação." In *Negro no sul do Brasil: invisibilidade e territorialidade*, edited by Ilka Boaventura Leite, (Ilha de Santa Catarina: Leituras Contemporâneas, 1996), 265-284.

- Bacha, Edmar L. and Herbert S. Klein, *Social Change in Brazil, 1945-1985: The Incomplete Transition* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989). 346 pages. In Portuguese: *A Transição incompleta: Brasil desde 1945*. 2 volumes (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1986). Particularly useful are: Vilmar Faria, "Changes in the Composition of Employment and the Structure of Occupations," 141-170 and Helga Hoffman, "Poverty and Property in Brazil: What is Changing?," 197-231
- Bernardet, Jean-Claude. *Cineastas e imagens do povo*. (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1985). 199 pages. Important study of the image of the "povo," both urban and rural, in the construction of a national-popular imaginary on the part of Brazilian filmmakers from the 1950s through the 1970s.
- Bosi, Ecléa. *Cultura de massa e cultura popular: leituras de operárias*. (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1972). 178 pages. Investigation of the reading habits of female workers in São Paulo. It analyzes the reading material, matters of interest, reactions to newspaper articles and other aspects of the social psychology involved in the relationship between women workers and the universe of literate culture.
- BNM (Projeto "Brasil: nunca mais"). *Projeto "Brasil: nunca mais" Tomo III: Perfil dos atingidos*. (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1988). 311 pages. One of the 12 volumes which reproduces in detail the conclusions of the research summarized in the book *Brazil: Never Again* (Dassin 1986), this profile of those who suffered repression is based on information contained in the documentation of the military justice records concerning diverse leftist organizations under the vigilance of the forces of repression, as well as social sectors and opposition activities.
- Byars, Robert Stafford. "Culture, Politics, and the Urban Factory Worker in Brazil: The Case of Zé Maria," in *Latin American Modernization Problems: Case Studies in the Crises of Change*, ed. Robert E. Scott (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973), 26-86. Summary discussion of in-depth interviews conducted in the late 1960s with a 47-year old worker at a foreign-owned metalworking firm in Belo Horizonte.

Includes quotes from the interviews which cover a wide variety of topics, including politics, regional and national identity, labor, friendship, and the nature of man and society.

Canêdo, Leticia Bicalho. *Bancários: movimento sindical e participação política*. (Campinas: Editora da Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 1986). 324 pages. Study of the union of bank employees, including an analysis of the national reach of its process of organization and mobilization in the historical conjunctures of 1923-1944, 1945-1964 and 1964-1977. It includes a case study of the union of bank employees of São Paulo. The main sources of the study are a combination of union and daily press.

Castro, Mary Garcia. "Raça, gênero, e sindicato em tempos de globalização," *Cadernos do CEAS*, no. 166 (1996): 36-51. Study of the working out of race and gender in Bahian trade unions in the contemporary period.

Chaney, Elsa M. and Mary Garcia Castro, eds. *Muchachas no More: Household Workers in Latin America and the Caribbean* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989). 486 pages. Contains an essay on domestic servants in nineteenth century Rio de Janeiro (Sandra Graham) and two short studies of attempts, with feminist support, to organize domestic workers in Rio de Janeiro in the 1980s.

Costa, Sílvio. *Tendências e centrais sindicais: o movimento sindical brasileiro de 1978 a 1994*. (São Paulo/Goiânia: Editora Anita Garibaldi/Editora da Universidade Católica de Goiás, 1995). 288 pages. Study of the reorganization of the Brazilian labor movement from the period of political liberalization to its later division into political factions and competing federations. The study explicates the points of controversy on the basis of internal documentation, with an emphasis on the Central Única dos Trabalhadores (CUT).

Coutinho, Laerte. *Ilustração sindical do Laerte*. 5th reprint of 1986 ed. (São Paulo: Oboré Editorial Ltda., 1989). 171 pages. Collection of illustrations published in the labor press of São Paulo in a 10-year period. The author, a well known cartoonist, became the visual

expression of the renewal of unionism that took place in the mid 70s and 80s. The collection contains images of workers from different skill categories, of processes of negotiation and mobilization, of working conditions, of relationships with the police, government and employers, everyday life, etc. The collection is intended to be used and reproduced by groups of workers unable to contract their own artist.

Dassin, Joan, ed. *Torture in Brazil: A Report by the Archdiocese of São Paulo*. (New York: Vintage, 1986). 239 pages. Based on the research of the project "Brazil: Never Again," this report offers a description of the institutionalization of torture as an instrument of political repression and its use on a massive scale during the military regime that governed Brazil between 1964 and 1985. It details the targets of repressive activity, the distortions of the juridical process, the personal and social consequences of the practice of torture.

DIEESE [Departamento Intersindical de Estatística e Estudos Sócio-Econômicos]. *Anuário dos trabalhadores, 1996-1997* (São Paulo: DIEESE, 1996). Synthetic compilation of facts for union activity. Contains social and demographic indicators, information on the labor market, union and economic indicators as well as a glossary of acronyms and technical terms.

_____. *Desigualdade e concentração de renda no Brasil, Pesquisa DIEESE #11* (São Paulo: DIEESE, 1995). 47 pages. Combines a systematization of facts concerning the concentration of income in Brazil in comparison to other countries with an analysis of the experience of state policies on income distribution.

_____. *Trabalho e reestruturação produtiva: 10 anos de linha de produção* (São Paulo: DIEESE, 1994). 368 pages. Compilation of texts published in DIEESE's *Boletim*, between 1961 and 1989, dealing with themes related to automation and change in systems of work organization, the problem of the generation and maintenance of jobs, as well as its consequences from the point of view of union activity. Refers not only to industrial activity, but also to the financial system and agricultural production.