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**


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.


Amado, Jorge. Os subterrâneos da liberdade. Volume 1: Os àsperos 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 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.


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.

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.


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 picturesque novel), identifying the evolution from one to another and its historical context.

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.


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.

Canedo, 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.

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.


Conselho Estadual da Condição Feminina. *Mulheres operárias.* (São Paulo: Nobél/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, Lucélia 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.


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.

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-developmentalist 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.


________. "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 re-interprets 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 politics (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, forthcom-
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.


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-Novos’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.

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.


Ianni, Octávio. “Condições institucionais do comportamento político operário.” *Revista Brasiliense,* 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.

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.


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: Di-fusão 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.
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.”


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 Andrêa. *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).


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. Com-
posed of short biographical accounts, Marçal’s book is extremely use-
ful 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 Cam-
ponês in 1928 and into the PCB in 1933 as well as Martin’s experience
of union and party organization throughout the next 55 years. Con-
tains 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 Con-
ference of the Brazilian Studies Association in Washington, D.C., 13
November, 1998. A thoughtful and provocative critique of the false di-
chotomy 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 pag-
es. 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: Civi-
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 Zilbovicus, 89-132. (São Paulo: Scritta, 1997). Negro examines the installation of the country’s first automobile factories, their links with national-developmentalist 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.


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. “Ger- ações 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 “Intenção” 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-developmentalist projects and the
development of mechanisms of control which spread from the pro-
duction process to the sphere of social reproduction. Focuses as well
on the particularities of union activity in this context.

Livraria Martins Editora, 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 sick-
ness and published after his death in 1953, the book is notable for the
psychological density of the characters and description of the experi-
ence of political imprisonment.

Rodrigues, José Albertino. *Sindicato e desenvolvimento no Brasil*. Reprint
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 in-
teraction between the State’s formulation and promulgation of laws,
on the one hand, and the response by business and labor whichmedi-
ated the implementation of these laws on the other hand.

Rodrigues, Leôncio Martins. “Do anarquismo ao nacionalismo (Transfor-
mações no comportamento operário).” In *Conflito industrial e sindi-
calismo no Brasil*, (São Paulo: DIFEL, 1966), 101-211. Essay which
pioneered the division into a “before” and “after” 1930 in the histori-
graphy of the Brazilian labor movement. To this end, Rodrigues an-
alyzes 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 ele-
ments, the author advances the thesis that the passivity of Brazilian
unions in the face of state control is due to the substitution of Euro-
pean 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.

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.


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 historia 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 particulars 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: Brasilienne, 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-developmentalist 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.

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.


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.


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.

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.


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 partido: 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.


_________. *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.


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.


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 Sörj and Maria Hermínia Tavares de Almeida (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1983), 191-214. Analysis of the continuities of "new unionism" with the traditional corporativist 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.


Bernardet, Jean-Claude. *Cineastas e imagens do povo.* (São Paulo: Brasil- iense, 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.


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.

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.


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. 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.

DIEESE. 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.
Ferrante, Vera Lúcia B. *FGTS [Fundão de Garantia por Tempo de Serviço]: ideologia e repressão*. (São Paulo: Ática, 1978). 419 pages. Results of an investigation undertaken between 1966 and 1973 in the city of Araraquara (São Paulo), including interviews with 83 employers and 542 workers. It analyzes the impact of the implementation of the Fundo de Garantia por Tempo de Serviço and the dynamics of the labor processes in the relationship between capital and labor, discussing the extent to which they were affected by the end of the system of employment stability in the job market.

Frederico, Celso. *A vanguarda operária*. (São Paulo: Símbolo, 1979). 152 pages. A study of the everyday life, culture and the strategies of organization of the metalworkers of São Bernardo do Campo, undertaken at the moment of emergence of the new unionism. The study draws on testimonies, pamphlets and even a play created by the union to attack the practice of overtime, as sources for understanding the power relations inside the factories and the development of class consciousness. See also his documentary collection (1987, 1990, 1991) and his other study of ABC: *Consciência operária no Brasil (Estudo com um grupo de trabalhadores)* (São Paulo: Ática, 1978).

Garcia, Marco Aurélio. "Os desafios da autonomia operária: São Bernardo, a (auto)construção de um movimento operário," in *Desvíos*, no 1 (São Paulo, 1982). This study questions the idea, popular at the time, that identified, as radically different, two models of rupture with official unions. One, internal to the union structure, is exemplified by the Sindicato dos Metalúrgicos de São Bernardo do Campo. The other, which claimed to be external and in confrontation with official unionism, is exemplified by the Movimento de Oposição Metalúrgica de São Paulo (MOMSP). However, Garcia argues that, despite differences of emphasis and context, both tendencies within the new unionism shared common values and principles.

industry of Camaçari, Bahia and their role in baiano unionism. The study gives particular emphasis to the analysis of labor process, regional characteristics of the social structure, organizational modalities, and management employment policies.


----------, Fanny Rubio Lorza, Fernando Lopes, Gabriel Kraychete Sobrinho, Nadya Araújo Castro, Pery Falcón, and Milton Moura. *Repensando uma década: a construção da CUT na Bahia nos anos oitenta.* (Salvador: CEPAS [Centro de Estudos, Pesquisas e Assessoria Sindical], CEAS [Centro de Estudos e Ação Social], Mestrado em Sociologia da FFCH-UFBA, Centro Editorial e Didático-UFBA, 1994). 428 pages. Collection of articles, interviews and data on the occupational groups composing the Central Única dos Trabalhadores na Bahia, as well as on their processes of collective mobilization. The articles discuss the economic scene, social tendencies, theoretical problems involving union organization and memories of the struggles, among other subjects linked to the challenges faced by the federation in its work of union organization after 10 years of existence.


Higgs, Elizabeth W. “Brazilian Factory Women, the Sexual Division of Labor and Working-class Politics: A Case Study of Chemical and Pharmaceutical Workers.” Doctoral Dissertation in Anthropology, University of Florida, 1990. 208 pages. Study focusing on the period
1985-1990. It analyzes the relationship between women and working class political action, the insertion of the Brazilian women's movement in the process of redemocratization, and the particularities of gender relationships inside the chemical and pharmaceutical industries. It concludes by proposing new ways to conceptualize women industrial workers in Brazil and the politics of the working class.


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. *Gender and Work in the Third World: Sexual Divisions in Brazilian Industry*. (London: Tavistock, 1987). 229 pages. Study of the role of the social definition of gender in the segmentation of industrial work in Brazil. It analyzes the hierarchical relationships in the field of production, the role of home-based work within production chains, the sexual division of the market and the labor process, and the impact of economic crises upon them. The research was carried out in the electrical, automobile, pharmaceutical, paper, and plastic industries of the states of São Paulo and Minas Gerais.

Keck, Margaret E. “The New Unionism in the Brazilian Transition.” In *Democratizing Brazil: Problems of Transition and Consolidation*, edited by Alfred Stepan, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 252-296. Analysis of the role played by the “new unionism” in the political transition that signaled the end of military dictatorship in Brazil. It focuses on the weakening of the repressive apparatus in relationship to union activities, the constitution of union federations, strike activity
and its influence on workers’ bargaining power, and the significance of the organization of the Partido dos Trabalhadores.


Leite, Márcia de Paula. *O futuro do trabalho: novas tecnologias e subjetividade operária*. (São Paulo: Scritta/FAPESP, 1994). 331 pages. Study of the process of automation and changes in the labor process in two metallurgical factories in São Paulo, analyzing its impact on the subjective experience of work, on workers identity, as well as on the discourses and forms of organization developed by workers.

Lima, Jacob Carlos. *Trabalho, mercado e formação de classe: estudo sobre operários fabris em Pernambuco*. (João Pessoa: Editora Universitária/UFPB, 1996.) 213 pages. Reconstruction of the industrialization process and the formation of the industrial working class in Pernambuco, from its origins to the end of the 70s. It emphasizes the changes in labor relations and the labor process in the 60s and its impact, in the context of the military dictatorship, on the transformations of union practices which paved the way for the emergence of “new unionism” in the 80’s.

zilian managers looking for an answer to the explosive development of the labor movement which, starting in the mid 70s, expanded from small local expressions such as the ABC paulista to reach eventually the whole country. A clever vision of the "other side" of the class struggle.

Macedo Cínira, Carmen. *Tempo de gênesis: o povo das Comunidades Eclesiais de Base.* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1986). 294 pages. Anthropological study of the Comunidade Eclesial de Base of the Morro Grande neighborhood in the periphery of São Paulo. It analyzes the dynamics of the lives of the participants and their forms of collective action, focusing on the relationship between religion and social struggle, the role of the social networks and local festivities, and the imaginary developed by the community in its reflections on its own actions.

Machado da Silva, Luiz Antônio. “O significado do botequim.” *América Latina [Rio de Janeiro]*, no. 3 (1969): 160-182. Analysis of the function and social organization of taverns as spaces of popular socialization. Machado da Silva focuses on the bar owners’ identification of the customers social status as a basis for granting credit and the cultural universe and values present in the conversation of its most regular customers. The article also examines the role of the tavern as a form for social integration, the establishment of individual links, and the creation of a sense of community.

Mangabeira, Wilma. *Os dilemas do novo sindicalismo: democracia e política em Volta Redonda.* (Rio de Janeiro: Rêhume-Dumará, 1993). 247 pages. Reconstruction of the emergence and development of "new unionism" among the workers of the Companhia Siderúrgica Nacional, between 1979 and 1990. Mangabeira analyzes the particularities of the industry’s history, its links to the national-developmental project and its managerial policies. On the basis of the case studied, the second part discusses the relationship between labor conflicts and rights of citizenship and their relation to the state, in particular through the mediation of the labor courts.
Maybury-Lewis, Biorn. *The Politics of the Possible: The Brazilian Rural Workers’ Trade Union Movement, 1964-1985.* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994). 297 pages. Study of the creation of rural unions which, in spite of facing the violence and restrictions imposed upon them by the military dictatorship, succeeded in recruiting 8 million rural workers, enhancing in that way their capacity for pressure and resistance in an atmosphere of intense exploitation and human-rights offenses. The study presents a historical contextualization and six comparative case studies of Nazaré da Mata (PE), Capivari (SP), Porto Nacional (GO), Canguçu (RS), Magé (RJ) e Santa Cruz Cabrália (BA), each one of which presents particular social, political and organizational characteristics while sharing common elements in terms of the development of strategies for the “politics of the possible” in the sense of assuring rights and benefits for their associates.

Mendes, Chico. *Fight for the Forest: Chico Mendes in his own Words.* (London: Latin American Bureau, 1989). 118 pages. Excerpts of interviews with the rubber tapper leader shortly before his murder. The story recounts his trajectory from learning to extract rubber in his childhood to the constitution of the union, political militancy during the military dictatorship and, later, his entrance into the Partido dos Trabalhadores. The study emphasizes Mendes’s ideas on the relationship between workers’ struggles and ecology.

Moisés, José Álvaro. *Lições de liberdade e de opressão: os trabalhadores e a luta pela democracia.* (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1982). 245 pages. Collection of essays analyzing the political problems faced by Brazilian society in the period of democratic transition and the alternative represented by the Partido dos Trabalhadores in whose ranks the author was a militant at that time. It emphasizes, as was customary in the period, the parallels between the experience of the union Solidarity in Poland and the “new unionism” in Brazil.

rounding him, deals as much with his life, work and militancy as with his opinions on pressing subjects for Brazilian society and the labor movement during the period.

Neves, Magda de Almeida. *Trabalho e cidadania: as trabalhadoras de Contagem*. (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1995). 291 pages. Study of the work experience, resistance and mobilization of female industrial workers in the industrial center of Contagem, Minas Gerais. It offers an wide range of oral and press sources to analyze the periods before and after 1968, the year in which Contagem produced one of the most important strikes during the military regime.

Nosella, Paolo [interviewer]. *Por que mataram Santos Dias? Quando os braços se unem à mente*. (São Paulo: Cortez, 1980). 125 pages. Life story based on the testimony of Santos Dias, leader of the Oposição Sindical Metalúrgica de São Paulo, offered shortly before he was murdered by the police in front of the factory in which he worked during a strike in 1979. It tells the experience of migration from the Northeast to São Paulo, his beginnings in the metallurgical industry, his relationship to his family, and his ideas on education, culture, politics and the general problems of Brazilian society.


__________, and Paulo Canabrava Filho. *Bilhetes do João Ferrador*. (São Paulo: Gráfite, 1980). 75 pages. Collection of “notes” (small open letters) published between 1972 and 1980 in *Tribuna Metalúrgica*, voice of the Sindicatos dos Metalúrgicos de São Bernardo do Campo e Diadema, addressed to national authorities and written by the fictional character of “João Ferrador.” The “notes” deal with all kinds of subjects of interest to the union or to Brazilian workers as a whole,
from the financial system for housing to the role of Labor Ministry in the strikes, and including the “war against speculation.”


Oliveira, Elvira de. *Uma graúna no Ibirapuera: Luiza Erundina*. (São Paulo: Busca Vida, 1988). Journalistic account based on a set of interviews with this migrant from the Northeast who became, in 1988, the first women to be elected mayor of the country’s largest city. Starting with her childhood in the hinterland (Parafba), the story moves to her migratory experience, university activism, participation in the union and the Partido dos Trabalhadores, political militancy and her role as municipal councilor, deputy and finally mayor.

Oliveira, Isabel Ribeiro de. *Trabalho e política: as origens do Partido dos Trabalhadores*. (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1988). 144 pages. Study of the process of politicization which lead from the “new unionism” to the creation of the Partido dos Trabalhadores. It analyzes the different groups involved in the formation of the PT, their position on the meaning of the party and the articulation of their political discourses in relation to the State, business groups and the democratic institutions in Brazil.


Patai, Daphne. *Brazilian women Speak: Contemporary Life Stories*. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1988). 398 pages. This study relies on oral history to cover the life histories of Brazilian women from different classes, regions, age groups, races, occupations, and politi-
cal, religious and cultural practices. The author links those individual narratives to the process of transformation of gender relations and self-awareness of women in Brazil.

Pereira, Vera Maria Cândido. *O coração da fábrica: estudo de caso entre operários têxteis*. (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Campus, 1979). 242 pages. A research project conducted between 1972 and 1975 with workers of a textile plant in Rio de Janeiro. It analyzes the labor process and the hierarchical differences among workers, in regards to power and forms of remuneration. The study focuses on the world-view expressed through the workers’ testimonies about the social order inside and outside the work place and the role attributed by them to union representation.

Pessanha, Elina Gonçalves da Fonte. “De operários navais a metalúrgicos: experiência de classe e identidade política entre trabalhadores da indústria naval do Rio de Janeiro.” In *O trabalhador carioca*, edited by Alice de Paiva Abreu et al, (Rio de Janeiro: J. C. Editora Ltda, 1995), 13-36. Analysis of the transformation suffered by the naval industry workers (95% of whose production is based in the state of Rio de Janeiro) under the double impact of the 1964 coup d’état and the changes in the productive structure affecting the industry. It demonstrates how workers faced those transformations and built a base for their subsequent reorganization in the period of the “new unionism.”

Rainho, Luís Flávio and Osvaldo Martines Bargas. *As lutas operárias e sindicais dos metalúrgicos em São Bernardo (1977-1979)*. (São Bernardo: Associação Beneficiente e Cultural dos Metalúrgicos de São Bernardo, 1983). 247 pages. Reconstruction of the main events of this period, so critical to the emergence of the “new unionism” in the ABC, by one of the main labor activists of the period (Bargas) and one of the pioneer researchers of the workers’ everyday life in the region (Rainho). The main sources are the labor militants’ memories as well as union documentation and press materials.

———. *Os pés do grande ABC: estudo sobre as condições de vida e consciência de classe do operário metalúrgico (sem especialização e semi-*
especializado) ligado a indústria automobilística. (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1980). 314 pages. Study based on the reprinting of oral testimonies by ABC’s metalworkers, organized in chapters dealing with life inside and outside the factory. The second part charts the process of development of class consciousness in relation to union demands and the workers’ broader political interests.


Revkin, Andrew. The Burning Season: The Murder of Chico Mendes and the Fight for the Amazon Rain Forest. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1990). 317 pages. Journalistic reconstruction of Chico Mendes’s activities among the rubber tapers of Acre, his political militancy and his ideas on the relationship between ecology and the struggle of the “inhabitants of the forest”. The study contextualizes the murder of the political leader within the general framework of rural violence in Brazil and the confrontations over the defense of the Amazon forest. Based on interviews with militants, Xapuri’s inhabitants and supporters of Mendes and his cause.

Rodrigues, Iram Jácome, Comissão de fábrica e trabalhadores na indústria. (São Paulo: Cortez-Fase, 1990). A study of the formation of two factory commissions in the auto industry in the 1980s, one in ABC and the other in São Paulo (both belonging to the same firm). Rodrigues analyzes questions such as the representativeness of the commissions, how they are elected, and their relationship with company management. Also investigates, even more deeply, the relationship established between the representatives and the represented, between the
commissions and the unions, and the importance of strikes in the organization of workers.

Síndicalismo e política: a trajetória da CUT. (São Paulo: Scritta/FAPESP, 1997). 281 pages. Sociological study centered on the analysis of the CUT's conception of the "union" and its evolution from the foundation of the federation to the ambiguities and contradictions between discourse and practice that have been more evident in recent times. It contains a detailed analysis of data and information provided by the federation itself as well as a survey of representatives, all of them related to the IV National Conference (CONCUT) of 1991.


Sader, Éder. Quando novos personagens entraram em cena: experiências e lutas dos trabalhadores da grande São Paulo, 1970-1980. (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1988). 329 pages. Classic work which analyzes the changes in the construction of collective identity that marked the emergence of new social movements in Brazil in the 70s and 80s, in debate with several tendencies in contemporary social sciences. Sader focuses on the metropolitan area of São Paulo and highlights the links that integrate different experiences of the working class and their articulation both with the "discursive patterns" of ecclesiastical base communities and of the new left and new unionism. Sader also underscores the connections between these experiences and the emergence of movements that are, at the same time, very specific and yet interconnected, such as mother's clubs, health movements, the
metalworkers union opposition in São Paulo and the internal transformation of the official union of São Bernardo do Campo.


Seidman, Gay W. *Manufacturing Militancy: Workers' Movements in Brazil and South Africa, 1970-1985*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994). 361 pages. Comparative study of the development of the “new unionism” in Brazil and the emergence of labor struggles in South Africa in the 70s, framed in the first case by the struggle against the dictatorship and against apartheid in the second. It points to the similarities in the economic structure and political process of the fight against authoritarianism in both countries. It identifies common elements as well as the specificities in both movements’ approach to issues of race and political participation. On this basis, the author formulates a general hypotheses about labor movements in countries of “delayed industrialization.” Sources include government archives and documents produced by each union movement as well as the press and bibliographies.

Shoumatoff, Alex. *The World is Burning: Murder in the Rain Forest*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1990). 377 pages. Biographical account of Chico Mendes, from his initial years as a political militant to his murder in 1988. It describes the impact that both his death and the international reaction to it had on the region, the rubber tappers’ struggle and the people close to Mendes.
Sigaud, Lygia. *Os clandestinos e os direitos: estudos sobre trabalhadores da cana-de-açúcar de Pernambuco.* (São Paulo: Duas Cidades, 1979). 260 pages. Anthropological analysis of the sugar cane workers in the region of Zona da Mata, Pernambuco, involving labor relations and working conditions, strategies for survival and the effects of their illegal working situation on their exclusion from political rights and the enfeebling of their union.


Smith, Russell E., and Mark Healey. *Labor and Mercosur: A Briefing Book.* (Durham: The Duke-UNC Program in Latin American Studies, 1994). 150 pages. Available for US $15 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. Examines Mercosur and its historical precedents in free trade agreements in the Southern Cone, as well as the unions’ reaction, through the Coordenadora das Centrais Sindicais do Cone Sul. The authors systematize information on common market treaties, their impact on working relations and welfare and discuss the adoption of social charters to protect workers that would be affected by the changes in the regional economies.

es. Study of the relationship between the labor market, labor process and unionism under authoritarian rule. Based on the author’s research in metalworking factories in Contagem, in the metropolitan region of Belo Horizonte, it offers a wider analysis of the meaning that political changes in the period of democratization have for labor struggle. In Portuguese, see: “O processo de trabalho como dominação: um estudo de caso,” Dados-Revista de Ciências Sociais 24(3):331-348.


Telles, Edward E. “Industrialization and Racial Inequality in Employment: The Brazilian Example,” American Sociological Review 59 (1994): 46-63. Examines how racial inequality varies across occupations in 74 Brazilian metropolitan areas in 1980. Finds that industrialized areas have lower racial inequality overall and especially in blue collar occupations, but at higher occupational levels, racial inequality is either greater or is unaffected by industrialization.

Tribuna Metalúrgica: 20 anos ilustrada. (Sindicato dos Metalúrgicos do ABC, 1998). 148 pages. Reproduction of cartoons and illustrations published in the Tribuna Metalúrgica, the official newspaper of the São Bernardo union between 1978 and 1998. Offers a portrait of the day-to-day lives of workers as well as covering the principal political and union events in the country throughout this period, always with a fine sense of observation and acute irony. Each section has an introduction describing the political, social, and economic context of each year.

pages. Anthropological study of racial relationships in a small town of the northwest coffee region of Rio de Janeiro. It includes fifty life stories, focusing mainly on the process of social mobility of Afro-Brazilians and the way in which they and their Euro-Brazilian neighbors deal with problems arising from racial disparities. The book analyzes how the myth of racial democracy is sustained and actualized in everyday life and offers elements for the identification of cultural obstacles faced by anti-racist movements in Brazil.

Veiga, Sandra Maryink, and Isaque Fonseca. *Volta Redonda: entre o aço e as armas.* (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1989). 222 pages. Reconstruction of the trajectory of the union and political organization of the workers of the Companhia Siderúrgica Nacional de Volta Redonda. It includes accounts of the first generation of migrants who constituted the labor force of the CSN, the formation of subsequent generations and changes in the union’s activities. Veiga’s study culminates with an analysis of recent years, shaped by the military occupation of the industrial plant and the murder of three workers in 1988 and the suspicious accident that, in 1989, claimed the life of the most important union leader, Juarez Antunes, after his election as municipal mayor.