Urban Labor History in Twentieth Century Brazil

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

—Luís dos Santos Vilhenaforty in late eighteenth century Bahia

Introduction

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

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

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

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


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

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

4. “So rapidly has this change occurred,” note Bacha and Klein, “that its ramifications are little understood. The current generation finds itself living in a modern industrial society, but their parents were born into a different world. [Even] contemporary critics, when viewing their nation from the perspectives of an advanced industrial society, cannot understand the anomalies within their own world, which still exhibits many traces of its former rural and slave-bound antecedents” (Bacha and Klein 1989: 1).
Although Brazil’s first national workers’ congress was held in 1906, the highly visible social protagonism demonstrated by urban working people in 1917 announced the arrival of a new social and political actor on the national scene. Coinciding with the Russian Revolution, the strikes that paralyzed the nation’s urban centers, however briefly, came as an enormous shock to the Brazilian establishment while seeming to offer a political opportunity for other, discontented, groups. Indeed, the effort to come to terms with this “threat” and “promise” would preoccupy the statecraft of Getúlio Vargas when he came to power after the Revolution of 1930. The Vargas regime’s intricate corporatist system of state-sponsored and state-financed trade unions would decisively shape the subsequent trajectory of labor in Brazilian society; in addition, it defined the terrain of later academic debates about workers and their role.

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

Trade unions by the 1970s, in contrast, were already large, well entrenched, and relatively powerful institutions that blanketed all corners of Brazil and encompassed both urban and rural laborers. Between 1960 and 1978, the number of union members had increased 3.5 times among urban employees, going from 1.2 million to 4.35 million (in both years about 23% of the economically active population was found in industry). Given the
lack of recognized legal unionization among rural working people in 1960, it was even more striking that rural union membership in 1978, at 4.5 million, was larger than in the urban sector (Tavares de Almeida 1983: 193-194; Maybury-Lewis 1994).

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

But numbers are not everything, especially in a situation where tangible government-mandated medical, dental, and legal benefits (assistência) have long served as a powerful incentive for union affiliation. The key question is: how effective are the trade unions in contemporary Brazil? To what degree can they legitimately claim the loyalty of their members? And to what extent can they mobilize their members as well as those workers they only represent in negotiations with employers? One measure of a labor movement’s capacity for mobilization can be seen by looking at trends in strike participation across time. If strikers measured in the thousands in 1917, the numbers had risen into the tens of thousands by 1946 and to hundreds of thousands between 1957 and 1964. By 1980, mass participation in the strike waves of the late 1970s had reached into the millions and a newly dynamized trade union movement proved capable, over the next
decade, of conducting truly national general strikes for the first time in Brazilian history. It is estimated that two to three million workers and employees participated in the 1983 general strike, a number that rose to 10 million each in 1986 and 1987, before finally peaking at 22 million on the first day of the 1989 general strike (10 million still stayed out on the second day!). In the 1989 stoppage, it is estimated that a startling 37 percent of the urban workforce had participated in the first day of the general strike (Sandoval 1993: 186).

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

Yet this capacity to launch protest strikes, at a moment of severe economic instability, may not be the most meaningful test of the strength of workers' struggles. It is possible, after all, that workers, as well as the wider society, may grant the legitimacy of trade union action only when it is narrowly restricted to economic questions directly concerned with workers' paychecks or employer/employee relations. Given this reality, it is sensible to ask whether organized workers in Brazil have achieved any broader influence in the society and polity as a whole. In 1917, the workers movement had a minimal political impact due, in no small part, to the absence of significant political participation of any sort in most of the country (electoral participation stood at one percent of the adult population in the elections prior to 1930). The advent of effective mass political participation in the 1945 elections, by contrast, saw worker-oriented parties (the Partido Comunista do Brasil and the Partido Trabalhista do Brasil) sweep urban voting with the newly-legalized Communists winning a surprisingly high ten percent of the national vote. Although more diffuse, the impact of workers
continued to grow during the subsequent Populist Republic from 1945 to 1964 as the urban and working class population increased over the next decades.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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6. Hoffman notes that “inequality in income distribution in Brazil seems to be one of the highest in the world. It is certainly far higher than in the developed countries.” A Gini coefficient of income distribution by households is 0.530 in Brazil in 1970 while 0.404 in the U.S. and 0.382 or less in France, Canada, Sweden, and the United Kingdom (Hoffman in Bacha and Klein 1989: 198). This is linked to the absence of a free peasantry, which is in turn tied to the historical inheritance of slavery: “concentration of land ownership in Brazil is very high and remarkably stable.... The overall degree of concentration of land ownership has not changed in the last six decades at least.... The extreme concentration of land ownership is one of the factors in the Brazilian model of rapid growth with inequitable distribution” (Hoffman in Bacha and Klein 1989: 210-11).
rians led to a neglect of economic and social factors (only in the 1930s would such topics come into focus with the innovative Marxist historiography of Caio Prado Junior) (Rodrigues 1979: 3-4).

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

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

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

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

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

8. John Womack Jr., “The Historiography of Mexican Labor,” in Labor and Laborers through Mexican History, ed. Elsa Cecilia Frost, et al. (Mexico/Tucson: El Colegio de México/University of Arizona Press, 1979), p. 739. A contrast was usually drawn between “labor” and the more admirable connotations of the word “work” (self-directed, linked to artisanry, and productive). Nonetheless, intellectual life since the Greeks tended to disdain both indiscriminately. In Portuguese, the analogous contrast might be between the trabalhador and the operário.
industrial militancy of workers after 1945 attracted the attention of a newly professionalized class of academic intellectuals, especially a group of sociologists associated with the Universidade de São Paulo. Although distant from the workers’ movement, the young USP intellectuals clearly identified workers as an integral part of their broad vision of modernity, national development, and democracy; the dream of “heavy industry guaranteed by universal suffrage” in the epigram of Alfredo Bosi.9

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

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

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

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

10. “Unfortunately,” French went on, “contemporary activists and sympathetic analysts have too often adopted a stance of alienation from past workers' struggles in Brazil. In dealing with the populist era, they have unwittingly accepted the claims advanced by the workers' enemies, the antipopulists of the pre-1964 period. Although meant to demonstrate confidence in the working class, the vigorous assertion that everything is radically new in fact suggests a strong fear that the workers' natural state, as defined by a defeatist vision of the past, is one of weakness and impotence” (French 1992: 283; French 1995).
elections for President and the 1992 movement in favor of the impeach-
ment of President Collor. In both cases, people in the vast majority of urban
centers took to the streets in defense of a demand that united a wide politi-
cal and social spectrum around the desire to regain the right to elect the
president or in indignation at the exposure of a level of presidential corrup-
tion that was shocking even for Brazilians historically accustomed to the
private appropriation of the public good.

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

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

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

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

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

\(^{12}\) “While judging populism in light of a one-sided concept of class conflict,” French observed in 1992, “the corporatist consensus on Brazilian populism failed to understand that struggles between social classes can only play themselves out through a complicated web of alliances... While later scholars have been infatuated with debates about the autonomy of the workers’ movement, or the lack thereof, the real challenge for São Paulo’s postwar labor movement was how to maximize their leverage within this inconsistently prolabor system” during Brazil’s last period of electoral democracy before 1964 (French 1992: 268, 282; French 1995).
electoral politics between 1945 and 1964, during the last extended period of democratic rule. The issues facing workers and unionists today, it should be clear, are not totally new: these challenges have in fact been faced by previous generations, at times with success” (French 1992: 282; French 1995). 15

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

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

14. Such a shift towards history, if borne out, is occurring at a moment when labor sociology has reached new heights of sophistication and technical accomplishment in its study of contemporary reality (Castro and Leite 1994).
Finally, how we are to learn new ways of telling the story of Brazilian workers and their struggles? How do we do so in a way that illuminates and empowers both workers and their allies? And how do we keep an eye on the prize while we are in the midst of explaining the give and take, ebb and flow, of everyday life and struggle. “Whatever their politics, the forces of labor in Brazil today will need a great deal of inspiration to meet the challenges they face. Their struggles will be made a trifle easier if they can feel at ease with past progressive and working-class struggles; if they can feel the pride, accomplishments, and heroism of earlier generations; and if, after tasting the bitterness of past defeats, they can still understand the flawed and incomplete victories—but victories nonetheless—that followed” (French 1992: 283–4; French 1995).

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

15. The electoral dimension of working class struggle is in particular need of further study, especially the variation in the political cultures of voting among working peoples. “An exclusive emphasis on interclass relations” and conflict, French wrote in 1992, “can grossly distort the analysis of electoral politics, which is decisively shaped by intraclass divisions, fractions, and substrata. The successful analysis of such a political system requires a further refinement of our understanding of the variety and complexity of alliances at all levels... The restoration of democracy in Brazil and elsewhere on the continent in the 1980s highlights the importance of social and political alliances, placing the subject at the top of Latin Americanist research agendas” (French 1992: 282; French 1995). There is still much to be done if we are to understand the architecture of power, much less the dynamics of Brazilian capitalism as a totality and its place in the crisis-wrecked “New World Order” of our day.
This bibliography contributes to this process of scholarly rethinking and re-vision-ing by laying out the impressive accomplishments of those who have studied urban labor in Brazil. Looking back at the modest beginnings of this area of research at mid century, it is clear that Brazil has seen an extraordinary expansion in the number, quality, and sophistication of empirical studies of urban labor—with an increasingly broader representation of scholarly disciplines and geographical regions. These efforts at intellectual comprehension are a tribute to the significance, influence, and increasing power of the new social class of urban wage laborers in twentieth century Brazil. It is also a portent of future changes in Brazil, whether hailed as a promise or utopia by some Brazilians or feared by others as a threat to their power and privileges. As we strive to better understand the Brazilian social formation in all its complexity, we must not forsake the linha mestre that links the intellectual study of labor to the social transformation that workers' movements have always represented—and that is needed now, more than ever, in Brazil and the United States.

Defining the Nature and Scope of this Bibliography

This specialized bibliography focuses on urban wage labor in the twentieth century, especially in the industrial sector. Thus it does not cover the history of labor under slavery despite its relevance for the conceptualization of the history of work and workers in Brazilian society (as argued in Reis 1997). Nor does it deal with the large literature on rural social movements. Overall, it aims to provide a representative and comprehensive, but by no means exhaustive, inventory of the articles, books, and memoirs that have been most important to the study of the history of labor in Brazil (whether in terms of their coverage and findings or their place in the evolution of scholarly debate). In any such selection, important studies have no doubt been overlooked but we hope to rectify such shortcomings in an expanded future Brazilian edition.
This bibliography also has a clear thematic and analytical orientation: the primary focus is on organized workers' movements in their relationship to political and industrial life. Rather than focussing on the lives of all those who labor, we emphasize the collective expressions of working class agency. The category of workers' movements, however, is not defined as being narrowly about trade unions as such (that is the labor movement proper). Rather, it includes the political projects, institutions, and movements associated with organized workers; that is, attention is also paid to the wider penumbra of intellectual activists and leftist groups who play an important role not only in the functioning of the workers' movement but in defining its significance for society as a whole. This does not mean, however, that the bibliography deals comprehensively with leftist movements or intellectual life (although a slice of that literature is included where directly relevant to labor struggles).

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

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

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

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

The virtual absence of most of the Northeast from this bibliography is only the most glaring example of this geographic bias. It can be explained in part by a weakly integrated national intellectual market that is far from
guaranteeing circulation from the periphery to the center. Moreover, it is also possible that some poorer and more weakly industrialized states may not yet have mobilized their scarce intellectual resources to examine what may seem, on the surface, to be a less significant history of workers’ movements in their respective states.

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

Bibliographies and Archival Guides


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


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


Bertonha, João Fábio. “Os arquivos policiais e judiciários: fontes para a história social e política brasileira do Século XX.” História Social
[UNICAMP], no. 2 (1995): 193-195. Brief description of the contents, forms of organization and access to police and judicial archives. The DOPS and the Tribunal de Segurança Nacional archives are fast becoming one of the fundamental sources for the study of Brazilian social history.


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


Ferreira, Maria Nazareth. *A imprensa operária no Brasil (1880-1920).* Augmented version of 1978 ed (São Paulo: Ática, 1988). 93 pages. Based on the holdings of the Arquivo Edgard Leuenroth, the author has compiled an “Account of labor newspapers and magazines” from 1847 to 1986 (pp. 63-85). In each case, the year of appearance of the
title is listed along with the name of the publisher and the city in which it appeared.

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

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


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

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

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

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


Rodrigues, Leôncio Martins, and Fábio Antônio Munhoz. “Bibliografia sobre trabalhadores e sindicatos no Brasil.” *Estudos CEIRAP*, no. 7 (1974): 151-171. An influential essay and annotated bibliography of 100 items that served to define the emerging field of labor studies in Brazil in the 1970s. Discussion is divided into five parts: the history
and formation of the labor movement, workers' attitudes and orientations, trade unionism and the workers' movement, strikes and industrial conflicts, and ideologies and doctrines.


**Literature Reviews and Methodological Reflections**


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


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


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


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

Workers and Workers' Movements to 1930


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

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


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


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


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

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

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

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

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


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

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

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

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

Campos, Cristina Hebling. *O sonhar libertário (Movimento operário nos anos de 1917 a 1921)*. (Campinas: Ponte/Editora da UNICAMP, 1988). 189 pages. A study of labor movements in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo during one of the instances of greatest strike activity during the Old Republic, emphasizing the utopian aspect of the anarchist ideology that was hegemonic at the time. The research is based upon both labor and daily press, as well as official publications.
Caulfield, Sueann. "Getting into Trouble: Dishonest Women, Modern Girls, and Women-Men in the Conceptual Language of *Vida Policical*, 1925-1927." *Signs* 19, no. 1 (1993): 146-76. See also Sueann Caulfield. "In Defense of Honor: The Contested Meaning of Sexual Morality in Law and Courtship, Rio de Janeiro, 1920-1940." Ph.D. dissertation in History, New York University, 1994. A study of the representation offered between 1925 and 1927 by the Rio de Janeiro magazine *Vida Policical* concerning the supposed risks to Brazilian society and family triggered by transgressions of female behavioral norms. The study points out how the male authors of the magazine, through the identification of "deviations" such as the circulation of prostitutes outside their "zone", the adoption of masculine customs by modern young women and even the flight of poor girls, disguised as men, from their families, registered the resignification of gender identities developed by segments of the female population through new performances.

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

Challoub, Sidney. *Trabalho, lar, e botequim. O cotidiano dos trabalhadores no Rio de Janeiro da Belle Époque*. (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1986). 249 pages. A reconstruction of every-day life as experienced by workers in Rio de Janeiro at the beginning of this century based on criminal prosecutions and announcements in the police section of daily newspapers. On the basis of the daily conflicts expressed in these episodes,
Challoub identifies the variegated formulations of interests and beliefs that existed in several social segments of the city. At the same time, Challoub unveils the operation of mechanisms of control erected to ensure urban "hygiene" and "security" in the face of the risks represented by poverty.


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

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

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


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

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

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

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

Gertz, René E., ed. *Memórias de um imigrante anarquista (Friedrich Kniestedt)*. (Porto Alegre: EST Edições, 1989). 165 pages. A Portuguese translation of the compilation of memoirs of an important German anarchist leader, who immigrated to Porto Alegre at the beginning of the century, that originally appeared in print as sections of the newspaper “Das freie arbeiter” published by Kniestedt until 1937. Highlights of
the compilation include an account of his initiation into the craft skills involved with the manufacturing of brooms in Germany at the end of the nineteenth century, the organization of the Labor Federation of Rio Grande do Sul, the libertarian pedagogical experience of the Escola Moderna and the anti-nazi struggle within the German immigrant community in Brazil.


Hahner, June E. “Women and Work in Brazil, 1850-1920.” In Essays Concerning the Socioeconomic History of Brazil and Portuguese India, edited by Dauril Alden and Warren Dean, (Gainesville: University Presses, 1977), 87-117. An analysis of the structure of employment, working conditions, salaries and attitudes toward women and their jobs in Brazilian urban centers of the period, with emphasis on Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. Primary sources include population censuses as well as the daily and labor presses. Examines the impact of differences in education on the opportunities opened up for female work.
Poverty and Politics: The Urban Poor in Brazil, 1870-1920. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986). A study of the living conditions, occupational structure and collective identity among the urban poor of Rio de Janeiro. Offers innovative information on diet, sub-standard housing, sickness, culture and popular disturbances. Analyzes as well the relationship between this urban population and different forms of "Jacobin" politics at the end of the XIX century, and the attempts at political and union organization of the workers.

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

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

[No citation given]

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

[No citation given]

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

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


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

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


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

Lobo, Eulália Maria Lahmeyer. “Condiciones de vida de los artesanos y de la clase obrera en Rio de Janeiro en la década de 1880 hasta 1920.” *Revista Latinoamericana de Historia Económica y Social,* no. 5 (1983): 91-126. Detailed research into salaries, prices and housing in order to offer a panorama of the living conditions of the working class and artisans in Rio de Janeiro. Simultaneously, the author relates the analysis of these conditions to the debate on the process of the primitive accumulation of capital for industrialization.

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


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

Maram, Sheldon Leslie. *Anarquistas, imigrantes e o movimento operário brasileiro, 1890-1920*. (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1979). 180 pages. Classic study of the relationship between foreign immigration to São Paulo, Santos and Rio de Janeiro and the origins of the labor movement in these cities. Maram emphasizes the problem of inter-ethnic relations and repression as obstacles to class organization. The research also identifies the differences between anarchist policies and the attempts to organize Socialist or labor political parties. It uses personal archives of politicians and militant workers, newspapers of the labor press and the national daily press, as well as other official documents and accounts of labor organizations.
“The Immigrant and the Brazilian Labor Movement, 1890-1920.” In Essays Concerning the Socio-economic History of Brazil and Portuguese India, edited by Dauril Alden and Warren Dean, (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1977), 178-210. Analyzes the impact of the preponderance of immigrants from southern Europe (Italians, Portuguese and Spaniards) in the origins of the Brazilian labor movement, putting forth the thesis that this composition contributes to the limitations of that labor movement. With immigrant predominance in both the rank-and-file and leadership, the labor movement suffered from factors such as the deportation of activists, internal ethnic divisions, and xenophobic anti-union campaigns—all of which had a decisive impact in weakening and disarticulating workers’ struggles.

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


Martins, José de Souza. *A imigração e a crise do Brasil agrário.* (São Paulo: Pioneira, 1973). 222 pages. Analyzes the immigration of families of Italian peasants to Brazil stretching from 1870 to 1910, with special focus on the part played by subsistence farming in its relationship to the ideology of social ascent through work in a context shaped by large coffee land-holdings that were traditionally slave based. Dedicates particular attention to the creation of forms of mutual assistance and the development of an agrarian-based communitarian utopia.

Moraes, Evaristo de. *Apontamentos do direito operário.* Reprint of 1905 ed (São Paulo: LTr Editora, 1971). 131 plus 150 pages. Includes a detailed introduction by Evaristo de Moraes Filho, i-1xxi, that places his father, a pioneering labor lawyer and social reformer, into broader historical perspective.

Moraes Filho, Evaristo de. “Introdução” to Rui Barbosa, *A questão social e política no Brasil,* (São Paulo/Rio de Janeiro: LTr Editora/Fundação Casa de Rui Barbosa, 1983), ix-xlvi. Presents the classic speech offered by the illustrious liberal politician and ideologue during his campaign for the Brazilian presidency in 1919. This speech was responsible for popularizing the expression “social question,” which came to identify the growing preoccupation with the new social problems spurred by the effects of industrialization and urbanization and the persistence of “traditional” rural poverty.


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

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

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

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

Passos, Mauro. *A classe trabalhadora em Minas Gerais e a Igreja Católica: a ponta de uma memória*. (São Paulo: Edições Loyola, 1991). 143 pages. Composed essentially of a selection of passages taken from documents of Catholic organizations involved in struggle alongside the working class between 1900 and 1930 in Minas Gerais. The introductory essay deals with the constitution of the religious discourse on work and the social figure of the worker.
Pena, Maria Valéria Junho. *Mulheres e trabalhadoras: presença feminina na constituição do sistema fabril.* (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1981). 227 pages. Study of woman’s labor between the end of the last century and the 50s, centering around the articulation between capitalist development and patriarchy. The research bases itself on an analysis of census-based data, legislation, the national press, articles of the *Boletim do Ministério do Trabalho Indústria e Comércio* and bibliography pertaining to the labor movement and the left in the period.

Pereira, Astrojildo. *Ensaios históricos e políticos.* (São Paulo: Alfa-Omega, 1979). 240 pages. A collection of five essays (“A formação do PCB,” “Sociologia ou apologética,” “Manifesto da contra-revolução,” “Campo de batalha” e “Rui Barbosa e a escravidão”) written between 1929 and 1945 by the anarcho-syndicalist ex-militant and founder of the PCB. Pereira constitutes one of the decisive intellectual influences within the party in its first years of activity, but was subsequently ousted from this position upon the adoption of a “workerist” politics and the establishment of tighter bonds with the Communist International.

Petersen, Silvia R. Ferraz. “As greves no Rio Grande do Sul (1890-1919).” In José Hildebrando Dacanal and Sergius Gonzaga (org.). *RS: Economia e política* (Porto Alegre: Mercado Aberto, 1979). 277-327. Article examining the evolution of strike activity in the state throughout the period, its insertion in the process of labor organization and its relation to the local political context. Contains a detailed survey of work stoppages, including duration, locale, skill categories, motives and additional observations.


Prado, Antonio Arnoni, ed. *Libertários no Brasil: memória, lutas, cultura.* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1986). 307 pages. Collection of texts including two testimonies (Antonio Cândido e Boris Fausto) based on friendship with Brazilian anarchists and 12 articles reconstructing the experiences of groups that were to be the key to the diffusion of libertarian ideas in the country.


Reis, João José. ““The Revolution of the Ganhamores”: Urban Labor, Ethnicity and the African Strike of 1857 in Bahia, Brazil.” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 29 (1997): 355-393. Article on the week-long pioneering shut-down of black workers, both slave and free, that transported merchandise and people in the streets of Salvador. Emphasizes the importance of street culture, the preservation of the cultural identity of different ethnic African groups and the development of organizational forms adequate to these groups as preconditions to the unleashing of a mobilization of such capacity in 1857.

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

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

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

Simão, Azis. Sindicato e Estado. Reprint of 1966 ed (São Paulo: Dominus Editora/Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 1981). 227 pages. This was one of the first classic studies on the origins of Brazilian unionization and the changes undergone in its organizational characteristics as it began to face State and political party intervention. Simão analyzes the characteristics of São Paulo industry in its early stages of development, working conditions and the forms taken by collective work conflicts and union organization before and after 1930.
Skidmore, Thomas E. “Workers and Soldiers: Urban Labor Movements and Elite Responses in Twentieth-Century Latin America.” In Elites,Masses, and Modernization in Latin America, 1850-1930, edited by Virginia Bernhard, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979), 79-126. An analysis of the characteristics of the Latin American labor movements in its early stages, with emphasis on Brazil, Chile and Argentina. The author situates the labor struggle and the responses it encountered in the region’s political system within the context of the growing politicization of the urban populations that so shaped the period.

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