M. A. Practicum Report

Archival Resources Reimagined: a Feminist Examination of the Latin American Twentieth-Century Pamphlets

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INTRODUCTION

The attempt by feminist scholars to reframe and address questions ignored in traditional investigations has created a new demand for non-traditional resources in libraries. These non-conventional and alternative resources, often referred to as fugitive or grey literature, include a body of material that is often not identified through standard acquisitions procedures or retrieved through research tools such as indexes or catalogs. The *Latin American Twentieth-Century Pamphlets* (LATCP) collection at Rutgers University Libraries offers one such example. The collection includes documents that emanate from outside the dominant culture and have subversive overtones, created by non-commercial means of production and with limited distribution to a specific audience. These documents reveal experiences, concerns, political beliefs and perspectives that uncover different actors and forces in specific countries, acknowledging discriminatory structures or alternative accounts and histories.1 Despite its value, conventional tools to represent and provide access to this kind of resource are often insufficient. Furthermore, tools to point specifically to material on women and gender in these collections are very few, thus leaving valuable information invisible.

For my practicum project, I use the insights afforded by feminist scholarship and theory to analyze my experience examining the LATCP collection at Special Collections and University Archives (SC/UA), Rutgers University Libraries. My site advisor was Robert Sewell, Associate University Librarian for Collection Development and

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Management, who also heads the SC/UA. I became interested in this collection for two reasons. First, as women’s studies librarian attuned to the significance of the LATCP collection, I felt a sense of professional responsibility to familiarize myself with it in order to assess its usefulness as a research resource for diverse investigations. Also on a personal level as someone who grew up in Brazil during the military dictatorship, I anticipated learning about oppositional political parties and other suppressed histories that never made it into school classrooms. Although I hope eventually to examine the collections of all countries, for this project I decided to focus on the pamphlets of Guyana (118) and Brazil (665). These two countries, along with Suriname and French Guiana, share the distinction of being non-Spanish speaking countries in continental South America.

In this report, I will first examine the issue of organization and access tools in the management of archives and their usefulness to organize fugitive literature, with particular attention to the LATCP collection. I will then present the “ground work,” or my examination, with feminist insights on “uncovered” resources, along with my readings on the transnational dimensions of politics and ideologies in the Guyana and Brazil collections. The topics of interest, along with relevant pamphlets, are annotated under the narratives of both countries. The creation of a contextualized content that expresses diversity allows more streamlined access to these sources by scholars. By providing such guides, the librarian has the opportunity to be an active and significant agent, shaping knowledge representation and production.
ORGANIZATION OF ARCHIVES & FUGITIVE LITERATURE

Foucault provocatively warned in his *Archaeology of Knowledge* that the archive is neither the sum of all texts that a culture preserves nor those institutions that care for that record and preservation. Kathleen Marquis considers this a useful warning to current archivists since archival practices that preserve traditional resources employ tools such as the finding aid that follow a strict hierarchical order, presumably reflecting the organizations’ structure with units arranged underneath major headings.\(^2\) One of the key issues related to organizing non-conventional or fugitive literature is the reliance on traditional archival methods. The methods used to organize “true archives,” consisting of manuscripts, personal papers, or institutional records with single provenance, do not necessarily work for “artificial archives,” such as the LATCP, including different types of material published by a wide range of sources. Both kinds of archives share the fact that the materials are represented collectively, so that single items do not receive a complete record such as a book record in a library catalog. Also, unlike library material, no attempt is made to file archival material by subject, or to place similar material together. Some archivists argue that rather than creating a detailed description of a particular collection, critical resources should be spent in organizing collections that are still untouched, a reality in most archival repositories.\(^3\)


The rigid system of organization of archives erases the complex processes and multiple discourses of creation; and its imposed centralization is evocative of Jeremy Bentham’s panopticon, where prison guards in a central tower kept surveillance over the prisoners without being seen. Based on this model, many library buildings adopted the panoptical reading rooms, resting on the premise that power lies in knowledge that is controlled by supervision and discipline. From a feminist standpoint these practices mirror patriarchal oppression constructed through Western historical processes which fail to legitimize women and their contributions, or other “local” sets of knowledges that lie outside the dominant culture. Organizing the LATCP pamphlets using a traditional archival arrangement might bring a certain kind of order, but unfortunately this practice removes the integrity of the material and unique relationships that are not top down and involve different or interactive formations.

As an access model for non-conventional literature, librarians and archivists traditionally stress the major role of organization files by subject and the vertical file system. Proponents of pamphlets championed the value of this approach and its information capability, while simultaneously acknowledging the difficulty of organization and maintenance. Traditional tools, such as the finding aid and container list in print format, have been available for a long time and still provide users access to analog collections lacking representation in library online catalogs. More recently, the

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use of the encoded archival description (EAD) to represent finding aids enables digitally represented archival records to be searched and thus to make fugitive literature and archival collections more accessible to users. These electronically available EAD records fulfill the same user service role with the added enhancement of unmediated access and universal availability, but they represent only the content that was created by following traditional library structures. Thus they do not necessarily uncover underrepresented material, such as resources representing women and gender and other diverse populations and categories, or provide greater access to nuanced or invisible information. While archival collections devoted to women’s issues are relatively accessible, access to material with a focus on women, gender, and feminist issues embedded in general primary resource material continues to be a daunting task.

LATIN AMERICAN TWENTIETH-CENTURY PAMPHLETS

The LATCP collection is a gift from Robert Jackson Alexander, a Rutgers emeritus faculty. During the course of his career, which spanned the 1940s to the 1990s, this Latin American labor scholar collected over 5,000 pamphlets from various anti-establishment and leftist organizations in Latin America. The finding aid and the container list created by the RUL are available on the IDC Publishers Website, a Dutch microfilm company that entered in partnership with the RUL to microfilm the collection. The entire LATCP is organized into three parts and can be sold separately; Part I. Southern Cone Countries (1,408 pamphlets) Price: $9,393. Part II. Central America and the Caribbean (1,603). Price: $14,378. Part III: Brazil, Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Venezuela, Guyana and Suriname (2,036) Price: $20,896. From IDC Website http://www.idcpublishers.com/ (accessed December 11, 2009).
1986. The Brazil collection, one of the largest, consists of 665 items covering 1895 to 1995.

These documents reveal perspectives developed in opposition to the dominant powers and uncover different actors and forces, acknowledging alternative accounts and histories. It is important though that readings of the meanings of these artifacts take into consideration the perspectives and historical circumstances that led to “their production, that dictated their forms, and, for that reason, that shaped their intelligibility.”

Joan Scott articulates the dangers of falling into “retrospective identifications” and recreating histories based on fantasy with “resemblances between actors present and past.” It is in this spirit that I engaged in the examination of Guyanese and Brazilian pamphlets with the chief intent to identify material on women and gender and other underrepresented groups and issues that are not represented in available access tools -- the container list and the finding aid -- but that would be useful to diverse research communities.

The first question that arises regarding the LATCP is how and why did Robert J. Alexander collect this extensive set of materials? Latin American scholars such as John D. French and Jody Pavilack refer to Alexander as a pioneer of U.S. Latin American studies, in particular of labor relations, and both express their debt to Alexander as a

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8 Roger Chartier discusses the issue of representation in the context to popular culture in *Forms and Meanings*. This quote is from Introduction, p.2.
“master documentarian” who amassed an extraordinary volume of documents and offered access to his personal archives freely. In addition to the pamphlet collection, Alexander conducted interviews beginning in 1945 with all kinds of people in Latin America. Organized by country, the interview notes constitute a profile of unionists, religious figures, politicians, businessmen, and others during times of profound transformation in the region. During the course of his career, Alexander developed personal friendships with Latin Americans in different walks of life, including national leaders, such as Rómulo Betancourt, Víctor Haya de la Torre, Victor Paz Estenssoro, and Eduardo Frei.\(^{11}\) He made hundreds of trips through the continent, visiting countries such as Argentina, Brazil, and Chile over a dozen times. While some of these trips were undertaken in conjunction with his research, others were funded by the International Department of the American Federation of Labor (later AFL-CIO), under Jay Lovestone, for whom Alexander worked from the late 1940s to the mid-1950s. Alexander visited Latin America in other official capacities, as a consultant for the Foreign Economic Administration as well for the U.S. Agency for International Development. It is likely that Alexander was not the only scholar working in Latin America in such positions, but the extent of his activities characterizes him as unique and worthy of further attention, especially as his position directly influenced the content of his collections, including the pamphlet collection analyzed here.\(^{12}\)

\(^{11}\) Betancourt, Estenssoro and Frei were presidents of Venezuela, Bolivia and Chile, respectively. Haya de la Torre was a Peruvian political activist who founded American Popular Revolutionary Alliance.

\(^{12}\) According to Jody Pavilack, Jay Lovestone and his faction had split from both Stalinist Communist International and the Communist Party of the United States of America. He then became a staunch anti-communist and is widely believed to have worked for the U.S. Central Agency during the Cold War.
Having gathered the collection through his career, Alexander then left it to Rutgers University, trusting the libraries to preserve the material and insure access to researchers. The SC/UA created the finding aid for each of the three parts of the LATCP, consisting of the following fields: “Descriptive Summary,” “Location of Originals,” “Scope and Content,” “Organization and Arrangement,” and “Selected Search Terms.” In the Part III finding aid, the “Topics” heading under “Selected Search Terms” should include the entire range of countries covered--Brazil, Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Venezuela, Guyana and Suriname--but instead only includes the Caribbean Area, omitting other regions and countries. It is difficult to determine why this was done this way, but fluctuating level of project supervision is one of the possibilities. Also because the terms assigned are broad and often generic, distinctive features or specific information such as the names of people or political parties or a particular industry are completely absent. The container list with items for each country appears under the country names in the section “Organization and Arrangement.” Each item has a record with fields: Title, Author, Date(s), Quantity, Language(s), Description, Type, Publisher, Subject, and Microfilm identification number. The finding aid thus follows the tradition of leaving generalizations unchallenged, which helps little in the quest for information by feminist scholars, interested in situated knowledge and lived experiences.

The transfer of the pamphlet collection from Prof. Alexander to the RUL is not complete; however the bulk of the material was transferred in 2003. The SC/UA started to organize it, with assistance from the Latin American Librarian at the time and one intern, with hopes to publish the collection online using in-house digital infrastructure.
The SC/UA also created a thesaurus defining the terms to be used in subject fields of the records of each item. During this time, recognizing its commercial potential, the IDC Publishers proposed to microfilm the entire collection in partnership with the RUL. This partnership, in which RUL receives royalties on the sale after cost recovery, expedited the processing of the material as well as the creation of the finding aid and container lists now available on the IDC Website. A team of well intentioned and enthusiastic part-time workers with uneven grasp of Spanish and Portuguese, as well as limited knowledge of Latin American history, undertook this project. The resulting documents presented imbalanced quality where attention to orthography, in particular the diacritics, were entirely omitted.

The results of the work done by the various staff assigned to the Alexander collection became clear as I started my examination with the Guyana collection. This group of 118 pamphlets is one of the smallest of the entire pamphlet collection. I used the finding aid and container list on the IDC website to guide my examination. Both, the “Scope and Content” and the list of items turned out to be accurate and helpful. The quality of documentation most likely reflects the fact that the language of the pamphlets is English, facilitating the processing. Because of its size, the collection could be brought up at once from the storage on Busch Campus, thus it was possible to use the pamphlet themselves in the SC/UA reading room. Later, for the examination of the Brazil pamphlets, I decided to use the microfilm version instead of print originals. In hindsight, it was probably a wise decision because the handling of the microfilm was less time

13 The library intern Angel Falcon Oyola compiled a thesaurus under the supervision of Fernanda Perrone, archivist, and Lourdes Vazquez, Latin American Librarian, now retired.
consuming compared to handling the original materials. For the Brazilian material, I examined a total of 39 reels for 665 items, housed in the Current Periodicals Room, Alexander Library. The microfilm readers have made enormous progress in recent years, enabling digital file creation of documents and manipulation of images, making the browsing process more effective. However, I had first-hand experience of the great discomfort produced by the set-up, a significant issue for the users who handle the microfilm reader for extended periods of time.

The microfilm image quality was excellent, and the fact that the images were reproduced in black and white rather than in original colors did not represent content loss for my project. But in some areas the pamphlets were duplicated and in others they jumped out of order; (for example the pamphlet BRZ0057 was followed by the pamphlets BRZ 0655-BRZ 0663 before BRZ 0058) which was very confusing. It is impossible to evaluate whether this situation was created by IDC at the production stage, or if RUL submitted the material organized in incorrect order. Either way, the lack of assessment to remedy this situation was obviously missing in the process. Also the microfilms had long empty stretches between the pamphlets. Considering that microfilm collections are usually priced by multiplying the per reel unit price by the number of reels, perhaps it was in IDC’s interest to stretch the number of reels as much as possible. From a user perspective, I found that the empty spaces between pamphlets distracting during my examination process.
Despite these difficulties in accessing the material, my examination of the collections proved fruitful in a number of ways. Through my close readings, I became familiar with the collections of Guyana and Brazil and discovered resources with themes useful for a range of investigations.

GUYANA

“Although Guyana is a mainland state on the South American continent the Guyanese consider themselves Caribbean people. This is because culturally, racially and historically, Guyanese society has been shaped by the same forces which operated in the islands of the British speaking Caribbean initially settled by Dutchmen in 1621…”\(^{14}\)

This passage in a 1969 letter by Frank McDonald, affiliated with the Institute of Current World Affairs, accurately describes the former British colony, the only English speaking country in South America, with two significant omissions. First, a critical element that defines Guyana in recent history is the fact that more than 90 percent of the population traces their ancestry to South Asia or Africa.\(^{15}\) Indeed, Guyana is the only nation in the Western hemisphere where the majority of the population is South Asian in origin, mainly from India. As in other nations in the Caribbean, relations among race, ethnicity, and class have shaped the politics, history, and experiences of Guyanese people. Second, the United States geopolitical intervention and ensuing diplomatic activity has profoundly


shaped inter-ethnic relations in Guyana from the Cold War years to the present.

According to Stephen Rabe, American intervention also “pillaged the national economy, trampled on civil liberties and human rights.”

The finding aid of the Guyana collection provide references under “Scope and Content” to a body of material including speeches, newsletters, and manifestos. These items were published by the People’s Progressive Party (PPP), led by the charismatic Indo-Guyanese Cheddi Jagan, and the rival People’s National Congress (PNC), led by the Afro-Guyanese Forbes Burnham. Jagan and Burnham both served as Presidents of Guyana after independence. According to the container list, the sole entry regarding women was the pamphlet entitled Forward with the Women’s Struggle, published in 1983 by the Women’s Progressive Organization in celebration of its 30th anniversary. However, further examination revealed many more sources that would enable rich readings for feminist investigations. Below are significant examples:

**People’s Progressive Party and Women’s Participation**

In 1953 at the first general election in British Guyana, the PPP, the first multiethnic political party, won eighteen out of twenty-four seats in the House of Assembly. The PPP publications, leaflets and other primary source materials fiercely critiqued British imperialism and advocated independence through appeals to interethnic solidarity. The PPP actively worked for the inclusion and mobilization of women in a

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17 LATCP, GUY 0085. Women’s Progressive Organization (WPO). *Forward with the Women’s Struggle*. 1983. The WPO was the women’s unit of PPP.
variety of political and other arenas. By addressing labor issues, the PPP was sure to attract a large representation of women, who were constantly exploited under inferior work conditions. The party’s initiatives included the appointment of a Domestic Servants Committee “to investigate the conditions of employment and wages of domestic servants and washers.”\(^{18}\) Another example of outreach to women was the appointment of a Department of Youth, under the Ministry of Education, Youth, Race Relations, and Community Development “to introduce a workable youth programme and an efficient youth counseling service devoted to dealing with the problems of young people in all fields…”\(^{19}\) The PPP resolutions at the 17\(^{th}\), 18\(^{th}\), and 19\(^{th}\) Congresses, from 1972-1976, consistently include women’s rights along with workers rights and Amerindian rights and reaffirm their Marxist-Leninist and socialist commitments.\(^{20}\) In the pamphlet *Forward with the Women’s Struggle*, the party pledges its “fullest support to the struggle of Guyanese women for full rights and equality and the enjoyment of all amenities for the improvement of conditions, including vocational and higher education, crèches, medical services and full employment.”

In contrast, the material from the opposition PNC displays almost no women related concerns, despite the creation in 1960 of the Women’s Auxiliary of the People’s National Congress and later in 1967, the Women’s Revolutionary Socialist Movement (WRSM), in which Viola Burnham, wife of Forbes Burham, served as chair until 1985. The lack of data on PNC’s women’s groups in this particular collection requires

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investigation in other sources to reach any conclusion. One possible reason is that
Alexander’s connections and personal interest leaned towards the PPP and its activities.
From the information provided by Simone James Alexander, a Guyanese scholar at Seton
Hall University, New Jersey the WRSM still exists and recently celebrated an important
anniversary.\(^{21}\) However, it is true that PPP and PNC utilized different strategies, and it is
possible that the PNC’s emphasis on economic gains through close alliances with foreign
companies meant that, generally, the party was not as interested in mobilizing women to
advance their interests. In 1989, Viola Burnham became the Vice President of the
Ministry of Culture and Social Development, with responsibilities for women, children
and young people. In this capacity she had the opportunity to ameliorate the conditions
of Guyanese women and advance their causes.

**Transnational Alliances and Hegemonic Influences**

It is interesting to observe in the Guyana pamphlet collection the extent to which
Cheddi Jagan and other PPP leaders were engaged internationally, especially with leaders
from other British colonies, from South Asia to the African continent. They formed a
tight transnational network that not only resulted in frequent visits, but provided
intellectual support, and most importantly, heightened the consciousness of colonized
nations. This international dimension of their activities underscores the plurality of their
identities in a global context, undermining presuppositions of passive subjects of
sovereign powers. Jagan and other PPP leaders evolved from their initial critique of
British colonial power to become relentless critics of the United States, and by extension
of the PNC, especially the American anti-communist crusade and Cold War politics.

\(^{21}\) Email exchange with Simone James Alexander, 26 April 2009.
Jagan writes, “The USA embarked on a course, to prevent (by whatever means at its disposal) national and social revolutions, and became the international policeman in defense of the old order and the maintenance of the status quo.” What emerges from this scenario is an image of the United States exercising hegemonic and patriarchal influence and maneuvering local politics to prevent another country in this geo-region (after Cuba that is) from embracing communism. This was done, moreover, even though the PPP manifesto proposed neither a revolutionary takeover nor the nationalization of the means of production. A potential area of investigation in which this resource would be useful involves power relations between the United States and Guyana, as represented in the PPP and PNC literatures, including the role of the U.S. government in exploiting ethnic and racial divisions in Guyana to create a feminized and volatile state in the interest of its own advantage.

**Women in Guyanese Politics**

Also, buried in the Guyana pamphlets are references to three People’s Progressive Party women activists. Jessie Burnham (sister of Forbes Burnham), Jane Phillips-Gay, and Janet Jagan, (wife of Cheddi Jagan) were elected members of the legislature and were major contributors to the party as well as advocates for gender equality in Guyana. Their activities with the Women’s Progressive Organization and other women’s associations are well represented in the pamphlet collection. It is interesting to note that Burnham and Phillips-Gay left the Women’s Progressive Organization followed by the

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majority of fellow Afro-Guyanese women to found the Women of the People’s National Congress in 1960. This departure took place at the same time as the ascendance of PNC to power and the rise of Forbes Burnham to Guyana’s presidency, heavily backed by the U. S. government. An analysis tracing the alliances and complexities along ethnic and racial lines between Indo-Guyanese and Afro-Guyanese women and how they negotiated their identity for political and labor affiliations would make a valuable contribution to the feminist literature.


In particular, the Guyana pamphlet collection contains rich information on Janet Rosenberg Jagan (1920-2009) and her contributions to the party, especially on women’s and gender issues. She was named the Deputy Speaker of the House in 1953 and from 1997 to 1999 served as Guyana’s president. Born in Chicago, Janet Rosenberg married Cheddi Jagan, the PPP leftist political leader, while he was pursuing a degree in dentistry in the United States and moved to Guyana in 1943. As a radical activist, she was imprisoned and her U.S. citizenship stripped during the Cold War due to her, and her husband’s, affinity with Marxism. She was central in the creation of women’s organizations in Guyana and was an outspoken supporter of women’s reproductive rights, while raising two children and writing children’s books. Although Janet Rosenberg Jagan’s prominent role as the country’s leader seems to warrant an entry in both “Scope and Content” and “Select Search Terms” fields, she neither authored a publication nor was her name featured in a pamphlet title, thus her activities remain completely invisible.

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in terms of access to the collection. By critically analyzing the degree to which this Jewish-American woman influenced gender issues in a country polarized by race and ethnicity and how she positioned herself as an insider/outsider and a racialized subject, scholars could add a new dimension to the literature on women’s subjectivity and on Third World and Latin American/Caribbean women leaders. To date, the only independent biographical work I was able to locate on Janet R. Jagan is the documentary film entitled *Thunder in Guyana.*

**BRAZIL**

When I was growing up in Brazil during the military dictatorship in the 1960s and 1970s, information regarding oppositional political parties and their endeavors was completely suppressed from media outlets and certainly never made it into school classrooms. Until 1979, when political amnesty was granted to prisoners and exiles, Brazil experienced an erasure of civil rights and democracy that not only restricted activism and social movements, but seriously limited intellectual engagement in the public sphere. I left Brazil and moved to the United States in 1979 before the political amnesty. Thus these resources reconstituted some of the invisible as well as inaccessible Brazilian history during my formative years.

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The Brazilian portion of the LATCP includes material produced by the *Partido Comunista do Brasil* (PCB) and other leftist organizations that were banned from circulation during periods of dictatorship and military regimes. It also includes material published in the United States, including scholarly and government publications, reports, and newsletters about Brazil. In terms of content representation, unlike the Guyana set, the Brazil collection was mired with problems. The description under “Scope and Content” and the item records under “Container List” were inaccurate; misspelled names, incorrect publication dates, the inclusion of insignificant and omission of important names, organizations and events offer some examples. Limited grasp of Portuguese language by workers most likely made the task more challenging compared to Guyana pamphlets. Also, because the collection is organized chronologically following traditional archival practice, different issues of some serial publications were dispersed in the collection, making an overall evaluation difficult. The SC/UA, like all libraries, is continuously underfunded and also deals with the demands of competing projects. As a result it is almost impossible for a permanent staff to oversee a particular project with necessary time and concentration. This is a problem that has no easy solutions, but it certainly impacts the quality of services offered.

The other observation regarding the Brazil collection was the relatively large presence of monographs (103). Although noted as “pamphlets” in the “Type” field of the container list, these monographs include works by significant Brazilian authors and published by Brazilian mainstream publishers. Some titles are included in the holdings of academic libraries in the United States, including the RUL. Because the copyright law in
Brazil states that the material becomes public domain only seventy years after the death of an author, the monographs included in this collection contain mostly copyrighted material. Efforts to secure copyright of material published overseas and checking the copyright law for each country are certainly intimidating. However, these considerations should be included in discussions leading to commercial projects, including microfilming or digitization of foreign material. As librarians and archivists, we must focus first and foremost on the value of LATCP as primary source material for Latin American scholars. However, this example brings to fore the complexities of international legal issues regarding publishing, and the responsibilities upon archivists and librarians to take a leadership role in this arena in order to honor the creators of intellectual properties around the world.

**Luis Carlos Prestes: O Cavaleiro da Esperança (1898-1990)**

A significant omission from Brazilian history during the military dictatorship was any mention of Luis Carlos Prestes, the *Cavaleiro da Esperança* (Knight of Hope). As an oppositional leader, Prestes led significant but futile uprisings that mobilized large numbers of Brazilians against the government. He was the leader of the Brazilian Communist Party for almost half a century, served in Congress, was imprisoned, and twice exiled in Moscow. Early in 1924 as a young army officer, Prestes participated in the *Revolução Tenentista* (Lieutenants’ Revolution), an unsuccessful military uprising.

Afterwards he led a revolutionary group that became known as *Coluna Prestes*, and their

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28 “Cavaleiro da Esperança” (Knight of Hope) was the subtitle of Prestes biography by novelist Jorge Amado; it was published serially in Argentina from 1941 to 1942. The first Brazilian edition was published in 1945.
courage and commitment created the Coluna legend, as a group that fought for the liberty and justice of ordinary Brazilians. The group peripatetically traversed Brazil from the south to the northeast on a three year 15,000 mile journey, covering thirteen states, winning all battles against the military and vanquishing a total of eighteen generals (Figure 1). Despite these accomplishments, seeing no future, on February 3, 1927, Prestes voluntarily led the Coluna into exile in Bolivia to avoid further loss of life among his subordinates. After a short stay in Uruguay and Argentina, Prestes left for Moscow at the invitation of the Communist International, convinced that a popular revolution was the only option for social justice in Brazil. After three years in Moscow, the Comintern sent Prestes back to Brazil to spread the communist ideology.

Figure 1

(The trajectory of Coluna Prestes. Source: Coluna Prestes: o Avesso da Lenda)
After returning to Brazil, Prestes participated in the unsuccessful uprising organized by the Aliança Nacional Libertadora. He was arrested with Olga Benario, his first wife, and remained incarcerated until 1945. After he was freed, he was elected senator from the PCB, but his freedom was short lived. In 1947, when the PCB became officially banned, he was forced to go underground, where he remained until 1958 when his amnesty was granted, and he reemerged in political activity. The Cuban revolution in 1959 produced a significant victory for the Communist Party, and leaders such as Fidel Castro and others were hopeful for the party’s enhanced presence in Latin America.

During this time, Prestes started to diverge from other leftist political leaders in Latin America and developed independent ideas, in his view, more grounded in the realities of the region. Although he still believed in communist principles and was critical of capitalist oppression, especially of U.S. imperialism, Prestes disagreed with Fidel Castro’s position of isolationism and militancy. After witnessing police brutality while in prison, Prestes believed in its inefficiency and favored peaceful solutions. Also his experience with Coluna Prestes provided him with tacit knowledge of the realities in the interior of the country, which led him to believe that Brazil and other Latin American nations could not sustain themselves in complete economic isolation. This stance alienated Prestes from other communist leaders in Latin America, and he was considered responsible for the PCB’s failure in preventing the military coup in Brazil in 1964.

The military revolution of 1964 forced Prestes underground once again, and in 1970, he departed for his second exile in Moscow with his second wife and their nine children. During the nine years of exile, the PCB experienced many changes, and Prestes
became a historic legend rather than a leader of the party. At the same time, he felt estranged from the direction of his own political party. In May 1980, shortly after his return to Brazil, he wrote the *Carta aos Comunistas* (Letter to the Communists) and broke with the PCB.\(^{30}\) In the following years, Prestes attempted to work closely with more recent Brazilian political parties, such as the *Partido dos Trabalhadores* (PT, Workers Party)\(^ {31}\) and provided support to the *Partido Democratico Trabalhista* (PTB Democratic Worker’s Party). However, he never joined these parties and remained independent and a genuine revolutionary until he died in 1990, at the age of ninety two.

In an interview available online, his daughter, the historian Anita Leocádia Prestes, mentions that contrary to criticism of him as being inflexible and unyielding, throughout his life Prestes was a true optimist who believed that the progress of a nation could only be achieved by broadening workers rights and addressing social justice. He remained principled and loyal to the interests of the oppressed until the end of his life. Prestes was the only politician in Brazilian history to refuse twice, in 1930 and in 1980, to join the dominant party because of ideological differences.\(^ {32}\)

This revolutionary leader, reminiscent of other Latin American revolutionaries such as Simón Bolivar in the nineteenth century and, in many respects, a precursor of Che Guevarra, might appear an exotic choice for feminist investigations. Yet Prestes owes much of the circulation of his accomplishments and preservation of his myth to his

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\(^{31}\) PT is the party of Luís Inácio Lula da Silva, the current Brazilian president.

\(^{32}\) A series of interviews with Anita Leocádia Prestes is available in six segments on YouTube [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a4Yy28Z0188&feature=related](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a4Yy28Z0188&feature=related)
**constelação feminina** (feminine constellation). With very different personal stories and backgrounds, Prestes’s two wives, his mother, his daughter, and his sister were cast against and within communist and Marxist ideologies and historical events in Brazil and the world, constituting unique identities and an extraordinary family history. The key figures include Olga Benario, a German communist of Jewish background, who was Prestes’s first wife and was killed in 1942 in a Nazi gas chamber; Leocádia Prestes, who campaigned for her son’s release and died in Mexico in 1943; Anita Leocádia Prestes, the daughter of Prestes and Olga Benario, who was born in Barnimstrasse Prison in 1936 while Benario was held in a Nazi concentration camp; Lygia Prestes, his youngest sister who accompanied their mother to Mexico and after her death raised her niece; and Maria do Carmo Ribeiro, Prestes’s second wife and companion from 1953 until his death in 1990. The lives of these five women are juxtaposed not only with different phases of Prestes’s life and political career, but with significant events in Brazilian history. Rather than supporting roles, they actively engaged in (re)creating memories and circulating Prestes’s myth, ensuring that the knowledge of his accomplishments was maintained in the national consciousness.

**Prestes’s Constelação Feminina**

**Olga Benario (1908–1942)**

Olga Benario and Luis Carlos Prestes paths intersected because the Communist International assigned Benario to accompany the Brazilian activist safely back home.

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33 This is how Prestes referred to the women his family, his mother and his four sisters. From *Anos Tormentosos.*
from Moscow and to help him with revolutionary activities. Benario was born in Munich, Germany on February 12, 1908. She joined the Communist youth organization in Munich at age fifteen and after distinguishing herself within the organization, she was elected to the Central Committee of the Communist Youth International. She then engaged in military training and was named a member of the Presidium of the Communist Youth International, the highest level in any Communist organization. The Comintern had identified Prestes as a valuable leader for the dissemination of the communist ideology in Brazil, the largest country in Latin America. With false identities as a Portuguese couple enjoying their honeymoon, Benario and Prestes left Moscow on December 29, 1934 and finally reached Brazil in 1935. During this time, the couple fell in love.

After the failure of the Aliança Nacional Libertadora coup in November 1935, Prestes and Benario were captured and incarcerated in Rio de Janeiro. True to her assignment, when the police broke in on March 5, 1936, Benario pushed in front of Prestes, proclaiming, “Não atirem! Ele está desarmado” (don’t shoot, he is unarmed) a gesture that saved his life. At this time, the Brazilian President Getulio Vargas had a friendly relationship with Hitler. In order to retaliate against Prestes, Benario, who was seven-months pregnant, was denied Habeas Corpus and after six months in Casa da Detenção prison in Rio, was sent to Germany on September 21, 1936. On November 27, Olga gave birth to Anita Leocádia at Barnimstrasse Prison in Berlin. In February 1938, after Anita was given to her grandmother, Benario was transferred to Lichtenburg and

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was placed in solitary confinement. She was sent on the first transport from Lichtenburg to Ravensbrück in the spring of 1939, and was a great heroine in both camps. She was assigned as a Blockalteste, in charge of an unruly group of women whom she organized and taught the necessity of personal hygiene.

Despite her own misery, Benario carried out many acts that raised the spirits of detained women and worked to better their conditions. She even made a small secret atlas to teach other prisoners about geography and the war, and this amazingly detailed atlas was preserved and is now in the Ravensbrück archives. Benario also collaborated on a clandestine newspaper and helped to organize extra bread and margarine for women in the infirmary. In addition to her other work assignments, she was a laborer for the Siemens electric company at Ravensbrück. Benario was exterminated in a gas chamber in Bernburg at the age of thirty four.

Olga Benario and Luis Carlos Prestes never met again, but their correspondence, especially the letters they exchanged after the birth of their daughter, reveal a deep commitment to each other. Prestes, who was imprisoned in Rio de Janeiro, received these letters but was not allowed to write initially, thus during this period Benario only received his news mediated through a translator, his attorney, and his mother, Leocádia Prestes, who was engaged in an international campaign to release her son and Benario.\(^{36}\) Eventually with the Red Cross’s assistance, Benario’s mother-in-law was granted custody

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\(^{36}\) The translated letters from Benario to Prestes dated April 1937 and May 12, 1937 are in Olga, by Fernando Moraes, and in Anos Tormentosos, Luis Carlos Prestes: Correspondência da Prisão, which includes a total of 900 letters (1936-1945) exchanged between Prestes, Olga, Leocádia, Lygia, and other family members.
of her granddaughter Anita Leocádia on January 21, 1938. Benario’s letter dated February 1 that year records the loss and grief of the separation, but also expresses relief in realizing that Anita was with family members who cared for her deeply.\footnote{According to the interview with Lygia Prestes, Prestes sister, on YouTube, when the Gestapo came to get her daughter, Benario did not know that she was going to be delivered to her grandmother. \url{http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iH6eQ1-bKRE&feature=related}}

Luis Carlos Prestes learned about Benario’s death almost three years later in 1945, the same day – May 23 -- he delivered the triumphant come back speech at the Vasco da Gama Soccer Stadium in Rio de Janeiro.\footnote{LATCP, BRZ 0063. \textit{União Nacional para a Democracia e Progresso}. Prestes’s first speech after his release from jail.} Although their existence together spanned less than three years, the revolutionary and transnational nature of their mission, their passionate relationship, and her tragic end constitute an extraordinary entry in Brazilian and in world history. Other speeches by Prestes in the LATCP collection (1945-1950) make reference to Benario in the context of anti-fascist sentiments. Fascism was thus not only an ideology that Prestes condemned; but it was also a regime that caused him profound personal loss by taking away his wife and destroying his family.

\textit{Leocádia Prestes (1874-1943)}

Leocádia Prestes, the mother of Luis Carlos Prestes, was an educator who dedicated her entire life to the issues of social justice. Widowed in her twenties, she raised her five children while working as a seamstress and teaching vocational night schools in the city of Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul state. In 1930, she accompanied her son with her four daughters to his first exile in the Soviet Union. After his detention
in Rio de Janeiro in 1935, she left Moscow with her youngest daughter Lygia and started an international campaign for his release in Europe; after a short while, the campaign established a presence in the United States, other countries in Latin America, New Zealand, and Australia. In Spain, she was welcomed by Dolores Ibarruri, la Pasionária, and the leader of the Spanish Communist Party.\textsuperscript{39} Ibarruri provided support to circulate a petition that was signed by 250,000 people demanding the Brazilian government release Prestes. After learning about the birth of her granddaughter, Leocádia Prestes embarked, with assistance from the Red Cross, on a campaign against the Gestapo that led to the release of Anita Leocádia in 1938. With the beginning of World War II, Leocádia Prestes was forced to leave Europe and was granted asylum in Mexico where she moved with her daughter Lygia and her granddaughter Anita Leocádia. In Europe and also in Mexico, this matriarch kept the family together, corresponding vigorously with her daughters in Moscow and with Prestes and Benario in their respective prisons, providing moral and material support, sending books and magazines and other items, such as clothing, medication, and food for Benario and her baby. Her correspondence during these\textit{anos tormentosos} (tormented years) demonstrate her commitment to communist ideologies and profound support and dedication for her son and for the causes he embraced.\textsuperscript{40} She did not have a chance to see the end of the war or to see her son free. She died of an illness

\textsuperscript{39} LATCP, BRZ 0088. \textit{Informes.} a speech by Prestes on December 9, 1945 in honor of Dolores Ibarruri, la Pasionária on her 50\textsuperscript{th} birthday and 25\textsuperscript{th} years as a member of the Spanish Communist Party.

\textsuperscript{40} Leocádia Prestes referred to this tumultuous period of her life as\textit{anos tormentosos}, which is also the title of three volume correspondence published by Anita Leocádia Prestes and Lygia Prestes, 2000-2002.
on June 14, 1943 in Mexico. The Chilean exiled poet Pablo Neruda attended her funeral services and read a poem he wrote in her honor.41

_Anita Leocádia Prestes (1936- _)_

Anita Leocádia Prestes calls herself the “Filha da Solidariedade Internacional” (Daughter of International Solidarity).42 Born on November 27, 1936 in Barnimstrasse Hospital in Berlin, she was fourteen months old when her maternal grandmother successfully took her away from the Nazis after a widely supported international campaign to release her son and his family from prison. She was named Anita after another Brazilian, Anita Garibaldi, the wife of Italian hero Giuseppe Garibaldi, and Leocádia, after her paternal grandmother. She was raised in Mexico, Brazil, and the Soviet Union by her grandmother and her aunts, who surrounded her with communist ideology, notions of social justice, and the legacy of her revolutionary parents. Prestes followed his daughter’s development from a prison in Rio de Janeiro only through letters from his sister Lygia and from his daughter, as she learned to write, and photographs that he received from time to time. Brazilian writer and journalist Pedro Motta Lima writes in his essay _Março de 1945_ how Prestes proudly displayed the photograph of his daughter in his prison cell.43 Prestes and his daughter saw each other for the first time shortly after his release in 1945, when she was nine years old, but their life together in Rio de Janeiro lasted only until 1947 when he was forced to go into hiding.

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41 Pablo Neruda wrote and read the poem _Dura Elegia_ on June 18, 1943. 
42 Interview with Anita Leocádia Prestes on YouTube.
43 LATCP, BRZ 0087. _Prestes: Estudos e Depoimentos_, 1947.
The letters Anita Prestes received from her father in prison expressed his desire that she grow up to be a happy person despite the tragic events associated with her parents. She stayed with her aunt Lygia, who raised her, and never joined her father’s new household with Maria Ribeiro, her stepmother. Her association with her father was also restricted to political rallies and activities before 1964. It is unclear if they had a chance to develop an intimate relationship outside politics and historical investigations. In the 1980s, Anita Prestes was trained as a historian and joined the Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, retiring in 2006. Her main area of investigation is twentieth century Brazilian political history, and she authored numerous books that disseminate her family’s role, especially her father’s, in Brazilian history. Her monographs about Coluna Prestes and other topics, including the history of Brazilian communist uprisings and biographies of her parents, are held by select American and German academic libraries providing a unique facet to the body of literature on Brazilian history.44

Lygia Prestes (1913-2007)

Lygia Prestes is the youngest sister of Luis Carlos Prestes. Among the members of Prestes’s constelação feminina, she is the least heralded with official recognition, but she is the one who selflessly dedicated her life to her brother and other family members by providing moral and material support in times of need. She accompanied her mother on the campaign in Europe and later in Mexico to release her brother and other Brazilian political prisoners. Lygia Prestes also accompanied her mother on her campaign with the Gestapo to release Anita Leocádia from a Nazi prison. After her mother’s death in

44 The WorldCat database displays twenty monographs authored by Anita L. Prestes in Portuguese language (accessed December 16, 2009).
Mexico, Lygia took over responsibility for raising Anita Leocadia despite her brother’s protests that motherhood was an extreme imposition on his sister. However, Lygia took this additional task in stride, while continuing her political activities, including traveling to Cuba as part of a campaign for the release of Prestes. She was a substitute mother for Anita Leocádia, and throughout her life she was a dedicated communist and worked relentlessly to preserve Luís Carlos Prestes’s legacy and contributions to history.

Maria do Carmo Ribeiro Prestes (1932- )

Maria do Carmo Ribeiro Prestes, Luis Carlos Prestes’s second wife, met Prestes for the first time on December 4, 1952 in São Paulo, Brazil. Mirroring Benario’s mission two decades earlier, Ribeiro was assigned by the PCB to care for its leader in hiding. Ribeiro described in her autobiography their first encounter and her disappointment in learning that the short and disheveled man she was assigned to care for was de facto the famous Cavaleiro da Esperança.45

In 1952, Prestes had been leading a clandestine life for five years, after PCB lost its official status on May 7 1947.46 It was also during this time that Maria Ribeiro and Prestes fell in love, replicating earlier events in his life. Although the marriage only became official in 1959, Maria Ribeiro then embarked on a family life that produced stability for the old revolutionary, giving birth to a total of nine children. Ribeiro wrote about the challenges of being the wife of Prestes, especially the numerous criticisms she

45 Maria do Carmo Ribeiro’s original name was Altamira Rodriguez Sobral. She is also known as Maria Prestes. Her autobiography Meu Companheiro: 40 Anos ao Lado de Luiz Carlos Prestes was published in 1993. Information on her life comes mainly from this source.
46 Since Prestes release in 1945, the PCB had been well established in Nordeste. Out of twenty-five Recife Municial Council members eleven were PCB members.
received from other communists and intellectuals about her lack of formal education and modest background, both considered mismatched for the leader of a political party.\textsuperscript{47} The LATCP makes no reference to Ribeiro, but she later published an autobiography that includes observations about her husband and describes experiences of their lives together.

Six years after the military coup in 1964 that once again forced Prestes underground, he and his family departed for exile in Moscow. For the first time, they were able to enjoy life together and experience ordinary things such as taking a walk on the streets. The Prestes were not the only Brazilian exiles in Moscow. They were joined by other PCB members who were arrested in 1964 after the military revolution. Some of these dissidents had arrived in Moscow via Cuba with their jail sentences interrupted or reduced as a result of exchanges for U.S. diplomats and other Americans kidnapped or detained in Cuba.\textsuperscript{48}

Certain aspects of life in Moscow were puzzling for Maria Ribeiro. Despite egalitarian principles, she observed that in practice, there was a notable class difference between the elite and the non-elite members of the Communist Party. She also lamented the ways in which communist leaders exploited the means of production that echoed corruption she had seen and condemned in Brazil. After nine years in the Soviet Union, in 1979 Maria Ribeiro accompanied her husband back to Brazil leaving behind her children who stayed to complete their education. Life in Brazil became extremely difficult for her family after Prestes left the PCB and published his famous \textit{Carta aos Meu Companheiro: 40 Anos ao Lado de Luiz Carlos Prestes.}  

\textsuperscript{47} From Maria Prestes. \textit{Meu Companheiro: 40 Anos ao Lado de Luiz Carlos Prestes.}  
\textsuperscript{48} From \textit{Meu Companheiro.}
With no steady source of income, they depended on the generosity of friends to survive. Ribeiro accompanied Prestes during his last decades and provided him a family life to which he did not have access during the first decades of his life. Since Prestes’s death in 1990, Maria Ribeiro has worked tirelessly to ensure her husband’s legacy in Brazilian history. Museums and public places named after him and in memory of his achievements have proliferated recently, especially in the regions covered by the march of Coluna Prestes.

**Circulation of Communist Ideology and the Myth of Prestes Family**

It is interesting to observe the extent to which Prestes and the women of his family were engaged internationally, especially through the Communist International network. The communist party in many nations formed a tight transnational network that resulted in support for their revolutionary activities. The presence of international agents, including Benario, in Brazil in the 1930s, the international solidarity Leocádia Prestes received in Europe while campaigning for her son’s release, and the support Prestes family received during their exile, in Mexico city during the World War II and in Moscow in the 1970s, demonstrate extensive outreach by the central communist leadership to their members. Assistance extended to global comrades and their families was certainly costly, but it was an efficient way to insure party loyalty and increase potential recruitment. It was also an effective way to make sure that communist ideology survived and flourished among their dedicated members and others.

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Another rich site for analysis is the circulation of myth, specifically the myth of Luis Carlos Prestes. Aside from a few investigations, the majority of work on Luis Carlos Prestes, Olga Benario, and historical events in which they participated has been generated by family members. Anita Leocádia Prestes, Lygia Prestes and Maria Ribeiro are major disseminators of this history. Now with the Web, many interviews, even films freely available on YouTube circulate this history. Anita Leocádia Prestes is a professional historian and qualified for such investigations, but to what extent her claims are biased, even unconsciously, by her own subjectivity and family experience is difficult to measure. One of her books, *Uma Epopéia Brasileira: a Coluna Prestes*, mentions nowhere that she is the daughter of the hero depicted in the book. It is possible that she makes her position more evident in recent publications, thus providing the reader important information regarding the nature of the content. Another possibility is that we will have to wait for another generation of scholars to unpack the myth and produce a more balanced history of this extraordinary family.

**Fiction of Solidarity and Equality**

The communist principles of solidarity, social justice, and equality attracted many intellectuals in Latin America. As Maria Ribeiro notes in her autobiography, at times the practice diverged from theory in the Soviet Union where oppressive tactics were used even against its own citizens. Under the umbrella of solidarity, violent actions were often the solution, which ironically replicated the brutality used by military police in Brazil. Also, many leftist groups in Brazil shared the same ideology but believed in different
strategies to achieve their goal. Some of these groups ended up creating more militant factions of the political left that resorted to violence to achieve their goals.

Solidarity in Brazil, as expressed by communists, rarely extended to immigrant communities. In particular, the Japanese immigrant community, which had grown substantially before World War II, presented a special challenge to the PCB leader. In the *Informe Político da Comité Nacional do P.C.B.* dated May 1949, Prestes notes the mistakes of past immigration policy and offers discriminatory remarks towards “foreigners” even as he articulates the need for their assimilation. This discriminatory sentiment towards the Japanese is also expressed in the *Revisão e Reforma Agrária* (Revision and Agrarian Reform) published by the *Instituto de Advogados de São Paulo* (São Paulo Attorneys’ Institute) in 1962, expressing the problem of “aculturação que são prejudiciais à comunidade e aos brasileiros” (acculturation that has negative effects on the community and also on the Brazilians) and characterizing Japanese immigrants as producing a negative impact on Brazil’s local communities. The concept of solidarity in this case did not extend across race, thus raising some questions about Prestes’s position on race relations, an issue that seems absent from existing literature.

Another example from the LATCP collection that challenges the notion of equality among leftist groups is in relation to women’s rights. The section “Direitos Fundamentais” (Fundamental Rights) in the pamphlet *Programa e Estatutos da Esquerda Democrática* (Programs and Statutes of the Democratic Left) lists “equal rights

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to men and women.” However the Carta de Princípios e Programas do Partido
Representação Popular (Principles and Programs of the Popular Representation Party) highlights the role of women at home, as the manager of domesticity and child care. The proposal for a “School of Mothers” describes an institution where Brazilian women can learn moral values and indispensable knowledge to educate their children. Although women’s mobilization and work are valued, the party emphasizes traditional gender roles. Yet it also expands the “Associações Femininas” (Women’s Associations) beyond cultural and intellectual tendencies to include working class interests and other tasks useful for popular activism. It might be a reflection of the particular time in history, but these examples present contradictions between the discourse and the practice regarding women’s role and work within leftist parties in Brazil. Although many decades have passed since these documents were first produced and much progress has been achieved in women’s rights, certain unchanging aspects of gender roles still remain in Brazil and other parts of the world. This echo remains to be analyzed and improved for future generations.

Women’s Groups

Other pamphlets in the collection introduce organizations and women who held leadership roles in Brazil. The pamphlet Os Direitos Políticos da Mulher (Women’s Political Rights), published by the Federação Brasileira pelo Progressso Feminino

53 LATCP, BRZ 0066. Carta de Princípios e Programas do Partido Representação Popular, 1946.
(FBPF) in 1929 offers one such example.\textsuperscript{55} Headed by Bertha Lutz, an accomplished biologist and one of the pioneers of the Brazilian suffrage movement, the organization started a long campaign for women’s right to vote that finally became law in 1931. Lutz was well connected internationally, representing Brazil in the Pan-American Conference on Women and developing working relationships with the United Nations and other North American and European organizations. She was also successful in bringing international women activists to Brazil, including Carrie Chapman Catt, promoting international solidarity and bringing much needed publicity to women’s issues in Brazil.\textsuperscript{56} Lutz also participated in the creation of \textit{União Universitária Feminina}, an advocacy group for women students in higher education.\textsuperscript{57} The \textit{União}, affiliated with the FBPF, was intended to foster a community of women students and to provide support and networking opportunities. The international dimension of Lutz’s activities mirrors other feminist activists in the United States, including her strategy to use international connections to influence domestic lawmakers and public opinion.

\textit{Women Labor}

Some materials in LATCP directly reflect Alexander’s research interests. Among the pamphlets on labor issues, \textit{Women Workers in Brazil}, a bulletin published by the U.S. Department of Labor, Women’s Bureau (1945) presents an overview of women’s labor issues across the country. In the preface, Frieda S. Miller, Women’s Bureau’s director, writes “Inter-American specialist of the U.S. Women’s Bureau spent 3 months in 1942-1943 […] and special attention was given to industrial employment and working

\textsuperscript{55} LATCP, BRZ 0009. \textit{Os Direitos Políticos da Mulher}, 1929.  
\textsuperscript{56} Entry “Berta Lutz” from \textit{Dicionario das Mulheres do Brasil}, 2000.  
\textsuperscript{57} LATCP, BRZ 0010. \textit{Estatutos da União Universitária Feminina}, 1929.
condition of women.” Reflecting Miller’s interest and background in international women’s labor issues, the Women’s Bureau had published similar bulletins for Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay during the World War II era. This attention to women’s employment can also be interpreted as part of the growing interest of the U. S. government in Brazilian industrial capabilities. At the time when the Brazilian military (Forças Expedicionárias Brasileiras) was deployed and fighting with the Allies against the Nazis in Europe, working conditions and the potential for industrial production based on women’s labor, was an area that needed exploration.

U.S. Intervention against Communism

Another labor related title that is well represented in the collection is Boletim de Noticias, a newsletter of the Instituto Cultural do Trabalho (ICT). The collection includes issues from 1965 to 1967, a period of great political instability after the fall of the leftist regime of President João Goulart and the military takeover of the government in 1964. The pamphlet Latin American Institutional Development: Changing Military Perspectives in Peru and Brazil presents Brazilian military leaders’ perspectives, especially the viewpoints of President Humberto Castelo Branco and his cabinet. Favoring close political alignment with the United States, they facilitated the establishment of many American institutions in Brazil aimed at preventing communist infiltration. One such institution was the aforementioned ICT, which was backed by the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), an international arm of the

AFL-CIO which is now considered as the “CIA controlled labor center.” As previously mentioned, the AIFLD was organized at the beginning by Alexander’s mentor, Jay Lovestone.

There is no hard evidence of Alexander’s role in relation to the ICT or AIFLD. Alexander’s vision of socialist democracy diverged from Lovestone’s strong anti-communist sentiments, but both Lovestone and Alexander shared a common preoccupation with the threat of communism. This in turn matched the preoccupations of Brazilian and American governments. The issues of *Boletim de Noticias* in the collection capture how the ICT engaged in systematic ways to influence their members away from the threats of communism and to control Brazilian labor movements. Different course offerings, scholarships, conferences, and opportunities to study in the United States under AIFLD’s sponsorship are featured in the newsletters. The AIFLD representative at ICT, Gilbert Richmond, is featured prominently in many articles along with important visitors such as Lincoln Gordon, American ambassador to Brazil rumored to have been involved in the 1964 coup, and William Doherty Jr. AIFLD's Social Projects Director. The transnational character of labor, including how the AFL-CIO aligned with the U.S government’s aggressive policy, worked to keep leftist movements and their leaders, such as Prestes, underground. It also helped to heighten Brazil’s economic reliance on the United States and underscore U.S. sovereignty over Brazil, another feminized and subaltern nation.

*Librarianship in Brazil*

An interesting pamphlet from my perspective as a librarian is *O Ensino de Biblioteconomia no Brasil*, tracing the history of librarianship in Brazil. According to Antonio Caetano Dias, a library researcher, the first library program in Brazil was established at the Biblioteca Nacional in Rio de Janeiro in 1910. The curriculum included courses on bibliography, iconography, numismatics, and history of literature, but attracted only very few students. In 1929, The *Universidade Presbiteriana Mckenzie*, a São Paulo based university with ties to the United States, hired the American Dorothy Muriel Gueddes to work at their library. Gueddes left to attend Columbia University Library Program and returned to Brazil in 1931, starting a new era of librarianship in the country. Gueddes’s leadership and her trajectory in the Brazilian library field, along with challenges she encountered, seems an exciting research topic for me to pursue in the future.

**CONCLUSION**

Blouin and Rosenberg argue that “an archive is a place where complex processes of ‘remembering’ occur, creating and recreating certain kinds of social knowledge.” In this context, to what extent does the LATCP reflect the histories of Guyana and Brazil? According to Derrida, at a colloquium on memory and archives organized by the Freud Museum, the Courtauld Institute of Art and *Société Internationale d’Histoire de la Psychiatrie e de la Psychanalise*, the problem of “inscription” involves the process by which traces of a lived past are collected by individuals in ways that make the place of

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60 LATCP BRZ 0198. *O Ensino de Biblioteconomia no Brasil*, 1956.
uncovering, or “the archives,” a point of intersection between the actual and the imagined. This “inscription” involves not only collecting, but also suppressing, and it is an active process that is as much about the past as about the present. Therefore during my examination, I was inscribing unique meanings based on my feminist engagement; I attempted to unpack the transnational dimensions and the interconnectedness of relations between United States and Guyana and Brazil respectively.

In this context, the LATCP is a complex artifact that was shaped in part by Robert Alexander’s politics and ideology and influenced by his connections in the countries of Latin America. It is certainly a unique collection that preserves specific memory. One might argue that there is a need to interrogate the extent to which Alexander’s vast corpus of material shaped and structured the field of Latin American studies in the United States. Whether or not the material he amassed was ideologically biased is a matter of considerable dispute; but in terms of capturing specific knowledge, it has similarities with other collections assembled by individuals embracing specific ideologies. As discussed in this paper, “remembering” is an active process where an engagement takes place between the material and the researcher, uncovering new meanings and inscribing political and social constructions. Therefore, in order to recreate social memory from the archives we must unpack these structures and all the actors involved, understanding the dimensions of their role. I believe this is site in which the librarian and archivist could play an active role. Uncovering marginalized individuality and explicating the political and economic forces that influenced the making of the collection have the potential to be a valuable intervention that opens the meaning of archival resources while bridging them
with the user in a situated way. This is one potential approach for moving libraries and archives forward in the development of strategies for making specific information more available to users.

APPENDIX

Finding Aid

Latin American twentieth-century pamphlets III
Brazil, Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Venezuela, Guyana & Suriname
Published by IDC Publishers, 2007

Descriptive Summary

Creator: Alexander, Robert Jackson, 1918-
Title: Latin American twentieth-century pamphlets. III, Brazil, Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Venezuela, Guyana & Suriname
Dates (inclusive): 1918-1996
Dates (bulk): 1950-1960
Abstract: Pamphlets, grey literature and ephemera related to political, economic, and social conditions of eight countries: Brazil, Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Venezuela, Guyana, & Suriname during the twentieth century
Languages: Materials in Spanish, Portuguese, English, and Dutch.
Extent: 2,032 items ; 109 microfilm reels
Order no.: APC-3

Location of Originals

Special Collections and University Archives, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ

Scope and Content

Brazil
The collection is rich in source material for Brazil (664 pamphlets), a country that Robert Alexander visited from 1965-1966 traveling to 21 of the 22 states. The bulk of the collection is from the year 1960. The Brazilian pamphlets constitute a wealth of materials published by non-governmental and government organizations as well as political parties such as the Liga Defensa Paulista, el Sindicato dos Trabalhadores, Cruzada por Infancia, Fundacao Getulio Vargas, Sindicato dos Oficiais Alfaiates, Costureiras e Trabalhadores na Industria de Confeccoes, Partido dos Trabalhadores, Impresa Nacional, Imprensa Oficial, Departamento Nacional do Café, the Instituto Nacional do Pinho, Partido Comunista de Brasil, and the Federacao Brasileria Pelo Progresso Femenino. The Brazilian materials include documentation on a wide variety of subjects, such as: history, coffee, mines and metallurgical industries, commerce, public administration, economic development, immigration, indigenous peoples, feminism, and the black population in Brazil.

Of note are the *Historia da revolta de Novembro* de 1891, a 90 page publication published in 1895 and written by Jose de Mello, *Ray Barbosa e seus detractores*, written by Orlando Ferreira and published in 1921, *Estatutos de la Uniao Universitaria Femenina*, published by the Uniao Universitaria Femenina in 1929 and *O despertar de una nacao*, written by Almirante A. Thompson and published in 1934 by the Centro Espiritista Redentor.

**Colombia**

Colombia is represented by 151 pamphlets published during the period 1932-1994. Some of the topics represented in this section are labor, history, coffee, feminism, cities, economic development, human rights, agrarian reform, socialism, violence, guerrilla warfare, and political parties. Of note are the *Boletín de Acción Social*, published in 1945 by the Acción Social political party and describing the purpose of developing cooperatives, *Arbitramento del Río Magdalena*, published in 1946 and explaining the process of arbitration on navigation on the Magdalena River, *La mujer colombiana lucha por una nueva patria*, written by Marina Goenaga in 1955, *Mensaje al pueblo Colombiano* (1957), written by Antonio García and discussing the lack of democracy and human rights in Colombia, and *El sacerdote colombiano: Camilo Torres Réstrepo mártir de la causa Cristiana* (1969), published by the Unión Internacional de Juventudes Demócrata-Cristianas. Torres Réstrepo, pioneer of the Theology of Liberation movement joined the Ejército de Liberación Nacional, the Colombian guerrilla group and died in 1966.

**Bolivia**

Bolivia is represented with 250 pamphlets, spanning the period of 1920-1992, with the bulk of the collection from the 40s and 50s. This section is a rich source for the study of political movements and economic development. Other topics covered by this section are labor, human rights, finance, education, land reform, the Church and indigenous population. Of note is *Hacia la unidad de las izquierdas bolivianas*, a 1939 pamphlet published by Frente de la Izquierda Revolucionaria (FIB) and
describing the statement of purpose and general ideology of the FIB. Two other noteworthy publications are *Los fusilamientos del 20 de noviembre de 1944* (1952) by Armando Arce, who analyzes the events leading up to November 20 1944, and *Frente de Liberación Nacional* (1953) by Jorge La Fuente, a member of the Communist Party. This pamphlet deals with the establishment of a National Liberation Front in Bolivia. The Bolivia section also features Adela y Benito of unknown date, a basic reading lesson from the adult education program of the Confederación Universitaria Boliviana.

**Ecuador**

The Ecuador section is a fairly small one with 66 pamphlets spanning the years 1922 to 1982. Some of the topics included are socialism, immigration, workers, history, economic development and indigenous affairs. Among the titles included are a copy of *Bases del "P.S.E."* published in 1938 by the Socialist Party and written by L. Maldonado Estrada, *Segundo congreso de indios ecuatorianos* published in 1946 by Federación Ecuatoriana de Indios, and *Liberación Popular: manifiesto* published in 1963 by the Partido del Pueblo para la Revolución Social.

**Peru**

This section contains 258 pamphlets dating from 1918-1996 with the bulk of the pamphlets dating from 1960. The good part of the section is related to the APRA movement or *Aprismo*. Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre (1895-1979) was the founder and leader of Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (APRA), a Latin American anti-imperialist movement, and he was the principal theorist of *Aprismo*. Haya de la Torre spent most of his adult life in jail, in exile, or in hiding, even thought he was presidential candidate on three occasions. Of note in this section is *Cancionero Aprista*, of unknown date, a booklet of Aprista songs. Furthermore a collection of letters from Haya de la Torre to Aprista political prisoners, entitled *Cartas de Haya de la Torre a los prisioneros Apristas* published in 1946. Other subjects included in this section are: agrarian reform, finance, industries, politics and government, violence, feminism, education, indigenous population, and literature. It also features a collection from 1970 of excerpts from letters from the great poet César Vallejo to Pablo Abril and published by the Juventud Comunista Peruana entitled *César Vallejo a Pablo Abril: en el drama de un epistolario*, and *Flora Tristán la precursora* written by Magda Portal and published in 1945. Tristán's pen name was Flore-Celestine Therèse Henriette Tristán Moscoso, a writer and socialist and precursor of feminism in Latin America for her radical ideas and involvement in the French workers struggles for justice.

**Venezuela**

Robert J. Alexander became a good friend of Venezuelan president Rómulo Betancourt and his government and in 1981 published a biography of Betancourt, who died shortly before the book's publication. It explains the large number of 515
pamphlets in this section spanning the years from 1930 to 1992. The bulk of the pamphlets are from the 1960s. They deal with a wide variety of topics within the social sciences such as: politics and government, industries, elections, unions, agriculture, religion, land reform, education, and foreign relations. A variety of political personalities are covered: Rómulo Betáncourt himself, as well as Andrés Eloy Blanco, Raúl Leoni, Rafael Caldera, Enrique Tejera Paris and Gonzalo Barrios. Important organizations in this section include Partido Acción Democrática, Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Compañía Anónima Nacional de Teléfonos, Federación de Trabajadores del Distrito Federal y el Estado Miranda, Junta Revolucionaria de Gobierno, Federación Campesina de Venezuela, Organización de la Regional Interamericana de Trabajadores, Partido Sociocrristiano, and Unión Republicana Democrática.

Of note are El peligro de la intervención en Venezuela published in 1930 by P.J. Jugo Delgado, Qué es el “Frente Nacional Anticomunista” published in 1945 by Valmore Rodríguez, a journalist and labor organizer, Carta de Rómulo Gallegos a Antonio Arraiz, a letter written in 1947 by Gallegos, the famous writer and author of Doña Barbara to Arayz, a poet, writer and journalist, director of Ahora newspaper and co-founder and director of El Nacional newspaper, Discurso de clausura de la Asamblea Nacional Constituyente published in 1947 by Andrés Eloy Blanco, a poet and politician and member of Generación del 28 and president of the Constituent National Assembly during Betancourt’s government, the Estatutos generales of the Círculo Obrero de Carácas published in 1948, and finally El rostro de mi patria, a reading and writing textbook for first and second grades from 1960.

Guyana & Suriname

The Guyana section features 118 documents from 1949 to 1986. It is an excellent source for documents published by the People’s Progressive Party (PPP). The Indo-Guyanese Cheddie Jagan, emerging victorious after the elections of 1953, founded the PPP in 1950. This section documents the years before and after Guyana’s independence in 1966. Of note are the publications People’s Progressive Party: Manifesto Programme & Policy from 1957, Independence now! published in 1960 by the Peoples’ Progressive Party, and The first 100 days published in 1965, a celebration of the first hundred days of the People’s National Congress. Topics covered in this section range from political parties, union, workers, history, the socialist movement, education, tourism, and economic development. The Suriname section includes 14 pamphlets, mostly bank annual reports spanning the years 1957 to 1980.

Organization and Arrangement

Organized into the following series:

- 1. Bolivia
• 2. Brazil
• 3. Colombia
• 4. Ecuador
• 5. Guyana
• 6. Peru
• 7. Suriname
• 8. Venezuela

The pamphlets are arranged by year of publication, and alphabetically by title within each year. Undated pamphlets are filed at the end of each country group.

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**Selected Search Terms**

**Geographic Areas**
- Caribbean Area -- History -- 20th century -- Sources
- Central America -- History -- 20th century -- Sources

**Topics**
- Communism -- Caribbean Area -- History -- Sources
- Communism -- Central America -- History -- Sources
- Labor unions -- Caribbean Area -- History -- Sources
- Labor unions -- Central America -- History -- Sources
- Socialism -- Caribbean Area -- History -- Sources
- Socialism -- Central America -- History -- Sources

**Forms & Genres**
- Pamphlets -- Caribbean Area -- 20th century
- Pamphlets -- Central America -- 20th century
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http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Fi1ggMo2vOg&feature=related
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4aJBFwcz4hw&feature=related
Jewish Women: a Comprehensive Historical Encyclopedia


Latin American Twentieth-Century Pamphlets. Brazil and Guyana. Various pamphlets. Rutgers University, Special Collections and University Archives.


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