

UDC: 316.32(81)
original scientific paper



Acta Agriculturae Serbica, Vol. IX, 17 (2004) 51-64

Historical roots of resistance and fight against globalization: an illustrative case in Brazilian rural areas

Thelma Maria Grisi Velôso

Paraíba State University (UEPB), Brazil

Dulce Consuelo Andreatta Whitaker

CNPQ and UNESP centre, Brazil

Abstract: This text comments on the memories of a group of small farmers at the Camucim Settlement (Pitimbu/Paraíba/Brasil) about their experience of resistance and struggle for the possession of the land in the 1960s, at the time of the Peasants' League (Alhandra League). We depart from the discourse analysis of their life history and then analyze their memories about the origins of the movement, their goals, consequences and its outcome after the 1964 military Coup, and the participation of these small farmers in the whole process.

Key-Words: oral history; memory; Peasants' League; discourse analysis.

Introduction

This text presents some considerations concerning the analysis of the memories of small farmers from the Camucim Settlement (Pitimbu/ Paraíba/ Brasil). There are two major historical landmarks to be considered in these memories on account of their recurrence in the interviews: one of them is the fight against the owners of Tabu Distillery, in the 1970s, the starting point of our interest in the history of the Settlement; the other is the participation of the settlers in the Peasants' League, an earlier experience that often appeared in their reports at the beginning of our research. These considerations are part of a more

extensive research* whose major object was the analysis of the memories of these small farmers about their experience of resistance and struggle for the possession of the land, both in the 1960s, through their participation in the Alhandra League, and in the late 1970s, when they participated in the conflict with the owners of Tabu Distillery. As a result of this conflict the Government purchased the farm in which the Settlement is presently located, after 8 years of struggle. In the process, however, the farmers went through hardships and were victims of arbitrariness.

The Camucim Settlement lies in the micro-region of the southern coast of Paraíba. This is part of the meso-region *da mata*, i.e. the sugar-cane meso-region. It is 75 km far from the state capital and 5 km far from Pitimbu, the seat of the municipality. It spreads over the counter fort of a tableland and over the flatland alongside the Abiaí River. By 1975 its productive structure was characterized by varied subsistence cultures, generally associated with the production of beach coconut trees. However, in the last few decades there has been a strong advance of sugar-cane plantations into the *mata* areas invading the subsistence cultures. (MOREIRA, 1988). 37 families are settled in the area nowadays, but there are about 72 families living in the Settlement altogether. The size of the lots varies between 0,5 and 12 hectares and besides cultivating the land the settlers also raise animals (fowls, cattle and goats) and fish in the Abiaí River.

Methodology

Besides the field observation carried out through visits and informal conversations, there were also fourteen interviews about the life history of the small farmers and eight semi-structured interviews, three of which with members of the former direction of the Alhandra League, and five others with some of the their counselors at the time of the conflict with the Distillery – two friars, two university teachers and a lawyer. We also used images (films, and pictures shot at the time of the conflict) in order to trigger up their memories.

Our decision to analyze the souvenirs of the small farmers from Camucim conducted our research to the area of oral history. We conceive memory as a process of recreation of one's memories through which one can search for those subjective meanings in the individual's life experience. Memory cannot be conceived simply as a data bank from which we can draw information. It is far more complex than that. It is an activity, a process under continuous elaboration (Portelli, 2000a). Memory is the result of creations and recreations of meanings, of the selection and use of the experiences one went through – memory is selective – throughout a process (both individual and collective) of such mechanisms as imagination, fantasy and desire. On the whole, our major concern here has never been finding out what **really happened** but **how** the things remembered were recollected and reported at the moment of the interview. The perspective here is that indicated by Portelli (1990, p.18) in which historical

* VELÔSO (2002)

facts are meaningless unless we take into account how they are configured in people's minds.

This concept was then the starting point of out great interest in the study of the resistance and struggle of the peasants. By using their oral history our major concern was the realization of the meaning these experiences have today for those who went through them and recollect them.

In this presentation we have selected those memories connected to the origin of the Peasants' Leagues, their goals, their consequences, the end of the movement (after the military Coup of 1964) and the participation of the small farmers in this process. We faced two drawbacks in Camucim: first the fact that the movement took place in the 1960s and many of the actors involved in it are dead; the people we interviewed have also told us that most of the written documents were destroyed by the forces of repression. Moreover, only three out of the seven small farmers of the male sex we interviewed confirmed their affiliation to the Leagues. None of the women we interviewed were actual members of the Leagues but two of them had been married to small farmers who had been active members of the movement. One of them, Ms. L., had been married to a representative of the Alhandra League who is now dead; the other one, Ms. Ju, had been married to a supervisor, to whom she is no longer married, and has moved to a different place. We will see that although the women were not affiliated they also participated in the movement.

The origin of the leagues and their goals

The Brazilian peasantry has been a part of the country's labor force since colonial times. At first tenants, landowners² and leaseholders, whose existence was closely linked to the changes of fortune of the sugar cane system, mainly composed this peasantry. Up to the abolition of slavery, these modes of labor lived side by side with slavery. After the abolition, the dominant mode of labor was that of *morada*, characterized by those relations of traditional domination. Palmeira (1976, p.3) calls our attention to the fact that a *morador* would be tied by a specific **contract** to a particular sugar mill owner. When the worker moved away he would look for a new house to live in (a *morada*) i.e., a house that would assure his own subsistence and that of his family, and additional advantages in the property, as well as the opening of possibilities for the usufruct of the *sítio*³.

There were then two different types of *morador*: the *morador de condição* and the *morador foreiro*. The former was supposed to work on behalf of the property. Among these, there were a few who held a *sítio*, whereas some others held none, but their condition was mainly related to some sort of compulsory labor. They were supposed to work two or three days a week for

² These owners of a plot of land or tenant farmers mainly cultivated sugar cane, which was sold to the sugar mills.

³ *Sítio*: A plot of land in the property in which the *morador* could grow his own crop of subsistence.

free (the *cambão*), and, on top of that, they were supposed to work some extra days for free; this varied according to the agricultural calendar. At harvest time, when more hands were needed, they would work up to five days for free. When they were paid they would get less money than other eventual workers. The *moradores foreiros*, on the other hand, enjoyed the right to hold a *sítio* (in which they grew their subsistence crop), and paid the annual *foro*⁴, and more often than not, they would work a few days free of pay. Everyone else envied these peasants' situation.

As capitalist relations became more rooted in the countryside, expropriation and ejection of the *moradores* started. After the end of World War II, when sugar cane became a coveted product in the foreign market, and the big planters were stimulated to enlarge their plantations, the definitive expropriation of the *moradores* took place. Many of the sugar mill owners who had resorted to the payment of the *foro* turned back to their agricultural activities or else received more profitable offers for their property from the *usinas*, and then the *foro* payers were ejected from their lands. They were either compensated for their losses or else they were only allowed to hold temporary crops. In some cases, the *foro* payers were not allowed to remain in the *sítios* unless they would destroy their orchards and grow sugar cane instead. (AZEVEDO, 1982).

The traditional modes of labor started changing. According to this new order the plots of land that were assigned to the "moradores" and peasants were taken over by the large sugarcane plantations. In some cases the "moradores" were allowed to grow whatever they wished but their lots were very small and the land was exhausted. Besides, they were supposed to work from five to six days a week for free, which stopped them from working in their own *sítios*. In other cases they were denied the right to grow their own subsistence crops. As a result of this, the traditional category of the peasantry was extinct and they became employees of the sugar cane plantations.

"It is worth mentioning that this process was quite gradual and slow. In the late 50s, early 60s, many decades after the first sugar plants started operating, the morada system was still quite active in the Zona da Mata (in Paraíba), and they kept their century-old method of exploitation: the *cambão*. (Moreira; Targino, 1997, p.63).

It is in this context of structural changes in the sugar cane sector that the Peasants' Leagues emerged. Azevedo (1982, p.17) links them to some structural landmarks. According to him, the 1930 Revolution is the landmark of the formation of the agro-industrial block in Brazil. He thinks that the changes brought about by this Revolution were responsible for the transformation of the Brazilian agro-exporting social formation into an industrial-dependent one. As a consequence of this the reproduction of Brazilian economy came to be governed by the industrial capital. It was not a bourgeois revolution; it was rather a conservative conciliation, neither socially nor politically committed to any kind of popular mobilization that might result in the transformation of the structure of

⁴ *Foro* is the rent paid in cash yearly.

the agrarian property or of the block of power. There was then a bond between industrial capital and the agro-exporting sectors.

Regarding the peasants' organization, there are records of the appearance of the first Leagues as far back as 1945, with civil associations that mobilized and organized the peasants and the rural workers. Based on the Civil Code of Law, these associations sought to break the bureaucratic impediments that hindered the creation of the rural Unions. However they were checked and only reappeared in 1955, when the Sociedade Agrícola de Plantadores e Pecuaristas de Pernambuco (SAPPP), (Pernambuco Agricultural Society of Planters and Cattlemen) was created in Galiléia sugar mill, in Vitória de Santo Antão, Pernambuco. It was widely known as the Liga Camponesa de Galiléia (Galiléia Peasant's League), (Azevedo, 1982).

The struggle to remain in the land and keep SAPPP active made the peasants seek the support of politicians and law. The lawyer and deputy Francisco Julião (State Deputy elected in 1955 by the Socialist Party) offered to help SAPPP and give legal assistance to the peasants. An inter-party political committee was formed to support the peasants' struggle. This committee was the seed of the future Regional Council of SAPPP. In September 1955, the I Pernambuco Congress of the Peasants was organized (an important landmark for the consolidation of the movement). Since then SAPPP became a statewide institution and the first board of directors was elected. According to Azevedo (1982, p. 67) the organic structure of the Peasants' League was born during this Congress and its connections with the popular layers of society as well as its more progressive sectors were amplified,

(...) either by sending militants (mainly students) to the country, or by assuring legal and political support from the Chamber of Deputies, or, still, by promoting campaigns denouncing and calling the attention to the agrarian and peasants' issue and the fight for the agrarian reform. (Azevedo, 1982).

The statutes of SAPPP were written out and registered in the notary. In the meantime, the inter-party committee dealt with the conflicts between landowners and peasants at a political level. This represented the interruption of the century-old history of social and political exclusion of the peasantry (Azevedo, 1982).

This also meant the process of consolidation of the Leagues. As part of this process, there was the fight for the expropriation of the Galiléia Sugar Mill. Bastos (1984, p.44) calls our attention to the importance of the existence of a political moment, receptive to popular mobilizations and demands and emphasizes the support granted by Miguel Arraes, Pernambuco's governor in 1962.

The Paraíba's Peasants' Leagues were born in the midst of the events that took place in the 1950s and were stimulated by the consolidation of the movement in Pernambuco (Benevides, 1985). The first Association of the Rural Workers and Peasants of Paraíba was created in 1958 and came to be known as the Liga Camponesa de Sapé (Sapé Peasants' League). According to Aued (1986,

p. 32), Sapé League started with João Pedro Teixeira's actions, around 1954, and it was originally created in his house backyard. Unfortunately it did not last long under the landowners' pressures. When it reappeared in 1958, it sought the institutionalization of the movement and frame it within the boundaries of bourgeois legality, fighting for the rights of the peasants. It was founded under the name Associação dos Trabalhadores Rurais de Sapé (Sapé Rural Workers' Association), and it became one of the most powerful Leagues in Brazil, with around thirteen thousand members.

Sapé League aimed to provide social assistance to the peasants and defended the rights of the "moradores", farm hands and small landowners from Sapé and surrounding areas. Politicians from different party affiliations supported the League and it succeeded in building up a link with urban society. Their clear aim was the elimination of all sorts of social and political exclusion the peasants were subject to (Benevides, 1985). After the creation of the Leagues, the Justice carried out the mediation between landowners and peasants. The connections with urban political leaderships also guaranteed some kind of **protection** against the arbitrary actions of the landowners. This does mean at all that their violent actions were neutralized altogether. Far from it. The State of Paraíba was the stage of many acts of repression and violence against the organization of the peasants within the Leagues that were multiplying quickly, all over the State.

On the southern coast of Paraíba there were Pedras de Fogo and Alhandra Peasants' Leagues. At the end of the 1950s, early 1960s, the system of *morada* still prevailed in this micro-region. When the Peasants' Leagues appeared the small farmers from Camucim joined Alhandra Peasants' League.

According to the interview of an ex-president of Alhandra League, it was founded around 1960 and had about eight hundred members who met regularly, every Sunday. He could not say precisely how many of the small farmers from Camucim were members, but he guesses there were about thirty families.

Camucim small farmers' memories

As we came across the narratives that compose these life histories we realized how precious was the information we had in our hands. Considering the scope of the present text, we will limit ourselves to those details that seem indispensable to the understanding of the process as a whole.

The Leagues are recalled by the small farmers as a movement organized by politicians. The repression suffered after the 1964 Military Coup is present in their speeches and they see this historical period as the beginning of the movement.

Ms. L.: ...the...the organization of the League started by 64, wasn't it? Of the League and of the Union, because there were like mother and daughter; the League was female, Mané [husband] said so, wasn't it? Mané was full of fun...But the League was also the mother of the son, the Union was the son, and really, there was this little book...maga...a booklet, a tiny

little magazine like this, and mother and son appeared together. The mother went away and the son stayed behind, and that's the Union. And then it began. Mané used to say that she was really fierce.

The association of the Leagues to the Coup suggests that the memories about the former are closely related to 1964, and all the repression it brought about. This connection makes us believe that the repercussions of the 1964 Coup are the reason why the memories of the movement are set in that year. Throughout the sequence of her speech Ms. L. also associates the beginning of the organization of the Leagues to the beginning of the organization of the Union,⁵ i.e., both started in 1964, and she paraphrases her husband (a delegate to Alhandra League) who used to say that the League was the *mother* and the Union was the *son*. The narrator never mentions, any moment, the death of the Leagues. She says, "the mother went away and the son stayed behind" – she never says the mother had died. She also recalls that the mother and the son often appeared in the magazines, close together, and this calls our attention to the idea of *union*, a thing so often emphasized by the narrators in their memories about the fight for the possession of the land. In order to grant realism to the elements of the representation she uses the mechanisms of naturalization,⁶ and endows it with physical, human features "...a tiny little magazine joining mother and son." Moreover, she emphasizes that the mother was fierce, which suggests that image of the female who protects her little children, i.e., the mother – the League – protects her son – the Union. She also legitimizes her speech by quoting her husband – "Mané said so".

We are fully aware that *mother* has a symbolical appeal to our society – it is the archetype of the great mother, the origin of all things. For the peasants "the land is the mother", the great mother who gives life (Velôso, 1990). In this sense, the League, the mother, engendered and gave birth to a son – the Union. This idea leads us to the Christian discourse about the mother – the Virgin Mary, who gave birth to a son, who came to life to save us. The Union also assumes the role of *savior*, when we consider some other facts that reinforce this role, like the performance of Pitimbu Rural Workers Union at the time of the conflict with Tabu Distillery: its president was taken to Camucim **by the hands** of the church, i.e., **by the hands of God Himself**. On the other hand, Galiléia League was known as the "Mother-League" (Aued, 1986, p.32).

The discourse sequence under study also suggests that the idea of a radical agrarian reform that was spread by the slogan "for better or for worse"⁷ can be connected to this **fierceness** of the League: "...the mother was fierce..." In this sense one can say that there are discourses that recall strategies of pressure used by the peasants to force the landowners that are clearly violent.

⁵ It is said that Alhandra Union of Rural Workers (STR) was created in 1963 and Pitimbu STR was created in 1965.

⁶ See JODELET (1992) about the process of naturalization.

⁷ See AZEVEDO (1982) for further details.

There were disagreements among the different parts composing the movement of the Leagues. Those the analysts identify as the founders of the Unions^{3[8]} are not first and foremost in the memories, which confirm the theoretical stand that defends the disagreements were not responsible for differentiated proposals in Paraíba.^{4[9]} The unions are represented as being responsible for the continuity of the movement and, in this sense, the Leagues are also recalled as a successful movement, which leads us to reflect upon the idealization memory makes respecting the results of the movement.

As regards the struggle of the Leagues, it is the end of *cambão*^{5[10]} that is recalled as their main goal. The small farmers recall the Leagues fought for the payment of the “foro” and, consequently, for their **freedom**. That sends us directly to Bastos’ ideas (1984, p. 53) that *cambão* was represented, both by analysts and by the leaders of the movement, as a form of bondage, some kind of feudal exploitation of the rural worker. But the fight against the latifundium would also express a form of transition from the condition of the autonomous worker to that of the employee. It is then part of the capitalistic mode of production and would lead to the present proletarian condition of those workers. Conceiving *cambão* as a simple form of bondage would mean losing sight of its chief dimension.

In this sense we believe it is possible to see it under a new perspective: fighting *cambão* is fighting against **subjection**, but not against bondage; against the **change** it represents, that leads up to the gradual loss of control over the labor process and sale of the labor force. The direction of the fight, as a fight against latifundium, lost sight of the real and concrete life conditions of the peasantry, and the purport of the movement was devised outside this context, extraneous to the world concept that oriented the political project of this class.

On the other hand, as Novaes (1997, p.42) points out, the idea of the **fight against *cambão*** became generalized, and it was translated into a symbol of the precarious work conditions as the whole, and the break of all traditional rules because the tenants who paid for the ground rent were the first ones to join the fight and, also because, in the public debate, the fight against the **feudal remnants** was directed against *cambão* (associated to the medieval corvee). Consequently, the elimination of *cambão* became a unifying symbol of the different forms of exploitation and thus promoting the unity of the movement.

These considerations will help us understand the emphasis our narrators put on the end of *cambão*, as their primary goal. It becomes clear in the memories that the fight for a land to work on is the purpose of the movement, the priority of this quest for peasant’s *autonomy* as a political project. Union was a strong feature of this process. The image of solidarity they projected, that they were united, lively, brave and clever is part of the identity the memories help create. The image that they were brave supports the idea of the scholars who affirm that

^{3[8]} See Azevedo (op.cit.); BASTOS (1984) for further details.

^{4[9]} See Novaes (1997) for further details.

^{5[10]} Yoke. Also, by extension, system of total submission of the rural worker to the will of the landowner.

the movement was responsible for the **loss of fear of the rich**.^{6[11]} Novaes (1997, p. 53) calls our attention to the fact that fear, at a certain historical moment, was a fundamental element in the maintenance of the *morada* relations.

Moreover, the small farmers see the Leagues as the Law, a movement that fought for the rights of the peasants that questioned the *status quo* and introduced a new order. It is therefore referred to as a successful movement, responsible for the consolidation of the peasants' movement and for their organization in the 1970s. There are also those who say that one of the goals of the Leagues was the attainment of the Agrarian Reform.

The participation of the peasants

An outstanding fact is that most of the people who joined the Leagues have a negative view about this decision. The peasants remember they were influenced, or even forced to do so – which leads us to the conclusion that there was pressure coming from within the movement itself – or otherwise that they were not clever enough when they did so – which makes us guess the memorial reconstruction they made was also influenced by the scars left by the 1964 repression. There are some who remember they did not join the Leagues because they “did not wish to invade other people's property”, which reinforces the traditional peasants' ethics. They also recall the confrontations between members of the Leagues and the landowners and their taskmasters in which the former defended their interests reacting against all sorts of exploitation. This is represented as the **violence** of the Leagues. That is what they mean when they say the Leagues defended their interests **for better or for worse**.

In the next discourse sequence, we will see that this behavior of the members of the leagues acquires a **colorful** quality that sends us straight to the *cangaço*^{7[12]}, when they say, for example, that the peasant who was the leader of the group confronting the property administrators wore a hat resembling that Lampião^{8[13]} used to wear.

Mr. Lo: And then...and then they caught...our companions caught the administrator, because the administrator sent a ...a... a... some of the worker plant beach coconut, you know? According to the *cambão* system! And then he made the administrator dig the coconut tree off **barehanded!** (emphasis). Yes! He did it! Barehanded! His nails were all spoiled...(...) He made him cross a full river with his long trousers, (...) that was a man! He was the head and wore a hat with the brim broken in the front and in the back, just like Lampião's! He was the big shot, he was! A big black man! (laughs) (...) the team of workers made him dig the coconut tree barehanded! “No, it is no good, do it better, no! (...)

^{6[11]} See PAIVA (1984); NOVAES (op.cit.).

^{7[12]} Lifestyle and ethics of Northeastern bandits.

^{8[13]} He is known as the king of *cangaço*.

Although the narrator above, Mr. Lo, was not a member of the Leagues, he uses the expression **companion** when he mentions the members of the Leagues. This categorization can be determined by his identification with the struggle for the possession of the land, a result of their common experience at the time of the conflict with Tabu Distillery.

The reference to Lampião is also meaningful: the group who forced the administrator to dig the coconut trees **barehanded** was led by a big black man who wore a hat like Lampião. Considering there are many narratives in the popular imaginary in which Lampião is reported as having conducted corporal punishments, it seems to us that this is not a random reference. Memory appeals to the figure of the *cangaço* leader in order to represent the posture of the members of the League in these confrontations with the representatives of the latifundium. According to Forman (1979, p. 286), the members of *cangaço* were searching for retaliation by means of social banditry in order to revenge former sufferings imposed by the ruling class. In this sense, the *cangaceiros* were not in search of a new order, but were rather trying to punish those who threatened them. The author adds that the attitude of the peasants regarding Lampião is ambiguous: he is seen at the same time as saint and sinner, who can both be protected and denounced.

Mr. Lo thinks the peasants who belonged to the Leagues did mean things, for he says in another passage of his report that there was one who was **compassionate** and convinced the rest of the group to let the administrator go by saying: “No, stop doing that! He’s already ...that’s enough! We have already treated him badly enough”. His hesitation “He’s already...” – we guess, shows memory censured some of Mr. Lo’s memories. We perceive that, on the whole, the memories related to this behavior of the members of the Leagues are underlined by some degree of reproach against it– on the other hand, some sort of feeling of power and justice also follows them. Power and justice were not exactly what the peasants experienced in their situation of exploitation. The association to the figure of Lampião reflects this ambiguity: reproach on the one hand and justice on the other hand.

The “end” of the movement

As far as the end of the movement is concerned, the police was responsible for all the actions of repression, whereas the Army acted as pacifier. The memories are then deeply influenced by the prevailing ideology.

The end of the Leagues was really a **war**, and the cleverness of the peasants from Camucim during this war is stressed in the quotation below:

Researcher: Did anyone die?

Ms. L. **Yes, yes** (emphasis). Some people died in that fight. It was really hot, it was **hell!** There was a lot of fight. Nobody here got beaten, nobody did, because the people were very shrewd... they hid in the mangrove, they ran away. But not the women.

Just the men. (...) The police visited my house many times, to make inquiries (...) they would open the trunks and look for pamphlets, put everything upside down. Searching under the beds, everywhere. (...) I don't know why (...) then **the law** (emphasis) changed, it seems the old one was no good anymore, and soon after that there was **war** damned war. It was really a war. Here in this region, they could not catch Mané because Mané was a very clever man, and he is a true native of this wilderness, of the *sertão*, and he knew every single spot here (...) Then he left home early at dawn, and went away. He was away for three months and the...and the war going on here. Listen here, many people woke up into the water because it was the rainy season at the time... it was regular winter time (...) a man would not sleep inside his house. Only the women slept indoors. (...) All the men were hiding. They could not get any of our men. None of them got caught.

Ms. L., recalls the end of the Leagues as a war, and she also suggests the **mother** went away leaving the **son** alone. The narrator emphasizes the participation of the women who had to face the police when the men, both members and non-members of the League, had to escape, which leads us directly to the terror that was spread throughout with the presence of the policemen in the area (this also would happen at the time of the conflict at Tabu Distillery). The women were supposed to take food to the men, and be particularly careful not to be found; they also stayed home when their husbands were hiding; they took care of the children; they received the **visits** of the police who put their houses upside down looking for incriminating evidences of their husbands' affiliation to the Leagues, and they were also interrogated; they also ran the risk of suffering some sort of violence. Here we have memories concerning the participation of women in the conflicts.

The representation of the end of the Leagues as a war is quite meaningful: although we know there are two sides involved in a strife, the memories suggest that one of the sides was rounded up and fled from the confrontation, in this case, the peasants. Nevertheless, the war image also leads us to the idea of persecution, terror – aspects these memories also denounce.

On the other hand, the discourse sequence above mentions the shrewdness of the men from Camucim, who were not beaten or caught at the time of the Coup; despite the fierce repression they managed to escape into the mangrove. The fact that they managed to run away and hide is represented as an indication of their shrewdness and this corroborates the image that is present in the memories that they were brave fighters, lively and clever. In this sense, the positive image they build up about themselves is guaranteed by memory, which is an essential element of identity (Pollak, 1992).

There are those who say that the landowners were responsible for the end of the Leagues and they asked the military to help them stop the movement.

Mr. P.F.: Yes...this Peasant League did a lot of good things for us. Even in Alhandra it showed a lot of things, and also in Popoca, in Camucim, in many places. But the landowners didn't like it, wasn't? Because it only ended because of the landowners. Landowners got together and asked the government, the Army, to ... because the thing was catching fast... very lively. Then there was this revolt, and that's it. That was the...the...the Peasant League, and then the rural Union begins.

The narrator did not blame the military for the repression, but blames the landowners who resented the movement and united to put an end to it, with the help of the government and the military. Besides, no one knows what the military really represent to Mr. P. F. or if the image of the Army as pacifier is also part of his representations for the narrator makes it clear that a process resulting from a decision taken by the landowners triggered up the end of the Leagues. He hesitates when he explains why the landowners resorted to the military and, he finally says, "it was because the thing was catching fire". He means enthusiasm, and it both implies Mr. P. F.'s sympathy for the Leagues and their power to bring transformation for the country, and consequently endanger the power of the landowners.

On the other hand, the **revolt** marks the end of the Leagues and the beginning of the Unions, and these have remained to our days, which implies that the struggle is going on. "They lost a battle but they did not lose the war". According to this perspective, they achieved the demarcation of the boundaries of the land and, today, are settled in it. They have also assured the solidification of the Unions. The role of the STF (Rural Workers Union) in Pitimbu in the process of the fight against Tabu Distillery: it was particularly relevant. Some of the narratives suggest that speaking about the definitive end of the Peasants' Leagues is quite misleading because the present Movement of the Landless Workers (MST) can be seen as a continuation of the struggle.

We can also note that there is a **crossing** of the two experiences in the process of memorial reconstruction: the Leagues and the conflict with Tabu Distillery. Although the peasants emphasize there was great pressure for them to join the Leagues, it is quite usual for them to mention one of these experiences and refer to things that are related to the other. The process of memorial reconstruction links the two experiences both because of the similar characteristics they share and also because of the nature of memory itself, a time-space in which everything happens at the same time. (Portelli, 2000b).

Last, in their memories, the small farmers from Camucim associate the Leagues to the 1964 repression, and also to the end of *cambão* and the beginning of the Unions, responsible for the continuation of the movement – which legitimates the fight as being successful and confirms its self-image, built and confirmed by their memories as being victorious.

References

- Aued, B. W. (1986) A vitória dos vencidos: Partido Comunista Brasileiro e ligas camponesas 1955-64. Florianópolis: UFSC, 179p.
- Azevedo, F. A. (1982) As ligas camponesas. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 145p.
- Bastos, E. R. (1984) As ligas camponesas. Petrópolis: Vozes, 144p.
- Benevides, C. (1985) Camponeses em marcha. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 140p.
- CARMO, S. I. S. (1997) Discurso, sociedade e história. Araraquara. Mimeografado.
- (1999) Discurso, dimensão da história: a análise do discurso numa perspectiva interdisciplinar. Araraquara. Mimeografado.
- Forman, S. (1979) Camponeses: sua participação no Brasil. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 340p.
- Jodelet, D. (1992) Rappresentazioni sociali: um campo in espansione. In: ---- (a cura di) La rappresentazioni sociali. Napoli: Liguori Editore, p. 43-75.
- Moreira, E. R. F. (1998) Mesorregiões e microrregiões da Paraíba: delimitação e caracterização. João Pessoa: GAPLAN, 64p.
- Targino, I. (1997) Capítulos de geografia agrária da Paraíba. João Pessoa: Universitária/UFPB, 238p.
- Novaes, R. R. (1997) De corpo e alma: catolicismo, classes sociais e conflitos no campo. Rio de Janeiro: Graphia, 238p.
- Paiva, V. P. (1984) Pedagogia e luta social no campo paraibano. Educação e Sociedade. São Paulo, p. 5-55.
- Pollak, M. (1992) Memória e identidade social. Estudos históricos. Rio de Janeiro, v. 5, n. 10. p. 200-215.
- Palmeira, M. (1976) Le Rapport Au Travail Dans Les Sociétés Américaines, 1976, Paris. Casa e trabalho: notas sobre as relações sociais na plantation tradicional. Congresso dos Americanistas, Paris. Mimeografado.
- Portelli, A. (1990) La doppia verità della storia orale. I Giorni Cantati. Roma, n. 13, anno 3. p. 18-20.
- (2000a) Un lavoro di relazione: osservazione sulla storia orale. Ricerche Storiche Salesiane. Roma, n. 1. p. 11-24.
- (2000b) Le Fosse Ardeatine e la memoria: rapporto su un lavoro in corso. In: Paggi, L. Le memorie della Repubblica. Milano: Il Saggiatore, p. 89-154.
- Silveira Bueno, F. (1989) Minidicionário da Língua Portuguesa. 3. ed. São Paulo: Editora Lisa, 716p.
- Veloso, T. M. G. (1990) A representação social do trabalho alugado ou “com a enxada nas costas e o coração preso”. 1990. Dissertação (Mestrado em Serviço Social) – Universidade Federal da Paraíba, 193f. João Pessoa.
- (2002) Frutos da terra: memórias da resistência e luta dos pequenos produtores rurais de Camucim – Pitimbu/PB, 2002. Tese (Doutorado em Sociologia) – Universidade Estadual Paulista, 355f, Araraquara.

**ISTORIJSKI KORENI OTPORA I BORBE PROTIV
GLOBALIZACIJE: JEDAN PRIMER DOGAĐAJA U
BRAZILSKIM RURALNIM OBLASTIMA**

-originalni naučni rad-

Thelma Maria Grisi Velôso

Paraíba State University (UEPB), Brazil

Dulce Consuelo Andreatta Whitaker

CNPQ and UNESP centre, Brazil

Rezime

Ovim tekstom komentarišemo pamćenja grupe malih zemljoradnika iz Camucium Settlement (Pitumbu / Paraíba / Brazil) o njihovom iskustvu otpora i borbe za posedovanje zemlje u 1960. godini, u vreme Seljačke lige (Albandra League). Mi smo skrenuli analitičku raspravu na njihovu životnu prošlost i onda analiziramo njihovo pamćenje o početku pokreta, njihove ciljeve, logične zaključke i njihov krajnji rezultat posle vojnog državnog udara iz 1964. godine te učešće tih sitnih zemljoradnika u ukupnom procesu.