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LASA CONFERENCE

Chair Prof. Dr. Graciela Batticuore, Dept. of Letras, Universidad de Buenos Aires

LLASA PANEL: De la vida a los textos. Cooperación femenina en la narrativa de las escritoras latinoamericanas de los siglos XIX Y XX.

Discussant: Prof. Dr. Diane Marting, Romance Languages and Literatures, University of Florida

**PATRÍCIA GALVÃO'S VISION OF WOMEN'S COOPERATION**  
**IN *PARQUE INDUSTRIAL***

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## PATRÍCIA GALVÃO'S VISION OF WOMEN'S COOPERATION

### IN PARQUE INDUSTRIAL

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One of the most intriguing problems in Brazilian literature is the fact that, in a developing country like Brazil, with one of the worst income distribution in the world, so little literary critique is dedicated to political or propaganda literature. There are also very few authors of proletarian origin or from the "subaltern" class (in Gramsci's terminology). A political writer like Jorge Amado is more studied in foreign universities than in his own country. In Brazil, he is sneered at as a mass media author who employs a journalistic style not proper to a work of art and who uses literature to propagandize his political convictions in most of his novels. Even less attention has been given to proletarian women authors, such as Maria Firmina dos Reis (1825-1917), a school-teacher from Maranhão<sup>1</sup>, and Francisca Sousa da Silva, a maid and a slum-dweller who published the novel *Ai de vós, diário de uma empregada*, in 1983, after the worldwide success of Carolina Maria de Jesus, with *O quarto de despejo* (translated as *Children of the Dark*), in 1959. *Os pobres na literatura brasileira* (1983), an anthology of essays edited by Roberto Schwarz, lists only four women authors. Three of these – Clarice Lispector, Adélia Prado and Marilena Felinto – are not proletarian, only write about proletarian characters. Only Carolina Maria de Jesus is actually a proletarian author. Meanwhile, Rachel de Queiroz (especially in *O Quinze*), and for that matter, Jorge Amado, were left out.

One could explain this fact by the imitative attitude that the Third World countries hold towards the metropolis since colonial times. Portugal did not allow the press in colonial Brazil. All books needed a special permission from Portuguese Crown in order to be brought into Brazil. From 1850, during Romanticism, when Brazil was an independent kingdom from Portugal to the end of the first Republic (1889-1930), it was France, and more specifically Paris, which became the matrix for imitation. From the second Republic (1930) until the 1950s, European influence ceased in Brazil. It was increasingly replaced by the American. The movie, television, music and later home video industry, enhanced by the American Internet and computer industry would make the United States dominate the world market and culture.

Patrícia Galvão (1910-1962) was at the heart of such a cultural change of pattern for imitation. As a member of the Communist Party, she traveled around the world from December 1933 to July 1935. She collaborated for *Correio da Manhã* and *Diário de Notícias*, from Rio, and *Diário da Noite*, from São Paulo in her visit to the Communist regime. She went to the far East (Japan, China, Manchuria), then to Russia by the Trans-Siberian Railroad, crossed Germany under Nazism by train and finally arrived in France. But at the beginning of her travel she visited Hollywood and interviewed actors, reaching it by Pará State, in Brazil, and the Panama Canal. Her visit to the Soviet Union under Stalin was a great disillusion for her. She was appalled by the contrast between the poverty of the children in the street and the luxurious hotels

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<sup>1</sup> In Brazil, even in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, school teachers won very little money. On Maria Firmina dos Reis, see my essays in *Crítica sem juízo*, Rio de Janeiro: Francisco Alves, 1993.

for political tourists and for the local and foreign members of the Communist Party (revealed by her in "Verdade e liberdade," 1950)<sup>2</sup>.

She spent several months in France, from 1934 to July 1935. In Paris she attended classes of Political Science by professors from Sorbonne at the Popular University (Université Populaire). She was arrested as a foreign political activist by the Laval government. She barely escaped being delivered to the Nazi forces at the German or the Italian frontier, if it were not by the intercession of Senator Sousa Dantas. However, upon her return to Brazil, she was arrested for her participation in the Rio de Janeiro 1935 Communist Revolution and again in 1938 for other political activities in São Paulo during Vargas' dictatorship, the so-called Estado Novo. Altogether, she spent five years in prison, from 1935 to 1940.

### **"Vassoura no ombro e chapéu de papel na cabeça" (A broom on the shoulder and a paper hat on the head)**

Part of Pagu's fame was due to the fact that she married Oswald de Andrade in 1931. Raul Bopp wrote the poem "Coco de Pagu," which made her popular during Modernism,<sup>3</sup> when she met Oswald de Andrade, at the time married to the modernist painter Tarsila do Amaral, in São Paulo. Pagu became her most famous pen-name. Oswald was well-known by then and abandoned his wife, the well-succeeded painter Tarsila do Amaral, to live with young Patrícia Galvão. They had a son, Rudá, born in 1930. Their marriage came to an end in December 1936, while Pagu was in prison.

In 1940, when Pagu was released from her five-year imprisonment, she married Geraldo Ferraz, a journalist with whom she published the book *A famosa Revista* (1945). Later they held together the newspaper column "Antologia da Literatura Estrangeira" in *Diário de São Paulo* (90 issues) containing translations made by Pagu and literary comments on authors' biographies and bibliographies (see Campos, 1982: p. 330-31). Patrícia Galvão could be as radical defending Communism as she was when attacking it and fighting for a free esthetic ideal. There is only an apparent contradiction in the fact that she decides to defend literary autonomy in her column for the socialist paper *Vanguarda Socialista*. She collaborates at the side of Galvão, Mario Pedrosa, Edmundo Moniz and Hilcar Leite. On the first issue, on 31 August 1945, she attacked Jorge Amado's *Vida de Luís Carlos Prestes, o cavaleiro da esperança*, a biography which praised the Communist leader and head of the Brazilian Communist Party. She called it a pamphletary work. She also criticized the poem "Canto do pracinha só," by Oswald de Andrade, in which he invoked his brothers Churchill, Roosevelt, Prestes and Stalin. She rather exhorts him to publish

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<sup>2</sup> When she was in Manchuria, China was under the power of Mao Tsé-Tung. His revolutionary civil war against Japan dated from 1928 to 1937, but he only became the leader of the Chinese Communist Party in January 1935. She was intimate with the last Emperor of the Chinese Royal family, and it was through him that she succeeded sending the first soya seeds to be planted in Brazil. This was an idea inspired to her by her friend, the modernist poet Raul Bopp, who was then consul in Japan, who also helped her in it.

<sup>3</sup> Besides Pagu, she used many other pen-names during her career, beginning by the nickname Zazá of her childhood. She was called Patrícia Galvão Thiers, Patrícia Rehder Galvão and Patrícia Galvão de Andrade by the press. In her publications she signed as Solange Sohl (in a poem), Mara Lobo (*Parque industrial* and press articles from 1957 to 26 March 1961); Ariel (in 100 chronicles, from 22 Aug. to 31 Dec. 1942 for *A Noite* (SP), Irmã Paula, G. Léa and K. B. Luda, in her column "A Mulher do Povo", in the pamphlet *O Homem do Povo*, in 1931; Peste, P. (in her drawings), Pt. (in the column "Cor Local," in *Diário de São Paulo*, in 1946, and in *Jornal de São Paulo*, in 1949; P. G., in *Tribuna de Santos* (1959); Patsy, in her first collaboration to the Brás newspaper, in 1925; Gim, in a column and in 1960; in Paris, from 1934 to 1935, she also adopted the persona of Leonnie, who disguised her by speaking French argot. Every writer has many faces, as Eneida (de Moraes), Carmen Dolores (pen-name for Emília Moncorvo de Melo), or Ana C., for Ana Cristina César.

the third volume of *Marco Zero*, and concludes in her 1945 article in the same paper: "The place for the poet, his territory of freedom, his fight and his epopee are independent from laying a broom on his shoulder and wearing a paper hat on his head" (Ano I, n. 17, 21 Dec. 1945: p. 133).

Her 24 articles published between 1945 and 1946 defend the author's political independence and free esthetic expression as in Apollinaire, Mallarmé and Joyce. In her newspaper articles she keeps the column "Cor Local," "Literatura," and there as elsewhere she discusses James Joyce (on the Supplement of *A Tribuna* (Rio), 11 August 1957, n. 20), Fernando Pessoa, Murilo Mendes, Machado de Assis and many other writers.

There was not really a conflict in Pagu's attitude of being a Socialist who wrote for a Socialist paper and who at the same time attacked books which contained political indoctrination and who praised books that showed autonomy vis-a-vis politics. A possible explanation is that Pagu had always had her own personal feelings in relation to the Communist Party and its politics. From the beginning she had considered unjust the Communist Party's demand that she must publish her novel *Parque industrial, romance proletário* (São Paulo, 1933, reprinted 1981) with the pen-name of Mara Lobo. The Party excused itself with the allegation that the book was too independent and disobeyed its premises. Especially after being released from prison, she began to express her dissatisfaction more openly. She resented its excessive intrusion onto her private life and the excessive concentration of power in the figure of Stalin whose orders every Communist Party must obey. Somehow she went on using pen-names. She also complained about the many instances of pressure and authority she endured, as when she was released from prison for being a political activist in the Santos harbor workers' strike. On that occasion, the Communist Party made her sign a document where she admitted being an "individualistic, sensationalist and inexperienced political activist" (see Campos, 1982, p. 325).

Our hypothesis is that Pagu evidently shared strong feelings with the Italian anarchists who immigrated to Brazil in the beginning of the century. Most of them came to live in the Italian section of Brás, which was at the center of Pagu's novel *Parque industrial*. She evidently sympathized much more with anarchism than with Communism<sup>4</sup>. *Parque industrial* and her later writings in the press show how much she loathed a centralized, dominating and intruding power on people's individual lives. She must have felt it as a surrogate for the patriarchal order. One that could not be opposed to, discussed or denied. Another hypothesis is that at least unconsciously she might have in mind Freud's main principles of *Totem and tabu*. This book was published in Germany in 1912-13, in the form of articles for *Imago* magazine, and in 1913 as a book. Its first chapter, "Horror to Incest," cites Frazer's *The Golden Bough*, a widely read book. Freud associated primitive man to the neurotic, repressed individual of modern society. Freud's works had been the subject of a group of study by Oswald de Andrade, his first wife Tarsila do Amaral and their common friends Raul Bopp and Mário de Andrade. The latter studied German. *Totem and Tabu* was one of the sources for the writing of the famous "Manifesto antropófago," signed by Oswald de Andrade in 1928.<sup>5</sup> It compared anthropophagy among Brazilian Indian tribes to modern cultural behavior – just as Freud had compared anthropophagy in Malasian and Asian tribes to the neurotic behavior of modern man in the first

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<sup>4</sup> In an interview, Lúcio Frago, who was the husband of Sidéria, Patrícia's sister, calls Patrícia a trotskist. Trotskism was a dissidence that took place within the Communist Party in 1938. (See Interview to Augusto de Campos on 13 and 20 Dec. 1981, Campos, 1982: p. 274-90, p. 279).

<sup>5</sup> "Manifesto Antropófago" was published in 1928 in *Revista de Antropofagia*, a journal which appeared from May 1928 to February 1929 (first phase). During its second phase, when it was published in *Diário de São Paulo* from March to August 1929, it had as its secretaries were Geraldo Ferraz, Pagu's second husband, and her friend Raul Bopp.

chapter of his book. Pagu's knowledge of the Manifesto or the reference to Freud's work by Oswald and his group might have enabled her to associate the hatred for the patriarchal law, the law of incest and the incarnation of authority by the Communist Party. She wrote against its leader, Agildo Barata and Stalin<sup>6</sup>, against Luís Carlos Prestes<sup>7</sup>, as well as against the literary figures of Jorge Amado and Oswald. She accused Oswald of pretending to be Trotsky (see article on 9 May 1948, in Campos, 1982: p. 331). She also pictured him as the bourgeois figures of Otávio and Olavo in *Parque industrial*.

### **"Estou viva" (I am alive)**

It must be understood why Pagu accepted to return to politics and run her candidacy as deputy for the São Paulo State. She explains her motives in "Por que aceitei voltar" (Why I accepted to return [to politics], see Campos, 1982: p. 188-89). Again, there is only an apparent contradiction in the fact that she had not the least chance to win, since she made neither an effort to attract popular vote nor to sympathize with the elite. The title "Socialist" in name of the party for which she ran, PSB (Partido Socialista Brasileiro), did not correspond to a socialist ideology at all.

Another instance of her radical political attitude can be found in her article "Normalinhas," published in her column "A Mulher do Povo," on the issue of 13 April 1931 of *O homem do Povo* (n. 8, Monday, p. 2; see facsimile of the newspaper page in Campos, 1982, p. 87). This was a pamphlet that she and Oswald published in São Paulo. It was the last issue before it was forbidden by the police due to Oswald's attacks on the backwards political opinions of the traditional Law students of the Sé Square in São Paulo and who rioted against the paper. In her article Patrícia also ridicules the pupils of the Normal School where she herself had studied<sup>8</sup>, (her only formal education). She calls them hypocrite and outdated, unaware of politics and only preoccupied with sex, claiming that they too should react against her as the Law students did against Oswald.

### **"Biological simplicity"**

In her column "Palcotela e Picadeiro," signed by the pen-name K. B. Luda, on April 9, 1931, as part of the pamphlet *O Homem do Povo* (see facsimile of article in Campos, 1982: p. 90), she signed an article titled "Cinema sexual" (Sexual Cinema) in which she defends the authentic "biological woman," as Marlene Dietrich and Greta Garbo were in the movies. There she defended natural sex, sportive life, "sexual cinema" or, to sum up her idea, "biological simplicity." That amounted to the liberation of free love and the abandonment of the figure of the cold intellectual woman – a position quite ahead of her time. First she complained that naked women bodies and weeping vampire eyes cannot raise emotion in the audience anymore, then she requests a "sexual cinema" and "biological simplicity."<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> "Stalin tem razão.

Agildo Barata, o chefe dos verdugos, pregava então os pregos na minha cabeça: 'Sim, você não tem razão. Obedeça'.

NÃO, NÃO, NÃO e NÃO." ("Por que aceitei voltar," in Campos, 1982: p. 188-189, p. 188).

<sup>7</sup> In "Literatura oportunista", in *Vanguarda Socialista*, Ano 1, n. 3, 14 Sept. 1945, she criticizes the revisionary biography of Prestes in order to adapt it "to the politically correct Brazilian proletary literature" dictated by Communism (see Campos, 1982: p. 127-29, p. 129).

<sup>8</sup> As well as in the Brás Normal School, from 1924 to 1928.

<sup>9</sup> "Eu quero agora o cinema sexual.

Once again, her attitude was nearer to anarchism than to communism. This becomes clear in her second journal, a manuscript notebook written together with Oswald de Andrade, and titled "Um romance anarquista" (An anarchist romance) by them. There they wrote about their sexual happiness in common life, while Oswald was still married to Tarsila do Amaral. There they mentioned their wedding in front of Tomb 17, belonging to Andrade's family, at the Consolação churchyard, in São Paulo, followed by a religious wedding in a Catholic church<sup>10</sup>.

When Oswald attempted to enter the university, in which he failed, he wrote several essays on Modernism under the assumption that matriarchy and free love existed among Brazilian Indians. In this, he was basing his thought in the presumptive idea that the Brazilian Indians lived in a state of total sexual liberation, with no social rules, originating in Freud's *Totem and Tabu* as well as in another presumptive and non-scientific idea that they had known matriarchy in the past, based on Engel's *The Origin of the Family, the Private Property and of State* (1884). The "Manifesto antropófago" was a radical discussion of Indian primitivism, according to Benedito Nunes (Nunes, in Andrade, 1972: p. xix-liiii, p. xiv). For Nunes, since "Manifesto Pau-Brasil" (1924) Oswald implies, in his idea of anthropophagy that he developed later on in Modernism that the Jesuits' catechesis of the Indians would "constitute an example, an instance of censorship, or of a collective Superego" (Nunes, in Andrade, 1972: p. xxvi). In spite of its lack of logical discourse, Nunes sees in "Manifesto antropófago" (1928) a "symbolism of repression or cultural criticism" (in Andrade, 1972: p. xxvii). From this point of view, the Indians would not show signs of embarrassment with their sexuality as the invaders did (idem). Nunes mentions many sources for Andrade's idea of anthropophagy, as the inversion of the tabu into totem, as in Keyserling, Nietzsche, Montaigne, Freud (see Nunes, in Andrade, 1972, p. xxxii). However, Nunes does not specify the date of the first French edition of *Totem and tabu* that Oswald might have consulted. Nunes mentions the long bibliography existing on the subject of anthropophagy since travel literature, which was much augmented by the publication of Freud's book.<sup>11</sup> For Freud, the anthropophagous feast is at the origin of many social organizations and moral and religious restrictions. In other words, culture in general. At the same time, Freud sees in the sacramental banquet of anthropophagy a symbolic form of the Oedipus complex, in which there is a mixture of hatred, love, admiration and jealousy of the father and of hidden concupiscence towards the mother. These feelings are repressed in the unconscious of modern man and, according to Freud, expand into several of his neuroses. This process is due to the ambiguity that these feelings carry in themselves, which are analogous to the ones existing in the idea of totem and tabu.

One can read Freud's theses in between the lines of Pagu's article "Normalinhas." It brings an obvious defence of the free expression of the unconscious and of libidinal pleasure. A thesis that would be later developed by Marcuse. Antonio Risério states that Paul Robinson called the "Freudian left" "a hidden tendency in Psychoanalysis." It examines the dialectics of instincts and culture from a revolutionary point of view." (Risério, in Campos, 1982, p. 18). This union between Freud and Marxism shows how much Patrícia Galvão was *avant-la-lettre* in *Parque*

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Eu quero Marlene, a Greta Garbo, o Von Stroheim, a simplicidade biológica, o mistério radical já desvendado" (Thursday, 9 April 1931, see Campos, 1982, p. 90).

<sup>10</sup> It was only after the 1964-1984 dictatorship that divorce was legalized in Brazil.

<sup>11</sup> Benedito Nunes, in *Oswald canibal* (São Paulo, Perspectiva, 1979, Coleção Elos), shows that anthropophagy was already in vogue during Dadaism. Among other sources, Picabia publishes a "Manifeste cannibale" in the magazine *Dadaphone*, in Paris, mars 1920, n. 7 (see Nunes, 1979, p. 11). In the European cannibalism there was an erotic culinary model, as in Marinetti's novels, whereas the content in Picabia's "Cannibal Manifest" was aggressively anti-bourgeois (Nunes, 1979, p. 13). From the idea of eating flesh to the idea of sexual intercourse there is an obvious analogical association.

*industrial*, since she used it much before Marcuse, Foucault, Althusser and other social thinkers of the 1960s and 1970s. It shows her great sensitivity and understanding for the female proletarian lives as well as her preoccupation with the new psychoanalytical ideas leading to the liberation of the libido. This explains her criticism of Otávio (a clef figure for Oswald de Andrade, according to David K. Jackson<sup>12</sup>). She also criticizes the São Paulo rural elite of her time through the couple Olavo and Eleonora. In the book they are clef figures for Oswald de Andrade and Tarsila do Amaral. Both inherited coffee farms from the hinterland of São Paulo and represent the power of the rural elite in urban São Paulo. In the novel, the couple despises the female proletarian characters and parade in their fashionable car in the poor streets of Brás.

In *Parque industrial* there is another direct derogatory representation of Oswald as Otávio. He is shown as perpetrating a sexual exploration of the naive girls who work at the weaving factory in Brás, a poor São Paulo section. Meanwhile, Pagu represented herself benevolently, as an utopian Communist character who defended the women workers against economic exploitation as well as against his irresponsible acts which amounted to one of the girl's pregnancy.

Thus, sex plays an important part in Pagu's literature of the 1920s and 1930s. Even the fragmented style of the sentences in *Parque industrial* tells one of a certain liberty from syntax and prosodic sentence enunciation. These new elements counterbalance a certain simplicity of the plot scheme. Her main innovation thus lies in the combination of sex with politics, which makes her a pioneer in women's liberation in literature. Gilca Machado had already published several anthologies of erotic poems; the journalist and writer Eneida de Moraes also visited Russia and wrote essays and novels. However, the combination between political reasoning and sexual liberation, especially in women's literature, was very rare in Brazil in Pagu's time.

### **Collaboration and Sorority in *Parque industrial***

Sorority was really Patrícia's innermost feeling in the novel. It is not the same kind of feeling that one sees in the political abstract brotherhood that Oswald shows in his poem "Canto do pracinha só" or that Amado employed in his praising biography of Prestes in *Luís Carlos Prestes, o cavaleiro da esperança*. In these instances there is an external point of view, implying social mobilization rather than an intuitive, emotional, personal attitude. Her emotion derives from common experience in everyday life at the side of the poor proletarian girls of Brás. In 1932, one year after she becomes a member of the Communist Party, Patrícia got a job helping people to find their seats in a São Paulo movie theater. She identified with the workers. Although she was impregnated with utopian Communism, her political sorority was inspired by authentic sympathy for the poor women workers and by a sense of proximity with another class. It could not be more dissimilar to any propaganda-like book which used literature only as a subterfuge for politics.

Feeling and understanding are the main differences in Pagu's style in relation to this propagandistic literature. She united a political and emotional sense of sorority with an idea of libinal liberation, as expressed by Freud, which she referred to as a "biological simplicity." This was her main difference, peculiar to her woman's attitude towards politics, in comparison to a purely cerebral or intellectual sexual relationship. However, this literature sympathetic to the idea of collaboration with poor proletarian women did not hinder her from putting politics ahead of her own family life. She would not feel any "feminine essence" related to gender or to motherhood. She left Rudá, her son with Oswald, in Brazil, when she traveled for her almost two

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<sup>12</sup> Jackson, Kenneth David. "Patrícia Galvão and Brazilian Social Realism of the 1930's" (1977). See also *A prosa vanguardista na literatura brasileira: Oswald de Andrade*, São Paulo, Perspectiva, 1978. (Coleção Elos).

year-long trip around the world. Apparently she only saw him once after her return, when she was in prison, and he was already six<sup>13</sup>. Next time she saw him, he was already 17!

## Conclusion

There is not a striking contradiction between the sensuous girl known as Pagu, who robbed Oswald from his wife before the scandalized São Paulo elite and the free-thinking Patrícia Galvão who defended freedom of thought, of esthetics and of behavior before an authoritative political party. Similar to Carlos Drummond de Andrade in his poem on Stalingrado, well avant-la-lettre, due to her experience in the Soviet Union and to her other life circumstances, she perceived that the Communist Party concentrated power, that it owed a blind obedience to Moscow and that the figures of Stalin and other communist leaders in Brazil exerted as if it were a patriarchal attitude towards society. She accused Oswald de Andrade of pretending to be Trotsky. Even Trotsky lacked authenticity to her. As the reading of *Parque industrial* reveals, Pagu was interested in Communism or Socialism as an utopia or as a liberal means to substitute the patriarchal family for a freer, more authentic way of human relationship.

Any simplification of Pagu's political attitude in life and in literature would amount to the conclusion that she acted cowardly. There is nothing simple in her attitude which is above all conflictive. She attempted twice at suicidal. The latter of these was in Paris, where she traveled to try to operate on cancer and her health condition was diagnosed as hopeless. These symptoms showed her deep frustration and unhappiness with the lack of human understanding on the part of the Communist Party. And they might also include her misunderstanding regarding her own role and activity in it. Several times she showed her wish to collaborate in a mutual project, as in the writing of her journal with Oswald, her second book written together with Geraldo Ferraz, and the column she wrote with him, or else her sympathetic attitude towards the textile factory women workers of Brás. Nevertheless, even her second husband, who always supported her in her difficult political and emotional moments (release of jail, misunderstanding in *Vanguarda Socialista*), could not always share exactly the same political flag with her.

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<sup>13</sup> In 1938 she wrote a note to Oswald thanking him for bringing Rudá to visit her in jail (see Campos, 1982: p. 328).



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