

CLÓVIS MOURA: SOCIABILITY AND INTELLECTUAL TRAINING (1940-1950)

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Gabriel dos Santos ROCHA¹

ABSTRACT: This article analyzes the journey of Clóvis Moura (1925-2003) during his intellectual and political training, namely: his youth in Salvador and Juazeiro (Bahia) in the 1940s. This period in the author's trajectory precedes his consecration as a Marxist historian and sociologist whose scholarship centered on the black insurrections in slave-based Brazil and to the fight against racism and capitalism in the post-abolition period. The article discusses a period in which literature and cultural activities in the sphere of the Communist Party of Brazil (PCB) had great relevance in Moura's social life, although History and Sociology already appear as themes of interest to him. The intellectual and political references in the author's correspondence during the period under study inform us about his choices, reveal elements of his social environment, and allow us to better understand the process of his intellectual production in later years².

KEYWORDS: Clóvis Moura. Intellectuals. Culture. PCB.

RESUMO: Neste artigo analisaremos o percurso de Clóvis Moura (1925-2003) em seus anos de formação intelectual e política, a saber: a juventude em Salvador e Juazeiro da Bahia nos anos 1940. Trata-se de uma etapa, da trajetória do autor, que antecede sua consagração como historiador e sociólogo marxista dedicado às insurreições negras no Brasil escravista e à luta antirracismo e anticapitalismo no pós-abolição. Abordaremos um período no qual a literatura e atividades culturais na esfera do então Partido Comunista do Brasil (PCB) são elementos de grande relevância, ou mesmo centrais, na vida social de Moura, embora a História e a Sociologia já apareçam como temas de seu interesse. As referências intelectuais e políticas presentes na correspondência do autor no referido período nos informam sobre suas escolhas, revelam elementos de seu ambiente social, e nos permitem compreender melhor o processo de sua produção nos anos posteriores.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Clóvis Moura. Intelectuais. Cultura. PCB.

RESUMEN: En este artículo analizaremos la trayectoria de Clóvis Moura en sus años de formación intelectual y política, a saber: la juventud en Salvador y Juazeiro (Bahia) en los años de 1940. Trata de una etapa del recorrido del autor que precede su consagración como historiador y sociólogo marxista que se dedicó a estudiar las insurrecciones negras en el Brasil esclavista y la lucha antirracismo y anticapitalismo post-abolición. Discutiremos un

¹ University of São Paulo (USP), São Paulo – SP – Brazil. Doctorate in the Postgraduate Program in Economic History. ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5250-8453>. E-mail: gabriel.rocha@usp.br

² I thank Fernanda Bretones Lane for reviewing the English version of the abstract.

período en el que la literatura y las actividades culturales en ámbito del Partido Comunista de Brasil (PCB) son elementos relevantes, o centrales, en la vida social de Moura, aunque la historia y la sociología ya sean temas de su interés. Las referencias intelectuales y políticas presentes en la correspondencia del autor en ese período nos informan sobre sus elecciones, revelan elementos de su entorno social y nos permiten mejor comprender su producción en los años posteriores³.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Clóvis Moura. Intelectuales. Cultura. PCB.

An Organic Intellectual

Clóvis Moura is known for the importance of his work in the studies of slavery in Brazil, above all, for emphatically analyzing the social agency of the enslaved black in the struggle for emancipation from captivity. The author was a pioneer in studying the black insurrections in a systemic way and placing them at the center of the interpretation of the historical process of Colonial and Imperial Brazil, giving political meaning to the protest of the enslaved worker. This perspective was defended in his debut book, *Rebeliões da Senzala* (Senzala Rebellions) (1959), and permeated almost all of his work over four decades. With this, Moura not only broadened the perspective of the class struggle for that period, but also brought important contributions to what is conventionally called *subaltern studies* or *history seen from below*, even before the popularization of the works of the British historian Edward P. Thompson. in Brazil⁴.

Another theme that stands out in Clóvis Moura's production is the situation of black people in the post-abolition class society, from which racism remains as a structuring element of the capitalist economy that was built in Brazil from the bowels of the Brazilian slave system. In this way, he understood the links between race and class as part of the *modus operandi* of dependent and peripheral capitalism in our country.

Clóvis Moura's main intellectual contributions are in the fields of History and Sociology, although the author was also a poet and journalist by profession. In his trajectory, communist and anti-racist militancy still stand out, also expressed in his intellectual production.

³ Thanks to Angelica Bezerra for reviewing the Spanish version of the abstract.

⁴ Edward P. Thompson's book *A Formação da Classe Operária Inglesa* (The Formation of the English Working Class), published in the United Kingdom in 1963, became a reference in Brazilian Social History from the mid-1970s onwards. However, it was only translated into Portuguese in 1987. See: (MATTOS, 2014). *A Formação da Classe Operária Inglesa: História e Intervenção*. **Revista Trabalho Necessário**, v. 12, n. 18, 2014. Available: <https://periodicos.uff.br/trabalhonecessario/article/view/8591>. Access: 12 May 2021.

The intellectual and militant dimensions are not dissociated in Moura's biography, on the contrary, they complement each other and form a unity. This is a figure whose intellectual formation took place in political activity. It is also correct to say the opposite: Moura's intellectual affinities made his path towards communist militancy possible, as revealed by his correspondence in the years before the publication of *Rebeliões da Senzala*, as we will see later.

Interest in literature and journalism were Clóvis Moura's gateway to political militancy, being also decisive in the positions that the author came to occupy in the partisan sphere. Journalism, poetry, literary criticism and work on the Cultural Front place the author's activities in the Communist Party of Brazil (PCB until 1961), before becoming a historian and sociologist (MALATIAN, 2018a; OLIVEIRA, 2009). Such activities are central to understanding the period of intellectual formation of Clóvis Moura in the 1940s.

Moura lived off journalism and produced a robust work on Brazil as a historian and sociologist, even without having an academic background in these areas. However, as we will see, the PCB and the sociability network around the association were central in its formation, and in its insertion in intellectual and political debates. They were his school. As Gramsci demonstrates, for some social groups, given their general characteristics, condition of formation, life and development, the party functions as its own way of elaborating its category of organic intellectuals (GRAMSCI, 2001, p. 24).

The intellectual is not defined only by the type of activity he performs, but by exercising such activity – of intellect – under certain conditions and in certain social relationships. It is a category that cannot be defined by what is intrinsic to it – the intellect –, because thinking is an inherent and constitutive aptitude of the human species. Therefore, the intellectual is identified by the activity he performs in the set of social relations, and not simply by the ability to think, or for not performing manual work (GRAMSCI, 2001, p. 18).

Unlike the category “social class”, which is more directly linked to the position that each group occupies in production relations, the intellectual does not have an immediate connection with (economic-social) production but mediated by civil society and the State. In other words, the intellectual is not defined by the place he occupies in the production process, but by his relationship with the extra-economic instances of the social structure (LÖWY, 1979; VOZA, 2017, p. 431).

It is plausible to define Clóvis Moura as an organic intellectual in the Gramscian concept of the term, that is: as the subject who exerts an organizational function in the social group in which he is integrated:

Every social group, born in the original terrain of an essential function in the world of economic production, creates for itself, at the same time, organically, one or more layers of intellectuals that give them homogeneity and awareness of their own function, not only in the economic field, but also in the social and political (GRAMSCI, 2001, p. 15, our translation).

Organic intellectuals are linked to the class they represent, exercising organizational and connective functions in the processes of hegemony formation (VOZA, 2017, p. 431). In Moura's case, the organizational functions are situated in the one engaged in the struggle of the working class and the black movement against capitalist oppression and racism, with which his work is also intrinsically linked.

As he is an intellectual formed in the PCB sphere, in order to better understand his trajectory and his thinking, we need to focus on his process of adherence to communism.

In the ways of communism

Clovis Moura was born in Amarante, Piauí, on 10 June 1925. In 1935, he moved with his family to Natal, Rio Grande do Norte, where he lived until 1941. During this period, we identify the affinity of the author, still very young, with the letters. He studied at Diocesan High School Santo Antonio (directed by Marist priests), where at the age of 14, he founded the Civic-Literary Guild and created the newspaper *O Potiguar*, in which he published his first article, *Libertas quae sera tamen* (1939), on the theme of *Inconfidência Mineira*⁵.

In 1935, the year in which Clóvis Moura's family moved to Natal, an uprising of soldiers linked to the PCB took place in that city, aiming to seize political power, which resulted in the establishment of a Popular Revolutionary Government that lasted four days⁶. The episode aroused the author's sympathy for leftist ideas (FREIRE, 2000. p. 15).

In 1941 Moura moved with his family to Salvador, Bahia. From then on, in his 20s, his approach to intellectual circles and communism became more evident. His adherence to Marxism and his growing interest in the History of Brazil took place in the 1940s. In 1942, he moved to Juazeiro, a city in the interior of Bahia, on the banks of the São Francisco River, where he lived until 1950.

In Salvador, the author met intellectuals linked to the press, literature and the PCB, with whom he kept in contact by correspondence during the period he lived in Juazeiro. This sociability network, which Darwin Brandão, Expedito A. N., Heron de Alencar, Vivaldo da

⁵ See: Malatian (2018, p. 26), Mesquita (2002, p. 175-176) e Oliveira (2009, p. 33-36).

⁶ On the 1935 communist uprising in Natal, see: Vianna (2011).

Costa Lima, among others, were part of, it was fundamental in the intellectual formation and in the insertion of Moura in the party and in the press.

Moura joined the PCB in 1945 (MESQUITA, 2002, p. 176). Internationally, the year was marked by the end of World War II with the victory of the Allies against Nazi-fascism. The central importance of the USSR in the victory over German troops, as well as its commitment to the campaign for world peace in subsequent years, gave prestige to communists around the world. The national context was marked by the end of the Estado Novo dictatorship, the amnesty of its political prisoners and the return of the PCB to legality.

The PCB was founded in 1922 with 123 militants that year, a number that rose to 300 the following year. In 1930, the party had 1000 members. In 1935, the year the Communists tried to seize power by military means, there were 10,000 party members. With the failure of that action and the consequent persecution and repression that fell on the left, in 1936 the PCB had its ranks reduced to 2,964 members and reached an estimate of 100 militants in 1942. In 1943 the number of PCB members rose to 900, and in 1944 to 3,100. When Clóvis Moura joined, in 1945, the party was legal and had 82,000 members. This number rose to 180,000 in 1946. The PCB had 200,000 militants in 1947, the year in which it was again made illegal (SECCO, 2017, p. 195).

Therefore, we see that Moura closed ranks in the PCB in a context of social ascension and prestige of the group, and in a region where the party had been accumulating notable experiences in the social struggle.

In the late 1920s and early 1930s, Bahian communists stood out in the cultural scene with the participation of Aydano do Couto Ferraz, Edison Carneiro and Jorge Amado, in addition to others, in the literary group that became known as Academia dos Rebeldes (Rebels Academy - 1928-1932). Ferraz, Carneiro and Amado were active members of the PCB, they actively participated in the literary scene, in the fight against the persecution of Candomblés, in the valorization of cultural heritage of African origin and in the debate on the racial issue. In 1937 Edison Carneiro and Aydano Couto Ferraz organized the **II Afro-Brazilian Congress** in Salvador, bringing together intellectuals, candomblé priests, capoeirists and other figures of the people (LIMA, 2015).

It was precisely in Bahia that the PCB remained an important pole of resistance to the Estado Novo (1937-1945) and played a fundamental role in the process of struggles for democratization.

With the failure of the communist uprising of November 1935, the consequent arrest of thousands of ANL militants, and the implantation of the Estado Novo dictatorship (1937-1945) by Getúlio Vargas, the PCB practically disappeared from the national scene for a period of ten years. An important exception is the activity registered in the Northeast of the country, with the creation, by communist initiative, of the Peasant Leagues, in 1940, as well as the performance of the so-called “Bahian cell” during the dictatorship. And it is precisely with communist leaders trained in Bahia – such as Jacob Gorender, Diógenes Arruda, Carlos Marighella, Elias Chaves Neto, Rui Facó and Jorge Amado – that the PCB returns to activity in the post-war period and begins its most productive phase, both in political as well as theoretical terms, when it finally became a “mass party” (CHADAREVIAN, 2012, p. 267, our translation).

In the first half of the 1930s, the PCB was investing in the Popular Front policy against fascism, such as the creation and massive participation of communists in the National Liberation Alliance (ANL), with Luiz Carlos Prestes as honorary president.

As we have seen, the defeat of 1935 resulted in drastic consequences for the communists leading to a huge reduction in the number of militants. In that context, the PCB Regional Committee in Bahia was an important pole of resistance and survival of the association, of opposition to the Vargas dictatorship, and of anti-fascist mobilization. Between 1938 and 1943, the communists organized in the Bahia Regional Committee were responsible for publishing the first anti-fascist periodical that circulated during the Estado Novo, the magazine *Seiva* (FERREIRA, 2012).

In the post-Estado Novo, with the party's legality obtained, the Bahian communists stood out for the intense activity of their Popular and Democratic Committees (1945-1947) which, although they were created in different parts of Brazil, were quite prominent in the Salvador's social life.

[...] the Popular Democratic Committees aimed to link the masses with the communists, through the struggle for immediate claims of interest in improving life in the neighborhoods and groups involved. [...] the Committees combined popular participation with the demand movement, in mobilizations - such as the struggle for the immediate convening of the Constituent Assembly, anti-fascist and anti-integralist demonstrations and especially the work of enlistment and electoral clarification. Also called Popular Democratic Committees, these bodies aimed, in the line of action of the PCB, the organization of civil society in democratic molds, in addition to expanding the Party's bases, - incorporating an increasing number of members into its ranks, through a program to support popular demands, outside formal organizations, such as the union. It was expected that each neighborhood would form a nucleus that would demand the most urgent needs of the local population (SILVA, 2012, p. 11, our translation).

This context of growing popularity of the PCB helps us to understand Clóvis Moura's adherence to communism and the paths taken in his intellectual formation. The young man who already brought from his experience of life in Natal some affinity with the literature and sympathies for the left, moved to Bahia in the 1940s: a very favorable place and time to socialize among the communists.

The PCB's ascendant movement in the post-World War II and post-Estado Novo period is also perceived by the remarkable participation of its militants and sympathizers in the country's cultural life, with figures such as Candido Portinari (1903-1962), Di Cavalcanti (1897-1976), Graciliano Ramos (1892-1953), Oswald de Andrade (1890-1954), Tarsila do Amaral (1886-1973), Patrícia Galvão (1910-1962), Solano Trindade (1908-1974), Mario Lago (1911-2002), Oscar Niemeyer (1907-2012), Jorge Amado (1912-2001), who was a friend of Moura, among others.

Sociability, intellectual formation, politics and cultural life

Clóvis Moura joined the PCB for cultural activities. The interest in literature, literary criticism, poetry and sociability in the Pecebist sphere, possibly explain the correspondence of the young Clóvis Moura with the acclaimed poet Carlos Drummond de Andrade (1902-1987), a figure who had some proximity to the PCB, however, in that the moment, he walked away, as indicated by the words and tone of his letter to Moura. On 18 March 1947, the Minas Gerais poet from Itabira wrote:

I am very much afraid that you were wrong to write to me. Your letter, after all, is addressed to a man I am not, to a poet I am not. If I really liked your natural and violent way of opening up and communicating your certainty to me, the truth is that, on the whole, your letter caused me great discomfort. In no way continue to see me as the “guider of a generation”. I don't guide anything, anyone, not even myself. And as a poet, I am sorry to tell you that, contrary to what you think, the “People's Rose” was not a definition. I have not joined any party, I do not adopt any political truth, I am alone, and not proudly alone, as an individual who has proved the unreason of gatherings: I am simply alone, without vanity or ferocity. [...] (ANDRADE, 1947, our translation).

The poet from Itabira (MG) was a reference for the young Clóvis Moura, who at that time was embarking on the path of politics and poetry, topics covered in the letter. Drummond's answer shows us that Moura had sent him poems of his own authorship to be appreciated, a fact that reinforces our observation of the young man's admiration for the renowned poet:

I will eventually be able to sing of Spain or oppressed China, but be sure that my poetry will never be a consciously political weapon, but will apply itself in, through the political theme or any other, enunciating a poetic state. And here I note in passing the mistake you made in censoring a period of your life in which you “cared very much for the effect of words”: but in literature this is essential; it is not possible to write artistically without paying attention to the effect of words. Today I am very attached to this effect, and I assure you that this is not a reactionary attitude nor does it mean the ivory tower, which is a silly name for the simplism of its interpretation among us (ANDRADE, 1947, author highlights, our translation).

Possibly, on that occasion Moura was looking for an engaged poetry, perhaps a “socialist realism” free from what could be seen by certain sectors in the left field of the time as “bourgeois aesthetics”, attached to the “effect of words”, a point to which Drummond had disagreement and made a contrary recommendation. The Minas Gerais poet defended and highlighted the importance of the “effect of words” and – we can infer – of aesthetics in poetic writing, assuring the young Moura that it was not about “reactionary elements” in writing.

In fact, we found that literary references to real socialism composed the young Moura's library, as shown in the letter from an attaché from the Soviet embassy in Brazil named A. Nikolskaia, dated 22 September 1947:

In response to your esteemed letter of the 2nd of August of the current year, addressed to Mr. Ambassador J. Souritz I am pleased to send you 5 copies of the magazine “Soviet Literature”, as well as 1st copy of the work “Cuestiones del Leninismo” by J. Stalin, last edition. The other V.S books can be purchased from the Editorial “Me jdunarodnaia Kniga” whose address is as follows: “Me jdunarodnaia Kniga” Kuznetski Most, 18, Moscow-USSR (NIKOLSKAIA, 1947, our translation).

The letter from adida Nikolskaia brings not only the reference in the field of literature, but also a little of the theory that circulated among the Brazilian communists of that period as shown in the work of Stalin in Spanish, sent along with the copies of the magazine on Soviet literature.

Another reference to Clóvis Moura's intellectual formation and engagement in literature is the correspondence of Astrojildo Pereira, who at the time was directing the magazine *Literatura*. The editorial board included: Alvaro Moreyra, Annibal M. Machado, Arthur Ramos, Graciliano Ramos, Manuel Bandeira and Origenes Lessa. The letterhead of the letter with information about the journal also appears: secretary, Jorge Medauar (secretary), Antonio Ferreira da Silva (manager) and Astrojildo Pereira himself (director in charge). The

newsroom and administration were located at Rua Alindo Guanabara, 17, 7th floor, room 702, Rio de Janeiro.

Astrojildo starts the letter justifying the delay in responding to Moura. He then mentions a period of interruption and a subsequent resumption of the journal's publications. He also talks about the value of a 12-issue magazine subscription plan. Clóvis Moura was possibly a reader of Astrojildo's magazine, we do not know if he was a subscriber or a single buyer. However, we are struck by a passage in the letter that demonstrates Moura's intention to publish some text in that periodical. On 15 November 1947, Astrojildo Pereira wrote:

Dear friend.

I have in my hands your letters of 30th January and 21st May of the current year, which arrived in due course and which I am now responding to for reasons beyond my control.

Literature suffered a long interruption after the 2nd issue was published, and the 3rd was only published last September. We are already in the 5th issue, according to v. you can see through the collection we sent you, under registration. The subscription for 12 ns., as stated in the file, is Cr\$ 50.00.

As you can imagine, we always have collaboration in the queue, subject to the opinion of the editorial board. You will therefore have to wait your turn (PEREIRA, 1947, our translation).

Astrojildo suggested that Moura join the queue and wait for the editorial board's assessment, in case he was applying for publication in that journal. We do not know if Moura sent any text to the magazine *Literatura*, if it was published, or if it was refused. We only know that in the paths of his formation and insertion in the intellectual life, he came into contact with the veteran communist, founder of the PCB, who by that time had already been ostracized in the period of workerization of the party (1929-1934), and later returned to the association, however, without exercising a directive function.

To the young man who was looking for a way to publish his texts, another task was then suggested: attracting new subscriptions to increase the sale and circulation of the periodical.

You can be of great help to the magazine, obtaining subscriptions from your friends not only in Juazeiro but also in other places where it is not available for sale. Send us a list of likely subscriber names and authorize us to use your name as a recommendation. We will send the magazine to each one with a letter from us proposing to subscribe. I wait for news from you (PEREIRA, 1947, our translation).

By the way, the literary production of the young man from Amarante, who was living in Juazeiro at that time, was first well received in the small independent periodicals, as shown in the letter from Darwin Brandão, with whom Clóvis Moura maintained a long-term

friendship, later dedicating to him in memory of the book *Quilombos: resistência ao escravismo* (Quilombos: Resistance to Slavery) (1993). A friendship that began by correspondence, when Moura sent a letter and a poem to be published in *Caderno da Bahia*, a magazine edited by Brandão and others, in Salvador. In a letter dated of 9 August 1948, Brandão wrote:

I expected everything, that the magazine would be well received, that the public would accept it, that young people from other states would come to us, but never that a young man from Juazeiro would write me a letter like yours. The sincerity and spontaneity of his initiative gave me admirable vigor! Caderno da Bahia [emphasis added] before published (your letter arrived before the first issue was delivered to newsstands) revealed to us a good poet, lost in São Francisco. Clovis, we all liked your letter and your poem very much. So much so that in the next issue we will publish excerpts from the letter as a testimonial and maybe the poem, if there is space. Otherwise, it's for the third. (BRANDÃO, 1948, our translation).

In addition to editing *Caderno da Bahia*, Brandão also worked at *O Momento*⁷, a newspaper in the Bahian section of the PCB, of which Moura later was editor in 1950. According to Fábio Nogueira de Oliveira, *Caderno da Bahia* was dedicated to Afro-Brazilians cultural manifestations, with a strong emphasis on local culture. The first issue featured an article by Darwin Brandão himself on Edison Carneiro, an anthropologist with extensive work on the African roots of Brazil, with whom Clóvis Moura also corresponded and whose works served as a reference (OLIVEIRA, 2009, p. 40). It is possible that Brandão was responsible for putting Moura in contact with Edison Carneiro, as shown in a letter dated 8 May 1949.

Regarding your issue of blacks, I must inform you that I have already taken some measures, including writing to Edison Carneiro, who will be able to guide us a lot in our research. In fact, if you want to address him directly, you can do so. Address: Pereira Guimarães 11, apt. 201 – Leblon – Rio. Edison is a very good guy and will certainly be happy to exchange opinions with you (BRANDÃO, 1949).

This letter reveals Clóvis Moura's interest in the racial issue, a topic that would consecrate him years later as a historian and sociologist. At that time, the author had already started his studies, which would later result in his first book, *Rebeliões da Senzala* (1959). Correspondence with Edison Carneiro, and other scholars on the subject such as Emílio

⁷ Darwin Brandão mentions his work on *O Momento* in a letter to Clóvis Moura dated 13/10/1948 (1948b).

Willems, Donald Pierson and Arthur Ramos are important references for understanding the book project. Besides them, Caio Prado Jr. and Nelson Werneck Sodré⁸.

In another letter, Brandão, while passing through Rio de Janeiro, sends Moura magazines and supplements, including the newspaper *Quilombo* edited by Abdias Nascimento in that city (BRANDÃO, 1949a).

It was Darwin Brandão who also invited Clóvis Moura to participate in the Brazilian Association of Writers (ABDE), as mentioned in a letter dated 4 December 1948.

On the 10th, elections for the board of ABDE will be held. So far only one slate has been presented, precisely the progressive one, made up of me, Heron, Silvio Valente, Adrolado Ribeiro Costa, Artur de Sales, Vasconcelos Maia and Claudio Tavares. I think we're going to win, because the opponents (Odorico and company) haven't made a statement yet. By the way, you need to be a member of the Association. I will present your name at the next session and payment can be made through me. As you know, the III Congress of Writers will be held here in Salvador, in November 1949. [...] We are considering holding municipal congresses, in order to choose delegations from the various municipalities to be present here. Therefore, it is necessary that the municipalities have an organized nucleus. You can take care of the one in Juazeiro. It's an easy thing. Only you will send us a list of people who can be partners, take care of the collection, etc. It is not necessary for the person to write. We accept as partners doctors, lawyers, dentists, teachers, etc. (BRANDÃO, 1948a, our translation).

This and other letters from Brandão show that ABDE, in addition to being a corporate association of writers, was also an environment of political dispute, in which he himself was involved. It is noted that Brandão's invitation for Moura to join ABDE was already accompanied by an organizational attribution: to found and organize a nucleus of the institution in Juazeiro, with the purpose of expanding the strength and influence zone of the political field from which he and Clovis Moura were part.

ABDE was founded in 1942 with the proposal to regulate issues around the writer's craft, however, from the beginning it already had quite evident political contours, such as reflection and debate on the social role of the writer. Between 1942 and 1945 the Association was an important pole of opposition to the Estado Novo, being, since then, and in subsequent years, a space of political dispute.

The ABDE brought together intellectuals of the most varied political colors, activists and sympathizers of the PCB were quite active and influential in the institutions and disputed the hegemony of their political line.

⁸ We worked with Moura's correspondence with Caio Prado Jr. and Nelson Werneck Sodré in another article. See: Rocha (2020).

The board that would meet, among other occasions, in 1943, in Rio de Janeiro, had names such as Aurélio Buarque de Holanda, Otávio Tarquínio de Souza, its first president. Among the founders were also Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, Caio Prado Júnior, Astrojildo Pereira, Sérgio Milliet, Antonio Candido and the various renowned writers of the moment such as José Lins do Rego, Graciliano Ramos, Mario de Andrade, Raquel de Queiroz, Aníbal Machado, Monteiro Werewolf etc. (MELO, 2011, p. 714, our translation).

The ABDE was organized in state bodies, and in the case of the Bahia section, the groups in dispute put the municipalization - the foundation of headquarters in the different municipalities -, from its affiliates, as a tactic to expand its influence in the interior of the institution. The PCB invested in this tactic. It is not by chance that Brandão returns to the subject in other letters, such as the one on 2 March 1949.

He remembers the promised list of partners for ABDE. We are very interested in this. We are in a tremendous struggle here in Bahia to raise the Association. The thing is no joke. The reaction really wants to bring down ABDE, which has been developing a good, albeit small, work. We need to hold the Congress this year and things are difficult. They are sabotaging us in every way. We need to increase the number of partners and create municipal centers. The one in Juazeiro must be the first, because we have you there. [...] We may have to send a commission to install it in order to give greater importance (BRANDÃO, 1949b, our translation).

The project to found a section of ABDE in Juazeiro also appears in other letters by the author, one of which even refers to a possible Association's House of Culture (BRANDÃO, 1949c). We do not know whether the foundation of the ABDE section in Juazeiro was completed. As there is no mention of this in Moura's correspondence, we infer that this project was not carried out. But we know that Moura was a delegate at the III Congress of Writers of ABDE in Bahia in 1950 (OLIVEIRA, 2009, p. 68). However, despite possibly not having founded the municipal headquarters of the Association, it is interesting to note that at that time Clóvis Moura was involved in party activities within the scope of cultural debates, being assigned organizational tasks.

Conclusions

At that time, in the late 1940s, Moura was being asked to publish poems and texts on literature in the magazine *Cadernos da Bahia*, and in other periodicals, including the widely circulated newspaper *À Tarde*, in which worked his friend, critic literary and PCB activist, Heron de Alencar. In 1949, Clóvis Moura founded the newspaper *O Jacuba* in Juazeiro, apparently in line with the political and cultural activities with which he was involved in the

party sphere. The author also started to collaborate with the well-known PCB newspaper published in Salvador *O Momento*, of which he became editor in 1950 (MALATIAN, 2018a; OLIVEIRA, 2009).

In 1950, he moved to the capital of the state of São Paulo, with the intellectual and militant experience he had acquired in the 1940s between Salvador and Juazeiro.

On the one hand, we can say that Clóvis Moura's intellectual and political affinities led him to the PCB. On the other hand, cultural activities in the partisan sphere provided them with the experience and development of work in the press, an area in which he became professional and worked throughout his life.

Moura was also editor-in-chief of *Fundamentos* magazine (1952-1955), editor-in-chief of the newspaper *Notícias de Hoje* (1953-1954). In the short period he lived in the city of Araraquara, in the interior of São Paulo, the author founded *Flama* Magazine (1952-1953), aligned with the PCB policy (MALATIAN, 2018a; OLIVEIRA, 2009).

He was also: editor of the newspaper *Última Hora* (1952-1958), editor of the *Diários Associados: Diário da Noite* and *Diário de São Paulo* (1959), undersecretary of writing and literary critic of the newspaper *Correio Paulistano* (1960), editor-in-chief of the newspaper *Folha de São Carlos* (1969-1972).

Clóvis Moura did not become an influential figure in the political and theoretical line of the PCB, as shown by his biography and his historical and sociological work (**on the subject, see our cited works**). Nor was his historiographical and sociological production aligned with the dominant theoretical precepts of the party during the period in which he was active (**until 1961**). In spite of this, we see that sociability in the partisan sphere of communism played an important role in the author's intellectual and professional formation, and even in his affective life, following the example of friendships that continued throughout his life.

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How to reference this article

ROCHA, G. S. Clóvis Moura: sociability and intellectual training (1940-1950). **Rev. Sem Aspas**, Araraquara, v. 10, n. 00, e021020, Jan./Dec. 2021. e-ISSN: 2358-4238. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.29373/sas.v10i00.15871>

Submitted: 10/09/2021

Required revisions: 08/10/2021

Approved: 11/11/2021

Publsihed: 29/12/2021