

# Dossier

# Class Struggle and Repression in Volta Redonda, Brazil



Police intervene against striking municipal workers in Volta Redonda, Brazil during nationwide general strike, 21 June 1996.

# Cops, Courts Out of the Unions

**An Internationalist Group pamphlet** February 1997





Volta Redonda, Brazil, November 1988: Army attacked striking steel workers. Three strikers were killed.

### Introduction

The battle waged in the city of Volta Redonda, Brazil over the last year-to remove police from the municipal workers union, to fight racist discrimination and to defend class-struggle union militants from an onslaught of legal repression-has important lessons for the workers movement internationally. The Internationalist Group is publishing this bulletin to bring to the attention of the working-class and socialist public this important fight led by our fraternal comrades of the Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil (LQB–Fourth Internationalist League of Brazil).

This struggle takes place in Brazil's *cidade do aço* (steel city), the site of the largest steel plant in Latin America. The city of 220,000 inhabitants is located 60 miles from Rio de Janeiro, and is part of the state of the same name. Volta Redonda has always been a company town. It was created during World War II when the huge Companhia Siderúrgica Nacional (CSN–National Steel Company) factory was built with U.S. aid under the military-populist regime of Getúlio Vargas. During the 1980s, CSN employed some 30,000 workers. As a result of the cutbacks in state-owned industries and privatization policies instigated by the International Monetary Fund and carried out by successive Brazilian governments, the work force has been slashed to some 16,000 workers today. Yet even after the drastic layoffs, it remains one of the largest proletarian concentrations on the continent.

In the the early 1980s, Volta Redonda steel workers waged mass, illegal strikes as part of the wave of working-class unrest

that swept through Brazil's industrial centers, ultimately leading to the downfall of the military dictatorship that ruled the country from 1964 to 1985. (During the dictatorship Volta Redonda was a "national security zone" due to the importance of the steel plant.) When steel workers struck in 1988, the government sent the army to occupy the city. The killing of three strikers–William, Valmir and Barroso–by army troops became a symbol of anti-labor repression in the "new, democratic" Brazil. It was as leaders and activists in these strikes that a largely black nucleus of militants came together in opposition to the steel union bureaucracy and capitalist politicians, forming the Luta Metalúrgica (LM–Metal Workers Struggle) group, the precursor of the LQB.

The mass strikes of the early 1980s gave rise to the Workers Party (Partido dos Trabalhadores–PT) of Luis Inácio Lula da Silva, closely linked to the CUT labor federation. Several of the militants who formed Luta Metalúrgica played leading roles in PT branches in Volta Redonda and the neighboring city of Barra Mansa. As the rightward-moving reformist PT geared up for the 1989 elections, it formed a "popular front," a class-collaborationist coalition with several pettybourgeois and minor bourgeois parties behind Lula's presidential candidacy. The Luta Metalúrgica comrades were purged by the PT leadership for opposing the formation of the Frente Brasil Popular. The first targets of the wide-ranging anti-red purge carried out by the PT during that period,

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## Dossier

# Class Struggle and Repression in Volta Redonda, Brazil



Diário do Vale

Municipal union leader Geraldo Ribeiro addresses 4 July 1996 rally. Inset: union bulletin calls for "Mobilization Now!" against attempt by popular front, police and their puppet to oust Ribeiro and destroy the union.

## Cops, Courts Out of the Unions!

For over a year, anti-racist trade unionists and Trotskyist activists in Volta Redonda–Brazil's "steel city," in the state of Rio de Janeiro–have faced a repressive vendetta from the city government, courts and police. The Internationalist Group has published materials on the defense campaign against this repression, in *The Internationalist* No. 1 (January-February 1997) and elsewhere. To supplement these, we have put together this dossier in conjunction with our fraternal comrades of the Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil (LQB-Fourth Internationalist League of Brazil).

A key element in this defense campaign has been the support of unions and defenders of labor rights internationally, from South Africa to El Salvador, who have spoken out for the Volta Redonda militants. Some of the protest statements received are reproduced later in this bulletin. Mobilization of the workers in Volta Redonda, together with international solidarity, has produced some



offs of 2,800 municipal employees. Today the threat of mass layoffs is again being raised by the city, in line with the austerity and privatization measures promoted by Brazilian president Fernando Henrique Cardoso and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

November 1995. In SFPMVR activist Geraldo Ribeiro ran for president of the union at the head of the Municipários em Luta (MEL-Municipal Workers in Struggle) slate, whose program called for "proletarian opposition to the popular front," stating that "the struggle to build a revolutionary workers party is more than ever on the order of the day." The program also stressed that all levels of the armed forces and police, including the military police and municipal guardas, are "all of them, the armed fist of the bourgeoisie," and that any "alli-

Luta Metalúrgica and Municipal Workers Union initiated united-front protest in Volta Redonda, August 1995, demanding freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal, radical black journalist on death row in Pennsylvania.

important partial victories: charges have been dropped or dismissed in several of the court cases against the union activists. Meanwhile, municipal police (*guardas*), some of whom were affiliated to the Volta Redonda Municipal Workers Union (SFPMVR), were disaffiliated from the union by a membership vote as the result of a determined class-struggle campaign.

This dossier tells the story of this important battle for the class independence of the workers. As the Russian Bolshevik leader and founder of the Fourth International Leon Trotsky wrote in 1940, the primary slogan of revolutionaries in the trade unions must be "complete and unconditional independence of the trade unions in relation to the capitalist state," and that together with the fight for trade-union democracy, this requires the forging of a revolutionary leadership.

The repression in Volta Redonda has targeted leading activists of the municipal workers union who have been won to the revolutionary program of the LQB over the past period. The SFPMVR, which is affiliated to the CUT labor federation, has waged seven strikes in recent years. Going up against the city administration of the Popular Front–a coalition of the reformist Workers Party (PT) with the bourgeois-populist Brazilian Socialist Party and others–these strikes put a stop to the planned layance" with them is incompatible with class independence, "since they bring men armed and trained by the bourgeois state into the unions." Running against a candidate backed by the city administration and the pro-company labor federation Força Sindical, Ribeiro won the election with 62 percent of the votes.

Working together with Luta Metalúrgica (Metal Workers Struggle, the predecessor of the LQB), Ribeiro took a strong stand against what in the U.S. would be called business unionism. Calling for "Workers Mobilizations to Defeat the Hunger Plan of Cardoso and the IMF," a December 1995 MEL leaflet declared "The Popular Front Endangers the Workers," and stressed: "It is necessary to mobilize the working class (whites, blacks, mulattos, of all ethnic groups) in action against the massacres of street children and the murder of activists, for workers' self-defense, against the oppression of homosexuals and the massacre of Indians." When Luta Metalúrgica brought the campaign to free black American death row prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal to Brazil, Ribeiro was the union's speaker at an August 1995 Volta Redonda rally for Jamal co-sponsored by Luta Metalúrgica and the SFPMVR.

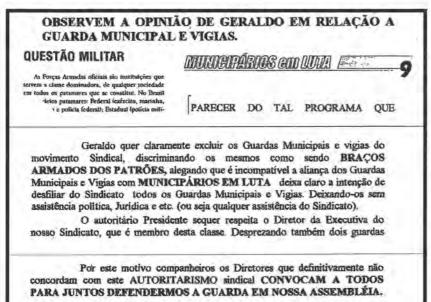
During the union election campaign in late 1995, city officials sent the Military Police after Ribeiro and Luta Metalúrgica/LQB leader Cerezo and fined them for painting campaign slogans on a wall in the city center. *Diário do Vale* (19 October 1995), the Volta Redonda daily newspaper and mouthpiece of the steel bosses, published a front-page photo and article on this incident. After Ribeiro overwhelmingly won the union election, the Popular Front city administration joined with the outgoing union president in trying to block him from taking office. When he was finally able to take office in December, as a result of a determined struggle by the ranks, Ribeiro undertook efforts to disaffiliate the municipal *guardas* from the SFPMVR.

In late January 1996, a sinister slander campaign was launched against Ribeiro and Cerezo, who had been an advisor to Ribeiro's campaign. The smears were published in the local press, which picked them up from Causa Operária (C.O.–Workers Cause), a group which supported the Frente Brasil Popular in the 1994 presidential elections. The witchhunt was then taken up by Artur Fernandes, secretary of the SFPMVR, who received backing and advice from the Liga Bolchevique Internacionalista, a split-off from C.O., at the same time as he proclaimed that he was receiving "orientation" from the police. Fernandes attempted to carry out a coup against Ribeiro, acting as an instrument of the city bosses in attempting to strangle class-struggle politics within the union. Fernandes' coup faction distributed a leaflet provocatively calling to "defend the *guardas*" at a March 13 union meeting.

At the meeting, the pro-cop faction sought to provoke a brawl by grabbing Ribeiro, whom the workers elected to chair the meeting. When the workers defended him, the pro-police faction immediately called the Military Police in to "restrain the radicals of Luta Metalúrgica." Of the squad of Military Police who invaded the meeting, two



Pichação: Geraldo (segundo à esquerda) e Cerezo (segundo à direita) picham tampume da prefeitura Diário do Vale (19 October 1995) blares: "Unionists Fined for Painting Graffiti."



DIA 13 - Quarta-Feira

Attacking Ribeiro's program for stating cops are "armed fist of the bourgeoisie," leaflet by Artur Fernandes provocatively calls to "defend the *guardas*" at 13 March 1996 union meeting. Called by Fernandes & Co., Military Police invaded meeting.

were brandishing shotguns. Later, three municipal guardas also arrived, and a number of plainclothes police were also present at the assembly. Everything points to this provocation having been carefully prepared in advance in order to provoke a "confrontation with the police," something the class-struggle militants sought to avoid. Ribeiro succeeded in preventing a clash and nobody was hurt.

In response to the police invasion of the March 13 union meeting, an international campaign was launched, demanding: Police Hands Off the SFPMVR. This campaign, originally begun by the Partisan Defense Committee in the United States, gained support from unions from Brazil, Mexico, the United States and Canada to Europe, Australia, South Africa and Japan. Defenders of the oppressed such as Esteban Volkov (grandson of Leon Trotsky), Mumia Abu-Jamal and others also spoke out against the cop invasion.

Ribeiro, together with other LQB supporters, answered the provocations and repression by intensifying the work of mobilizing and increasing the consciousness of the union ranks concerning the role of the police and the need to disaffiliate the *guardas* from the SFPMVR. This effort included the publication of thousands of bulletins featuring Mumia Abu-Jamal's article on the campaign, titled "Police: Part of, or Enemies of, Labor?" The large print run of this bulletin (10,000 copies) was one of the pretexts later used by the courts for intervening in the union and suspending Ribeiro from his elected post.

The class-struggle union leaders steadily worked to

build support for disaffiliating the cops. A union bulletin of May 6 reported on a 6 a.m. meeting of garage workers:

"The Rank and File Is Deciding: Police Out of the Union; Reaffirmation of the Municipários em Luta Program! ...A meeting of the [municipal] garage workers voted unanimously: The police should not be part of, and should not interfere with, the SFPMVR or the workers movement in general. Because they are the instrument and armed fist of the bourgeoisie."

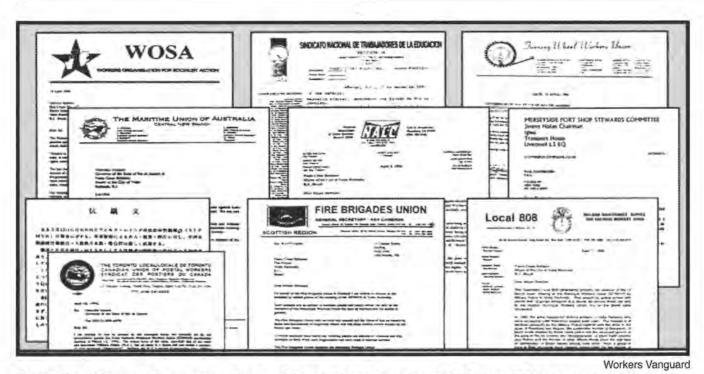
The bulletin also emphasized the classstruggle program "which defends workers' class independence; women, their rights and gains; blacks; children; socialism and the construction of a Revolutionary Workers Party which fights to put an end to capitalism; for proletarian opposition to the Popular Front and for workers mobilizations to defeat the starvation plan, firings and misery of FHC [Brazilian president

Fernando Henrique Cardoso] and the IMF!"



Union bulletin (11 April 1996) features Mumia Abu-Jamal's article, "Police: Part of, or Enemies of, Labor?" Volta Redonda court later used this bulletin as pretext to remove elected union president.

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Solidarity statements from around the world protest cop invasion of 13 March 1996 union meeting.

Calling to "do as the garage brothers did," a schedule was published for elections of workplace delegates to a union conference that would organize a vote on disaffiliation of the police. *Diário do Vale* (17 May 1996) reported that in early June, "the union will hold a conference where it will discuss the removal of the *guardas* from its membership, Geraldo Ribeiro said yesterday." Meanwhile, desperate to deflect the growing support for the campaign to remove police from the union, the sinister pro-cop faction leader Fernandes triggered several days of lurid headlines and threats of police action against Luta Metalúrgica by trying to implicate LM in an imaginary "attack" on him, even claiming to have been grazed by a shot although no wound was ever shown.

The union conference was held on June 13, and a motion was overwhelmingly passed calling for the ouster of the *guardas*. On June 19 a general union assembly was called to discuss the SFPMVR's campaigns and carry out the disaffiliation of the cops. For the second time, the cops invaded the union meeting, which was attended by some 200 workers. On orders from Volta Redonda's mayor, 15 *guardas* sealed off the entrances and proceeded to enforce a court injunction shutting down the meeting as union president Ribeiro was reading the resolution for disaffiliation of the *guardas*. Ringleaders of the procop grouping physically attacked Ribeiro and a woman executive board member, Maria do Carmo Paes.

The judicial offensive now went into high gear. A week after the June 19 meeting, a Volta Redonda judge

suspended Ribeiro from his elected post and installed Fernandes as front man for the court intervention. This came on top of an earlier legal action against Ribeiro by the commander of the police, Lt. Freitas, who accused him of slander and defamation. In yet another case, the city government has charged him with defamation over the union campaign against the racist firing of a black woman worker, Regina Célia. Under the 1967 censorship law inherited from the military dictatorship that ruled Brazil for over two decades (1964-1985), Ribeiro could face up to four years in jail on this charge.

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Meanwhile, the SFPMVR militants together with the LQB/LM took the lead in carrying out strike actions in Volta Redonda as part of a nationwide general strike on 21 June 1996. When union activist and LQB supporter Marcello Carega led 150 workers in shutting down the municipal garage, a Military Police officer fired his shotgun in the air and ordered the arrest of Carega, who was charged with "disobedience" for refusing to move the van blocking the entrance.

In fighting for the removal of the police from the municipal workers union, the class-struggle activists linked this struggle to the fight against racial oppression and cop terror throughout Brazilian society. Union bulletins recalled the military repression of the national oil workers strike in 1995, as well as massacres of landless peasants in Eldorado and Rondônia. They particularly highlighted the case of Ernane da Silva Lúcio, a 12-yearold black child murdered in Volta Redonda by a munici-





El Diario/La Prensa

Brazilian workers, peasants carry out general strike, 21 June 1996. LQB led strike in Volta Redonda, while opposing alliance of CUT labor federation and the left with representatives of capital.

pal guarda in October 1995. As a result of this denunciation, the Rio de Janeiro newspaper O Dia published a full-page report on the murder of Ernane, as well as on the brutal repression against street children.

In the face of the offensive by the city administration, courts and cops seeking to break the union, Ribeiro and other class-struggle activists defied the court intervention by calling a union assembly, through circulating a petition signed by close to 300 union members. The meeting was held on July 25, voting to reaffirm Ribeiro as union president and to disaffiliate the municipal guardas from the SFPMVR. The guardas have since then set up their own "association" with the backing of police commander Freitas.

In response to the escalation of repression in June and July 1996, the Internationalist Group and the LQB redoubled the campaign for solidarity with the Brazilian anti-racist trade unionists. Unions from South Africa to Europe, El Salvador and the United States sent statements of solidarity and protest (see pages 22-23).

The mobilizations of the union ranks together with the defense campaign and international solidarity have achieved some partial victories. On 3 December 1996, the legal pretext for the court intervention in the union was withdrawn when the city government gazette announced that the pro-

cop faction had formally desisted from the frame-up charges they brought against Ribeiro. The courts have been deliberating on whether to drop the case, even though they have no juridical basis on which to continue it. In the case against Marcello Carega on the charge of disobedience for his role in leading municipal workers during the 21 June 1996 general strike, the courts have decided that he would not face jail time. A judge has issued a finding against the trumpedup charges brought against Ribeiro last spring by municipal *guarda* commander Freitas (although the latter has not told the court that he will desist from pursuing this case).

Yet despite the initial victories, the repression launched by the Volta Redonda bosses has by no means come to an end. The city's slander case against Ribeiro continues. Meanwhile, members of Fernandes' coterie physically attacked Ribeiro and Carega at a recent union meeting, seeking to provoke new legal charges against them. The class-struggle militants demand that the bosses' courts and cops get their hands off the Municipal Workers Union and the labor movement as a whole!

At the end of this dossier we reprint a letter from Geraldo Ribeiro and Marcello Carega thanking those who came to their defense and reporting on developments in this fight.

### A Class-Struggle Fight for Cops Out of the Unions

The struggle led by supporters of the Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil in the Volta Redonda Municipal Workers Union to remove police from the labor movement has lessons for all those who fight for the independence of the working class from the capitalist state. To our knowledge, this is the first time such a fight has been waged in Latin America. Many self-proclaimed "socialist" groups in fact *support* the presence of the cops inside the unions, pretending that these armed enforcers of bourgeois rule are just "workers in uniform." This reformist policy can be literally suicidal, as Leon Trotsky pointed out over Germany in the early 1930s, where the Social Democrats banked on the Prussian police as a supposed bulwark against Hitler's Nazis. Trotsky warned:

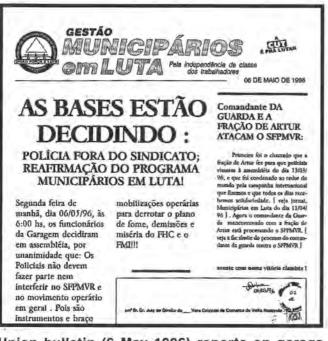
"The fact that the police was originally recruited in large numbers from among Social Democratic workers is absolutely meaningless. Consciousness is determined by environment even in this instance. The worker who becomes a policeman in the service of the capitalist state, is a bourgeois cop, not a worker."

The LQB cited this quotation from Trotsky in an article in its newspaper, Vanguarda Operária (Workers Vanguard), on the struggle to oust the cops from the union. (A translation of this article is printed in The Internationalist No. 1, January-February 1997.) In a leaflet on the police invasion of the 13 March 1996 municipal workers union meeting, they wrote: "The job of the police is to break strikes and carry out racist attacks, which are the daily reality of capitalist 'law and order' in Brazil." They stressed: "The military police are notorious for the racist murder of hundreds of street children, most of them black, in the state of Rio de Janeiro, the disappearance of black trade unionist Rufino and the murder of various other leftists. In the Volta Redonda area, from January to August 1991, at least 113 children were killed by military police (O Globo, 13 September 1991), and municipal guardas are suspected of involvement in those murders."

The courageous defense of Marxist principles by the LQB/LM has earned it the bitter enmity of the bourgeoisie. Luta Metalúrgica was originally constituted by workers in the giant Volta Redonda steel plant, the largest in Latin America, where they fought against pro-company union misleaders, the privatization of this formerly stateowned plant, and the Popular Front city administration which has done the steel bosses' bidding. In the October 1994 Brazilian national elections, LM refused to support any candidates of the Frente Brasil Popular led by Luis Inácio Lula da Silva's Workers Party (PT), warning that this class-collaborationist coalition was a trap for the workers. And while the bulk of the left turned a blind eye to the oppression of blacks and women, LM insisted that the fight against this oppression is key to class-struggle politics in Brazil.



Diário do Vale (22-23 June 1996) reports: "Military Police Seize Union Activist During Demonstration in Aero" (area where municipal garage is located). In photo, Marcello Carega shows handcuff marks from arrest during general strike.



Union bulletin (6 May 1996) reports on garage workers' vote, "The Rank and File Is Deciding: Police Out of the Union." The bulletin closes (below) with the slogans: "Forward with our campaign! Police out of the union! Workers of the world unite!"

City rulers, cops and the local capitalist media were alarmed when union militants aligned with LM were elected to the leadership of the Municipal Workers Union. As a witchhunt heated up against SFPMVR president Geraldo Ribeiro and comrade Cerezo of Luta Metalúrgica/LQB, the local press was full of articles on the subject. A 17 May 1996 article in *Diário do Vale* began:



"GUARDAS SAY THEY FEEL PRESSURED BY MEMBERS OF

LUTA METALÚRGICA

"Commander says the group wants to exclude municipal guardas from the Municipal Workers Union

"Volta Redonda-The commander of the Municipal Guard, retired army lieutenant Paulo Roberto Freitas, will call the troops together this morning to find out if his subordinates are being subjected to pressure as a result of the statements by the leader of Luta Metalúrgica and vice president of the regional CUT [labor federation], Alexandre Cerezo. Luta Metalúrgica made its support to the election campaign of Geraldo Ribeiro's slate-which ended up winning the election for the leadership of the Union of Municipal Workers of Volta Redonda conditional on carrying out a program drawn up by the organization 'Municipários em Luta' which precludes municipal guardas being part of the union....

"Cerezo justified this by saying, 'The Municipal Guard defends the capitalist state, as do the Armed Forces'."

The article (shown on page 19 of this dossier) noted that police commander Freitas was one of the military officers who commanded the federal troops who invaded the National Steel Company plant in Volta Redonda during the bitter 1988 strike, in which soldiers killed three strikers. "The former military officer has undertaken a court action against the union, which will be sued for slander and defamation," the article noted.

The paper reported on the upcoming conference (seminário) where the union would "discuss the removal of the guardas from its membership." A May 28 union bulletin vowed, "Mobilization Will Decide!" and stated that an SFPMVR assembly would be called to deal with, among other issues facing the union, the question of the municipal guard.

The call for the **13 June 1996** seminário issued by Geraldo and the MEL denounced the various anti-union forces, from the pro-company Força Sindical "labor" federation to the Popular Front. It placed the attacks on municipal workers, instigated by Brazilian president Cardoso at the behest of the IMF, in the framework of a worldwide bourgeois onslaught. It noted the imperialist drive to privatize health and welfare, as well as "flexibilization" of workers' rights and attacks on job security:

"In addition, there is an increase in racism and male chauvinism in the context of a general offensive against the working class. But this capitalist offensive, which the fakeleftists call 'neo-liberal policy,' is in reality the ongoing crisis of capitalism, further exacerbated following the capitalist counterrevolution against the planned and collectivized economies of the USSR and East Europe.

"At the same time, despite the innumerable manifestations of its struggles, the proletariat is being defeated by the politics of popular-front class collaboration and because it does not have a revolutionary leadership which fights



As pro-cop mouthpiece Fernandes tries to implicate LM in imaginary "attack" on him, *Diário do Vale* (15 May 1996) headlines: "Cerezo Must Make Statement at Police Station on Attack Against Unionist--Luta Metalúrgica Leader Suspects Attack Was 'A Farce'."



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Above: Brochure for 13 June 1996 union conference with delegates elected in work-site meetings. Under agenda point 7, the conference overwhelmingly voted for ouster of municipal guards from union. Below: June 17 union bulletin built for general assembly two days later, and reported: "The Campaign for 'Cops Hands Off the SFPMVR' Is Growing."





### Resolução aprovada no 1º Seminário dos servidores municipais de Volta Redonda, sobre a fração de Artur

#### EXPOSIÇÃO DE MOTIVOS

EXERCISECAD DE MOTIVOS: Desde jaseiro de 1966, uma onda de pro-vocações tem progratado caluniar o SEPMVR e a gastilo Humicípiditos em Luía, abo a fiderança de Cantalo Ribiros procestando dustariar es ma-mor, como posto de leferência e tristôciará de lunas dos serviçõese do nuevimitado encrético. Esses provocações aumentasem a portir das felá-ções sandicais da calegaria to also servidores ma-nicipaja, em novembro de 1995.

Inceptist, em novembro de 1995. Nestas eleições, os aliveiros do SPPMVR Siegio Norregra o Eulo Puello, pela primei-ra vez na história do SPPMVR, articultaran uma chapa da Peqe Sindicat e desemulamente se lançaram nos beaços do Governo frente-popu-lista de Baltazar em basca de "parcerá". Asa m verdade o que conseguiram foi acobertar um sumusio palavid de 34% print es secularizos em torcas de miseros 35 mara os servidores e a annement patiente de la segura de secoladada de en tenca de málecros 5% para os serviciotes e a possibilidade de tolerarem 3 mil demissões em-tre os servidores ante a possibilidade da quebra de estabilidade ha empirejor vigo objetivo form sido tentado sisteonalizamente pelo governo federal, estadual e municipal

18 June 1996 bulletin prints main resolution from 13 June union conference, stating: "the affiliation of guardas and police to workers' unions is incompatible with a class program." Resolution stressed need for "complete independence of the workers movement, and therefore of the unions, from the bourgeois state and its state apparatus."

vergôncias aparentemente discutiveis anies das efeições sindicais, finam levadas a um comple-to antagonismo d'epois da poste.

ha antagonismo depois da poste. Artur Remisete Fernandes passon a orga-nizar uma foncho conten o programa Municipi-rios era Luía com o précasto que mesmo fora aluborado torga des rousase. Che, as mássas criquato tal alo incapazes de elaborar um pro-grama. O programa é uma hecnaça das refelim-dicações hastórica da chase operária e hastá-se nos queseo primeiros compresato da Terceira internacional, o programa de uma fuerta-terte reales pressans mais avanzados deste. Um neste pelas pressans mais avanzados deste. Um ados deste. Un tim ado pe

mente pelas persuas mais avançados i programa classista não pode ser elas las "basez" com apelites eleitoreiro. É denagogia nfirmar que as mussas can-sadas pela opressão e exploração do jugo do comaio podem elidocar um programa. Quas coi-zé a noncesificial das ma gráno ados a liderança de avançados e obstituidos dir do oprecirio nevelocionária do oprecirio nevelocionária

A política de colaboração de classes da Fresse Topular constança e contrarregu uma ca-mada muito gunda de atividas sinulicatians e diritgenese operáricas. Estes "disigenese" intel-em a ideologia da burguesta para e interior de maximento operários. Anuar é pudoine e sur-de neste artíficas de aturguesta para e interior de maximento a para ecomplos con la fáti-ma. Arnulda, Vagnes Darcellos, Lististino de,... Anur e sus incicio burcardicias na atimema das uterrotas da chases operária em uma ambiene do aturgues perfaris em uma ambiene do aturgues permanentes, como escreventos no conmentes, conto escrev alaques perm OR OS BERN

### "OFENSIVA CAPITALISTA E A CRISE DE DIREÇÃO

A aplicação da "globalização" da eco numia no Brasil, por FILC/FMI e seus aliados depende de um conjunta de reformas, om claro elogio a estes carreiristas e oportunistas que eles tentam imitar. Também tentam destiliar o SFPMVR da CUT e estão mancomunados com o comandante da Guarda Municipal, que está processando o Sindicato e instinosso programa, "Municipários em gando Luta", insiste que filiação de guardas e policiais aos sindicatos operários é incompatível con um programa classista, Geraldo

seus aliados deliberou por assembléias setoriais de base onde todas essas denúncias foram levadas e onde a fração de Artur não conseguiu eleger um delegado sequer dos que foram

encia com esta fração incompativel con programa Municipários em Luta com o qual fomos eleitos e tem como um dos pontos principais a independência completa do movimento operário e portanto dos sindicatos, do estad irquês e seus aparato estatais.

for the end of capitalism and for socialism, a task which is only possible if the working class has its revolutionary workers party."

The June 13 union seminário overwhelmingly voted in favor of the disaffiliation of the municipal guardas, and the main resolution stressed that "the affiliation of guardas and police to workers' unions is incompatible with a class program." With the backing of this delegated conference, a June 17 union bulletin built for the general assembly to be held two days later, and reported, "The Campaign for 'Cops Hands Off the SFPMVR' is Growing." The main resolution of the seminário was printed in a June 18 union bulletin which was widely distributed, not only to municipal workers but also at the steel plant and nearby university campuses.

What took place at the 19 June 1996 union meeting was described in a June 28 bulletin. Enforcing a court order, Popular Front mayor Baltazar sent some 15 cops to shut down the meeting where "Geraldo read the resolution from the First Seminário, among the main points of which is: To disaffiliate the municipal guards from the SFPMVR, because they are not part of the working class." Stressing the repression by municipal guards against the June 21 nationwide general strike, it notes "for the 'blind people' who do not want to see, this is one more lesson: police (any kind of police) are not part of the workers movement." A subsequent municipal workers' bulletin elaborated:

"On June 19 the cops, 'invited' by the sell-out faction, were sent by [Volta Redonda mayor] Baltazar to stop and shut down our assembly, violating our democratic and trade-union rights and the rights of all the workers. They want to stop the city workers from having a meeting, the purpose of which is not a confrontation but to defend our jobs and separate the guardas from the SFPMVR (the need for which was shown again by their strike-breaking during the June 21 general strike, when once again the Municipal Guard and Military Police fired a shotgun into the air, arrested brother Marcello Carega and sought to break the municipal workers' strike). Now they asked the bosses' courts to shut down the meeting and suspend Geraldo. They want to bury the supplementary wage ... and destroy the SFPMVR as a combative, class-struggle union. This is the meaning of their attempt to place the union under bourgeois court intervention, as in the days of the military dictatorship, and under the control of the Municipal Guard and Military Police."

-"Urgent Call: Now Is the Time to Defend the Volta Redonda Municipal Workers Union!" (4 July 1996)

The bulletin called for the class independence of the workers and for the courts and cops to get out of the union, ending on the slogans: "Workers of the world, unite! Bourgeoisie, hands off our union!" Workers carried signs with several of these slogans at a rally of the ranks that same day.

As the militants organized opposition to the court intervention and police repression, they raised the case of Ernane da Silva Lúcio, the 12-year-old black child shot point-blank by a municipal guarda in the Vila Americana neighborhood of Volta Redonda in October 1995. After the July 4 bulletin highlighted the cop murder of Ernane, the Rio de Janeiro daily O Dia (7 July 1996) devoted an entire page to the "Brutal and Cowardly Hunt" against black children, with a feature on Ernane's mother, Maria Beatriz. A **July 11** bulletin printed a statement by Maria Beatriz declaring her support to the union's campaign, since the police "are not workers...but rather a group of murderers, as was shown clearly by the case of my son." The bulletin also reprinted the petition demanding a general assembly of the union in order to repudiate the court's suspension of Ribeiro, remove the municipal guards from the union and discuss union campaigns, including for the rehiring of the fired black woman worker Regina Célia.

Despite repeated maneuvers by the court-appointed puppet administrator Artur Fernandes, the union assembly took place on 25 July 1996 and was attended by upwards of 150 workers. After a minute of silence in memory of Ernane da Silva Lúcio, the meeting voted the "disaffiliation of the municipal guardas from the SFPMVR," rejected the court charges against Ribeiro and reaffirmed him as legitimate elected president of the union. A July 30 union bulletin headlined this "Historic Decision." The local paper reported: "Another decision of the assembly was to approve the disaffiliation of the Municipal Guard. The proposal has been discussed for several months" (Diário do Vale, 26 July 1996).

A July 26 leaflet issued by the Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil (LQB) summed up:

"As workers and activists know, class-struggle fighters in the Municipal Workers Union have led a vital effort for class independence: for the disaffiliation of the municipal *guardas* because the police (of all kinds) are not part of the workers movement....

"Workers and activists will recall that regarding the Frente Brasil Popular [in the 1994 presidential elections] and the local Popular Front, we have put forward proletarian opposition to this class collaboration, saying: no vote to any candidate of popular fronts. All the recent events underline this central point. The popular front has shown what it means, sending police against workers meetings, sending military police and *guardas* to arrest activists in the general strike, attempting mass layoffs, placing unions under court intervention as in the days of the dictatorship, firing black women and using laws from the dictatorship to try to shut the mouths of those who tell the truth and fight against racism! Join us, we fight against the popular front and for a revolutionary workers party."



Against court intervention and police repression, 11 July 1996 bulletin reprints petition for union assembly (with agenda point to carry out disaffiliation of municipal guards) and declaration from Ernane's mother supporting the union's campaign.

As the campaign to defend the Volta Redonda militants against anti-labor repression was going forward internationally, in Brazil municipal elections were held in early October. A September 1996 leaflet published by the class-struggle activists in the union called for "workers mobilizations to defeat the Cardoso/IMF starvation plan," and stated concerning the election: "In this country where anti-democratic laws prohibit 'abstention,' we call for casting a blank ballot, against the bourgeois politicians and against suicidal 'alliances' of the workers movement and the left with class enemies of the workers and peasants." The same bulletin calls for a "union independent of the courts, cops, bosses and sellout bureaucrats." As part of this struggle it stressed the need to remove union finances from the control of city bosses. A November 1996 LQB bulletin explained:

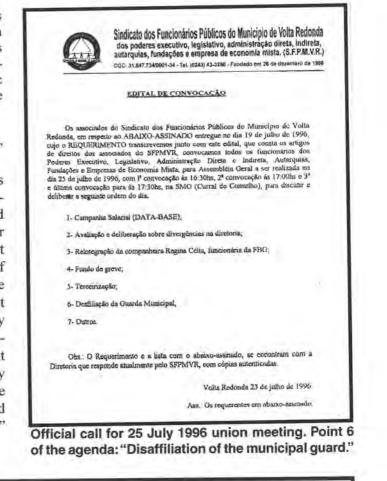
"Geraldo also initiated a campaign for *ending the union* dues check-off so that the city workers can organize and control their finances themselves. These finances have

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been manipulated and withheld in order to pay the city's debt while the city stalls on paying municipal workers. In fact, on November 14, *O Globo* reported that Cardoso is putting forward a decree blocking the payment of unionists' wages to state employees and workers in the public services sector, broadening the blow he aimed against the oil workers in order to liquidate their strike in 1995.

"That is why the unions must control their own finances, which is one of the principles of class independence."

The struggle for cops out of the unions, for the unions to control their own finances, for the political independence of the workers movement from the parties and politicians of the bourgeoisie, for mobilizing the power of labor against all forms of oppression-these are not mere "tactical" issues. They are fundamental matters of principle, key to defending the basic interests of the working class, which must be part of a fight for socialist revolution. The "alternative" is the gutting and ultimately the destruction of the workers organizations by the increasingly rapacious bourgeois rulers. In the crucial fight to forge a revolutionary leadership, the issues posed by the fight in Volta Redonda "must become a class-struggle banner of the workers movement, not just in Brazil and throughout this continent but all over the world." (Vanguarda Operária No. 1, July-September 1996).



SSEATRIELA REALIZADA NO DIA 21 DE JULHO DE MULA, NO CIDADE; CONFICADA IELO DO CONSELHO) NESTA SMC SINDICATO IN FUNCIONALISMO PUBLICO DO MUNICIPIC REQUERIMENTO CONFORME ARTIGIC LCS FACAGER DO SEPINVR EADO NO ENIREGUE NE DIA ARTIGO TNUISO TV STPMUR 1996 A DIRETORIA BAFISTA 1-hascis SEBASTIAN DG CEBITX WOSILINGA DE Linio Mainte er ENNE DA or Guaine 1.bi huro

Minutes of 25 July 1996 union meeting state: "We proceeded to the motion to disaffiliate the municipal guards from the union. The proposal was accepted by a majority vote of those present."

## Bosses' Courts Target Class-Struggle Militants

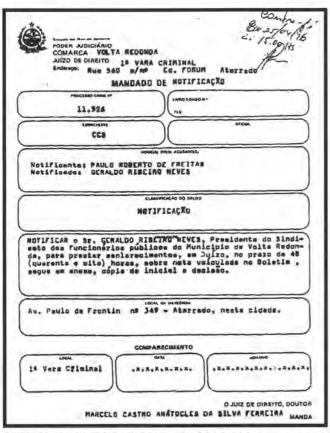


Union bulletin (28 May 1996) denounces "popular-front oppressors and exploiters" for racist firing of black woman worker, Regina Célia de Oliveira. Bulletin features text by Leon Trotsky on struggle against women's oppression.

Along with blatant and repeated use of the police, the bosses' attempt to repress class-struggle politics in Volta Redonda has involved an array of legal actions launched by the local authorities in league with the procop faction within the Municipal Workers Union (SFPMVR). In response to this barrage of repression, the revolutionary militants have looked not to the courtsthat is, the judicial apparatus of capitalist rule-but to the power of the working class.

The first in this series of court cases was a suit by Municipal Guard commander Lt. Roberto Freitas, **Case No. 11.526/96**, brought before the Volta Redonda criminal court in April 1996 (see illustrations). Freitas accused SFPMVR president Geraldo Ribeiro of slander and defamation. "The attacks and provocations by Cerezo and Geraldo Ribeiro are not being well received by the *guardas*," said Freitas ominously, encouraging individual members of the police force to also sue Ribeiro and the union if they "felt offended" by the campaign for cops out of the union (*Diário do Vale*, 17 May 1996). A local judge has issued a formal opinion against the accusations brought by Freitas, who has not responded. At the end of May 1996, a second court action was brought against Ribeiro, **Case No. 155.389/96**, this time for supposedly "defaming" the city by denouncing the blatantly racist firing of Regina Célia de Oliveira, a black woman employee of the municipal welfare institution, the Beatriz Gama Foundation, where she was paid some \$150 a month for carrying sacks of feed for animals. A foundation administrator claimed Regina Célia had a "pinched face." This is a classic example of racist discrimination in Brazil, where the job requirement of "good appearance" is a traditional and notorious code word for the exclusion of blacks.

The LQB supporters launched a union campaign in defense of Regina Célia, which was widely reported in the local press. In a May 28 union bulletin, Ribeiro noted that it showed once again that "the popular front is a bourgeois government with a 'left' mask"; he called for a campaign of "protest against these popular-front oppressors and exploiters, demanding that Regina Célia immediately get her job back." As part of a series in the union bulletins on the history of the workers movement, the front page of this issue printed a lengthy excerpt from



Official notification (23 April 1996) of court case against union president Geraldo Ribeiro, charged with "slander" and "defamation" by Municipal Guard commander, Lt. Freitas.

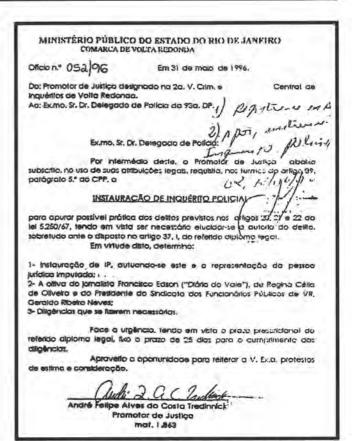
Leon Trotsky on "Women and the Family," which stated in part:

"Historical experience shows that even the proletariat, already struggling with the oppressors, is far from prompt in concentrating the necessary attention on the oppressed position of woman as housewife, mother and wife. Such is the terrible force of being accustomed to the family slavery of woman!... To alter the position of woman *at the root* is possible only if all the conditions of social, family and domestic existence are altered."

"Child-care, eating and laundry facilities must be set up so that by the advantages they provide they can deal a deathblow to the old closed-in, isolated family unit, completely supported on the bent shoulders of the housewife and mother."

The case against Ribeiro for defamation brought by the Beatriz Gama Foundation is still pending. This charge can bring him up to four years in prison.

What this represents is a vicious attempt to gag those who fight to mobilize the power of labor in the struggle against the oppression of women and black people. Ever since the military populist dictatorship of Getúlio Vargas beginning in the 1930s, it has been a tenet of Brazilian nationalism that the country is a "racial democracy."



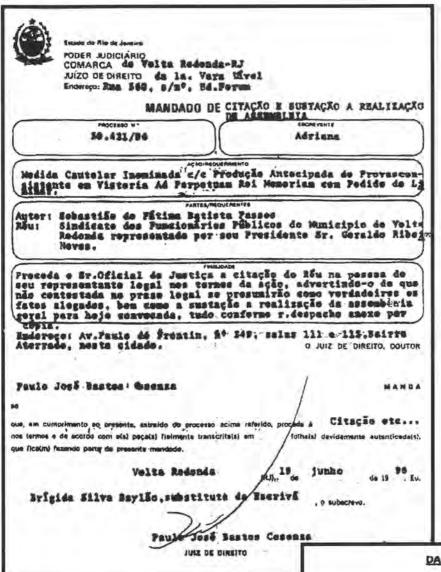
District attorney orders police inquiry (31 May 1996) in city's slander case over union's campaign against racist firing of Regina Célia. Case is based on 1967 censorship law of the military dictatorship.

Most of the left has echoed this myth. In recent years, reflecting the political instability, economic crises and turbulent labor struggles leading to and following the fall of the military dictatorship in the mid-80s, issues of racism have become subjects of debate.

Our fraternal comrades of the Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil underline that the oppression of blacks and women has long been the "secret of Brazilian capitalism," expressed in one of the lowest minimum wages in the world, together with police terror, the use of death squads against black street children and many-sided racial and sexual discrimination in industry and society at large. As noted in the letter from municipal union activists Ribeiro and Carega: "In our activities and our bulletins we have fought, in accordance with our class-struggle program, against the oppression of women, blacks, homosexuals, children victimized by repression, and all the oppressed and exploited."

In response to the mounting drive to remove the police from the SFPMVR, the pro-cop clique headed by Artur Fernandes and Sebastião de Fátima Batista Passos rushed to the bosses' courts to seek their intervention against the union. On June 19, the very day of the meet-

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19 June 1996: Court orders to "stop the holding of the assembly" of the Municipal Workers Union and begin process for "suspension and removal of the President of the Union," Geraldo Ribeiro. Injunction specifically authorizes "the aid of police force, if necessary" to shut down the union meeting.

ing that was to vote on disaffiliating the police, Fernandes and Batista Passos asked for and immediately obtained a preliminary injunction from a Volta Redonda court to "stop the holding of the assembly" and initiating the process for "suspension and removal of the president of the union," Geraldo Ribeiro.

This was blatant union-busting. The injunction issued in **Case No. 30.421/96** explicitly ordered "the aid of police force, if necessary" to shut down the union meeting. Later, the plaintiff, Batista

Passos, demanded the annulment of Ribeiro's mandate as the elected president of the union and in anticipation of that a formal "jurisdictional receivership" by the courts over the union, with Fernandes acting as the puppet administrator (Case No. 30.545/96). In the service of the popular front government, these tools of the bosses sought to chain the union directly to the capitalist state.

#### DA CONCESSÃO DA LIMINAR

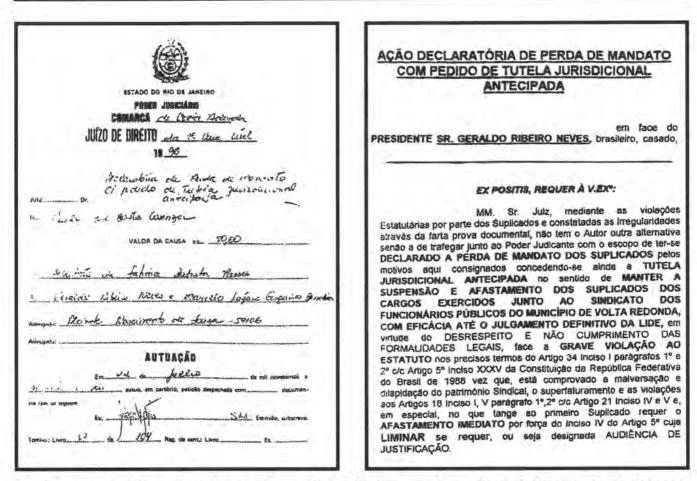
Estabelecidas e comprovadas de plano a situação fática, se faz necessário o deferimento de LIMINAR no sentido de sustar a Assembléia designada para o dia 19 de Junho de 1996, face a violação da norma estatutária e, em sua concessão assegure o auxílio de força policial, se necessário for, em fiei cumprimento à ordem expedida, conferindo-se ainda, LIMINAR de

#### DA MEDIDA CAUTELAR DE CARÁTER PREPARATÓRIO

A medida ora interposta é de caráter preparatório para a instauração de processo principal a ser ajulzado no prazo do trintidio, observando-se o procedimento ordinário visando a suspensão e alastamento do Presidente do Sindicato Reu por não cumprir o Estatuto da Entidade e aos motivos aqui consignados.

One of the key pretexts used by Fernandes & Co. was that the union bulletin featuring Mumia Abu-Jamal's article, "Police: Part of, or Enemies of, Labor?" had a large press run (10,000 copies). Ribeiro responded in a formal defense statement within the union:

"The 11 April 1996 tabloid newspaper, whose editorial was an article by Mumia Abu-Jamal, the black journalist



As city, pro-cop clique pursue vendetta against SFPMVR president Geraldo Ribeiro, court imposes "jurisdictional receivership" on union.

who is on death row in the U.S.A., made Artur Bonizete Fernandes extremely indignant, because it sparked international solidarity against the invasion of an SFPMVR assembly by the police, who had been systematically called by the Artur faction to intervene in the municipal workers' assembly."

Against the anti-union actions by the state and its treacherous accomplices, LQB supporters pushed forward the struggle for the class independence of the workers, demanding: Courts, cops out of the unions! The 25 July 1996 union assembly which voted the disaffiliation of the *guardas* also upheld Geraldo as legitimate president of the SFPMVR. Four months later, as a result of the campaign of denunciation, mobilization and international solidarity, Fernandes' sidekick Batista Passos withdrew from the case, thereby canceling the judicial pretext for the court "tutelage" (receivership) of the union and its suspension/removal of the SFPMVR's elected president, Ribeiro. The courts have been deliberating on whether to drop the case.

As Ribeiro and Marcello Carega note in their letter of 31 December 1996:

"When Artur withdrew from the legal case, the courts

asked if Geraldo wanted the courts to rule on the validity of the July 25 union meeting, but this is against our principles: we reject any interference of the bosses' 'justice' system in the workers movement in general and the SFPMVR in particular. The union belongs to the workers, not the bosses!... The mobilization of the ranks will impose the democratic decision that the workers have repeatedly expressed."

The fight for the class independence of the proletariat from the state apparatus and political representatives of the capitalist class, the fight against the manysided social oppression inherent in capitalism, must together be part of a broader struggle to sweep away capitalist exploitation through workers revolution. For this, the indispensable instrument is a revolutionary workers party, one which acts as "tribune of the people" in the fight against all oppression, a party built on the program of Lenin and Trotsky. Such a proletarian vanguard party must be steeled through hard class struggles like the battle waged by the Brazilian comrades to carry out the proletarian, internationalist and revolutionary principles of Trotskyism, in the fight to reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. ■

### Letter From Geraldo Ribeiro and Marcello Carega

The following letter was sent by Volta Redonda Municipal Workers Union (SFPMVR) and union activist Marcello Carega on 31 December 1996 to "the trade unions, organizations and individuals that have defended us against repression," informing them of important partial victories in the several defense cases and explaining the significance of their struggle.

### Volta Redonda Municipal Workers Union (SFPMVR)

Volta Redonda, 31 December 1996 Dear brothers and sisters,

Thank you for your support to the campaign against the repression of anti-racist trade unionists in Volta Redonda. In the recent period, we have received important solidarity statements from unions, including the Salvadoran telephone workers, the miners and commercial workers in South Africa, longshoremen (dockers) from the U.S., Britain and other countries, and sections of the SEIU [Service Employees International Union] from the West Coast of the U.S.

Some partial victories have already occurred as a result of our class-struggle fight and the campaign for "Police Hands Off the Union." On December 3, the plain-

tiff withdrew from the case used as the original pretext for the "justice" system's intervention in the union, and at this time the court is deciding whether it will drop this case against us. Other legal cases are still in course as part of the repression against fighters for the interests of the working class and against racism.

The context: Despite intervention by the Military Police in the March 13 union meeting and dissolution of the June 19 union meeting by the police, the ranks continued to mobilize and the union meeting of July 25 voted to disaffiliate the municipal *guardas* [police] from the SFPMVR (Volta Redonda Municipal Workers Union).

As vengeance against this classstruggle campaign, the bosses' "justice" system intervened in the union, as in the years of the military dictatorship, seeking to obstruct the organized will of the rank and file, who decided that the *guardas* are not part of the union, because they are not part of the working class. The courts maintained their puppet Artur Fernandes, head of the pro-police faction, in the union hall. But even under those conditions, the mobilization of the ranks and the pressure and international extension of the campaign made the municipal guards begin to withdraw from the structure dominated by the puppet Artur Fernandes, and they created their own association in November.

Our program has foreseen from the outset the exit of the municipal guards from the union, since we declare that "police are not part of the working class." The police are the armed fist of the bosses. The union belongs to the working class! We reiterate that the working class must fight against racist repression.

In response to the police intervention in the March 13 meeting, an international campaign repudiated this repression. Then the commander of the *guardas*, Lt. Freitas, sought to increase the repression by suing Geraldo Ribeiro, president of the SFPMVR, and saying that the guards were being pressured by Luta Metalúrgica, which is now the Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil (LQB). Lt. Freitas told the



Volta Redonda paper (17 May 1996) headlined, "Guards Say They Feel Pressured by Members of Luta Metalúrgica." Article begins: "Commander says the group wants to exclude municipal guards from Union of Municipal Workers." It reports that at upcoming conference union would "discuss removal of the guardas from its membership." Diário do Vale newspaper (17 May 1996) that "the group wants to exclude municipal guards from the municipal workers union," and also said that "I will recommend to my personnel that they leave the union and create an association." The coverage continues by saying that "The commander of the Municipal Guarda, retired army lieutenant Paulo Roberto Freitas, will call the troops together this morning to find out if his subordinates are being subjected to pressure as a result of the statements by the leader of Luta Metalúrgica and vice president of the regional CUT [union federation], Alexandre Cerezo. Luta Metalúrgica made its support to the election campaign of Geraldo Ribeiro's slate-which ended up winning the election for the leadership of the Volta Redonda Municipal Workers Union-conditional on carrying out a program drawn up by the organization 'Municipários em Luta' [Municipal Workers in Struggle] which precludes municipal guardas being part of the union." The commander urged guardas who felt offended to sue the union and Luta Metalúrgica in the courts.

The struggle against the "justice" system's intervention in the union has begun to have results. This intervention was "invited" by the legal case (No. 30545/96) that Artur Fernandes, head of the pro-cop faction, initiated against Geraldo Ribeiro. This was the continuation of what Artur did when he called the police to intervene in the March 13 union meeting. But due to the international campaign and systematic mobilization and denunciation, at the beginning of this month (December) Artur requested the courts to withdraw him from the case against Geraldo.

In the meantime, Artur's slanders were disproven and swept away by the July 25 union meeting, which repudiated the suspension of Geraldo decreed by the courts. When Artur withdrew from the legal case, the courts asked if Geraldo wanted the courts to rule on the validity of the July 25 union meeting, but this is against our principles: we reject any interference of the bosses' "justice" system vention in the SFPMVR. Obviously, this does not mean that they will not intervene, since the bosses often break their own laws in order to carry out their class objectives. But because of the struggle, at this time the "justice" system is pulling back. Their puppet Artur Fernandes is in a corner. But he withdrew from the case as a political tactic, and obviously not because of ideological conviction; in the future, if he sees the need, he could call the courts into the union again.

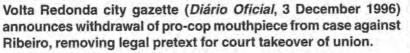
As we have declared repeatedly, what decides is the organized will of the workers. This will was expressed in the election of Geraldo in November 1995 with 62 percent of the votes. It was reaffirmed in the July 25 union meeting, which affirmed that Geraldo is the legitimate president of the SFPMVR. The mobilization of the ranks will impose the democratic decision that the workers have repeatedly expressed.

Regarding the police/juridical case that the Popular Front municipal government initiated against Marcello Carega because of his participation in the 21 June 1996 general strike: the campaign of denunciation made the Volta Redonda city government pull back and request the "tabling" of this case, No. 002/96 in the Volta Redonda criminal court.

But these partial victories do not mean the end of the repression against us. We have already mentioned the threats and legal case against Geraldo by Lt. Freitas (case No. 11.526/96 in the Volta Redonda criminal court). In addition, the city government is prosecuting Geraldo Ribeiro on the charge of defaming the Municipal Government (case No. 155.389/96), using a law from the military dictatorship (law No. 5250/67), which could bring 4 years in prison. This case is city hall's revenge against our campaign for the reinstatement of Regina Célia, a black woman and mother of two children who was fired because of the city government's racism. In our activities and our bulletins we have fought, in accordance with our class-struggle program, against the oppression of women, blacks, homosexuals, chil-

in the workers movement in general and the SFPMVR in particular. The union belongs to the workers, not the bosses!

Now, given these events, because of the limits of judicial regulations the courts are legally and constitutionally barred from continuing their inter# Proc.00030421/76 - NEDIDA CAUTELAR - A. Debastião de Fátima Batista Passas (Adv. Alcingte Nacciento de Soura) - R. Bindicato dos Funcionarios Públicos de Município de U. R. (Adv. Claston Nontebalio Carreira... Addi) -DEUPACHOI Disa o autor e réu face a desintência nosplogada nos autos DODAJ/Pé, sinda pretende postular e dar prosaguimento ao presente feito. Prasol OD dius; o silência implicará se contorsência com a desistência".



dren victimized by repression, and all the oppressed and exploited.

We are also involved in a campaign, together with the Internationalist Group, for solidarity with Maria Beatriz, the mother of Ernane da Silva Lúcio, a 12-yearold black child mur-

dered by a municipal cop while he was working to help his mother. We have already received some letters of solidarity from parents whose children were murdered by the police in New York, and we hope that this campaign will broaden throughout the world. Because of the publicity arising from this campaign, which is a continuation of the previous campaign for "Police Hands Off the Union," there has been a significant decrease in racist killings of children in Volta Redonda.

As noted in this letter, solidarity has been and continues to be of immense importance for all these struggles and partial victories, expressing the need for the unity of workers and peasants in the fight against imperialism and the bourgeoisie.

We take this opportunity to call for solidarity

ANGUARDA

Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil:

quem somos e o que queremos

DERA



Vanguarda Operária

VANGUARDA OPERABIA

Luta Metalúrgica sign at August 1995 rally in Volta Redonda for Mumia Abu-Jamal quotes Karl Marx: "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded."

Polícia: tire as mãos do sindicato dos municipários de Volta Redonda!

with our Salvadoran sister Ana María Romero, of the Textile Workers Union (STIT), and brother Wilmer Erroa Argueta, of the Salvadoran Telephone Workers Association (ASTTEL), who are being threatened by the ultrarightist government of El Salvador, which is linked to the death squads. The Salvadoran telephone workers sent us their solidarity against repression here in Volta Redonda.

We thank the brothers and sisters and salute them together with the workers for the solidarity they expressed at a time when the struggle required the unity of the workers against the bourgeois state and its agents. We say: "THE STRUGGLE OF ONE IS THE STRUGGLE OF ALL!" "WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!" Greetings, Geraldo Ribeiro Marcello Carega

Leia e assine

### Vanguarda Operária

#### R\$4,00 por 4 números

Orgão informativo da Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil

### Endereço:

Caixa Postal 084027 CEP 27251-970 Volta Redonda, R.J. Brazil International solidarity has been crucial for the defense of union militants under attack for their anti-racist struggle in Volta Redonda, Brazil's "steel city." When shotgunwielding Military Police invaded an assembly of the Volta Redonda Municipal Workers Union (SFPMVR) on 13 March 1996, defenders of labor rights from around the world demanded "Police Hands Off Volta Redonda Union." After the government further escalated its repressive vendetta in June and July, statements of solidarity were received from unions from South Africa to Europe, El Salvador and the United States.

The courts and cops focused their attack on Geraldo Ribeiro, who was elected president of the SFPMVR in November 1995, pursuing a repressive vendetta against the campaign he led to remove police from the union. Another municipal worker militant, Marcello Carega, was arrested during a nationwide general strike on 21 June 1996 for leading workers in blocking the municipal garage in Volta Redonda. As detailed in this dossier, a series of initial victories have been won against the attempts by the capitalist "justice" system to silence the revolutionary militants and destroy the union.

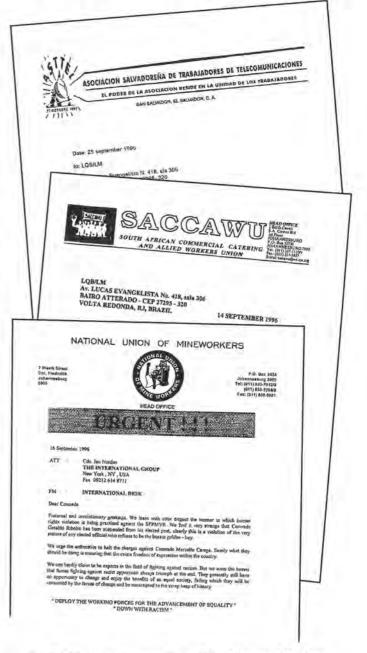
Class-struggle militants demand that the bosses' courts and cops keep their hands off the Municipal Workers Union and the labor movement as a whole! Together with them and the Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil, in August 1996 the Internationalist Group launched an appeal for international labor solidarity against the repression in Volta Redonda. We reproduce here a number of the solidarity statements received in defense of Geraldo Ribeiro and Marcelo Carega.

From South Africa, the National Union of Mineworkers denounced the suspension of Ribeiro as "a violation of the very stature of any elected official who refuses to be the bosses' golden-boy." The South African Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union issued a solidarity statement recalling how "the South African workers have been through hell" in the fight against apartheid racism. The SACCAWU statement adds: "Through bitter experiences, struggles and international solidarity, we have come to [the] realisation that no amount of repression, brutality and even exploitation will deter the determined working class from the struggle of the overall political and economic emancipation/liberation."

The Salvadoran telephone workers union (ASTTEL), which waged a 51-day strike in the teeth of junta repression in 1986, denounced the persecution of Geraldo and Marcello by the "Justice System," as well as the killings of street children and attacks on striking workers.

The fight against police repression was underscored by the U.S. West Coast longshoremen, whose resolution stated that "an important labor and anti-racist struggle is being waged in the Brazilian industrial center of Volta Redonda," and that "the municipal workers union (SFPMVR) in the state of Rio de Janeiro is under attack by the state for having disaffiliated police from their union." The resolution noted that the constitution of ILWU Local 10 states that no police officer is permitted in the union "because of their strikebreaking role in the 1934 General Strike."

## Solidarity with



In addition to a statement by striking Liverpool dockers, the International Dockers' Committee, meeting in Paris, stated: "We dockers know well the vicious role police play as guardians of capitalist rule." In Britain, supporters of the Liverpool dockers publicized the defense of the Brazilian union militants on "LabourNet." On January 20, dock workers in a number of countries around the world carried out strikes, work stoppages and other actions to demonstrate their solidarity with the Liverpool strikers. SFPMVR president Ribeiro has sent a message of support for this fight, and is urging Brazilian port unions to boycott ships coming from Liverpool, where em-

# **Anti-Racist Unionists in Brazil**



ployers are using scab labor in their drive to break the union.

In Los Angeles, Service Employees International Union Local 399 noted that its "Justice for Janitors" protests have been attacked by the cops and "we know the police are not neutral in these issues." It added, "We also join in your struggle against racism," something the union's largely immigrant membership experiences first hand. As a statement by SEIU Local 535 (Pasadena, California) stressed, "An injury to one is an injury to all."

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## Steel Company Claimed Leukopenia a "Black Disease" Brazilian Metal Workers Struggle Against Racism

Behind the mask of the "new, democratic Brazil" donned by the nation's rulers in 1985 after more than two decades of military dictatorship, the reality is one of brutal exploitation and many-sided racist oppression. Like the United States, Brazilian capitalism was founded on slavery, which was not abolished until 1888. Today, Brazil is notorious for having the most extreme disparity in income and wealth between a fabulously rich capitalist elite and a deeply impoverished, heavily black urban and rural poor population. Well over half the population of 160 million is black or mulatto, yet the bulk of the Brazilian left has routinely ignored black oppression. The reason is transparent: a serious fight to mobilize the power of the working class in the fight against racism is incompatible with their popular-front politics of an "alliance" with sectors of the ruling class.

In sharp contrast, the Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil (formerly Luta Metalúrgica) has sought a class-struggle road to black liberation as part of the fight for socialist revolution. Luta Metalúrgica (LM-Metal Workers Struggle) played a crucial role in exposing the murderous effects of capitalist racism in the steel industry, where the companies use black workers for the most dangerous and dirty jobs. This is dramatically expressed in the heavy use of black workers around the coke ovens, where benzene gas produces a condition called *leukopenia*, which leads to a drastic reduction in white blood cells. (Benzene exposure can also lead to leukemia.) In July 1993, an LM bulletin denounced the National Steel Company (CSN) on leukopenia:

"Deepening racist practices, the company uses black workers in the areas where they will be exposed to benzene (a byproduct of coking coal). When these workers soon fall victim to benzene syndrome and leukopenia, CSN's medical and legal departments use pseudo-science to describe and deal with this occupational disease, calling it a 'black disease.' CSN has not hesitated to fire [leukopenia sufferers] en masse. Bearing this stigma, some of them, who are seriously ill, are unable to find other work."

The National Steel Company, whose sprawling plant dominates Volta Redonda, has continued to try to block even the most minimal attempts to document and measure the benzene its workers are exposed to. In July 1996, the local and Rio de Janeiro press featured stories on how the company obtained injunctions from the courts to block a study on benzene and leukopenia ordered by the Rio de Janeiro state government's own health and safety functionaries.

In August of 1993, a document presented by Luta Metalúrgica to a national CUT union conference on racism linked the issue of leukopenia to other key aspects of racial oppression. It called for a working-class fight against forced sterilization of black and poor women, the murder of peasants



Giant National Steel Company plant in Volta Redonda, Brazil's "steel city."

by the armed forces and landlord thugs, the systematic killing of black street children, and other brutal realities exposing the lie that Brazil is a "racial democracy." The document emphasized that in Brazil, racial oppression "serves above all to reproduce a cheap and controlled work force for superexploitation" and that racial oppression can be rooted out only by destroying capitalism. It noted: "In this international task, blacks will play a key role, learning from the experience of the failure of nationalism and Stalinism ('socialism in one country'). Only international, multiracial socialism will emancipate humanity!"

LM activists were fired by the CSN for the active role they played in plant safety committees fighting the company's dangerous and blatantly racist practices. These efforts to find a working-class strategy for a revolutionary fight against black oppression were an important element in drawing LM towards the program of genuine Trotskyism, the Marxism of our times. As the Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil/LM states in the first issue of its newspaper, *Vanguarda Operária* (July-September 1996), "the struggle against the oppression of blacks and women is a strategic question for the proletarian vanguard in Brazil, as part of the permanent revolution."

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they were won to Causa Operária (C.O.–Workers Cause), an organization claiming to be Trotskyist opponents of the popular front. Yet while C.O. called on paper for opposition to the popular front, it simultaneously called for voting for Lula, the candidate of the PT-led popular front.

The LM comrades grew increasingly dissatisfied with Causa Operária's centrist politics, including its refusal to take up the fight against the oppression of blacks and women, and C.O.'s denial that the destruction of the USSR was a defeat for the international working class. This came to a head in their opposition to C.O.'s vote for the Frente Brasil Popular in the 1994 presidential elections. Fighting for proletarian opposition to the popular front, they resigned from C.O. in July 1994 and pursued intensive discussions with the International Communist League (ICL). These discussions led to the establishment, in September 1994, of fraternal relations between Luta Metalúrgica and the ICL. The "Declaration of Fraternal Relations" was translated and published in at least six languages and in the ICL's international journal Spartacist. Joint work, discussion and debate continued with the aim of achieving a fusion between the two organizations.

At the end of 1995, Volta Redonda municipal union activist Geraldo Ribeiro was elected union president on a classstruggle program in a campaign prominently supported by LM. The International Secretariat (I.S.) of the ICL correctly urged that municipal *guardas* (police) be removed from the union. Facing a barrage of repression from the popular-front local government, the police, courts, capitalist politicians and their agents in the labor movement, LM undertook this arduous fight. Military Police invaded union meetings, the elected leadership was hit with one court case after another. As it tenaciously pursued this struggle for the independence of the working class, LM changed its name to the Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil (LQB) as an expression of its perspective for building a Trotskyist party.

A battle was joined for *cops out of the union*, bringing the question of the capitalist state into sharp focus. Rather than pushing this struggle forward as part of the fight to build a Trotskyist party in the class struggle, a restructured ICL leadership took fright at the dangers and obstacles. Shortly after stating that the LQB's work in this union posed "unacceptable risks to the vanguard," the self-described "new I.S." broke relations with the LQB, *one day* before the 19 June 1996 union meeting that was to disaffiliate the *guardas*. In sharp contradiction to the program and traditions defended by the Spartacist tendency over three decades, the ICL leadership fled from this key class battle, which it had initially encouraged.

The ICL's breaking of fraternal relations with the LQB was linked to an escalating purge of leading cadres of the ICL who were seen as an obstacle to the new leadership configuration's course. Expelled ten days before the ICL broke relations with the LQB in June 1996, these cadres later formed the Internationalist Group in August. The ICL leadership, to cover its flight at the height of the battle in Brazil,

cynically claimed to be fighting "trade-union opportunism," spewing out one slander after another which culminated in the smear that the LQB had had a "deal" with the cops. An ICL leader wrote derisively of the "so-called 'decisive' move to disaffiliate the police at the 19 June union meeting," claiming that this issue "was only raised after the fact as a red herring." On the contrary, as documented in this bulletin, the fight over removing the cops was coming to a head at the June 19 union meeting, which was banned by court order and dissolved by the police. The LQB was engaged in a broadranging fight for class-struggle politics, and precisely because of this has been the object of relentless hatred and persecution by the capitalists and their apparatus of repression.

For more information on these issues, we refer readers to our bulletin From a Drift Toward Abstentionism to Desertion from the Class Struggle (July 1996), as well as the first issue of The Internationalist (January-February 1997). In this dossier we provide a graphic account of the development of the class battle and repression in Volta Redonda, showing how the fight for "cops out" meant posing a broad range of burning political and social questions. The link between the capitalists' brutal austerity and privatization drive to the destruction of the Soviet Union; the relation between anti-labor repression and the oppression of blacks and women; the fight against the popular front; the centrality of the struggle to build a revolutionary workers party-all these issues are posed by this fight. This powerfully illustrates what Leon Trotsky wrote in "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay" (1940): "the independence of the trade unions in the class sense...can, in the present conditions, be assured only by a completely revolutionary leadership, that is, the leadership of the Fourth International."



LQB spokesman Cerezo addresses Volta Redonda demonstration in August 1995 to save the life of U.S. death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Municipal Workers Union (SFPMVR) co-sponsored the rally.

### Ernane da Silva Lúcio Victim of Racist Cop Terror

The fight against racist police terror is an international struggle, for wherever capital rules it uses its armed enforcers to suppress the workers and oppressed. This truth was driven home in Brazil during the struggle to remove municipal cops from the Volta Redonda Municipal Workers Union (SFPMVR), a fight led by our fraternal comrades of the Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil (LQB) and their supporters in the union. A 4 July 1996 leaflet by SFPMVR president Geraldo Ribeiro stressed the racist murder committed in October 1995 in the Volta Redonda neighborhood of Vila Americana, "where a municipal guarda (policeman) murdered a 12year-old black child who was working to help his parents." As a result of the union's fight, the case of Ernane da Silva Lúcio has focused attention in the region on police killing of children, as reflected in coverage by the Rio de Janeiro daily O Dia (see below). Ernane's mother Maria Beatriz issued a statement, reprinted in a subsequent leaflet by Ribeiro, declaring her support to the union's campaign, since the police "are not workers...but instead a group of murderers, as was shown clearly by the case of my son."

In New York City, the Internationalist Group brought the



Case of Ernane da Silva Lúcio symbolizes racist killings by Brazilian police. The Rio de Janeiro daily *O Dia* (7 July 1996) shows Ernane's mother holding his photo.

case of Ernane to the attention of the families of victims of racist cop terror in the Bronx-based Parents Against Police Brutality. Lillian Flores and David Muñiz, the parents of 15-yearold Frankie Arzuaga, who was slain by a cop in January 1996, sent a statement of solidarity to Ernane's mother, as did Milta



Ernane da Silva Lúcio

Calderón, mother of Aníbal Carrasquillo, Jr., gunned down by a Brooklyn cop in January 1995. Calderón said that "when we march through these streets of Brooklyn and Manhattan and the Bronx we will mention the case of your son," stressing the need to continue the struggle against police killings of minority youth. LQB militants read these statements at strike assemblies during a recent Volta Redonda teachers strike, as well as on a popular local radio show and at a showing of *Pixote*, an internationally acclaimed film on the life of street children in Brazil.

SFPMVR president Ribeiro and other LQB supporters have stressed that the fight against cop terror directed at labor and the poor is intimately linked to the fight for the working class to forge a revolutionary workers party to lead proletarian revolution and build a socialist society of equality, eliminating forever the police terror and racial oppression that are part and parcel of the capitalist system.

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