



## Dossier

# Class Struggle and Repression in Volta Redonda, Brazil



Vanguarda Operária

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

\$2



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

## 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 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 petty-bourgeois 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,

*continued on page 25*

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## Dossier

# Class Struggle and Repression in Volta Redonda, Brazil



**GESTÃO MUNICIPALÁRIOS em LUTA**  
Pela Independência de classe dos trabalhadores

20 DE JUNHO DE 1996

**Mobilização Já!!!**

FRAÇÃO DE ARTUR, FRENTE POPULAR, PM E GUARDAS MUNICIPAIS TENTAM CASSAR GERALDO E DESTRUIR O SFPMVR

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



Luta Metalúrgica

**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 lay-

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).

In November 1995, 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 “alliance” 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

## Sindicalistas picham tapume e são multados

Carlos Caldeira



*Pichação: Geraldo (segundo à esquerda) e Cerezo (segundo à direita) picham tapume da prefeitura*

*Diário do Vale* (19 October 1995) blares: “Unionists Fined for Painting Graffiti.”

# OBSERVEM A OPINIÃO DE GERALDO EM RELAÇÃO A GUARDA MUNICIPAL E VIGIAS.

## QUESTÃO MILITAR

## MUNICIPÁRIOS em LUTA

As Forças Armadas oficiais são instituições que servem a classe dominadora, de qualquer sociedade em todos os patamares que se constitui. No Brasil há os patamares: Federal (exercito, marinha, e policia federal); Estadual (policia mili-

PARECER DO TAL PROGRAMA QUE

Geraldo quer claramente excluir os Guardas Municipais e vigias do movimento Sindical, discriminando os mesmos como sendo **BRAÇOS ARMADOS DOS PATRÕES**, alegando que é incompatível a aliança dos Guardas Municipais e Vigias com **MUNICIPÁRIOS EM LUTA** deixa claro a intenção de desfiliar do Sindicato todos os Guardas Municipais e Vigias. Deixando-os sem assistência política, Juridica e etc. (ou seja qualquer assistência do Sindicato).

O autoritário Presidente sequer respeita o Diretor da Executiva do nosso Sindicato, que é membro desta classe. Desprezando também dois guardas

Por este motivo companheiros os Diretores que definitivamente não concordam com este **AUTORITARISMO** sindical **CONVOCAM A TODOS PARA JUNTOS DEFENDERMOS A GUARDA EM NOSSA ASSEMBLÉIA.**

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:

"Thé 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 class-struggle 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, frings and misery of FHC [Brazilian president Fernando Henrique Cardoso] and the IMF!"



**GESTÃO MUNICIPALÁRIOS em LUTA**

Pela independência da classe dos trabalhadores 11 DE ABRIL DE 1996



**CML**  
COMITÊ DE MÚNIPAL

### Polícia: é parte ou inimiga do movimento operário?

**SOLIDARIEDADE INTERNACIONAL EXIGE: POLÍCIA, TIRE AS MÃOS DO SFPMVR E DO MOVIMENTO OPERÁRIO**

**ATO PÚBLICO EM DEFESA DA VIDA DE MUMIA ABU-JAMAL**

**COPISTA E PRISA DE MORTE**

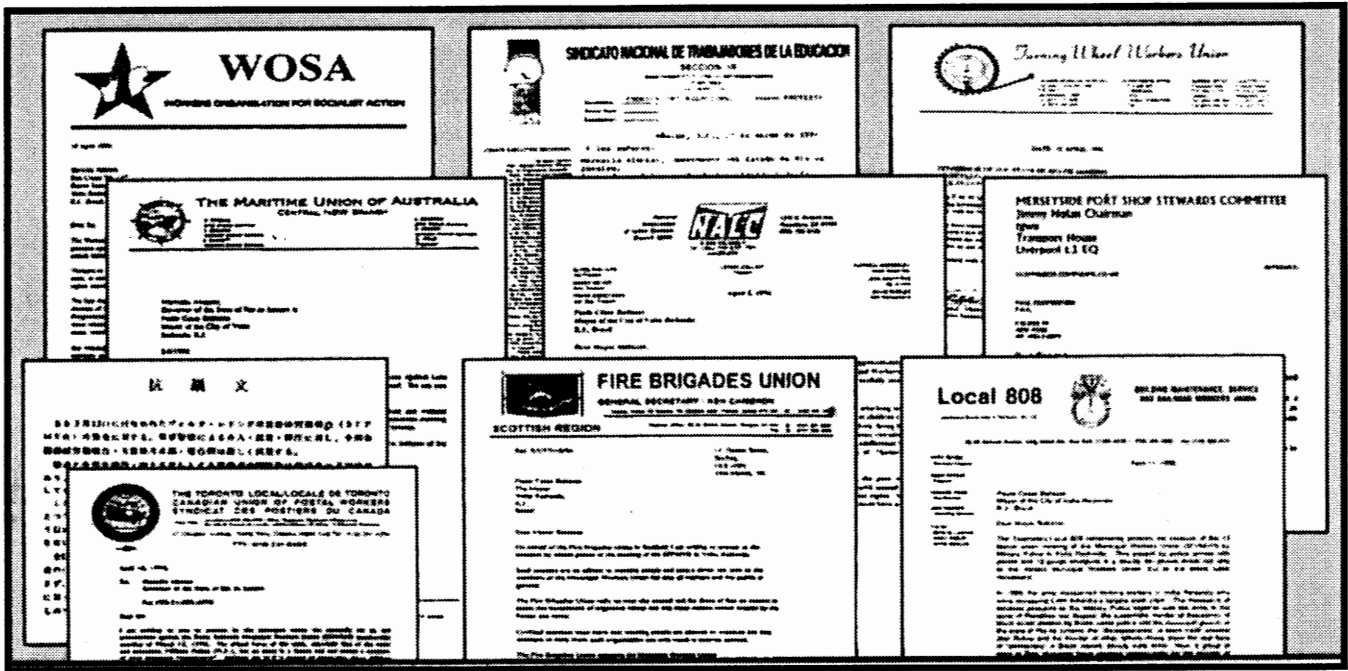
**WORKERS VANGUARD**

**Military Police Invade Municipal Workers Assembly**

**Brazil: Police Hands Off Volta Redonda Union!**

**Labor Alert: Call for International Labor Solidarity**

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.



Workers Vanguard

**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 pro-cop 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.

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-year-old black child murdered in Volta Redonda by a municipi-



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 trumped-up 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 state-owned plant, and the Popular Front city administration which has done the steel bosses' bidding. In the October 1994 Brazilian national elections, LM refused to sup-


port 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.

### PM prende ativista sindical durante manifestação no Aero

Carlos Menandro




*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.



**GESTÃO  
MUNICIPÁRIOS  
em LUTA**

*Para independência da classe  
dos trabalhadores*



**CUT  
PARA LUTA**

06 DE MAIO DE 1996

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## AS BASES ESTÃO DECIDINDO :

### POLÍCIA FORA DO SINDICATO; REAFIRMAÇÃO DO PROGRAMA MUNICIPÁRIOS EM LUTA!

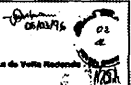
Segunda feira de manhã, dia 06/05/96, às 6:00 hs, os funcionários da Garagem decidiram em assembléia, por unanimidade que: Os Policiais não devem fazer parte nem interferir no SFPMMVR e no movimento operário em geral. Pois são instrumentos e braços

mobilizações operárias para derrotar o plano de fome, demissões e miséria do FHC e o FMI!!!

Comandante DA GUARDA E A FRAÇÃO DE ARTUR ATACAM O SFPMMVR:

Prémto foi o chamado que a fração de Artur fez para que policiais viessem à assembléia do dia 13/03/96, e que foi condenado ao redor do mundo pela campanha Internacional que fizemos e que todos os dias recebemos solidariedade. [ veja Jornal, Municipários em Luta do dia 11/04/96 ] . Agora o comandante da Guarda mancomunado com a fração de Artur está apresentando o SFPMMVR [ veja a f.c. difícil do processo do comandante da guarda contra o SFPMMVR ]

avante com nossa vitória clássica!



Dr. João de Brito de ... Vereador da Câmara de Volta Redonda

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 SFPMMVR 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

**AVANTE  
COM NOSSA  
CAMPANHA!**

**POLÍCIA  
FORA DO  
SINDICATO!**

**OPERÁRIOS  
DO MUNDO  
· UNÍ-VOS!**

'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 SFPMMVR 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 fake-leftists 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

## Cerezo deve ir à polícia depor sobre atentado a sindicalista

Líder da Luta Metalúrgica desconfia de que atentado foi "uma farsa"



O presidente do Sindicato dos Metalúrgicos de Volta Redonda, Alexandre Cerezo, afirmou hoje que o atentado a uma sindicalista em Volta Redonda, no dia 13 de maio, não foi uma farsa, como se diz na imprensa. Cerezo afirmou que o atentado foi planejado por um grupo de Luta Metalúrgica e afirmou que Cerezo e o grupo de Luta Metalúrgica não foram envolvidos no atentado. Cerezo afirmou que o atentado foi planejado por um grupo de Luta Metalúrgica e afirmou que Cerezo e o grupo de Luta Metalúrgica não foram envolvidos no atentado.

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'."

## PAUTA DO 1º SEMINÁRIO

- 1 - BALANÇO DA GESTÃO MUNICIPALÍOS EM LUTA
- 2 - ANÁLISE DE CONJUTURA
- 3 - CAMPANHA SALARIAL
- A) FGTS
- B) FCG
- C) PAUTA
- D) COMISSÃO DE CAMPANHA SALARIAL
- 4 - QUESTÕES ADMINISTRATIVAS SFPMVR COM PARECER DO CONSELHO FISCAL
- 5 - FRAÇÃO DE ARTUR
- 6 - PROPOSTAS ORGANIZATIVAS
- 7 - GUARDA MUNICIPAL
- 8 - CAMPANHA INTERNACIONAL
- 9 - DIPLOMAÇÃO
- 10 - TERCEIRIZAÇÃO, VEGA, SOPAVE, COHAB, NOVA, ETC.

**PREZADO COMPANHEIRO (A)**

**N**OSSA INTENÇÃO NESTE 1º SEMINÁRIO DA GESTÃO MUNICIPALÍOS EM LUTA, É DAR UM PASSO IMPORTANTE NA TRAJETÓRIA DE LUTAS DE NOSSA CATEGORIA.

DESDE NOSSA POSSE, EM DEZEMBRO DE 1993, NÃO ARREDEAMOS UM INSTANTE SEQUER DOS COMPROMISSOS QUE ASSUMIMOS EM NOSSO PROGRAMA.

NÃO É FÁCIL CONSTRUIR UM SINDICATO DE LUTAS. ENFRENTAMOS MUITOS OBSTÁCULOS, MAS ESTAMOS DERROTANDO OS INIMIGOS DA CLASSE OPERÁRIA, (FORÇA SINDICAL, FRENTE POPULAR, O PELEGUISMO E A COLABORAÇÃO DE CLASSES DE UM MODO GERAL).

NESTE SENTIDO ESPERAMOS DESTSE SEMINÁRIO A GARANTIA DE QUE VAMOS SEGUIR ADIANTE.

CONTAMOS COM VOÇÊ.

GERALDO RIBEIRO - PRESIDENTE

**OPERÁRIOS DO MUNDO UNI-VOS!!**

# 10

SEM INÁRIO

DA

GESTÃO

DE

MUNICIPALÍOS EM LUTA


MEL

13

JUNHO 1996  
5ª FEIRA



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."



## GESTÃO MUNICIPALÍOS em LUTA

Pela independência de classe dos trabalhadores

17 de junho de 1996

**CUT**  
É PRA LUTAR

**Editorial**


### OFENSIVA CAPITALISTA E A CRISE DE DIREÇÃO

A aplicação da "globalização" da economia no Brasil, por FHC/PM e seus aliados, depende de um conjunto de reformas.

É um projeto do imperialismo que para ter mais êxito necessita também mudar a Constituição Federal e outras leis realizando:

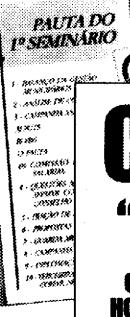
- 1 - Reforma Política, instituindo o voto distrital e restringindo o pluralismo partidário;
- 2 - Reforma econômica, abrindo a economia para o capital internacional, mudando a legislação tributária e privatizando empresas estatais;
- 3 - A reforma social, privatizando a previdência, "desbrotando" diretos e congêneres dos trabalhadores, inclusive com possibilidades da quebra da estabilidade no emprego de servidores. Além disso verificase o aumento do racismo, machismo no...

### JÁ FIZEMOS NOSSO 1º SEMINÁRIO



CAMPANHA

### PAUTA DO 1º SEMINÁRIO



**IMPEDIÇÃO DO FOMENTO PÚBLICO DE INICIATIVAS DE LUTA INDEPENDENTE**

O Conselho Municipal de Desenvolvimento Econômico e Social (COMDES) aprovou em 12 de junho de 1996, a seguinte resolução:

RESOLUÇÃO Nº 001/96

O COMDES, no uso de suas atribuições legais, resolve:

1 - APROVAR A RESOLUÇÃO Nº 001/96

2 - APROVAR A RESOLUÇÃO Nº 002/96

3 - APROVAR A RESOLUÇÃO Nº 003/96

4 - APROVAR A RESOLUÇÃO Nº 004/96

5 - APROVAR A RESOLUÇÃO Nº 005/96

6 - APROVAR A RESOLUÇÃO Nº 006/96

7 - APROVAR A RESOLUÇÃO Nº 007/96

8 - APROVAR A RESOLUÇÃO Nº 008/96

9 - APROVAR A RESOLUÇÃO Nº 009/96

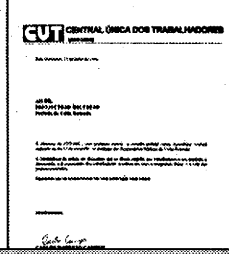
10 - APROVAR A RESOLUÇÃO Nº 010/96

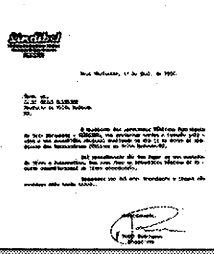
# CRESCER A CAMPANHA

## "Polícia tire as mãos do SFPMVR"

CUT-MG E SINDICATO DOS SERVIDORES DE BELO HORIZONTE ADEREM A CAMPANHA INTERNACIONAL

FRAÇÃO POLICIAL DE ARTUR: O TIRO SAIU PELA CULATRA!!!





Na última quarta feira, dia 12 de junho, "Motorzinho" saiu disparando tiros em plena Avenida Paulo de Frontin, colocando em risco, vidas de crianças, mulheres e idosos ou de qualquer outra pessoa que não tinha nada haver com seu desespero. Por desgraça de Artur, chefe de Motorzinho, no mesmo dia sua fração policial distribuiu boletins tentando dar uma roupagem angelical a "Motorzinho".

A fração agora não pode mais posar de inocente: será que aconteceu mesmo o "atentado" a Artur ??? Qual a arma que "Motorzinho" esta usando??? Terá o mesmo calibre que a do "atentado"??? Artur colocou sua arma em cima da mesa, exigindo que Motorzinho também fizesse o mesmo dentro e fora do Sindicato. Por quê ??? O que estavam eles tramando???



# GESTÃO MUNICIPALÁRIOS em LUTA

Pela independência de classe dos trabalhadores

CUT  
É PRA LUTAR

18 DE JUNHO DE 1996

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

### EXPOSIÇÃO DE MOTIVOS:

Desde janeiro de 1996, uma onda de provocações tem procurando caminhar o SFPMVR e a gestão Municipalários em Luta, sob a liderança de Geraldo Ribeiro procurando destruir os mesmos, como ponto de referência e trincheira de lutas dos servidores do movimento operário. Essas provocações aumentaram a partir das eleições sindicais da categoria dos servidores municipais, em novembro de 1995.

Nestas eleições, os diretores do SFPMVR Sérgio Monteiro e Luiz Paulo, pela primeira vez na história do SFPMVR, utilizaram uma estratégia de Frense Sindical e descaradamente se lançaram nos braços do Governo frente-populista de Baltazar em busca de "parceria". Mas na verdade o que conseguiram foi aumentar o aumento salarial de 34% para os secretários em troca de milhares 5% para os servidores e a possibilidade de terem um 3 mil desmilitar entre os servidores ante a possibilidade da quebra da estabilidade em emprego cujo objetivo tem sido tentado sistematicamente pelo governo federal, estadual e municipal.

**18 June 1996 bulletin prints main resolution from 13 June union conference, stating: "the affiliation of guards 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."**

vergens aparentemente discutíveis antes das eleições sindicais, foram levadas a um completo antagonismo depois do posse.

Artur Bonifácio Fernandes passou a organizar uma fração contra o programa Municipalários em Luta com o pretexto que mesmo fora elaborado longe das massas. Ora, as massas exigem que se faça o programa de Artur. O programa é uma herança das reivindicações histórica da classe operária e baseadas nos quatro princípios congresso da Terceira Internacional, o programa de Transição da IV Internacional e outros documentos importantes do movimento operário elaborados. Características que o programa não possui. Um programa classista não pode ser elaborado pelas "bases" com apetites eleitoreiro.

É desnecessário afirmar que as massas cansadas pela repressão e exploração do jugo do capital podem elaborar um programa. Outra coisa é a necessidade de fusão o programa classista na consciência das massas sob a liderança de avançados e orientados do operário revolucionário.

A política de colaboração de classes da Frente Popular cooptou e correu uma camada muito grande de ativistas sindicais e dirigentes operários. Estes "dirigentes" trocaram a ideologia da burguesia para o interior do movimento operário. Artur é produto e surge neste ambiente e busca exemplos em Fátima, Arnaldo, Wagner Barcellos, Luciano etc... Artur e sua fração burocrática se alimenta das derrotas da classe operária em um ambiente de ataques permanentes, como escreveu no convite para os seminários:

### "OFFENSIVA CAPITALISTA E A CRISE DE DIREÇÃO

A aplicação de "globalização" da economia no Brasil, por FBC/PM e seus aliados, depende de um conjunto de reformas.

Um claro elogio a estes carreiristas e oportunistas que eles tentam imitar. Também tentam desfiliar o SFPMVR da CUT e estão mancomunados com o comandante da Guarda Municipal, que está processando o Sindicato e imitando a linha contra o mesmo. E por isso o nosso programa, "Municipários em Luta", insiste que filiação de guardas e policiais aos sindicatos operários é incompatível com um programa classista.

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

convencidos com esta fração incompatível com o programa Municipalários 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 estado burguês e seus aparatos estatais.

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 Cow-

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



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).



Sindicato dos Funcionários Públicos do Município de Volta Redonda dos poderes executivo, legislativo, administração direta, indireta, autarquias, fundações e empresa de economia mista. (S.F.P.M.V.R.)  
CGC: 31.847.734/0001-34 - Tel. (0243) 43-3280 - Fundado em 26 de dezembro de 1986

#### EDITAL DE CONVOCAÇÃO

Os associados do Sindicato dos Funcionários Públicos do Município de Volta Redonda, em respeito ao ABAIXO-ASSINADO entregue no dia 19 de julho de 1996, cujo o REQUERIMENTO transcrevemos junto com este edital, que consta os artigos de direitos dos associados do SFPMVR, convocamos todos os funcionários dos Poderes Executivo, Legislativo, Administração Direta e Indireta, Autarquias, Fundações e Empresas de Economia Mista, para Assembleia Geral a ser realizada no dia 25 de julho de 1996, com 1ª convocação às 16:30hs, 2ª convocação às 17:00hs e 3ª e última convocação para às 17:30hs, na SMO (Curral do Conselho), para discutir e deliberar a seguinte ordem do dia:

- 1- Campanha Salarial (DATA-BASE);
- 2- Avaliação e deliberação sobre divergências na diretoria;
- 3- Reintegração da companheira Regina Célia, funcionária da FBC;
- 4- Fundo do greve;
- 5- Terceirização;
- 6- Desfiliação da Guarda Municipal;
- 7- Outras.

Obs.: O Requerimento e a lista com o abaixo-assinado, se encontram com a Diretoria que responde atualmente pelo SFPMVR, com cópias autenticadas.

Volta Redonda 23 de julho de 1996.

Ass.: Os requerentes em abaixo-assinado.

**Official call for 25 July 1996 union meeting. Point 6 of the agenda: "Disaffiliation of the municipal guard."**

ASSEMBLÉIA REALIZADA NO DIA 25 DE JULHO DE 1996, NA SMO (CURRAL DO CONSELHO) NESTA CIDADE; CONVOCADA PELA BASE DOS ASSOCIADOS DO SINDICATO DE FUNCIONÁRIOS PÚBLICOS DO MUNICÍPIO DE VOLTA REDONDA, CONFORME REQUERIMENTO COM ABAIXO-ASSINADO EM ANEXO, BASEADO NO ESTATUTO DO SFPMVR, ARTIGOS 105 PARÁGRAFO 1º, 2º, 3º, 4º, 5º, 6º E ARTIGO 7º INCISO IV; ENTREGUE NO DIA 19 DE JULHO DE 1996 À DIRETORIA DO SFPMVR, ASSINANDO CÉCILIA CEBILIX E O DIRETOR SEBASTIÃO DE FATIMA BATISTA PASSOS, PU

DES PRESENTES. O PUNTO DE DESFILIAÇÃO DE GUARDA MUNICIPAL DE VOLTA REDONDA DO SINDICATO TEVE INICIALMENTE UMA HOMENAGEM A ERNANE DA SILVA LÊNIO, MINISTRO DE 12 ANOS RESIDUANDO NA LÍNGUA AMERICANA, APÓS ESTE MTO PERÍODO A PALAVRA E COMO NÃO TEVE ESCRITOS PASSADOS A PROPOSTA DE DESFILIAÇÃO DE GUARDA MUNICIPAL DO ESTATUTO. O PROPOSTA FEI ACEITA COM MAIORIA DE VOTOS DOS PRESENTES. O PUNTO CONVOCADO SINDICATO FEI O PRO-

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



**GESTÃO  
MUNICIPÁRIOS  
em LUTA**

*Pela independência de classe  
dos trabalhadores*

**CUT  
É PRA LUTAR**

28 DE MAIO DE 1996

---

***Fundação Beatriz Gama demite  
mulher negra que sustenta  
filhos por ter a "CARA  
AMARRADA"***



"SOCIALISTAS".



papal bem sucedido, com um  
salário altíssimo que o faz sem-  
pre parecer de *cara aberta e fe-  
liz*, acha que quem recebe um

**HISTÓRIA DO  
MOVIMENTO  
OPERÁRIO  
SOBRE A  
MULHER**

A experiência histórica demonstra que inclusive o positivismo que levou à opressão da mulher como dona de casa e esposa. Ela experimenta resultados a costume a respeito da escrutínio familiar da mulher. Sem descanso, sem dias de festa, sem o menor raiar de esperança! Se se pode modificar a situação da mulher desde seus raízes se re-autentem todas as condições sociais, familiares e domésticas. A profundidade da questão não de manifesto o fato de que a mulher é em essência um ponto vivo onde se cruzam as fibras óbvias do trabalho econômico e cultural. O problema da mãe é sobretudo o problema de uma casa, de água corrente, de

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 pro-cop faction within the Municipal Workers Union (SFPMMVR). In response to this barrage of repression, the revolutionary militants have looked not to the courts—that 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 SFPMMVR 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

*Comprova  
Em 27/04/96  
C. 15.00/15*

**PODER JUDICIÁRIO  
COMARCA VOLTA REDONDA  
JUÍZO DE DIREITO**  
Endereço: Rua 360 n.º 40 Ed. FORUM Aterrado

**MANDADO DE NOTIFICAÇÃO**

PROCESSO Nº 11.924  
LITIGANTE Nº

COMOVIDA CCS  
OFICIAL

HOMENS SOBRE ACUSADOS)

Notificante: PAULO ROBERTO DE FREITAS  
Notificado: GERALDO RIBEIRO NEVES

CLASSIFICAÇÃO DO DELITO  
**NOTIFICAÇÃO**

NOTIFICAR o sr. GERALDO RIBEIRO NEVES, Presidente do Sindicato dos funcionários públicos do Município de Volta Redonda, para prestar esclarecimentos, em Juízo, no prazo de 48 (quarenta e oito) horas, sobre nota veiculada no *Boletim*, segue em anexo, cópia de inicial e decisão.

LOCAL DA PRESENÇA  
Av. Paulo de Frontin nº 349 - Aterrado, nesta cidade.

COMPARECIMENTO

LOCAL 1ª Vara Criminal  
DATA . . . . .  
HORA . . . . .

O JUÍZO DE DIREITO, DOUTOR  
MARCELO CASTRO ANÁTOLAS DA SILVA FERREIRA MANDA

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."

**MINISTÉRIO PÚBLICO DO ESTADO DO RIO DE JANEIRO  
COMARCA DE VOLTA REDONDA**

Ofício n.º 052/96 Em 31 de maio de 1996.

Do: Promotor de Justiça designado na 2a. V. Crim. e Central de Inquéritos de Volta Redonda.  
Ao: Excmo. Sr. Dr. Delegado de Polícia da 93a. DP. *1) Ribeiro e M.A.*

Excmo. Sr. Dr. Delegado de Polícia: *2) Apoiar, sustentar, Impugnando P.D. Ribeiro*

Por intermédio deste, o Promotor de Justiça abaixo suscrito, no uso de suas atribuições legais, requere, nos termos do artigo 39, parágrafo 5.º do CPP, a

**INSTAURAÇÃO DE INQUÉRITO POLICIAL**

para apurar possível prática dos delitos previstos nos artigos 30, 2º e 22 da lei 5250/67, tendo em vista ser necessário elucidar-se a autoria do delito, sobretudo ante o disposto no artigo 37, I, do referido diploma legal.

Em virtude disto, determino:

- 1- Instauração de IP, atuando-se este e a representação da pessoa jurídica imputada;
- 2- A oitiva do jornalista Francisco Edson ("Diário do Vale"), de Regina Célia de Oliveira e do Presidente do Sindicato dos Funcionários Públicos de VR, Geraldo Ribeiro Neves;
- 3- Diligências que se fizerem necessárias.

Face a urgência, tendo em vista o prazo prescricional do referido diploma legal, fixo o prazo de 25 dias para o cumprimento das diligências.

Aproveito a oportunidade para reiterar a V. Exa. protestos de estima e consideração.

*André Felipe Alves da Costa Tredinick*  
André Felipe Alves da Costa Tredinick  
Promotor de Justiça  
mat. 1.863


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-



 Estado do Rio de Janeiro  
PODER JUDICIÁRIO  
COMARCA de Volta Redonda-RJ  
JUÍZO DE DIREITO da 1ª Vara Única  
Endereço: Rua 568, s/nº, Ed. Forum

**MANDADO DE CITAÇÃO E SUBSTÂNCIA A REALIZAÇÃO DE ASSEMBLÉIA**

PROCESSO Nº <b>30.421/96</b>	EXCONEVITE <b>Adriana</b>
---------------------------------	------------------------------

**AÇÃO/REQUERIMENTO**  
Medida Cautelar Inominada c/c Produção Antecipada de Provas Condições em Vistoria Ad Perpetuum Rei Memoriam com Pedido de Liminar.

**PARTES/REQUERENTES**  
Autor: Sebastião de Fátima Batista Passos  
Réu: Sindicato dos Funcionários Públicos do Município de Volta Redonda representado por seu Presidente Sr. Geraldo Ribeiro Neves.


**FUNDAMENTAÇÃO**  
Proceda o Sr. Oficial de Justiça a citação do Réu na pessoa de seu representante legal nos termos da ação, advertindo-o de que não contestada no prazo legal se presumirão como verdadeiras as fatos alegados, bem como a sustância a realização da assembleia geral para hoje convocada, tudo conforme o despacho anexo por cópia.  
Endereço: Av. Paulo de Frontin, nº 549, salas 111 e 112, Bairro Aterrado, nesta cidade. O JUIZ DE DIREITO, DOUTOR

Paulo José Bastos Cesenza M A N D A

que, em cumprimento ao presente, extraído do processo acima referido, proceda à **Citação etc...**  
nos termos e de acordo com esta(s) peça(s) (litemente transcrita(s) em (total) devidamente autenticada(s).  
que fica(m) fazendo parte de presente mandado.

Volta Redonda, RJ, 19 de junho de 1996.

Brígida Silva Baylão, substituta do Escrivão, o subcrevo.

  
Paulo José Bastos Cesenza  
JUIZ DE DIREITO

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 Assembleia 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 fiel 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 ajuizado no prazo do trintidlo, observando-se o procedimento ordinário visando a suspensão e afastamento do Presidente do Sindicato Réu 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

  
 ESTADO DO RIO DE JANEIRO  
 PODER JUDICIÁRIO  
 COMARCA de Novo Horizonte  
 JUÍZO DE DIREITO da 1ª Vara Civil  
 18 96

Declaração de perda de mandato  
 e pedido de Tutela Jurisdiccional  
 antecipada

AUT. Dr. \_\_\_\_\_  
 In. Artur de Brito Lages  
 VALOR DA CAUSA R\$ 5000  
Artur de Brito Lages  
Geraldo Ribeiro Neves e Marcello Lages Carega  
 Advogado: Marcelo Lages Carega - 59106  
 Advogado: \_\_\_\_\_

**AUTUAÇÃO**

Em 24 de Julho de mil novecentos e  
96, às 14 horas, em cartório, período suspenso com \_\_\_\_\_ documento  
 nº 194 de registro  
 Ex. Artur de Brito Lages S.A.: Escrivão, subscrito.  
 Têmulo: Livro 12 fl. 104 Reg. do cart. Livro \_\_\_\_\_ fl. \_\_\_\_\_

**AÇÃO DECLARATÓRIA DE PERDA DE MANDATO  
COM PEDIDO DE TUTELA JURISDICCIONAL  
ANTECIPADA**

em face do  
**PRESIDENTE SR. GERALDO RIBEIRO NEVES**, brasileiro, casado,

**EX POSITIS, REQUER À V. EX.:**

MM. Sr. Julz, mediante as violações Estatutárias por parte dos Suplicados e constatadas as irregularidades através da farta prova documental, não tem o Autor outra alternativa senão a de trafegar junto ao Poder Judiciante com o escopo de ter-se DECLARADO A PERDA DE MANDATO DOS SUPPLICADOS pelos motivos aqui consignados concedendo-se ainda a TUTELA JURISDICCIONAL ANTECIPADA no sentido de MANTER A SUSPENSÃO E AFASTAMENTO DOS SUPPLICADOS DOS CARGOS EXERCIDOS JUNTO AO SINDICATO DOS FUNCIONÁRIOS PÚBLICOS DO MUNICÍPIO DE VOLTA REDONDA, COM EFICÁCIA ATÉ O JULGAMENTO DEFINITIVO DA LIIDE, em virtude do DESRESPEITO E NÃO CUMPRIMENTO DAS FORMALIDADES LEGAIS, face a GRAVE VIOLAÇÃO AO ESTATUTO nos precisos termos do Artigo 34 inciso I parágrafos 1º e 2º c/c Artigo 5º Inciso XXXV da Constituição da República Federativa do Brasil de 1988 vez que, está comprovado a malversação e dissipação do patrimônio Sindical, o superfaturamento e as violações aos Artigos 18 Inciso I, V parágrafo 1º, 2º c/c Artigo 21 Inciso IV e V e, em especial, no que tange ao primeiro Suplicado requer o AFASTAMENTO IMEDIATO por força do Inciso IV do Artigo 5º cuja LIMINAR se requer, ou seja designada AUDIÊNCIA DE JUSTIFICAÇÃO.

**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 many-sided 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 plaintiff 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 class-struggle campaign, the bosses' "justice" system intervened in the union, as in the years of the military dictatorship, seek-

ing 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

**→ Guardas se dizem constrangidos por membros da Luta Metalúrgica**

**Comandante diz que entidade quer excluir guardas municipais do Sindicato de Funcionários**

Volta Redonda - O comandante da Guarda Municipal, o tenente reformado do Exército Paulo Roberto Freitas, vai reunir a tropa na manhã de hoje para saber se as suas comandadas estão insatisfeitas com o tratamento recebido dos integrantes do Sindicato da Luta Metalúrgica e vice-presidente do CUT regional, Alzair Carlos Carega. A Luta Metalúrgica concluiu seu apoio à campanha eleitoral de apoio de Geraldo Ribeiro - que acabou ganhando eleição para a direção do Sindicato dos Funcionários Públicos de Volta Redonda - no cumprimento de um programa lançado pela organização "Municipalistas em Luta" que impõe as guardas municipais da cidade ao controle do sindicato.

A alegação é a de que a Guarda Municipal tem um regime militar, tal como o Exército, Marinha e Aeronáutica. Até na primeira reunião do júri, o presidente municipal foi acusado de ter discutido o afastamento das guardas do quadro de polícia, segundo disse ontem Geraldo Ribeiro. Carega afirma que a guarda, embora composta de servidores, por força de seu regulamento se coloca contra os funcionários da prefeitura, em caso de greve e até mesmo de invasões de terra. "A Guarda Municipal defende o estado capitalista, assim como as Forças Armadas", justificou Carega.

Segundo Freitas, as provocações do Sindicato dos Funcionários contra a Guarda Municipal começaram em fevereiro, quando o órgão publicou um boletim chamando-o de "filho de ditadura". O texto foi ordenado pelo comandante do acatado 22º DIAM, coronel Fereira da Mota, um dos militares que envolveram o caso de CEN em novembro de 1988, após o confronto que resultou na morte de três operários. O ex-militar entrou com uma ação na Justiça contra o sindicato, que será processado por calúnia e difamação.

Em outro boletim publicado no dia 19/9, o Sindicato da Luta Metalúrgica afirmou que, com Artur Fernandes, o sindicato não admitirá ir a um ato de não comparecimento por um segundo-feira passado quem é Arthur", reagiu ontem, ao falar no DIAM.

Os ataques e as provocações de Carega e Geraldo Ribeiro não estão sendo bem recebidos pelos guardas, que estão sendo constrangidos em seu trabalho. A situação da Guarda Municipal é bem diferente da que os dois estão afirmando. Mesmo assim, pretendem recomendar ao meu pessoal que se desligue mesmo do sindicato e crie uma associação. Até porque Geraldo Ribeiro perdeu o apoio do sindicato, que está nas mãos da Luta Metalúrgica - crítica e independente.

Na proteção que faz hoje, o comandante recomendará à tropa que não responda as provocações. Ele vai sugerir aos guardas que, se se sentirem ofendidos, entre na Justiça contra o sindicato.

**DIÁRIO DO VALE**

Último dia 2º Diário Regional de Polícia Civil (2º DRPC), Luiz Zeppenmann, que já havia o secretário-geral do Sindicato dos Funcionários, Artur Fernandes, disse que aguarda que a lei entregue um dossiê sobre os problemas existentes no órgão para definir a linha de investigação sobre o atentado sofrido pelo sindicalista, segundo ele fez saber.

O delegado disse ainda que, no depoimento, Artur não fez nenhuma acusação direta ou cita nomes de suspeitos. O que levou o delegado a acreditar num possível atentado: "eu sei num instante foi o fato de Artur Fernandes apresentar estar muito nervoso".

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 ‘Municípios 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 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-

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/judicial 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, children 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 Emrane da Silva Lúcio, a 12-year-old black child mur-

\* Proc. 00030421/96 - MEDIDA CAUTELAR - A.  
 Sebastião de Fátima Batista Passos (Adv.  
 Alcindo Maciel de Souza) - R. Sindicato dos  
 Funcionários Públicos do Município de V. R.  
 (Adv. Clayton Montebello Carneiro - AALL) -  
 DESPACHO: Digo o netor e réu face a decisão  
 homologada nos autos 00045/96, ainda pretende  
 controlar e dar prosseguimento ao presente feito.  
 Prazo 05 dias; o silêncio implicará  
 concordância com a decisão.

Volta Redonda city gazette (*Diário Oficial*, 3 December 1996) announces withdrawal of pro-cop mouthpiece from case against Ribeiro, removing legal pretext for court takeover of union.



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 shotgun-wielding 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.

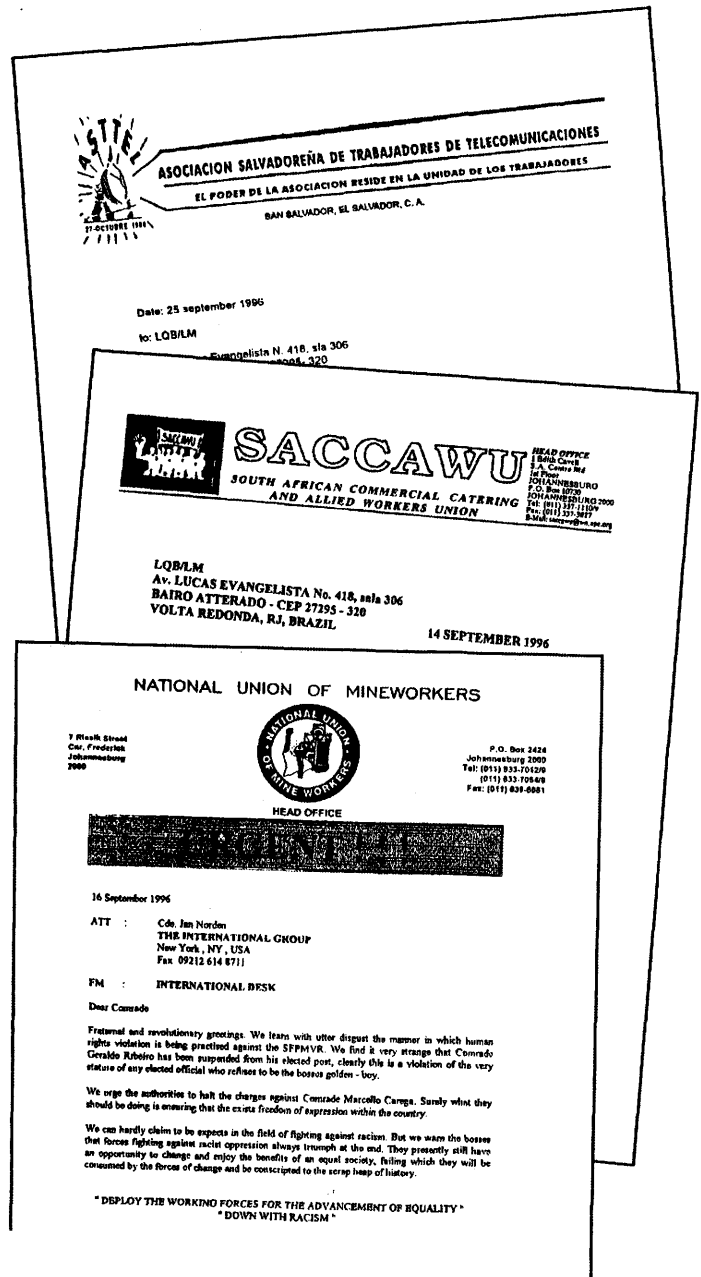
Class-struggle militants demand that the bosses' courts and cops keep their hands off the Municipal Workers Union and the labor movement as a whole! Together with them and the Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil, in August 1996 the Internationalist Group launched an appeal for international labor 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



November 6, 1996

Volta Redonda Municipal Workers Union  
c/o LQB/LM  
Avenida Lucas Evangelista No. 414, Sala 306  
Bairro Sterrado, CEP 27-295-320  
Volta Redonda, RJ, Brazil

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

We support the demand that all charges be dropped against Geraldo Ribeiro, President of the Municipal Workers Union, and Marcello Carrega, suspended by the local government from their positions as elected union officers. They were active in union-authorized strike activities.



## MERSEYSIDE PORT SHOP STEWARDS.

J. NOLAN: CHAIRMAN  
C/O T. G. W. U.  
TRANSPORT HOUSE, ISLINGTON,  
LIVERPOOL, L3 8 EQ

J. DAVIES: SECRETARY

Telephone: 0151 207 3388  
Fax: 0151 207 0696

2 October 1996

Internet No. GCOYND0CLX.COMPU.LINK.CO.UK

Mr. Geraldo Ribeiro,  
Luta Metalurgica/SFPMVR,  
Av. Lucas Evangelista No. 418, SALA 306,  
Bairro Aterrado - CEP 27 295-320,  
Volta Redonda, RJ,  
BRAZIL.

Dear Brother Ribeiro,

I write on behalf of 500 sacked Liverpool dockworkers and their families. In September 1995, they were sacked for refusing to cross a picket line established by young dockers sacked by their employer.

Last month we had a demonstration outside Liverpool docks. Riot police and dogs were used to violate and disperse dockers and their supporters. Many of our dockers and supporters occupied gantry cranes and the roof of the mata company building.

We condemn the actions against SFPMVR Trade Unionists and the fundamental breaches of human rights undertaken throughout the world.

Victory to our Sisters and Brothers of Brazil.

I will personally inform workers in this country of your struggle.



September 17, 1996

Volta Redonda Municipal Workers Union  
c/o LQB/LM  
Av. Lucas Evangelista No. 418, sala 306  
Bairro Aterrado-CEP 27.295-320  
Volta Redonda, RJ, Brazil

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

Our union and its 30,000 membership sends solidarity in your fight to have a union that is independent from the state. We have had our members attacked by the police at peaceful protests and so we know that the police are not neutral in these issues.

We also join in your struggle against racism, as union has experienced it first hand here in Los Angeles. We are a union largely composed of immigrant workers and must wage a fight against similar prejudices here in the U.S.



International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union

Local 10 400 NORTH POINT, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF. 94133 • 776-8100

PRESIDENT: GEORGE ROMERO  
VICE PRESIDENT: TONY WINSTEAD

DALE KELLY  
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Motion in Defense of Brazilian Workers

Whereas, an important labor and anti-racist struggle is being waged in the Brazilian industrial center of Volta Redonda, and

Whereas, 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, and

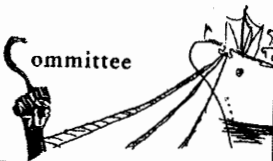
Whereas the police in Brazil have earned a notorious and unequalled reputation for wantonly killing street children and attacking striking workers, and

Whereas, Local 10's constitution (Article II Membership, Section 7) states "No ... depulized city, county or state police officer shall be permitted to hold membership in this union" because of their strikebreaking role in the 1934 General Strike, and

Whereas the state, as with the Veracruz (Mexico) longshoremen, has sent in the Military Police to break up union meetings, has suspended Geraldo Ribeiro from his elected position as union president and has charged union activist Marcello Carega with "disobedience" for leading workers during the nationwide general strike on June 21, 1996, and

Therefore Be It Resolved that Local 10 fax a letter of protest immediately to the governor demanding: "Drop the Charges Against Geraldo Ribeiro and Marcello Carega" and "Police Hands Off the Union!", and that we send a copy to the Volta Redonda municipal workers union.

## International Dockers Committee



15 November, 1996

Mr. Geraldo Ribeiro  
Luta Metalurgica/SFPMVR  
Av. Lucas Evangelista No. 418,  
Sala 306  
Bairro Aterrado-CEP 27 295-320  
Volta Redonda, RJ, Brazil

Dear Comrade Ribeiro,

The International Dockers Conference held in Paris, France 26-27 October, 1996 has sent a letter to Governor Alencar condemning state repression against your union the Volta Redonda Municipal Workers Union and demanding your reinstatement.

We dockers know well the vicious role police play as guardians of capitalist rule. We solidarize with your struggle.

Keep us informed of developments 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 mem-

bership experiences first hand. As a statement by SEIU Local 535 (Pasadena, California) stressed, "An injury to one is an injury to all."

For further information, contact the Internationalist Group at Box 3321, Church Street Station, New York, NY 10008, U.S.A. Tel. (212) 460-0983. Fax (212) 614-8711.

Steel Company Claimed Leukopenia a “Black Disease”

# Brazilian Metal Workers Struggle Against Racism

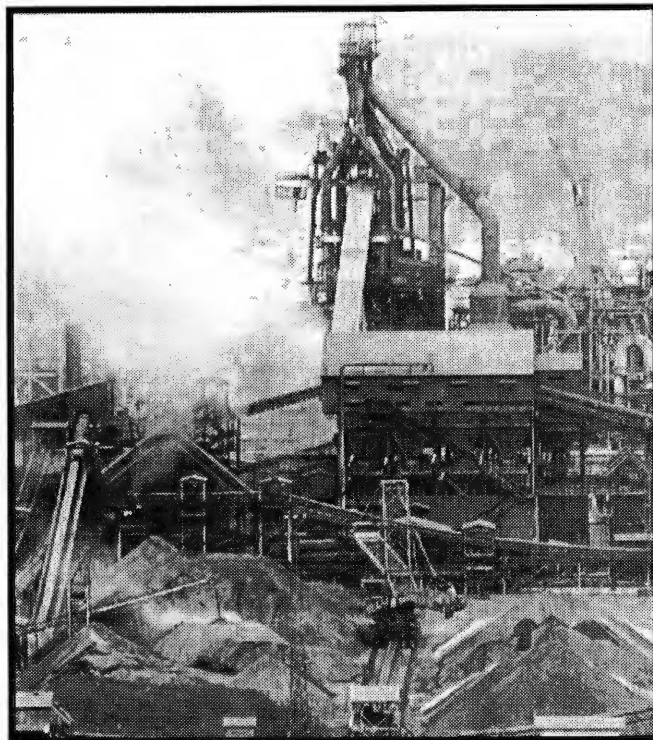
Behind the mask of the “new, democratic Brazil” donned by the nation’s rulers in 1985 after more than two decades of military dictatorship, the reality is one of brutal exploitation and many-sided racist oppression. Like the United States, Brazilian capitalism was founded on slavery, which was not abolished 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 by-product 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



O Dia

**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.” ■



*continued from page 2*

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 class-struggle 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 broad-ranging 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." ■

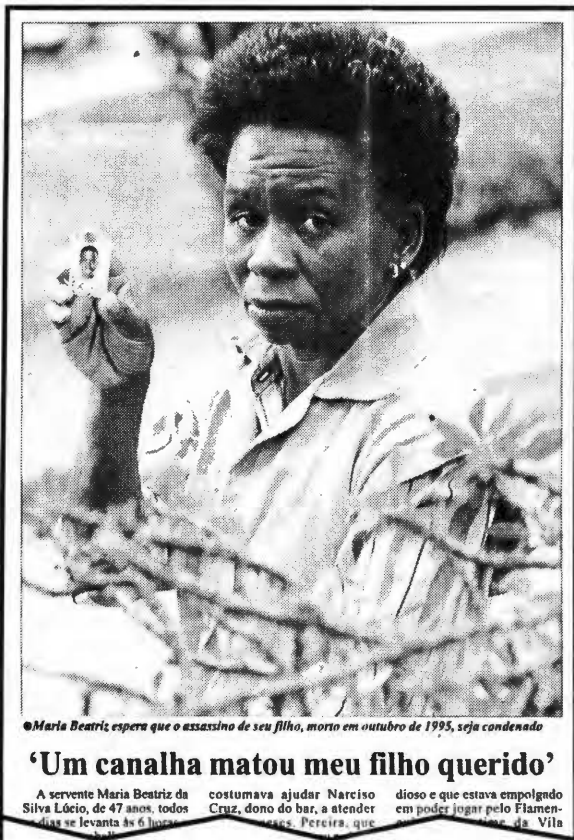


**LQB spokesman Cerezo addresses Volta Redonda demonstration in August 1995 to save the life of U.S. death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Municipal Workers Union (SFPMVR) co-sponsored the rally.**

# 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 12-year-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."

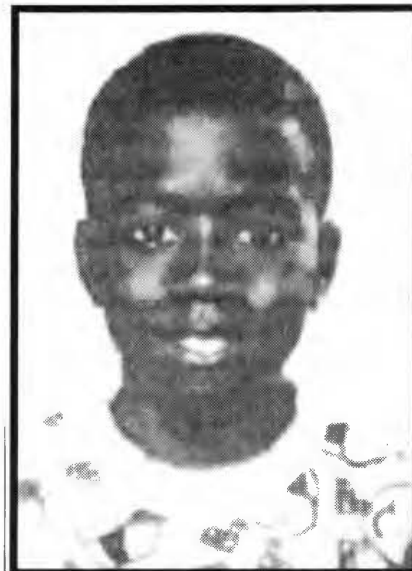
In New York City, the Internationalist Group brought the



• Maria Beatriz espera que o assassino de seu filho, morto em outubro de 1995, seja condenado

## 'Um canalha matou meu filho querido'

A servente Maria Beatriz da Silva Lúcio, de 47 anos, todos os dias se levanta às 6 horas e costumava ajudar Narciso Cruz, dono do bar, a atender a clientela. Ela também trabalhava em uma loja de roupas e estava empolgada em poder jogar pelo Flamengo.



Ernane da Silva Lúcio

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-year-old Frankie Arzuaga, who was slain by a cop in January 1996, sent a statement of solidarity to Ernane's mother, as did Milta

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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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.

