









ISBN 978-85-60443-04-4

Socialism without liberty is not socialism.
Liberty without socialism is not liberty.

João Mangabeira
First President of the Brasilian Socialist Party

Socialism and Liberty, the two columns which gave origin to the PSB in 1947, in the historic phase in which socialism was identified as an authoritarian experience of the Soviet Union. A prophetic proposal.

The João Mangabeira Foundation (FJM) was founded in 1990 with the proposal to consolidate, deepen, spread and construct democratic socialism, at the time in which the disaster of the Soviet experience and the arrogance of neoliberal globalization were leaving everyone perplexed. Everyone that is who believe and struggle for liberty, real democracy, ethics, solidarity, social justice, sustainable development and peace.

The FJM proposes to dialogue with all the militants of socialism, independently of their party affiliation so as to debate political up-building which places itself on the other side of the capitalist, individualist, and consumer model which excludes and devastates.

Socialism today in the world and in Brasil is feasible if we know how to construct the Socialist Party as a space for ethical cohabitation, which is democrat, free, has solidarity, respects the nature of our planet and places value in differences be they cultural, ethnic, gender, religious or political.

So as to reach this objective the João Mangabeira Foundation caries out and supports the carrying out of study groups, courses, symposiums, conferences and seminars. It sponsors the carrying out of research and studies of an economic, social, cultural and political nature. It publishes books and or handbooks which can contribute towards the political formation of the citizen.

The João Mangabeira Foundation is a non profitable organization which has as its mission political formation and the formulation of socialist public policies. Its headquarters are in Brasília. Its administration body consists of the Board of Trustees, the Executive Directory and the Supervisory Council.

Carlos Siqueira
President of the João Mangabeira Foundation



FUNDAÇÃO JOÃO MANGABEIRA

fundação joão mangabeira

SEDE PRÓPRIA
SHIS QI 5 Conjunto 2 Casa 2
CEP 71615-020 – Lago Sul – Brasília, DF
Telefax: (61) 3365-4099/3365-5277/3365-5279
www.tvjoaomangabeira.com.br
www.fjmangabeira.org.br

Sewing the Seeds of Socialism

MARGARIDA VIEIRA

Sewing the Seeds of Socialism

MARGARIDA VIEIRA

Fundação João Mangabeira











Sewing the Seeds of Socialism

It can be said that a Political Party is never fully complete or organized in the sense that all development brings with it new tasks and functions

GRAMSCI, Antonio. Quaderni, p. 1.732, apud COUTINHO, Carlos Nelson. *Gramsci, A study on his political thoughts*, Rio de Janeiro: Brazilian Civilization, 1979.


PSB
PSB

FUNDAÇÃO JOÃO MANGABEIRA

Sewing the Seeds of Socialism

MARGARIDA VIEIRA

2007

Fundação João Mangabeira

Sede própria: SHIS QI 5 Conjunto 2 Casa 2
CEP 71615-020 – Lago Sul – Brasília, DF
Telefax: (61) 3365-4099/3365-5277/3365-5279
www.fjmangabeira.org.br

EXECUTIVE DIRECTORY
General Director: *Carlos Siqueira*
Administrative Director: *Carmen Soriano Puig*
Financial Director: *Renato Xavier Thiebaut*
Course Director : *José Carlos Sabóia*
Assessment Director: *Marcos Rezende Villaça Nunes*

BOARD OF TRUSTEES
Permanent members
Governador Eduardo Henrique Accioly Campos
Carlos Siqueira

Members elected by the National Directory of the PSB
Deputada Luiza Erundina de Sousa
Roberto Amaral
Prefeito Serafim Fernandes Corrêa
Kátia Born Ribeiro
Mari Elisabeth Trindade Machado
Antônio César Russi Callegari

Members elected by the Board of Trustees
Jaime Wallwitz Cardoso
Dalvino Trocolli Franca
James Lewis Gorman Jr.
Deputado Alexandre Aguiar Cardoso
Ministro Sérgio Machado Resende
Adilson Gomes da Silva
Álvaro Cabral
Carlos Eugênio Sarmento Coelho da Paz
Silvânio Medeiros

Substitutes
Paulo Blanco Barroso
Elaine Breintebach
Paulo Bracarense
Joe Carlo Vianna Valle
Manoel Antônio Vieira Alexandre

SUPERVISORY COUNCIL
Cacilda de Oliveira Chequer
Auxiliadora Maria Pires Siqueira da Cunha
Antônio Marlos Ferreira Duarte

Substitutes
Marcos José Mota Cerqueira
Dalton Rosa Freitas

Copyright © FJM, 2007

PUBLISHING
Production and final edition
Tereza Vitale

Layout
Rogério Pinto

Illustrations
Rogério Pinto

Images
http://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki

Photographs
Acervo PSB
Acervo FJM
Acervos particulares de Carlos Siqueira e Roberto Amaral

Translator
Jonh David Bagnall

Catalogue Card

V657s *Sewing the seeds of socialism* / Vieira, Margarida – Brasília : Fundação João Mangabeira, 2007, 152p.

English version, 2009. 148 p.
ISBN 978-85-60441-04-4

1. A History of the Political Parties. 1. Margarida Vieira, III. Title.

CDU 324

Sumário

By way of introduction 7

Chapter I
The early stages of the party (1947/1965) 15

Chapter II
The reorganization of the PSB (1985/1989) 23

Chapter III
Consolidation (1990-2007) 37

Chapter IV
PSB and the City 69

Chapter V
The PSB and the Federation 85

Chapter VI
The PSB and the Nation 101

Chapter VII
FJM and the Social Segments of the PSB 115

Chapter VIII
The challenges of the New Generation 131

Chapter IX
PSB Presidents 135

About the author 146


ORDEM E PROGRESSO
FSB
FHC

PSB sixty years: for more liberty and less injustice

Carlos Siqueira*

"We do not want to remove anything from democracy, but we want to many things to it".

As the Brasilian Socialist Party celebrates its sixty years in existence we remember the fundamental principles and ideas that illuminated our founders, among them being Hermes Lima, Evandro Lins e Silva, Antônio Cândido, Joel Silveira e Rubem Braga, all led by João Mangabeira, the Party's first president and our patron.

In 1945 the "Democratic Left", an extensive meeting space for the democratic and progressive forces against the New State, demarcated the field of socialist action in opposition to the right and dictatorships and gave the opportunity for the foundation of the Brazilian Socialist Party.

Socialism, as an ideology and practice, is the humanist and Marxist fundamental principle of social justice. It is a keen and deep concern of conscience which encourages us to face politics and to collectively face successive, varied and permanent social injustices and not only to classify the structural model of society.

For this reason the PSB is the plural and organized space of those who although conscious that a perfect society will never exist, build new experiences of human coexistence in the realism of our day to day life, having justice and freedom as ones guide, and democratic coherence as the path.

It is essential to remember that, at that historical moment of absolute hegemony on the part of the Brazilian Communist Party in the area of left wing forces and labor and nationalist experience during the long period – 15 years – of the Vargas government, the Brazilian Socialist Party emerges, with the ideal of defending in a pioneering manner the idea of the Democratic Socialism, which is pluralist, with ideological and social identity.

With these luminous banners, the PSB socialists did not intend to deny the positive aspects of the PCB and PTB politics. They proposed, however, something which seemed essential to them: the formation of a new political force, which, on the one hand was opposed to the conservative liberal ideals of the PSD and UDN, and on the other hand, the authoritarian vision developed by the communists and labor movements, although we had and continued to have a lot of affinity with same.

This political experience which was innovative, creative and in certain manner vanguard of the political-intellectual group already referred to, was interrupted with the military coup d'état of 1964 and was only restarted after the re-democratization of our country, in 1985, through the efforts of valiant companions, such as Jamil Haddad and Roberto Amaral, as well as some of those who participated of the foundation of the PSB in the first place, 1945-1964. The re-organizers were lively people, stimulated and illuminated by the same ideals that guided our founders. For this reason, they applied to the Superior Electoral Tribunal for the registration of the same Manifesto, Program and Statute of the 1947 Project.

In this way what was reorganized was the same Party as of 1947, with new and old actors and in a historical, political, economical and social context which was very different from that initial period.

All this is summarized in the mission statement that was delegated to us by João Mangabeira: *Socialism without liberty is not socialism. Liberty without socialism can not be liberty*. And thus our slogan: *Socialism and Liberty*. The liberty of authentic socialism, which is founded on the security of

justice, equality and fairness tripod, makes up the ethical mission statement of the PSB. Ethics is seen as the source of inspiration in society and not as the adaptation to the standards of the dominant classes.

Between 1947 and 1964, the politics of the PSB was marked by its defense of democracy threatened or trampled upon on the occasion of the declaration of the PCB's illegality (1947), the investiture of Vargas (1950), the legality campaign (1960); it marked its nationalist politics through the construction of an economically independent nation, in the "*Petroleum is ours"* campaign; it marked its social politics in the organization of the students (UNE) and rural workers (*Ligas Camponesas / Peasant Workers Alliances*); it marked its social inclusion politics in the revolution of educational systems which made way for economical, political and social inclusion of the excluded.

Not even the military dictatorship nor the fall of the Berlin Wall touched the soul of the PSB which rose again in a structured manner in 1985 to give continuity to the ideal of socialism and liberty in the consolidation of the democratic process.

The PSB in an active manner, and not only in principles, demonstrated its identity when participating, with a democratic spirit, pragmatically parliamentary government of President Itamar Franco, contributing in a qualitative way in the Ministries of Health and Culture, and in the Popular Front Government of President Lula, in the Ministry of Science and Technology.

The collaboration of the PSB in the government base of the two presidential mandates stands out not for being an interested participation in benefiting from power, but for being programmatic. The democratic spirit is reverenced not in the fight for hegemony, but in the capacity of collaboration within a political realism, when the people vote in that which they consider politically viable.

It is through its action in state and municipal governments that the PSB demonstrates its real identity. In these democratic spaces, where one has to govern with coalitions, the PSB confirms its faith in democracy, without, however, bending to the impositions of conservatism or oppressing classes. The characteristics that the PSB evidences in these activities are the amplification of popular participative ways of administration, concern with ethics and attention to the basic sectors of social inclusion of the poorest classes in the area of education, health and labor market.

It is also in parliamentary action that the PSB, while coherent to its programmatic principles and weaving alliances in the socialist field, brings to the fore its differences with social-democratic parties and opens the space for an alternative which is both socialist and democratic.

It is through these policies that the PSB is conquering adhesions and growing. Democratically open to dialogue and having as its references the values of social justice, liberty, democracy and socialism, the party is receiving adhesions and experiencing disassociations, within the tensions and divergences which are a typical part of the institutional political framework.

Today the PSB has some very important strategic challenges for the future of the nation.

The first perhaps is of offering to the Brazilian people a perspective as to ethics in politics. The disbelief in politics provoked by the inheritance of a cultivated corruption within the culture of privatization of public goods (power, wealth, State) and the culture of being privileged (not only economically, but in the spheres of justice, education, health and the occupation and ownership of rural and urban land etc), causes a disbelief in the political-party system.

The second challenge can be in rescuing the value of the socialist ideal and democracy, weakened by the experience of real socialism traditionally defended by leftist parties and by the experiences for the last governments with their social-democratic imprint, where the hegemony of parliamentary conspiracies, presidential popularity predominance

and conditionings imposed by the national and international financial system are all mixed together.

The third challenge is to build a project as a nation, detailed and feasible, which reorients the paths of our political-institutional and economical development and ransoms our enormous social debt:

a) a wide and radical political reform, including the Legislative, Executive and Judiciary and institua-tos which in general are slow in answering to the needs of the nation and the people, mismatched or disarticulated with each other and, internally, most of the time dominated by the excluding elite;

b) a project of profound urban reform, which points to real solutions and appropriate economical means, taking in consideration the social reality of an eminently urban country, where housing and sub-housing chaos reigns, where there is a feeling of insecurity, fear and the most varied types of violence, social segregation/exclusion along side opulence, the amount of employment and sub-employment, the lack of transport structures, basic sanitation and services in the barrios and more needing slums, among other problems;

c) educational reform which goes beyond palliative and sectorial measures and reinforces progress, above all in making basic education universal, aimed at recovering and moving forward in the "quality of education", no-only in the dimension of "learning for work" but also in education towards citizenship;

d) sanitary reform which reinforces and enlarges the dynamics of the decentralization operated by SUS, guaranteeing a quality of disease prevention and attendance, promoting education and health care in the areas of food and physical education and the psychic well-being in the public health system, but also in the educational system

e) new project of macro-economic policy, which does not blindly submit to the commands of international and national monetarism, resumes the historical banner of the PSB with regards to the debt, rethink interest policies and public/private relations;

f) a new agrarian reform project, considering as much the question of the rural worker and his relations with the market, as well as that of an environmental policy which preserves the forests, terrestrial and underground waters, the ecological balance between nature and animals, but, above all, that which improves the life conditions of millions of Brazilians who live in sub-human conditions in the periphery of the large medium sized cities of our country.

The task of reconstructing in the people their faith in politics befalls to the PSB, the task of being recognized as an ethical and competent party, and in so doing increase in an electoral manner so as to become a real alternative for democratic, inclusive, nationalist politics.

This book complements the history of the PSB giving continuity to the first written work by the same author, Margarida Vieira, together with Miracy Barbosa de Sousa Gustin, Sowing the Seeds of Democracy – *The path of democratic socialism in Brazil*, which analyzes the period from 1945 to 1964. Our thanks go to the author and all who collaborated with this edition.

---

* President of the João Mangabeira Foundation and First National Secretary of the PSB.



Participação do PSB na marcha dos 100 mil contra o Governo FHC

The 60 years of The Brazilian Socialist Party

Beginning of our Chat

You will be accompanying the construction of a project relating to a society which is based on solidarity, with equality of rights in law and practice, with respect for fellow human beings in their ideas and dreams, with constant dialogue among men, women, and children, young and old. A society in which all are included, all work and receive that which is necessary to educate themselves, to have health, leisure, to promote culture and to transport themselves wherever they need. In short where all are and feel as people. We are still far away from arriving at this socialist society, but for 60 years, the PSB has been trying to contribute so that we can get nearer to it.

It is in daily action, in social movements, in the Executive and Legislative that the PSB militants have sought for and are searching for a society of equals with regards to differences and environmental preservation. If you take part in the PSB identify with the projects and struggles, discuss and make this book known. If not you will be surprised when you see in Brazil a party which is faithful to its principles and program.

Of course, as in all human organization, there are also mistakes, people who use the part name for personal interests, but positive actions by far prevail. We have examined a large amount of written material, many pictures, and interviewed several agents responsible for the building up of the PSB.

Once you have finished reading this book, discuss with friends and acquaintances and above all walk together with us in the construction of a happier world for all.

This Book

So as to analyze the 60 years of the PSB, in Chapter I (1947/1965) we will make a synthesis of the party as the seed of collective citizenship which was extinct by means of AI-2 of the military regime. In Chapter II (1985/1989) we will examine the reconstruction of the PSB, an organized effort in the whole country, its performance as a Party on the left, with permanent registration and growth. In Chapter III (1990/2007) we will see the consolidation of the Party in society, in the Legislative and Executive, and getting over the "clause barrier".

In Chapter IV in "The PSB and the City" we will mention several socialist municipal administrations and their marks. In Chapter V "The PSB and the Federation" it will be our turn to accompany state administrations. In Chapter VI "The PSB and the Nation" the performances of socialists in the House of Deputies, Federal Senate and as Federal Government Ministries will be observed. Then in Chapter VII we will see debate activities and the political formation of the João Mangabeira Foundation (FJM) and the performance of the organized socialist segments in society such as youth movements, trade unions, women and blacks. Finally, in Chapter VIII we will present some challenges for the new generation to give continuity to a history of firmness in defense of democratic socialism and ethics in performance always on the left, as a republican and in a democratic manner.

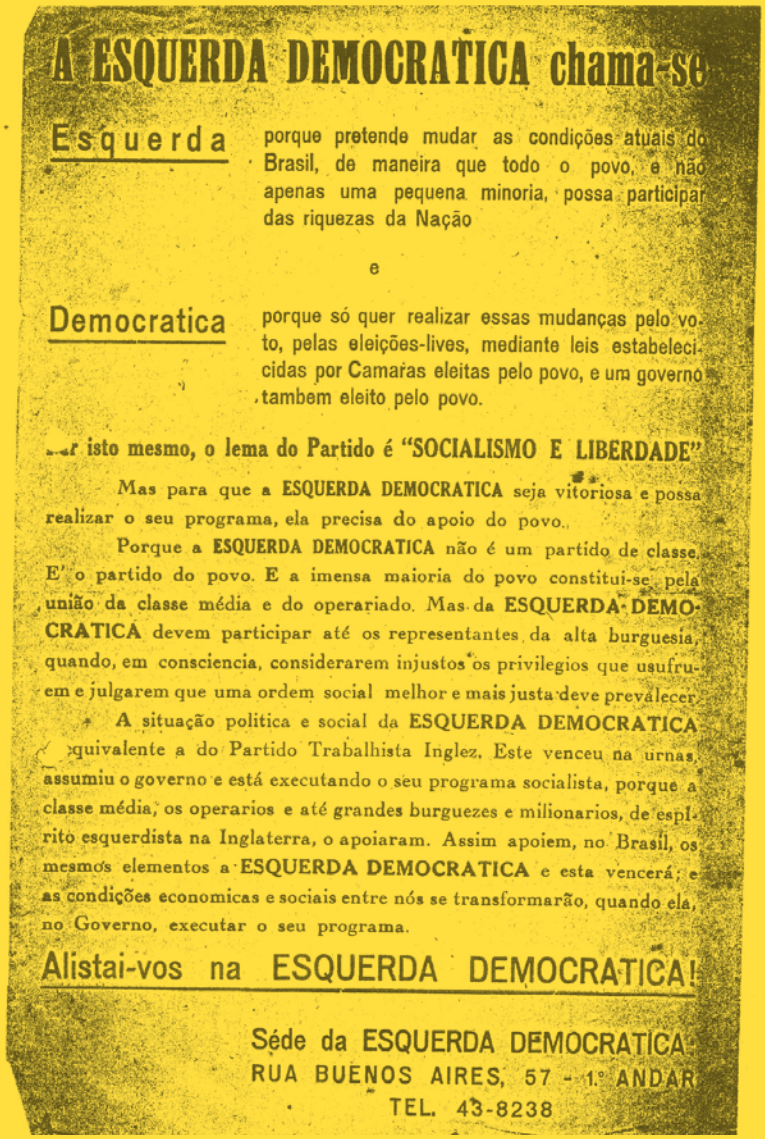
To be sure we do not have all the facts here. We do not mention all the leaders and we do not contemplate all the militants who have built the 60 years of PSB's history.

Upon finishing your reading enter in contact with the João Mangabeira Foundation with your comments and suggestions (fjm@fjmangabeira.org.br). They will be very welcome.



PSB participation in the March of the 100,000 against the FHC Government.


PSB
SINTTEL
AMAZONAS
FORA
FHC
PT
CUT
FHC



A ESQUERDA DEMOCRATICA chama-se

Esquerda porque pretende mudar as condições atuais do Brasil, de maneira que todo o povo, e não apenas uma pequena minoria, possa participar das riquezas da Nação

e

Democratica porque só quer realizar essas mudanças pelo voto, pelas eleições-livres, mediante leis estabelecidas por Camaras eleitas pelo povo, e um governo tambem eleito pelo povo.

...r isto mesmo, o lema do Partido é "SOCIALISMO E LIBERDADE"

Mas para que a ESQUERDA DEMOCRATICA seja vitoriosa e possa realizar o seu programa, ela precisa do apoio do povo.

Porque a ESQUERDA DEMOCRATICA não é um partido de classe. E' o partido do povo. E a imensa maioria do povo constitui-se pela união da classe média e do operariado. Mas da ESQUERDA DEMOCRATICA devem participar até os representantes da alta burguesia, quando, em consciencia, considerarem injustos os privilegios que usufruem e julgarem que uma ordem social melhor e mais justa deve prevalecer.

A situação politica e social da ESQUERDA DEMOCRATICA ...quivalente a do Partido Trabalhista Inglez. Este venceu na urnas, assumiu o governo e está executando o seu programa socialista, porque a classe média, os operarios e até grandes burguezes e milionarios, de espírito esquerdista na Inglaterra, o apoiaram. Assim apoiem, no Brasil, os mesmos elementos a ESQUERDA DEMOCRATICA e esta vencerá; e as condições economicas e sociais entre nós se transformarão, quando ela, no Governo, executar o seu programa.

Alistai-vos na ESQUERDA DEMOCRATICA!

Séde da ESQUERDA DEMOCRATICA
RUA BUENOS AIRES, 57 - 1.º ANDAR
TEL. 43-8238

THE DEMOCTATIC LEFT calls itself

LEFT – because it intends to change the present day conditions of Brasil in such a manner that all the people and not just a small minority can participate in the wealth of the Nation

And

DEMOCTRATIC – because it only wants to carry out these changes by means of the vote, through free elections, by means of laws established by the Councils elected by the people and a government also elected by the people

For this reason the slogan of the party is "SOCIALISM AND LIBERTY".

But for the DEMOCRATIC LEFT to be victorious and be able to carry out its program it needs the support of the people.

Why isn't the DEMOCRATIC LEFT a class party?

It is the party of the people. The immense majority of the people are made up by the coming together of the middle class and working class. But the DEMOCRATIC LEFT should also participate even in the representations of the high bourgeoisie when in conscience consider as unjust the privileges that they make use of and consider that a better and fairer social order should prevail.

The political and social situation of the DEMOCRATIC LEFT is equivalent to that of the British Labor Party. This won at the ballot boxes, took on to govern and is carrying out its socialist program, because the middle class, the workers and even big bourgeoisies and millionaires, of a left wing spirit in England, support it. In the same manner the same elements support the DEMOCRATIC LEFT in Brasil and this will win and the economic and social conditions among us will be transformed, when the Party is in Government, puts its program into action.

Enlist in the DEMOCRATIC LEFT!

Headquarters of the Democratic Left...
National Convention of the Democratic Left.
7 to 13 April, 1946

Chapter I
The Early Stages of the Party (1947/1965)

With the end of World War II our soldiers were received as heroes in the fight for democracy. The victory over Nazi fascism stimulated opposition to New State dictatorship. Vargas tried to adapt himself to the new times by granting amnesty to political prisoners, abolishing censorship, allowing for the formation of political parties and calling elections. The UDN Party (National Democratic Union) was created by the opposition, in April of 1945. This party gathered differentiated forces: liberal democrats, traditional oligarchic forces, urban middle class and leftists. Around Vargas the PTB (Brazilian Labor Party) appears with union leaders tied to the regime, and the PSD (Social Democratic Party) which was organized by the old mediators from the states. Even the PCB (Brazilian Communist Party) comes out of hiding with the liberation of Prestes and other militants.

In August of 1945, the 63 Founders of the Democratic Left met in Rio de Janeiro. The ED (Democratic Left) approached the UDN so as to oppose the authoritarianism of the New State, but they did not identify with the sectors of the right who prevail there. On the other hand it was opposition to Vargas and could not be connected to the PSD or PTB. In spite of looking for social equality it is critical of the Soviet model adopted by the PCB, because of its authoritarian characteristics and statesmanship.

The ED Manifesto defines:

> (...) reconciliation of the social transformation process with the demands of the most ample civil and political freedom, to use in carrying out this purpose the fundamental principles of democracy and its institutions – this is the political objective of the Democratic Left. Democratic for its methods and objectives, that political current is equally of the left, because it sustains, from the beginning that which property has, before everything, a social function, which should not be used against the collective interest; and defends a program of economical reform, as well as a gradual and progressive socialization of the means of production. (...) A political party or a political tendency is of value by the name that it has or the program that it adopts; but it is also of value to the men that make it up and, above all, those who direct it. Its honesty and past history are the best warranties for the practical activity that must be accomplished, in the present and in the future. A large number of the signatories to this manifesto suffered persecutions, prisons and condemnations, for having defended, against the police and Fascist reaction that, since 1935, had taken possession of the country, of man's freedom and the rights of the popular masses.

Those who signed, among others were: João Mangabeira, Domingos Vellasco, Hermes Lima, Rubem Braga, Osório Borba, Joel Silveira, Evandro Lins e Silva, Paulo Emílio Sales Gomes, José Lins do Rego, Jáder de Carvalho, Sérgio Buarque de Hollanda and Dante Costa.



Party Organization

Commissions from several states organized themselves. In Rio de Janeiro, the main leaders were: João Mangabeira, respected constitutionalist, who was mayor of Ilhéus and federal deputy for Bahia; Domingos Vellasco, who was deputy for Goias, of lieutenant origin and Catholic leader; and Hermes Lima, also from Bahia, professor of Constitutional Law and former federal deputy for Bahia. They had been in the New State prisons. The carioca nucleus was more moderate. In São Paulo several groups of more radical profiles came together. Among others were Antonio Cândido de Mello e Souza; João da Costa Pimenta, a syndical leader who was an anarchist and one of the founders of the PCB; Paul Singer; Paulo Emílio Sales Gomes; Plínio Gomes de Mello; Febus Gikovate. There was a strong group in the state of Pernambuco under the leadership of Gilberto Freire and the journalist Osório Borba.

From the most radical Marxists to the liberals, all lived together in a climate of debate and respect for differences. So as to run for elections they had to create a sub legend: UDN/ED, for which Domingos Vellasco (Goiás) and Hermes Lima (Distrito Federal) were chosen as federal deputies. With the UDN moving more and more to the right, in April of 1946 the Democratic Left Party appeared, which elected João Mangabeira and Jurandir Ferreira (both from the DF) to the Federal House of Representatives in a complementary election. The internal debate so as to define more clearly their identity resulted in April of 1947with the ED, with the same program, becoming the Brazilian Socialist Party (PSB) and being recognized by the TSE in August of the same year. With greater ideological definition it gained more radical support, such as that of the Socialist Vanguard, from Mário Pedrosa's Trotskyite tendency but they lost others such as Gilberto Freire, for example.

In its program, which is in force until today, the IV, VII, IX and X principles and the definitions for socialization and property in general stand out:

IV. The Party has as the inalienable patrimony of humanity the liberal democratic conquests, but it considers them as insufficient, as a political form, to arrive at the elimination of an economical regime of man's exploration of man.

VII. The objective of the Party, in the economical sphere is the transformation of the structure of society, including a gradual and progressive socialization of the means of production, which it will try to accomplish to the degree that the conditions of the country demand.

IX. The Party is disposed to accomplish its claims through democratic political struggle processes.

X. The Party admits to the possibility of accomplishing some of its claims in a capitalist regime, but affirms its conviction that the definitive solution for social and economical problems, especially those of highest importance, such as agrarian reform, industrialization, the democratization of culture and public health, will only be possible by means of the integral execution of its program.

Socialization – The Party does not consider the socialization of the means of production and distribution as the simple intervention of the State in the economy. It understands that that should only be decreed by the parliamentary vote democratically constituted and executed by the administrative organs chosen in each company.

Ownership in general – socialization will take place gradually, until the transfer to the social domain of all goods liable to creating wealth maintained as ownership to the limits of the possibility of personal use without damage to collective interests.

This synthesis leaves no doubt as to the final objective of the Party: a socialist society with the collectivization of the means of production, and democratic, as much in its construction as in its accomplishment. They believe that, in the short term, it is possible to obtain partial progress, but the profound change will only come about in the medium and long term.

Party Structure

It was a Democratic Party structure. The base nuclei (professional or territorial) worked, mainly in São Paulo. The party press in several states was a center for debates. An example was the *Folha Socialista*, edited by the São Paulo State Commission, since November 1947. It published party news, both local and national, activities of party groups and analyses of national and international topics. In June of 1950, it became a weekly publication sold at newsstands, containing 16 pages, combining political discussion with common sports and news columns, with a good distribution. For us to get a little closer to the life of Party militants we will cut out parts of the newspaper which can be read, in all our copies, at the João Mangabeira Foundation, in Brasília. In its first number, of November 27, 1947, it includes messages which will frequently appear showing how a socialist's life should be. As to the base groups:

> If you are still not part of a socialist group, seek out four more companions who live in the same barrio, have the same profession or work in the same company, and set up with them the party organism in which you should act.

The newspaper constantly announces the meetings of several groups. In the edition of 10/3/48, it mentions the Vila Mariana group, which meets on Sundays in the home of Nestor Pereira Jr.:

> (...) the elements that have greater political experience and knowledge of the socialist ideology render countless services to the work group, placing in due terms the propositions raised or guiding the practical activity of their members. The community of ideas that reigns in the group, where propaganda and organization activities are never neglected, is an example of what should be followed by the other Party groups.


FOLHA
socialista
AS TAREFAS DOS VEREADORES ELEITOS
PARTIDO SOCIALISTA BRASILEIRO
A Situação Brasileira

Folha socialista – The Brasilian Situation... The duties of elected aldermen

The newspaper also reports that the group distributed the *Folha Socialista* at the factory doors and counted on the workers' sympathy. In an article published on 27/11/1947, Arnaldo Pedroso D`Horta, says:

> We would become a true school of democracy if we knew how to transform the party environment into a learning process of the imperatives of democratic behavior. The sovereignty of the assemblies, the freedom to criticize, the respect for the decisions of the majority, the observance to the internal written law, the prestige of the elected directors, the execution of freely accepted obligations.

Another message published in the same number of the newspaper indicates political actions to be carried out:

> Promote a meeting of your group and propose the carrying out of an assembly, the organization of a conference or the distribution of a propaganda manifesto especially destined to the area in which you work. The Party should be permanently in contact with the people, in the barrios and in the work places.

The elected representatives rendered accounts and had their mandates discussed. Aldermen and deputies combated improper increases in their wages, demonstrating great concern as to the treatment of money and public goods. An example was alderman for São Paulo, Cid Franco, who placed himself contrary to the elevation of the remuneration to Cr$16.000,00. He said:

> The Brazilian Socialist Party thinks that all work should be of dignity and honestly paid. In this manner he is party to a reasonable subsidy – the subsidy limit of 6.000 *cruzeiros* monthly, without increment of any nature and embracing all sessions, ordinary or extraordinary. From this subsidy were discounted absences at ordinary and extraordinary sessions, in proportional calculation to the number carried out during the month. That would not be an insult to the anguishing situation of the proletariat and middle class.
>
> (...) Defeated in his proposition, he hands over to the Party the amount above the 6.000,00 *cruzeiros,* as is informed in the treasury of the PSB. (*Folha Socialista*, 10/4/48)

The solidarity among the militants can be seen in the communications of the Municipal Commission of São Paulo which appear in the *Folha Socialista*, number 6, on April 10, 1948. It informs that "it is equipped to supply free medical attendance to all the members of Party who are in full use of their party rights". It is accompanied by a list of 24 doctors, all socialist militants. It also communicates alongside its juridical assistance to the Party members, presenting a list of 22 PSB lawyers.

How was the Party sustained? The Newspaper informs:

> Every member of Socialist Party should pay a monthly contribution. That is the only source of income of the PSB. Nobody can be exempted from such obligation, although each militant is entitled to make his contribution, according to his own possibilities.

For us who experience the bastardization of politics in Brazil today, the life of militants and elected representatives for the PSB in that period, shows us that it is possible to act with enthusiasm, with ethics, combining ideas and practices.

But not everything was flowers. In November of 1947, Antenor Erwen Betarelo was first substitute as aldermen of the PSB. With the mandate repeal of the elected communists for the PST, Antenor was summoned to occupy the vacancy. The Party discussed the matter. The Assembly and Municipal Commission decided that he should not assume. The other substitutes would renounce to force a new election. Antenor, besides occupying the position, signed the solicitation for an increase in the aldermen's subsidy. It was too much! He was expelled. (*Folha Socialista*, 7/2/1948)

Another innovation was the experience of mandate rotation between title-holders and substitutes:

> The aldermen of Cachoeiro do Itapemirim fulfilled their campaign promise of giving mandate time to their substitutes, understanding the mandate as supporting and not individual. (*Folha Socialista*, 20/2/1950).

Party education was a frequent activity. In April of 1948, at the headquarters of the Party in São Paulo, every Saturday there was a Course of Political

Formation with very competent teachers: Political Economy (Prof. Eduardo Alcântara), Sociology (Prof. Antonio Cândido), History of Socialist Ideas (Febus Gikovate).

> The companions who attended the classes committed themselves to take shorthand notes and make handouts that would be sold to the other students and sent to the other companions in the interior for their political education. (*Folha Socialista*, 10/4/1948)

Many important struggles mark the PSB during this period

Even while disagreeing with the communists, the PSB positioned itself against the repeal of registration and mandates in 1947. Not obtaining success in Parliament and in Justice for the return of the communists to legality, candidates of the PCB ran for the PSB legend in several occasions.

In the campaign "The petroleum is ours" they will have an outstanding position in the Parliament, in the person of Hermes Lima, in the definition of state monopoly and social movement, because the UNE Presidency was with the socialists Roberto Gusmão (1947/1948) and Rogê Ferreira (1949/1950).

It was in opposing the draft for the definition of policies regarding oil, sent to Congress in March of 1948 by the Dutra Government, that Hermes Lima soon showed his worth to the House, on behalf of the Party. He pointed out the danger represented by the "oil monopolies", "real states within the State", questioning the allegation of lack of internal capital. At the end of March, the National Commission of the PSB orientated its members so that they "intransigently combat the project, defending the solution for state monopoly" (*Folha Socialista*, 12/5/1948). It also recommended the whole Party to wider agitation of the problem and participation in the campaign that had began. The debate, until the present moment, overflowed the ambit of the elite and became one of the greatest popular campaigns of our history.

In 1950, the Party launched João Mangabeira for Presidente of the Republic, because it considered Vargas a caudillo, and Eduardo Gomes, who it had supported in 1945, made alliances with the extreme right. The result was an electoral failure. But even being defeated by Vargas, the PSB defended its right to the seat. In the face of UDN pressures to overthrow him, Domingos Vellasco, a socialist senator, declares:

> As democratic socialists we are contrary the any coup d'état, to any dictatorship, to any government substitution that implies political setbacks, but we demand from the constituted powers the punishment of all the corruptors and embezzlers of public fortune.

In 1952, Osório Borba, of the PSB, was a candidate for the government of Pernambuco with the support of the PCB. He was defeated, but won in Olinda and Recife. In 1955 the Recife Front would elect Pelópidas da Silveira, of the PSB, as mayor. It was a brilliant administration with works which benefitted, mainly, the poor. Barrio associations and biweekly collective audiences were created. On such occasions the mayor discussed the problems of the city with the people. He modernized the garbage collection fleet, opened large avenues joining the center and the suburbs, installed electric busses. In 1959, Miguel Arraes succeeded him, and, in 1962, with support from the Front, Arraes was chosen governor. In this period he had constant support from the PSB. The combat of illiteracy and the conquests of rural workers rights were hallmarks of his administration.

In 1953 the PSB was marked by decisive actions. In the trade union movement, the militants from São Paulo acted intensely in the "Strike of the 300 thousand". Paul Singer participated and covered the strike and his results are in the *Folha Socialista*. Oar Forli, president of the Metallurgists Union, entered the PSB the following year.

Also in that year the PSB gave support to Jânio Quadros' candidacy for mayor of São Paulo. He had been a progressive alderman. In the municipal administration, the socialists participated in the Hygiene Clerkship, giving emphasis to basic sanitation; faced the middlemen in the Food Clerkship; and improving the system of urban transport in the Municipal Transport Company. But the Party became divided in 1954, when Jânio ran for office as Governor of the State. Part of the militancy was already critical of the Janista methods. The convention decided to support him, however the conflicts were huge. In 1957, the non-Janistas resumed the state direction of São Paulo. The final break will be in 1960, when the National PSB Convention decides to support Marshal Henrique Teixeira Lott for Presidency. Being close to Jânio brought electoral growth in São Paulo, but loss of political substance. In cases such as these, political alliances need to be carried out around coherent programs with part ideology, so that the Party is not used as an electoral platform and to throw ones struggles in the garbage can. Jânio, as Governor of São Paulo and President of the Republic, abandoned progressive performance with relation to internal politics, and being so the PSB pulled back and was able to separate itself from his influence and allies.

In 1953 the V National Convention took place and it defined industrialization and agrarian reform as its action pivots.

As regards agrarian reform the Party had leaders such as Francisco Julião who was state and federal deputy for the PSB of Pernambuco, and João Pedro Teixeira, president of the *League do Sapé*, in Paraíba, the largest and most organized farm laborers' association in the country. He was murdered by the big land lords and became " The Goat Marked to Die" as was documented in the film of the same name by film director Eduardo Coutinho in 1984. The Party has developed debates since 1948 in São Paulo. Fúlvio Abramo wrote far reaching texts for the national debate. They consisted of several Codes as that of the Rural Worker which extended the rights of labor legislation to the field and increased others.

The Code on Rural Property limited the areas of the huge properties as to their immediate possibilities of exploration. The remainder would be donated to cooperatives of usufructuary workers, besides several another measures. Agrarian Trade eliminated the private middleman who would be substituted by the cooperatives. Agrarian Financing created the Central Rural Bank with preferential credit for small farmers. The Code on Hygiene and Culture in the Field went from free and obligatory teaching, to the technical and hygiene courses, and several forms of medical assistance. The Code relating to the Land and Plants included the ecological subject in several aspects and the Immigrant's Code opened to him rights and favored his naturalization. The project is completed by the struggle for the adoption of a vast plan for rail, highway, fluvial and maritime expansion. (*Folha Socialista*, 20/12/48).

Alderman Cid Franco, of the PSB of São Paulo, presented a user project, through cooperatives, for the abandoned lands around the city. The project was not approved in the City hall.

At the IX PSB Convention in 1961, the resolutions were radicalized supporting the conclusions of the Ist National Congress of Farmers and Agricultural Workers, in Belo Horizonte. In the National Congress the deputies and socialist senators battled for agrarian reform and labor legislation in the field.

Since 1956 the PSB has participated actively in the Nationalist Parliamentarian Front, having Barbosa Lima Sobrinho as leader in the Federal House. They were 57 deputies of several parties determined to defend national sovereignty and economical liberation of the country, all favorable to base reforms.

The Party was active in the defense of legality when Jânio Quadros renounced in 1960. In Parliament, under the leadership of Aurélio Viana, or with the movement of militancy in the street, we struggled for the investiture of Vice-president João Goulart. João Mangabeira was minister for Mines and Energy and later for Justice in the parliamentary government of Goulart. The PSB participated throughout the struggle for basic reforms.

On March 31, 1964, we suffered the military coup d'état which overthrew Goulart. Until September of 1965, the PSB of São Paulo still secretly distributed the *Folha Socialista*, but, as was the case of the other parties, the party was annulled by the Institutional Act Nº 2

Most of the militants went to the MDB and Aurélio Viana went to be leader of the new party. Some opted for more radical action, such as Altino Dantas, a student leader who joined the ALN. The PSB was dispersed during the military regime. When there was a political opening, some such as Pelópidas da Silveira stayed in the PMDB, others like Jamil Haddad, Saturnino Braga e Rogê Ferreira went to the PDT.

In spite of having small electoral expression, of being one more party of executives, the PSB sewed the seeds not only of a wider Democratic Party but also political action true to its program, with a view to a socialist and democratic future. In the party structure the debate was opened and is also frequently on the agenda at Congress and other events. There were political formation courses, accompaniment of representatives' mandate in the Executive and Legislative, meetings of base groups. In the political struggle its militants participated in the campaign "Petroleum is ours", in the defense of the seats of those elected legally, even when they were not supported by the PSB, such as Vargas in 1950; they were contrary the any coup d'état like the attempt of not giving office to Goulart in 1960 or to his overthrow in 1964.

> The tribal (jaboti) party cannot grow in sand, as did the false parties of demagogy and caudillismo, as the pseudo parties which live exclusively on official favors or badly earned money applied in the purchase of votes and "promises".
>
> It grows as it diffuses its ideas and conquers popular support for its program and for the honesty of its action. It grows slowly, but surely. It protects itself with the solid shell followers' convictions and its fidelity to its program and norms of conduct. And it will live for a long time, it will have the longevity of the turtles.

It will live to see the construction of a socialist world.

(BORBA, OSÓRIO. The Jaboti. *Folha Socialista*, São Paulo,15th October, 1949, p. 6)

Sources:
GUSTIN, Miracy e VIEIRA, Margarida. *Semeando Democracia*, Contagem: Editora Palesa, 1995.
HECKER, Alexandre. *Socialismo Sociável*, São Paulo: Editora Unesp,1998.
JORNAL *Folha Socialista*. Arquivo da Fundação João Mangabeira, Brasília, DF
Other documents from the period. Arquivo da Fundação João Mangabeira, Brasília, DF.



The rebuilders of the PSB, Roberto Amaral and Jamil Haddad

Chapter II
The reorganization of the PSB (1985-1989)

During the military regime the socialists carried out their opposition using the party structures that were allowed at the time (the MDB and later the PMDB) as well as the clandestine parties of the left and also social movements. With the conquest of democracy in 1985 the socialists presented their identity to society, their proposals and also their work. As Roberto Amaral, one of the leaders of the reorganization of the PSB comments, the idea of the group was: "Brazil is entitled to have a socialist party". If in the economic sphere Brazil placed itself as dependent and articulate to the large international capital groups, and if in the political sphere it was a dictatorship, then it would find a civil society which had created channels of articulation so as to resist and to win. The struggles against high cost of living prices, the barrio associations, the basic Christian communities, the new syndical movement and, mainly, the "*Diretas Já*" campaign (Direct Elections Now), created conditions for greater political participation. The search to construct a freer and fairer society was widespread.

During the initial articulations in Rio de Janeiro, students, teachers and politicians who were ex prisoners/exiles in the struggle against the dictatorship, returned firstly to the formation of a Socialist Party (PS). This was not possible as there already was a request from the PS in the TSE. The PSB was identified, among others, as "social democrat" and the nucleus made a clear option in that socialism was the collectivization of the production means and not a decrease of the social malefactions of capitalism. Also the PSB legend had a solicitation from a group from São Paulo without any political tradition. The rule of the TSE was registration concession to the first candidate. Roberto Amaral while analyzing the legislation discovered that with the image of "a reorganization" they would win precedence. Remnants of the democratic left such as: Joel Silveira, Rubem Braga, Jáder de Carvalho and Evandro Lins e Silva were called upon and they agreed to sign the rebuilding manifesto. Roberto Amaral invited Jamil Haddad and he was very enthusiastic with the idea, participating in the articulation nucleus. Jamil had been state deputy for Guanabara, for the PSB/PTB coalition in 1962, was reelected in 1965, now for the MDB and his mandate was annulled in 1969 by the military regime. As mayor of Rio de Janeiro (PDT) in 1983, through indication from Brizola, he was known as the builder of the Sambódromo in record time and for school meals that were prepared at each school by the directors. This improved school feeding and lowered costs for the municipal district. The weekly meetings were held in the offices of Evandro Lins e Silva, on Avenue Rio Branco, and Antônio Evaristo de Morais, also a famous criminologist, on Rua México, both in Rio de Janeiro.

On July 2, 1985, the meeting for the "Reorganization of the PSB" took place. The manifesto, written by Roberto Amaral and César Guimarães, presents the same program and statute as of the 1947/1965 period. With the same socialist and democratic purposes which motivated the founders, the authors showed in the Reorganization Manifesto that, forty years later, the same forms of exploration, worsened by the brutality of the military dictatorship, were still present. It is said that it would be proper to incorporate into party life accusations as to several forms of exploration: racial discrimination, oppression of minorities, women and children, violence against alternative cultures, degradation of life quality, depredation of the environment and genocide of the indigenous nations. An active citizenship was proposed, the incorporation of new social rights, democratization of the means of communication and defense of national sovereignty. In short: complete decentralization of power in a gradually socialized economy.

The party structure should be driven by its militants. Convoke the sectors and popular movements to join the PSB.

Antônio Houaiss, one of the most outstanding Brazilian intellectuals, anti-colonialist ambassador, a man of the socialist left, pursued by Itamarati, assumed the Presidency of the Organizing Commission.

The Temporary National Managing Commission had, as well as Houaiss as president, Marcello Cerqueira, Roberto Amaral, Evandro Lins e Silva, Jamil Haddad, Joel Silveira, Rubem Braga and Antônio Evaristo de Morais. It is interesting to notice that this is a prominent group in the political and cultural life of the country.

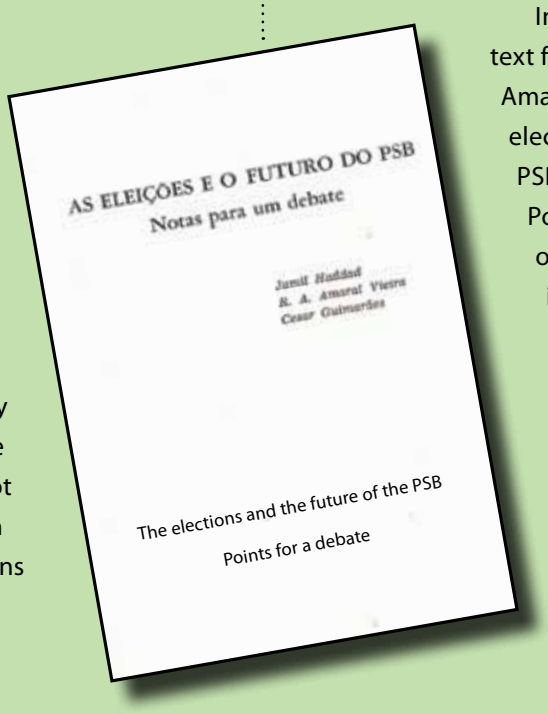
Among those who signed the Reorganization Register we will find teachers and researchers who are also respected, such as César Guimarães, Wanderlei Guilherme dos Santos and Eli Diniz, the admirable humorist Bussunda who died a short time ago (Cláudio Bessermann Vianna) and Jáder de Carvalho, one of the founders of the Democratic Left in Fortaleza.

Early on the PSB divided into two currents with different objectives.

The first was very linked to the PMDB, under the leadership of Marcello Cerqueira, who had been a federal deputy. The idea was to make the PSB a "sub-legend" guaranteeing the place of the "authentic parties" which would loose electoral space in the PMDB. Really this current did not have a national vision of the party, as its contradiction was exclusively with the *fluminense* (Rio) direction of the PMDB. They had strength in Rio de Janeiro, Aracaju and other areas. The party would grow receiving progressive parliamentary representatives, not necessarily socialists, who were in conflict with the regional directions of the PMDB, but without conflict on the national level. Because of this all adhesion requests to the PSB from the people originating from the PMDB would depend on consultation to the respective regional directions of the PMDB and Dr. Ulisses Guimarães.

The other wing, which ended up victorious, under the leadership of Jamil Haddad, Roberto Amaral and Antônio Houais, defended an independent socialist party. Their leaders said time was approaching for an end to *"the bandwagon"* parties and that the era of the parties with ideological definition had arrived, in such a manner that they could make opposition to the PMDB, when necessary. It would be a militant party, combining the social struggle with political representation. For them, the time of a one party-front had passed, as had the dictatorship. It was necessary to form a front of left wing parties.

Qualified to participate of the municipal elections of 1985, the PSB will compete with very few candidates of its own while supporting progressive and left wing candidates. In Recife, Jarbas Vasconcelos is defeated in the PMDB convention for Mayor. A negotiation takes place which is intermediated by Fernando Lyra, Minister of Justice, to whom Marcello Cerqueira was consultant. Jarbas runs for the PSB, he requests admittance to the National Executive and is accepted, and victorious, returns to the PMDB, a fact that the direction of the PSB will learn for the newspapers.



In November of 1985, in a text from Jamil Haddad, Roberto Amaral and César Guimarães, "The elections and the future of the PSB – Points for a debate (The PSB Politics -1)" is seen as an advance of the left not only in the important cities such as Volta Redonda, Caxias, Camaçari e Anápolis, but also in several capitals: Recife (authentic PSB-PMDB), Fortaleza (PT), Aracaju (authentic PMDB), Maceió (PMDB supported

by the PSB), Cuiabá (authentic PMDB), Rio de Janeiro (PDT), Florianópolis (authentic PMDB) and Porto Alegre (PDT). The big victory of the right will be in São Paulo where Jânio Quadros was victorious. Rogê Ferreira, of the PSB, gave up his candidacy to help, without success, the candidate Fernando Henrique Cardoso, from the PMDB. In Rio de Janeiro, the party was structured in two months and its candidate, Marcello Cerqueira, obtained good results: almost 8% of the votes. Saturnine Braga (PDT) won the elections and to assume the city hall had to renounce his chair in the Senate. In March of 1986, his substitute Jamil Haddad assumed the seat. The text ends off saying that PSB is not a "condominium of resentful people" (a reference to the efforts of the other wing in making the Party a shelter for PMDBs), but a party of those who want join the struggle for socialism with freedom, and proposes to make a clean copy of the program and statutes and makes an invitation to debate.

In the Senate Jamil Haddad will impel the construction of the Party. His leadership cabinet will support all the work relating to the creation of municipal and state commissions. In his parliamentary performance he gives an ideological and doctrinarian speech. Roberto Amaral travels the whole country, raising names, seeking adhesions, organizing state directions and taking care of the juridical side of things. The pronouncements of Jamil tell of party life and its positions. The publications from the cabinet give space to the internal debates of the PSB. His cabinet publishes *"The policies of the PSB – topics for discussion"*, which will have 8 numbers up to 1991, when he will already be federal deputy for Rio de Janeiro.



A) The Policy of the PSB – Topics for discussion – 1
B) The policy of the PSB – Topics for discussion – 2
PSB and the POPULAR BRASILIAN FRONT

In "*The organization of the PSB – topics for discussion*", elaborated by the nuclei of sixth, seventh and nineteenth electoral zones of Rio de Janeiro already make the option clear when it says:

> those who come together to reconstruct the PSB should understand it to be militancy party, in the non-notary sense, and one endowed with a deeply democratic internal life.

The new *associationism* developed by the popular movement should result in the PSB becoming a forum for debates which can receive contributions from society without trying to clamp down on its autonomy. The deepening of democracy will not be the result of any "vanguard party", but will be the work of a plurality of political agents. The Party of the new left should combine socialization of the means of production with the socialization of politics. It should be for laymen, for the masses (without demagogy or Jacobinism), it should be mobilize the organized masses. It should be radically democratic, well removed from conspiracy and insurrection.

On the 1st and 2nd of March, 1986, the First Encounter of the State Executives, presided by Senator Jamil Haddad, takes place. He publishes the *Declaration of Brasília* that, moving forward on the adhesive current, already shows the PSB in opposition to the Sarney Government and makes a large number of proposals of which we present a synthesis: change of the unchanged economical model, which is dependent and concentrator of income, real minimum wage, radical agrarian reform, renegotiation of the debt, summons of a free and sovereign Constituent Assembly with the repeal of the national safety law.

The national and regional direction should endeavor efforts to form electoral alliances with the left and other progressive parties.

On May 25, 1986, during the Founders' Convention, the National Managing Commission is constituted
as follows:

President: Jamil Haddad
First Vice-President: Rogê Ferreira
Second Vice-President: Marcello Cerqueira
General Secretary: Roberto Amaral
First Secretary: Henrique Novaes
Treasurer: Ronaldo Lessa
First Treasurer: Evaristo de Morais Filho
Secretary for Culture: Antônio Houaiss
Secretary for Organization: Evandro Lins e Silva
Secretary for Propaganda: Ivan Monteiro dos Santos
Syndical Secretary: Luiz Lopes Rubmeister

On August 28 of that year (1986), the commission openly reprimanded and determined the removal of the affiliates from Maranhão who had supported the PDS candidacy and directed same to the Commission of Ethics. The direction works hard for a national framework of common identity. When there is a divergence from party identity interventions occur as in Goiás, for the support given to Mauro Borges of the UDR (Rural Democratic Union), in São Paulo for supporting Orestes Quércia or in Bahia where there was not the expected support for Waldir Pires.

As a qualified party, the PSB competed in the 1986 elections and as well as having Jamil Haddad as a senator it also had a federal deputy in Elizabeth Azize from Amazonas, and state deputies: Milton Temer (RJ), João Barbosa Neto (AL) and Abel Alves (AM).

In December 1986 Jamil Haddad, as president of the PSB, with 21 state commissions, requested temporary registration from the TSE.

The organic construction was the first concern of the supporting directing body. Therefore, international politics would be limited. But, as from 1986, the formal party relationship with the Cuban Communist Party begins. The support and solidarity to the Cuban Revolution is constant in the history of the PSB, expressing its socialist and revolutionary posture. The Manifesto of 1985, already showed with clarity the internationalist vision a of the PSB:

> In the external plan, the Socialist Party a will struggle for the principles of self-determination of the people, the invigoration of international organisms, against all forms of imperialism, colonialism and militarism, including the hegemonic proposals of the big powers. For the organization of Third World countries and for greater understanding among Latin-American nations in their common fight for the sovereign affirmation of their national interests, as well as a profound negotiation of a contracted foreign debt made by illegitimate governments.

In 1987 the party received the adhesion of socialist parliamentarians, elected by other parties. This was so because on April 8 the Party received its temporary registration and on the 20th of the same month it requested its definitive registration. As always the supporting organization is not a formal or bureaucratic action, comments Roberto Amaral. It allows one to carry out policies which conflict with subjection to the PMDB, which was, at the end of the day, a non-organization policy.

With registration the party could receive federal deputies who agreed with its objectives, such as: Mário Frota (AM), José Eudes (RJ), José Luís Guedes (MG), Abigail Feitosa (BA), José Carlos Sabóia (MA), Raquel Capiberibe (AP), Ademir Andrade (PA). By the end of the year, 117 aldermen, 13 state deputies, 8 mayors, 8 vice-mayors and a vice-governor complete the representative framework for the Executive and Legislative areas. Another important effect of the registration was the electoral schedule of one hour on TV and on the radios. In spite of financial difficulty, two programs were produced which had a huge effect as much in the form – the director was film director Sílvio Tendler – as in the content, with texts from Roberto Amaral. The Party appeared defending socialism

with clarity, denouncing torture and demanding the amplification of amnesty. It received enthusiastic support from people on the left, including Florestan Fernandes, at that time a PT constituent, and, at the same time the criticism of the Sarney followers and backers of the PMDB within the PSB, such as Milton Temer and Marcello Cerqueira, for being "left winged", or for acting as "provocative agents against the armed forces". They pressed Jamil Haddad to leave the party Presidency to Deputy Fernando Lyra, of the PMDB of Pernambuco. The proposal was not accepted, as Lyra had later affiliated into PSB without such demand. Together with the growth in political representation there was also the daily effort regarding increasing popular membership, a bond with the entities representative of several syndical and popular segments.

The National Constituent Assembly was the most important political task for the PSB, to build a new Democratic Rule of Law. The initial demand was a specific Constituent, but a Congress with constituent powers was elected. As the PSB had only Jamil in the Senate, and Beth Azize in the Camera at the beginning, it sought for new parliamentary members for the PSB and so as to be stronger, formed an alliance with the PT, PCB, PCdoB, PDT and MUP (Progressive Unity Movement). They were so efficient that the right wing organized the "center" to guarantee control of the Constituent Congress. Senator Jamil, on his own, presented countless proposals linked to party principles and popular needs such as: agrarian reform, guarantee of the possibility of popular action, of attendance for poor women in public hospitals in cases of abortion, food production, and retirement without needing to continue contributing, public and free education, exemplary punishment for torture. Of the 536 amendments that were presented to the final text, 114 were approved.

While gathered in May the socialists defined themselves in favor of *parliamentarism*. The argument evolved around democratization and facing political crises in a more serene manner. The presidential mandate should be for four years, including for Sarney, and the election would have a second ballot between



Brasilian Socialist Party – 1st NATIONAL CONGRESS
Roberto Amaral receives Florestan Fernandes on the occasion of the First National Congress of the Party

the two most voted, should the winning candidacy not obtain an absolute majority.

The First Congress took place on October 11, 1987, in Brasília. It would define the victory of the socialist line of Jamil and Amaral in the resolutions and the composition of the National Executive under the Jamil's Presidency. The resolutions present an introduction which defines the criticisms of the national framework: a paradise for few, while exploring the "rest" of the population. Only democratic socialism can give a solution as much in an economical and social point of view as political. During the transition period, the left and the progressive forces needed to create conditions for a deepening democratic study. The Sarney Government is identified with the conservative sectors. In synthesize, the Congress defines as immediate goals:

1 – Agrarian reform in the broad sense of the word, solid and radical which guarantees the usufruct of the land, stimulating the formation of production cooperatives;

2 – Condemnation of the Bresser Plan and of the economical and social politics of the Sarney Government;

3 – Non-payment of the foreign debt and carrying out of a public audit;

4 – Socialization of essential sectors: housing, collective transport, health and financial systems;

5 – Education which is public and free at all levels, reserving public resources for Public schools;

6 – Direct elections at all levels, in 1988, and implantation of *parliamentarism*;

7 – Popular referendum before the promulgation of the Constitution;

8 – Maximum work load of forty hours weekly;

9 – Stability in employment for workers;

10 – Unrestricted right to strike and freedom of syndical organization, extensive to public officials.

Two years before the organization of the "Popular Brazilian Front" it had already been proposed (…)

> that the PSB should promote the constitution of a Brazilian Front. In it were included the PT, PCB, PCdoB, MUP, PV and PH, having as its starting point the immediate resumption of direct elections in 1988, and so bringing to a close the works of the Constituent.

The First Congress also defines: "What socialism do we want":

> Socialism is synonymous of a society that abolished the capitalist private ownership of production means, which become cooperative or collective properties, generators of wealth, which are the workers. On the road to socialism, PSB should make use of the critical study of several experiences, adapting them to the country.

It presents: "What party do we want":

> It is socialist, with revolutionary and democratic commitment, with militant membership, without privileged leadership, enrooted in social and syndical movements, and parliamentary performance as a consequence of the organization of the workers and the people as a whole.



Saturino Braga with Roberto Amaral and Jamil Haddad during the First National Convention of the PSB, in Brasilia/DF, 1988

In "the PSB and social movements" are defined the basic principles:

a) Respect for the independence and autonomy of social movements, as well as for the decisions originating from the categories' congress;

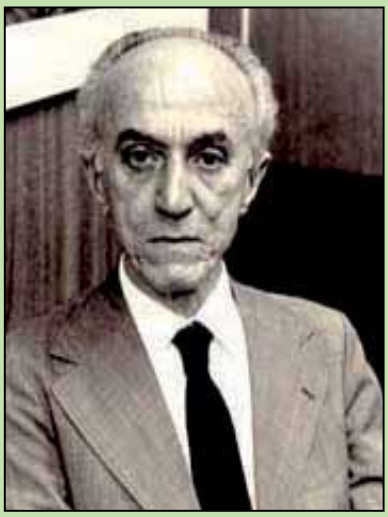
b) Formation of collegiate deliberation;

c) Refusal to practice parallelism;

d) Stimulate solidarity among the social movements.

Finally, the general principles are approved for the social and syndical movements, being defined 28 banners for the struggle, and among them being specified topics relating to youth, women, and ecology and international relationships.

Upon being signed by Jamil Haddad, Roberto Amaral, Antônio Houaiss, Ronaldo Lessa and Ivan Maurício, of the socialist wing, the text "*What is the Brazilian Socialist Party's project",* makes a report of the clashes between the two wings which had been in



action since the beginning of the reorganization. With all the work developed by the socialist wing, those who tried to transform the PSB into a "sub legend" of the PMDB were defeated. The Party was reorganized in 23 units of the Federation, with militancy as to social representation, with a good number of members elected as municipal executives and in the Legislative, from the municipal districts to the Senate, with temporary registration and with solicitation for permanent registration.

Marcello Cerqueira, Milton Temer and his group left the Party. The National Directors intervene in the Temporary Commission of Rio de Janeiro and Antônio Houaiss is named as its new president, who together with Roberto Amaral and Jaime Cardoso, begins the regional reorganization process.

In April of 1988, the PSB Convention decides to "provoke" direct presidential elections for that year, launching Saturnine Brags, who had come back to the Party, as candidate for Presidency of the Republic. The elections, however only would take place the following year.

In July the definitive registration of the PSB is approved by the TSE. It is the coronation of a Herculean effort.

On October 5 the Constitution is promulgated, which Ulisses Guimarães denominates as *"Citizen"*. It is really a move forward, as much in the form of its elaboration, as it counted on the enormous participation of several entities from civil society, as well as in its content which enlarges individual and social rights. The great problem pointed out by those on the left is located in the difficulties for carrying out agrarian reform.

In the municipal elections of November 1988, the PSB increased its number of mayors, with 37 chosen, being three in the capitals: Aracaju (Wellinton da Mota Paixão), Manaus (Arthur Virgílio Ribeiro Neto) and Macapá (João Alberto Capiberibe). It elected 473 aldermen, the largest number being in São Paulo (108).

In December the National Directory, while remembering its decision of October 1987 as to the constitution for the "Frente Brazil" with the left wing parties, decides to promote its articulation. All the work relating to political and legal organization of the party gave it the force and identity that it was looking for, with the other left parties, a great jump towards a Brazil with social justice.

In January of 1989, the National Executive Commission presents a criticism to the *Plano Verão* (Summer Plan) of Sarney's Government. Instead of attacking financial speculation and payment of the foreign debt, the basic villains of inflation, it elevates interest rates and dissimulates production. The rejection of several temporary measures is recommended to the parliamentarians of the Party which implicated the alienation of 70% of state shares, in the extinction of the MCT (Ministry for Science and Technology), in the squeezing of workers' wages or the financing of health and social welfare.

It also elaborates a minimum proposal for the Front's program, stimulating its debate among the bases of the PSB and other left wing parties. There are seven points, presented here in a summarized manner:

1 – Role of the State (for development, federalist, improvement of democracy with popular participation);

2 – Foreign Debt and Development Policies (suspension of payment, audit, depreciation of the national debt investing in the development. Strong taxation on fortunes and inheritances applied in support to science and technology and amplification of the internal market);

3 – Employment (sovereign and strong syndicalism, limits to highest and lowest wage in public sector);

4 – Urban question (investment in popular housing);

5 – Agrarian reform (access to land stimulating cooperatives);

6 – Education and Preparation for Life (centralize in guaranteeing public and free basic education with investment in secondary and university;

7 – Foreign policy (solidarity with sister nations, with special attention to Latin America and Africa).

In March, the left wing parties sign the constitution protocol of the *Frente Brasil Popular* (Popular Brazilian Front)and in the beginning of April this was published in the press.

On March 20, the PSB Directory supports Lula as candidate for president and indicates that the vice president should be from the PSB.

The Second National Congress of the PSB, in June 1989, approved, by 522 votes to one, the *Frente Brasil Popular*, indicating Lula (PT) for president and Antonio Houaiss (PSB) for vice president. The PCdoB and PCB agree. The PT defines that the vice president should be from one of the allied parties, but it does not define a name.

The National Executive Commission chooses:

President: Senator Jamil Haddad
First Vice-President: Alderman Ronaldo Lessa
Second Vice-President: Federal Deputy Ademir Andrade
Third Vice-President: Federal Deputy Raquel Capiberibe
Secretary General: Roberto Amaral
First Secretary: Waldo Silva
Second Secretary: Sebastião Abreu
Treasurer: Federal Deputy José Carlos Sabóia
First Treasurer: Fúlvio Petrarca
Councilors: Federal Deputy Abigail Feitosa, Renato Soares, Luiz Roberto de Albuquerque and Jó Resende.

To guarantee the financial conditions for the political action a 10% discount is defined from the net wages of the federal deputies and senators of the National Executive, and of the Regional Executives in the states. In the case of the aldermen, the discount of 10% will be divided in 70% going to the municipal and 30% to the regional efforts. Appointees to positions of trust will also destine 10% of their net working income to the Party and the militants' contribution will be defined at a regional and municipal level. To guarantee these contributions is a problem in almost all parties and this did not cease to be the case in the PSB.

A Policy of Graphic Communication was adopted and having as its symbol the dove of peace, which was painted by Picasso and with the basic colors: yellow and red.

The Congress makes proposals, which are approved and recommended by the National Directory for militancy participation in the elections and in the daily construction of the PSB. In a synthetic way, the document published by Senator Jamil Haddad's cabinet contains:

1. ***What the elections represent***: (...) fundamental moments in the struggle for the construction of a new society. (...) the socialists can not just participate in the elections carrying flags, making propaganda or carrying out rallies. The population also expects debates on the main national problems. And much more than that, opening perspectives towards solutions. (...) However, it is necessary not remove oneself from the two central objectives of the electoral campaigns: to obtain votes and, consequently, to choose the best socialist companions. (...)

2. ***The formation process of an alternative power block***. (...) To face the managing bourgeoisie block, subordinate to multinationals, and allies with landlordism, we needed to build a strong block of popular forces, committed to the consolidation of democracy and its amplification among the sectors which until now have been marginalized.

3. ***The PSB in the change process***. As from its reorganization, the PSB understands as its central point, in the strategy of constructing a new society, the unity of the forces of the socialist left, with the patient overcoming of the countless deformations which separated them in the past – and still hinder approximation today. (...) Unity is not a spontaneous process,

but a product of the understanding of ones political need. It is only consolidated, mobilized and produces changes through daily work, which is persistent, flexible and strong of all the leaders and the militancy in their totality.

4. ***Concrete measures for the strengthening of the PSB.*** (...) The strengthening of the PSB, as an instrument in the process of change, cannot be subordinated to a corporate vision, only to guarantee the continuity of parliamentary mandates or the gains of the executives. For the militancy party which the PSB intends to be, a socialist's elective mandate should constitute the continuity of the struggle process that begins in the syndicate, in the residents' association, together with the landless, with the *bóias-frias* (daily land workers who bring food from home and eat it cold), in the defense of the environment, in the struggle for the preservation and amplification of democracy, in the elaboration of a pluralist cultural process which is creative and innovative, in the demand for the right to health, public and free universal education at all levels, in independent technological development.

4.1. ***Supporting alliances***. (...) the National Executive Commission of the PSB should invite the parties and forces of the socialist left to set up a Permanent Forum of the Socialist Left, which will be seconded by similar forums in the states (...)

4.2 ***The presence in the syndical movement***. The reorganization of the syndical work is of utmost urgency for the PSB militancy. In this activity, one must reiterate the firm decision by the unit for syndical action and the organization around a one and only central union. But now, with the decision of the II Congress, there is room for no more doubts: the syndicate members of the PSB should begin to integrate into the *Central Única dos Trabalhadores (CUT). (one and only workers center)*. Even in disagreement with some of its practices, it is CUT, with its militancy and defense of syndical autonomy that more closely approaches the conceptions of the socialists. (...)

4.3 ***Participation in popular movements***. The recent participation of the organizations from the popular movements in the National Constituent demonstrated its enormous progress, beginning to influence in a more permanent way in great national decisions. The legitimate pressure that these organizations exercised contributed – in several cases in a decisive manner for democratic victories in the Constitution, is described in the document *"PSB and the self-organization of the popular movements in the struggle for change",* by companion José Carlos Sabóia. (...) So as to boost vitality it is fundamental that one does not become a party screen, nor be co-opted by public power. (...)

4.3.1 ***Residents associations***. (...) Through organization and debate it is possible to raise the organizational level of the population, bringing them to influence political definitions from city halls, municipal councils, legislative assemblies, National Congress and executives. (...).

4.3.2 ***Women's movements***. (...) It is necessary to break prejudices and misunderstandings. The tasks relating to the mobilization and organization of women, black people, the youth, are with regards to the destinies of a socialist Brazil that is longed for so much. (...)

4.3.3 ***Movement in defense of the environment.*** The defense of the environment should become one of the central points of the PSB policies. This is because it will only be possible the guarantee life quality, or its re-establishment, through structural changes of society and advances towards a socialist society. In that sense, the preservation of the Amazonian against internationalization

and devastation practiced by companies, national and multinational, as well as obsolete agricultural methods – should not only receive the repudiation of socialists, but should also be the object of organized initiatives, presenting alternative development politics, struggling for its preservation. (...)

4.3.4 ***The movement in defense of the consumer***. The economical crisis and inflationary advancement make it imperative for popular organizations to face the most varied methods used to harm the population, be it altering the weight of goods, adulterating quality, or criminally elevating prices. (...)

4.3.5 **Cultural movements**. (...) It is urgent that the PSB establishes links with all the cultural organizations, working together with them for their invigoration, defense and the permanent recreation of the national culture, in its most different aspects, always within the pluralism of ideas and democratic advances.

4.3.6 ***Minority defense movements***. The perverse discrimination imposed by the dominant sectors, cause the justifiable claims of the majority to fell as a minority, as in the case of the black people. Also the democracy that we want to build still demands the respect for other minorities be they racial, sexual and other. (...)

4.4 ***The building up of the Brazilian Socialist Youth***. Being able to vote at 16, the brutal exploration of child and young people's labor, the predominantly young composition of the Brazilian population, the lack of schools, at all levels – together, these and other problems raise the young persons renovating potential. (...) The *Brazilian Socialist Youth*, which has moved forward significantly in organization in the II National Congress of the PSB, should carry out a campaign geared to the electoral enlistment of the youth. But it just can not do this alone. It is also necessary to affiliate young people in the JSB, bringing them to the political struggle. But to do so one needs to use methods and forms of young people's struggles, as much in schools – 1st and 2nd grade, technical and superior level – as well as in the factories, in the barrios, in rural areas, in cultural movements, in sport and leisure in a general way. (...)

4.5. ***Affiliation campaign and reinforcement of party structure***. For a political party, the product of voluntary and conscious association, to preserve or change society, it needs to be a live social body. When self rejuvenation stops it enters in stagnation or deteriorates. (...)

4.6 ***Preparation for the elections of 1990.***

- continuing to work with the left and progressive forces. (...)
- have the fundamental concern of choosing parliamentary candidates in 1990, but without this de-characterizing the party; (...)
- all the candidates to state or federal deputy, governor, vice-governor or senator should sign a preliminary document in the presence of the socialist militancy committing him to:

a) to take time off during deputy's mandate, four work leaves of three months without pay, so as to make it possible that the substitute assumes the mandate – when this person is from the PSB – so trying to form leadership and preparing them for elections as mayor or alderman, in 1992.

b) to give to the party direction, regional or national, as the case may be, 1/3 of the deputies' advisers' positions or of the leadership of the party to which the PSB is entitled, to be nominated companions for these positions who are devoted in an integral manner to party construction;

c) those persons who are not committed to

the integral fulfillment of the Program and Statutes will not be launched as candidates for the PSB. Also included those who do not comply with their regular financial contribution, previously discounted from ones total earnings and deposited in the party bank account;

d) such commitments will be registered at notary office.

4.7 ***Formation of new leadership***. (...) the elaboration of a basic course for the socialist militant. (...)

4.8 ***Organization of communication and propaganda***. (...) Several regional directorates – and even some municipal ones – have taken the initiatives of editing small newspapers. The Federal deputies edit *Socialismo & Liberdade*; the PSB's president's cabinet, Jamil Haddad, publishes *Brasil Socialista*; and the General Secretary put out *Comunicação Socialista*. These are all important initiatives that should be strengthened and enlarged. But, frankly speaking, they are insufficient in the face of the real ideological war that we brave every day. And we cannot lose this war. (...)

4.9 ***Reinforce party finances***. It is necessary that the party as a whole understands that the financial problem of the Party is one of its more important political tasks. (...)

4.10 ***Enlarge international relations***. The process of change of Brazilian society will demand the establishment of correct party relations, with all parties, movements and non-government organizations, particularly from Latin America, Africa and Europe, which are determined in the fight for peace, economical and social progress, even those who participate in the women and youth struggles. (...)

From what the reader can see, there is a radical and enthusiastic project which will be reflected during the presidential campaign. A large part of the militancy will seek to accomplish it in 1989 and in the following elections in 1990 and 1992. The electoral growth of Party demonstrates this.

The negotiations among the parties which the *Frente Brasil Popular* have arrived at an agreement as to Lula's candidacy for president and that of senator for Rio Grande do Sul, José Paulo Bisol, for vice-president. He transferred himself of the PMDB to the PSB. In July, the National Convention of the PSB approved this composition.

The campaign is awakening great national enthusiasm. Its party participates offering great support as to the ideas that will compose government's program, which are clearly leftish and in campaign actions which demonstrate forces, besides the PT, looking for change. The social transformation becomes possible in the minds of thousands of Brazilians, consolidating in a real democratization.

But during the campaign the PSB does not leave aside important subjects as the violence in the state of Pará. Several political assassinations with the slaughter of rural workers and parliamentarians have gone unpunished. Among the parliamentarians one can mention Deputy Paulo Fontelles (PCdoB), state deputy João Carlos Batista (PSB) and alderman Manoel Cardoso Almeida (PSB). The Rule of Law has given way to the law of the jungle. On August 10, with wide coverage, the PSB requested federal intervention in the state of Para.

Towards the end of the presidential electoral campaign, Fernando Collor was in first place without obtaining absolute majority and Lula was in second. A second round of elections was called. The PSB analyzed the results as an enormous progress on the part of the left wing and it participates in the negotiations to enlarge the Front for the second round of elections with the PDT, PSDB, PCB, PCdoB, PV, progressives from the PMDB and social movements. The National Directory of the PSB recommended that, in the search for an agreement with other forces, that there be no use made of administrative machines. That there be an agreement between parties and leaderships and not between municipal and state

governments. We had a confrontation between left and right, Lula and Collor. But the *marketing* does not work with these divisions. For the electorate it appears to be a maharaja hunter against a lathe operator. It was a dirty game in which Lula's former-girlfriend denounces that he had wanted to abort their daughter, Lurian; the disseminated fear that Lula would take possession of everyone's goods; the synthesis of the Lula x Collor debate on the TV produced by Rede Globe, choosing the best moments of Collor and the worst of Lula. These and other reasons will take the Alagoan politician to the Presidency of the Republic.

For the second round, Miguel Arraes sends a letter to Ulisses Guimarães indicating breaking away from the PMDB, he supports Lula and comes closer to the PSB. During the closing rally, in Candelária, he was together with Jamil and Amaral. He receives the invitation to enter the PSB and with support of the party direction, he joins in March of 1990.

The party that had resumed its construction with leadership, predominantly of middle class, and fragile financial bases had a large growth, in electoral terms and in social movements. It was really hard work in organization of municipal and state commissions. During the initial internal debate, there was an attempt to transform the PSB in rent legend. Jamil Haddad's leadership guaranteed that Party would grow as socialist and democratic and now he would bring to its ranks one of the greatest mass leaders of the Brazilian left.

Sources:
HADDAD, Jamil. *Um socialista no Parlamento*, Brasília, 1989.
_____. *Prestando contas*, Brasília, 1990. (Being accountable in Brazilia)
_____. *A política do PSB* (Topics for discussion 1 a 4), 1986/1990.


PSB
Lula



Roberto Amaral, Jamil Haddad, Miguel Arraes and professor Valteir (President of the PSB/PE)



The National Directorate of the PSB represented by its president and secretary Jamil Haddad and Roberto Amaral respectively, formulating the invitation to governor Arraes to enter the PSB.



Governor Arraes receives professor Valteir, state president of the PSB in Pernambuco and Roberto Amaral, secretary general of the PSB at the *Campo das Princesas*.

Chapter III
Consolidation (1990-2007)

Today, the PSB is a mature party. During its reorganization it solidified the principles of democratic socialism. If the Soviet model was in crisis, which since its set up had been criticized by the PSB due to the absence of freedom, the Party showed, that with internal creative practices, widespread participation of the militancy in its decisions and the performance of its representatives in the Legislative and Executive, that it is possible to build a new society, with the rights of all being respected in reality and not only on paper.

In a collective effort, under the leadership of Antônio Houaiss, Jamil Haddad and Roberto Amaral, the PSB reached the definitive registration, creating the conditions for its growth without losing its original content from the democratic left. During the consolidation period, which we are about to examine, there was a constant electoral growth, from municipal to federal ambit. The party went on building in the Executive a socialist model of governing; a government for all, with priority for the excluded.

In Parliament it faced up to *neoliberalism* and corruption and guaranteed important conquests for most Brazilian men and women. It won the challenge of the "clause barrier", enormous obstacle for parties, like the PSB, which are not sustained by the interests of capital. All this was carried out keeping firm to its socialist principles and, now, identified with and by the citizens.

Alongside important leaders of the left wing in all the country, the PSB had the priceless contribution of Miguel Arraes, governor of Pernambuco who joined the Party in March of 1990. Besides bringing the force of an admired and dear popular leader, Doctor Arraes also indicated to the Party the national and political popular pillars which drive him until today. The change to a fair and developed society needs economical, political and cultural autonomy, obtained through the conscience and organization of the people, through their own struggle.

As this period is long and rich in information, we will divide it in three areas: opposition to the Collor Government; the national and popular party; and the alliance with autonomy.

Opposition to the Collor Government (1990-1992)

The Collor Government will find a very consequential opposition in the PSB. The Party has articulated very vigorous parliamentary work, actions in the Department of Justice against unconstitutional measures, the search for common action with the center-left opposition parties and social mobilization.

The *Plano Collor*, which besides the already traditional freezing, confiscated the saving of the people. This was combated in public pronouncements and Justice. It lasted less time than the *Plano Cruzado* and had perverse effects.

On March 21, 1990, the National Executive Commission of the PSB published a statement in the press with 16 items criticizing the *Plano Collor*. The authoritarian and anti-popular character of the plan is accentuated in four items:

a) in the form of liquidity reduction, that indiscriminately reaches as much speculators and large capitalists as it does the mass of wage earners and small savers;

b) in the price to be paid by the adjustment, that follows the recession, which provokes unemployment, shortage of goods and the closing of micro and small companies;

c) in the uncertainty as to the destiny of financial assets for now "removed from circulation", and really an object of confiscation; and



Members of the socialist block meeting at Leadership of the Party in the House – deputy Roberto França, Dep. Uldurico Pinto, secretary Roberto Amaral, dep. Jamil Haddad, the leader dep. José Carlos Sabóia and dep. Domingos Leonelli.

d) in the real depreciation of wages.

The socialist analysis goes well beyond the immediacy of those who see, with satisfaction, only the momentary stabilization of prices.

Besides public accusation and parliamentary combat, the PSB looks to Justice to repair the unconstitutional measures such as the confiscation of the *Plano Collor I* or the decree which gave the president the right of privatizing state owned companies without passing through Congress approval, by way of Adins (direct unconstitutionality actions). In the case of the conservation tax on highways we had a victory, avoiding its application. As for income tax, the Federal Revenue ended up giving up on correcting the indebted balance without correcting the accrediting balance. The juridical actions of the PSB, coordinated by Carlos Siqueira, were praised in the Supreme Court for their competence as to arguments, the Party being called the "*Guardian of the Constitution*".

Parallel to this, it sought to maintain the cohesion of the *Frente Brazil Popular*. One week after the PSB note to the press is published, the Manifesto to the Nation denouncing "the antidemocratic, recessive, concentrator, monopolist, antinational and anti-popular character of the *Plano Collor*" signed by Jamil Haddad (President of the PSB), Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (Federal Deputy /PT), Leonel Brizola (President of the PDT), Deputy Luís Gushiken (President of the PT) and João Amazonas (President of the PCdoB). Social mobilization as well as parliamentary action is proposed to examine, modify and inspect the execution of the stabilization plan.

Public Rally on the occasion of ex mayor Luiza Erundina's affiliation to the PSB, which had huge repercussion in the national press.



Katia Born, dep. A. Calvo, Gilson Menezes, secretary Carlos Siqueira, president Miguel Arraes, Luiza Erundina, mayor Celio de Castro, gov. João capiberibe and president of honor of the PSB Jamil Haddad.

In November, the electoral results show a growth in the left and in particular the PSB. In the Ist National Encounter of Leaders and Parliamentary Personnel of the PSB, on 1st and 2nd of December, 1990, in Belo Horizonte, the general secretary Roberto Amaral, presented an analytic framework of the electoral process. In the House of Deputies, the left wing grew from 72 to 101 parliamentary members. The PSB has 11 federal deputies. Among them is Miguel Arraes, from PE, who was the federal deputy with the largest voting in Brazil and the president of the Party, Jamil Haddad, elected for Rio de Janeiro. In the Senate, the PSB maintained Bisol, the PT elected its first senator and the PDT elected 5. For the states governments, Collor's candidates in São Paulo, Paraná and Mines were defeated. With the support of the left, Brizola was chosen in Rio de Janeiro, Alceu Colares in Rio Grande do Sul and Albuíno Azeredo, in Espírito Santo. There was, therefore, a general growth of opposition away from Collor and to the left. The PSB also enlarged its support in the Legislative Assemblies, going from 3 to 15 state deputies. The two big problems for the left wing parties in the electoral processes were the weight of the economical strength and use of the public machine by the opponents. Amaral presented a proposal of unit of the left in their diversity, by means of debate and common action, with a federation of parties.

The year of 1991 will be marked by continuity in opposition to the Collor Government.

The *Brasil Socialista* newspaper, number zero, edited by the direction of the Party, comes out on June 30, 1991. It demonstrated its objective of supplying the militancy and party frameworks with information, theoretical material and political analysis for their formation. The system of information in Brazil is controlled by a few and the Party has restricted access to the traditional means of communication. It is important to notice how the performance of the Party: the combating of Collor's neoliberal government, the increase in the number of affiliates and voters, work with Party and society information, all proceeded in a coordinated manner.

The PSB Program, presented in February on TV and radio, was very creative in using the irreverent but political song, of the *Liga Tripa*: "Against hunger, against boredom, against the goat, unite with us or we will f…you", together with speeches from party leaders presenting problems and being accompanied by some concrete experiences from the PSB government as how to face them. Copies of the program were put on sale, together with several Party publications.

In Parliament the PSB had firm performance. If federal deputy José Carlos Sabóia (MA) criticized omission and "retailing" of Congress with relation to the government's actions, Deputy Célio de Castro (MG) showed the evils of privatization in the area of health. In a varied way the socialists showed the merchandizing of human life and political activity.

Among the youth the socialists were winning influence. Two militants of the PSB entered the Directorship of UNE: Gildelson Felício (Director for Culture) and Wilson Zonin (Director for Science and Technology). The Brazilian Socialist Youth (JSB), at its Congress defends that UNE must act as a representation organ for the group of student entities and not to be at the service of tendencies and parties.

PSB looks to strengthen the role of the Legislative affirming that:

> (...) with all its defects – even with the presence of large number of physiologic, entrepreneurs and populist, the Congress can still correspond to the best longings of the nation, provided that society stimulates it and presses it in this sense.

It is interesting to observe that in the following year, before the accusations against Collor and the popular pressure, Congress was really accomplishing its role.

On September 6, 1991, the PSB National Executive Commission presents a document in defense of legality in the face of the economical and political chaos. According to the text, the problems are not in the Constitution. There is no solution without the

participation of social entities to overcome the crisis of trust and ethical values. For this end the PSB indicates:

1 – fight recession;

2 – effective fight against inflation;

3 – recovering production and employment policies;

4 – organization of new policies for wages which promote the recovery of the internal market and income distribution;

5 – immediate tributary and fiscal reform which occurs on capital earnings and not on wages, and preventing tax evasion;

6 – fortifying national companies in the execution of a development project;

7 – democratization and modernization of the Judiciary;

8 – recovery program for agricultural production;

9 – financial sanitation of public sector;

10 – restructuring of financial sector for credit to small producers;

11 – real interest rate;

12 – restructuring of regional development programs;

13 – due treatment of the external debt without damage to wages or social programs;

14 – definition of industrial policy while preserving national interests.

It is interesting to note that this summary of a government program would be applicable even today.

Party participation spread all over the country in this year of 1991. Regional meetings establish political dialogue, the exchange of experiences and common efforts. In Belém, the leaders of the Regional North created a collegiate for presidents and secretary-general to accompany party organization in the states of the region. The preparation for the elections of 1992, the question of violence and the seminar "*PSB and Amazonia*" are the central themes. Leaders of the PSB in the South and Southeast draw up a document *"Carta de Curitiba"* in which is a criticism of neo-liberalism, support for the strengthening of the Party and left wing fronts. In São Paulo, in August, the National Meeting for Leaders and Parliamentary personnel of the PSB carries out an evaluation of their work and plans to stimulate party organization in all of the country. Present at this meeting were representatives of the allied parties such as PV and PDT, and for the PT, the Mayoress Luiza Erundina, who received the support of the PSB in her administration.

The Center-west area also meets, discusses the central subjects of the region and gets ready for the elections of the following year.

In Recife, in October, the seminar "*PSB and the crisis of Brazilian capitalism*" takes place, with the presence of a great number of federal and state parliamentarians, mayors and aldermen, as well as 100 members from delegations from 17 states. Deputy Miguel Arraes, as vice-president of the PSB, gave the lecture "*The National Model for Development"*. After work on several panels the *Carta de Recife* (Letter from Recife) was approved. This concluded that:

> The national project that the PSB defends means the integration of all the people in development, integrating the country into the world with sovereignty. This is a path that favors the future construction of a socialist nation. To retake development in this direction is the sense of our struggle.

The attempt at constitutional reform of the Collor Government, nicknamed "*Emendão*" (amendment) suffered immediate opposition of socialist parliamentarians. Shortly afterwards reaction is growing all over country with manifestations to the contrary from several entities: Brazilian Lawyers Order (OAB), Brazilian Press Association (ABI), National Conference of Bishops of Brazil (CNBB), National Federation of Journalists (Fenaj), CUT, PSB, Workers Party (PT), unions.



Roberto Amaral and Fidel Castro and Jamil Haddad on official PSB visit to Cuba.

Federal deputy Miguel Arraes coordinated and read from the tribune the Nationalist Parliamentarian Front's Manifesto which condemned the run away privatization which included even Usiminas.

In the international scenery, the end of the USSR would provoke debates. The PSB, which had from its foundation made criticisms of the Soviet authoritarian model, becomes a demonstration that socialism can and should have a democratic path. North American pressure on Cuba intensifies and the PSB demonstrates its alliance with the Cuban people, as is shown in the article "*Salvar Cuba*" (Save Cuba), published by *Brasil Socialista* no. 1, in August of 1991.

In November of the same year, the PSB presents on TV and radio its programs with the experiences of the municipal administrations in Petrópolis (Rio de Janeiro), Santana do Acaraú (Ceará) and Macapá (Amapá). The leadership of Party in the Camera receives, as well as praises for the emphasis given to popular interests, the democratic essence of the Party and its credibility, hundreds of requests for affiliation. Some letters even are touching as the one from Luciene, 17 years old, from Vila Formosa, in São Paulo who writes: "I am a young person who believes that Brazil will get it right. Therefore, I place a lot of confidence in you".

On November 30 and December 1 will be the First National Syndical Assets meeting, in Espírito Santo. In the final document, "*Carta* de *Vitória*", there is a recommendation of not confusing party and syndical entity. This is a serious problem when the union becomes the "property" of a tendency or party. The Letter defines itself by its autonomy and syndical democracy.

When doing an evaluation of Party action one can observe it fighting Collor's neoliberal politics in Parliament, in Justice, in the press and helping to organize the socialists among the young people and workers.

On February 20, 1992, the new TV and radio program goes on the air. The priorities were national topics and the drought in the Northeast. There was space for those who would be candidates to City Halls and Municipal Boards. A panel also showed the growth in adhesions to the Party.

Conventions and regional meetings mark the period from April to June of 1992, preceding the III National Congress. So as to guarantee a united supporting performance and to collaborate with a minimum program of the opposition parties, the National Directory of the PSB discusses and defines 10 points for a policy for change, with explanations:

1 – non payment and audit of the foreign debt;

2 – social control of public budgets with demand for transparency;

3 – role of the State: against disassembly of the public sector and employee humiliation. It proposes radical reformulation of social security to guarantee its efficiency;

4 – retaking of development guaranteeing employment;

5 – anti-imperialist action against the patent law;

6 – agrarian reform with socialization innovations;

7 – social politics with performance in housing, health and education. Denouncing larval corruption at all levels of public power;

8 – national sovereignty with Latin-American and international articulation;

9 – combat violence in the country;

10 – enlarge democracy so as to face electoral economical and congressional control and the media.

Usually, criticism for criticisms sake is a marked defect in the left wing parties. This is not the case of the PSB. In its information and propaganda material there is an in depth analysis of the problems and effective proposals for ways towards solution be it partial or total.

To prepare the campaign in the municipal districts in 1992 the National Directory took a series of decisions in November:

- setting up fronts with progressive parties (PT, PDT, PSDB, PCdoB, PCB and PMN);
- prohibiting coalitions with parties linked to the military regime or Collor Government;
- prioritizing the election of aldermen;
- signing document with commitment of statutory contribution, should candidate be chosen.

But the year of 1992 will not be just about elections. The accusation of corruption made by the brother of president Collor against the campaign treasurer, Paulo César Faria, will open a process which will finish with Collor losing his mandate at the end of the year.

As from the moment in which the indications of a "*mar de lama*" (sea of mud) appeared linking the "*Casa da Dinda*" (Collar's mansion) to the "*República de Alagoas*", the PSB defends a CPI as the indeclinable duty of Congress. On May 18, Arraes makes speeches in the Camera defending a CPI with profound investigation. The following day, the leader of the Party in the Camera, Célio de Castro, requests the creation of a CPI, and upon being summoned, his party, the PSB, participates through Senator José Paulo Bisol (RS) and the president of Party, Deputy Jamil Haddad (RJ).

While the investigations were under way, the PSB carried out its III National Congress, on June 26, 1992. There were debates with innovative themes as such as "*Rethink Politics and Rethink the Republic*" or on the controversial "*New Organic Law for the Parties*". The discussions range from the experiences at municipal administrations to national projects. The PSB also chooses the National Directory and the National Executive Commission (CEN):

President: Deputy Jamil Haddad
First Vice-President: Deputy Miguel Arraes
Second Vice-President: Ademir Andrade
Third Vice-President: Raquel Capiberibe
General Secretary: Roberto Amaral
First Secretary: Renato Soares
Second Secretary: Waldo Silva
Treasurer: Deputy Uldurico Pinto
Second Treasurer: Deputy Beto Albuquerque
Voting members: Deputy José Carlos Sabóia, Alderman Leopoldo Paulino, Alderman Ronaldo Lessa and Márcia Machado.

On August 12, the CEN reiterates support for Collor's impeachment, accompanied by an agglutination of political forces centered on the following points to face the national crisis:

1 – retaking of economical development and adoption of emergency politics for the generation of employment;

2 – commitment of democratic majority in the Federal Senate to an immediate revision of the terms of the foreign debt negotiation;

3 – revision and subordination to the National Congress of the process of state company privatization;

4 – removal from Congress of the Patent Law, whose proposal threatens independence and national sovereignty;

5 – urgent adoption of measures seeking to improve health attendance and a protection and amplification policy for public teaching, research and technological development;

6 – commitment to advance with investigations as to illicit actions practiced against public patrimony of which the CPI Report is just the tip of an immense iceberg.

As you can see, the concern of the socialists was not just in moving away from a corrupt president, but of substituting a policy which is harmful for the life of the people and for national sovereignty.

The CPI report, with exact proof as to deviations of public money to Collor, is approved by Congress. Evandro de Lins e Silva, founder and reorganizer of the PSB, participated in the jurists' commission which elaborated the impeachment request that was presented by Barbosa Lima Sobrinho, president of the ABI and former federal deputy for the PSB, on September 1, to the president of the Camera, Ibsen Pinheiro. On the streets, students, general public and social and political militants will continue the "*Fora Collor*" (Out with Collor) campaign which began in August.

Congress resolves to give continuity to the investigation. Collor was removed from Presidency in September and lost his mandate in December. Itamar Franco substitutes him in the Presidency of the Republic and invites Jamil Haddad to the Ministry for Health and Antonio Houaiss to the Ministry for Culture.

The National Executive examines the invitations and approves them. The Itamar government is understood as differentiated from that of Collor. Besides a political life with positive ethical evaluation, as enator Itamar was always positioned in the defense of national interests. It is a moment of transition with pressures from powerful forces, both internal and external. It befalls to the PSB to influence the new government positively.

Brasil Socialista, number 7, of September of 1992, evaluates the lessons of the crisis showing that the CPI followed all the legal precepts and proved the privatization of luxury. The return of the people to the streets was a beautiful answer to the skeptics. The parties are important, but citizenship is even more. As well as society leaving passivity behind, Congress played an important part. Itamar's Government's greatest problem will be the pressure from the dominant groups both internally and externally, submission to the IMF and risks as to continuity in economical policies.

In November of 1992, in his investiture speech as Minister for Health, Jamil Haddad explains that the PSB participates in the government honoring its program and struggling so that the administration as a whole is committed with those who suffer, suffer from lack of employment, unjust wages, degradation of life conditions, closed schools and public and free health, the obligation of the State, denied to them by the commercialization of medicine. He defines as his the established priorities of the IX National Conference for Health in the execution of the budget for the Ministry for 1993. Decentralize health with SUS, decentralization with the Council for Health, the creation of the National Health Fund with demands for the transfer of 30% of the budget to social security, privilege research and technological innovation, preventive medicine and vaccination campaigns in public health.

> The socialist administration (...) will install in this Ministry the religion of collective interest. And honesty is its first commandment. We will be inflexible in our exaction and uncompromising in the punishment as to errors which escape from our surveillance. (...) I want to collaborate for the recovery of the image of the public servant and we can do nothing better than work hand in hand.

The Minister for Culture, Antônio Houaiss, defines as basic priorities the idea of reverting the poverty and suffocation suffered by activities of recovery of our historical and artistic patrimony, and support to creative activities, especially the cinema. The idea is

of an initial support of the State so that it can walk with on its own. In December, the João Mangabeira Fundation promotes the seminar "*Culture in Question*" in which several suggestions were made to the Houaiss administration and among them stand out:

1 – use of Brazilian cultural production through the school network as a preferential auxiliary means. For this an articulation with MEC is necessary;

2 – legal change to democratize the means of communication and guarantee space for regional cultures.

In spite of all the political agitation, the municipal elections of 1992 passed in a peaceful manner. The PSB obtained good results. It conquered 59 city halls, with prominence for: Natal (RN), São Luís (MA), Volta Redonda (RJ) and Maceió (AL). The party elected 458 aldermen, with prominence for São Paulo, Bahia, Minas Gerais and Espírito Santo. In 1988, the PSB elected less mayors, 37, however with more aldermen, 473.

In the same month of November, the PSB as a party affiliated to the Latin-American Socialist Coordination (CSL), participates in the International Seminar on Alternative Politics for Latin America. The agenda covers all from neo-liberalism (effects and repercussions in LA), alternative economical politics, Latin-American integration, alternative programs, ecologically sustainable and socially equitable, even social mobilization, religion, culture and ethics in alternative projects.

During the II National Collective in December of 1992, the socialists closed the year in superb style with many combats and beautiful victories. The general secretary, Roberto Amaral, made a very optimist evaluation. The Party, "without concessions to family members or sectarianism, knew how to react to the comfort of what is fashionable". It reacted to the neoliberal conservative wave, conquered its own space and prominence in the field of the socialist left. It made way for *impeachment*, in the face of frightened PPS and Brizola accusing the investigative action as something of a coup. The party refused to vote for the anticipation of the plebiscite on government formation (Republic or Constitutional Monarchy) and the system of government (parliamentarian or presidential), from October to April not just to accomplish a constituent decision, but to guarantee a larger debate before such an important decision.

Upon conclusion of the analysis, the general secretary pointed out that the PSB had as its main needs: a defined policy for syndical construction and youth, and organization policy for two of the largest electoral areas such as São Paulo and Mines. Roberto Amaral gave a brilliant definition of a democratic party: "Nobody and nothing within a democratic party is above discussion by the militancy, not even the statutes, the theses, nor even the program". The construction of socialism and democracy is difficult because we live in a capitalist society, where equality is just formal.

With regards to the position of the Party to be defended in the plebiscite there was support for *parliamentarism*, the following advantages being pointed:

1 – to solve political crises without traumas;

2 – to solve the problem of the duality of authority which generates historical crises in Brazil;

3 – to solve this duality in favor of the most democratic authority which is the Parliament;

4 – to substantially improve the quality of the parliamentarians through greater responsibility and by bringing the people to make their choices with greater care;

5 – to improve and strengthen the political parties.

They were common points among those present in the definition of the parliamentarian model presented by the PSB: clear definition of the hypotheses of dissolution of the Chamber and anticipation of elections for deputies; the election of deputies by way of the proportional vote in party lists; extension of *parliamentarism* to the states. The

majority approved the election for President (Chief of State) by Congress. They suggested that the parliamentarians should elaborate an amendment to contemplate the model to be proposed in case *parliamentarism* were victorious in the plebiscite.

National and Popular Party (1993-2005)

When assuming the Ministry for Health, Jamil Haddad took leave of the Presidency of the PSB. Miguel Arraes, the vice-president, accepted to substitute him after a long argument. Carlos Siqueira tells us that only the juridical argument convinced him, since, for party legislation at the time, a State minister could not exercise the party Presidency and only the vice-president of the party could substitute him. In the exercise of the position, Arraes was so in love with the party that he dedicated a good part of his time and leadership to it. Electoral growth will be constant, increasing the number of mayors, aldermen, state and federal deputies and senators. Party will choose its first governors; it will occupy federal ministries and will even have a candidate for the Presidency of the Republic, with expressive voting. The João Mangabeira Fundation will expand it's work of political formation, publications and consultancy.

Space is growing for the organization of specific nuclei as syndical, youth, women and black people.

As federal deputy and president of the PSB Arraes made an important pronouncement in March of 1993: "*What is on the nations mind is the crisis*". In spite of Collor's fall from office, the pressure on Itamar to give continuity to the neoliberal policies is great. Doctor Arraes says why these policies do not have continuity. For many, the national question is not present any more. He points out several examples of the national presence as in the case of the former-USSR, Yugoslavia and Palestine. The re-ordering of commercial and financial competition among the three great blocks paints a bleak picture for the outlying areas. A reaction can be given with the invigoration of nationalism. When this is expressed to the right we will find Fascist forms; when it is linked to the left it gives space for the revolt of those who are dominated. The national and social subject is combined. This logic expresses the thought and political practice of Arraes. When in exile he had his book *Brazil, the people and the power* published (reedited by the João Mangabeira Fundation). In it he already pointed to the need to unit the people, the poor and the middle class, for national liberation.

The pressure of the largest power, the USA, continued its denationalization of the Brazilian economy in computer science, arms industry, ore and financial system. The foreign debt bleeds the

Senator Paulo Bisol, Jamil Haddad, Roberto Amaral and Miguel Arraes at national meeting.



country. Recession, concentration of revenue, retreat of the State from strategic areas, devastation of the forests all combine. The way out would be to follow the Asian tigers? No. There are enormous inequalities and persecution of freedom there. In Brazil, there is progress in democratic institutions, but questions essential to the people are not discussed. National integration, the activation of the productive sector is fundamental. If the nation gains conscience and struggles -development and independence will come.

The newspaper *Brasil Socialista* tried to give visibility to the actions of the PSB in several areas of the Executive. In number 11, of June 1993, it gives emphasis to Jamil Haddad's performance in the Ministry for Health. The decentralization of the health services, foreseen in the Constitution of 1988 and consolidated with the Organic Law for Health of 1990, through the Unique Health System (SUS) begins to be carried out in stages. This is so that the more disorganized municipal districts could "get their houses in order". One of the central points of municipalization is social control. The Municipal Council of Health, with the government's joint representation, service suppliers and users are what guide and inspect the application of the budget. The medicine policies inject resources into the official laboratories network which increases production. In agreement with the ministry for Education the recovery of the academic hospitals begins and the *Farmacia Escola* program (Drugstore-school) is launched. The Decree signed by the president as to generic medicines reduced the prices by around 40%. The public laboratories had incentives, because their products are generic and not brand products. The powerful multinational laboratories continued to postpone in Justice the application of this decree. Only when José Serra was minister for Health, in the FHC government did the multinationals end up producing and marketing the generic medicine. Serra became known and important because of the application to the generics, but the struggle had begun well before that, with Jamil. The Ministry for Health under Jamil Haddad's direction acted in the revision of registration for medicines, removing medicines which were harmful or unrealistic from the market, such as ones which were indicated to restore virginity! Disease prevention involved the invigoration of sanitary and epidemic surveillance, basic sanitation and vaccination programs. The public hospital network, which was on the scrap heap, began to be recovered.

New affiliations of important leaders occurred in large numbers making the PSB a reference on the left wing.

In September 1993, in Maceió, the IV National Congress of the PSB takes place.

"*A project for Brazil*" is the theme resulting from discussions in preparatory meetings for the Congress, and it become an indicator for the party work. It begins with an analysis of the international conjuncture of strong neoliberal hegemony. It shows that capitalism developed "a new accumulation model, of an intensive nature" which, in each country, "emphasizing man's substitution by the machine, generating unemployment and reduction in the growth of the salary income". In the case of Brazil, there is an extrovert model which does not allow the formation of a wide internal market favoring the recession. The position of the PSB can be synthesized in the indication that the political struggle should be intensified. With this the population raises its force and conscience of its rights. With regards the State, it should be strong to regulate, plan and invest in the necessary areas, without being inflated.



In that Congress, the PSB ratifies its option for the excluded who make up the majority of our people and choose a new National Directory and National Executive



IV National Congress of the PSB, Maceio – 04 to 07 September, 1993. Roberto Amaral, Jamil Haddad, Miguel Arraes, senator Ademir Andrade, federal dep. Uldurico Pinto at the IV National Congress in 1993, in Maceió.

Commission, electing Jamil Haddad as president of Honor and Miguel Arraes as president of Party.

As one can notice each party Congress becomes a moment for analysis of the conjuncture and an elaboration of strategies and tactics.

In March of 1994, the Itamar Government implanted the *Plano Real*, which had durable effects in combating inflation. Inflation fell to 6.9% in July and to 1.95% in August. There was also great political efficiency, because Itamar's Minister for Finance, Fernando Henrique Cardoso defeated Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, in the first run off for presidential elections. The PSB participated in the support front for Lula's candidacy, but while the campaign of 1989 had a strong front character, including a candidate for vice from the PSB, Bisol, with an intense participation of the militancy and the electorate, the campaign of 1994 was very PT concentrated. With this the results showed a weakness of the left front in the face of the center-right project. But the PSB had electoral growth in several levels. In the legislative assemblies it went from 15 deputies chosen in 1990, in nine states, to 33 in 12 states. Federal deputy platform grew from 11 to 15 parliamentarians. Miguel Arraes's leadership was reflected in the electoral results of Party. For the Senate Ademir Andrade was chosen, from Pará. Also for State government, the PSB elected its first two governors: Miguel Arraes, in Pernambuco, and João Capiberibe, in Amapá.

Beginning in Mexico 1995 will be year of international economical crisis. In the case of Brazil, the banks are hit very hard. The FHC government will place public money, through the Proer (Program of Incentive for the Restructuring and Invigoration of the National Financial System) to cover the leak caused by the bankers. Besides parliamentary opposition in the Camera and Senate, in many states the PSB develops a program of information and political formation. In Minas Gerais, the State Executive Commission, presided by Everaldo Crispim, produces five *Cadernos*

Socialistas (Socialist Notebooks) which will feed the political debate, analyzing the electoral results of 1994, the Brazilian politics, and the history of the PSB that completed 10 years of reorganization.

The newspaper *A Luta* (The Fight), the official organ of the PSB/RS, brings a report of its successful State Congress and municipal and regional Congress in November. There is a testimony from Arraes showing the importance of the V National Congress and another from Jamil Haddad, remembering the history of Party. The article by Luís Carlos de Césaro, tells that Érico Veríssimo supported the *A Luta* newspaper when it first came out in 1949, by the PSB.

In Rio de Janeiro, in November 1995, number zero of the *Folha Socialista* is published – it is a newspaper from the bases of Brazilian Socialist Party/RJ. In an interview, Jaime Cardoso, state general secretary of the PSB, tells about his participation in the combat against the military regime and his exile.

Also in Rio de Janeiro, in November of the same year, the Hermes Lima Institute, which had several socialists in its Editorial Council, such as Saturnino Braga, Jaime Cardoso and Roberto Amaral, edits the first number of *Vertente*, monthly publication, with articles that discuss socialism and the conjuncture. The *Boletim Socialista* edited by the carioca Executive, presided by Alderman Saturnino Braga, tells about the VI State Congress and informs that 50 delegates should represent the state in the National Congress in Recife.

The V National Congress, from 16 to 18 of November, 1995, in Recife, will produce wide debates and many decisions. It had 1.115 delegates. The special edition of *Brasil Socialista* reported with testimony from several leaders, was distributed to help in the discussions.

At the opening homage was paid to the black leader Zumbi, on the occasion of the 300 years since his death, and to Florestan Fernandes, professor, researcher, former constituent deputy and brilliant citizen, who was greeted by his friend, Roberto Amaral.

The reader who wishes to know in depth the debates which took place during the National PSB Congress can read the annals in the Miguel Arraes Library at the João Mangabeira Foundation, in Brasília. We would like to present, in a summarized manner, only two of the work groups of the V Congress, because of their importance in the understanding of the history of the PSB. In Group II "*Neo-liberalism and Globalization of the Economy*: *perspective for Brazil*", Tânia Bacelar showed that the capitalist economy, in a downward turn in the seventies, will make three movements:

1 – positive restructuring: change in the organization of production. The basic investment today is knowledge;

2 – globalization (foreseen by Marx): concentration and centralization of capital creates actors capable of internationalizing production. Its power is enormous and weakens that of the State-nation;

3 – financing of wealth: a year of financial exchange corresponds to 18 times world production.

Neo-liberalism is the ideology of State retreat and centralization of the market adapted to the economical moment of capitalism. Our elites swallowed the neo-liberalism as the only way. It is not. National projects guarantee an insertion in the world economy without this incredible subordination of Brazil.

This lecture by Tânia Bacelar, a competent economist from Pernambuco, besides clarifying globalization and neo-liberalism in a simple way, gave force to the socialists to see that it is possible to apply economical politics adapted to globalization without a low crawling subordination to the great powers.

In Group III "*Party Construction: the new law of the parties and the electoral policies for the municipal PSB-elections of 1996*", Carlos Siqueira pointed out the intention of the legislator in reducing the influence of the left wing parties (PSB, PPS, PV, PDT, PCdoB)

bringing some to extinction. The barrier clause creates restrictions to the Party Fund, to communication on TV and radio and in Legislative commissions. Then it presented the PSB strategy of looking to change the law in the Congress and, in parallel, increase its parliamentary representation through the elections.

The National Directory and National Executive Commission were chosen (1995/1997):
President of Honor: Jamil Haddad
President: Miguel Arraes
First Vice-President: Alberto Capiberibe
Second Vice-President: Ademir Andrade
Third Vice-President: Roberto Amaral
General Secretary: José Carlos Sabóia
First Secretary: Carlos Siqueira
Second Secretary: Renato Casagrande
Secretary for Finances: Uldurico Pinto
First Secretary for Finances: Alexandre Cardoso
Secretary for Social Communication: James Lewis
Secretary for Political Organization: Waldo Silva
Secretary for Culture and Information: Francisco Tenório
Environment Secretary: Rodrigo Rollemberg
Secretary for Agrarian Policies: Eudoro Santana
Secretary for Popular Mobilization: Vilma Farias
Syndical Secretary: José Carlos Pereira of Silva
Secretary for Youth: Augusto Carreras
Parliamentary Secretary: Antônio Valadares
Leader in the Senate: Ademir Andrade
Leader in the Camera: Fernando Lyra

The Congress comes to a close with the spectacular lecture by Ariano Suassuna.

1996 will be marked by the tragedy of *Eldorado de Carajás*, with the death of MST rural workers and the reelection proposal for president, governor and mayor. The PSB holds its Extraordinary National Congress in March to update the party statute, after many regional debates.

It is also a year of municipal elections when the Party had enormous growth. If in 1992 it elected 59 mayors, it elected 150 in 1996. In the capitals it elected the Mayoresses of Maceió (AL) and Natal (RN) and the mayor of Belo Horizonte (MG). Also to the fore are Volta Redonda (RJ), Caruaru (FOOT) and Diadem (SP). In Pernambuco alone the party elects 79 mayors and is able to elect 25% of the candidates in Alagoas. If in 1992 it could elect 458 aldermen, now it can go for 1.316.

The year of 1997 brings the approval of the constitutional amendment allowing for reelection of presidents, governors and mayors, against that which the PSB fought for, to the point of removing its leader in the Federal Camera, for having thwarted party orientation.

In March, CEN edits the Party Program and Manifesto, accompanied with Statutes, Internal Regiment and Code of Ethics already adapted to the new law for the parties as of 1995.

In April, within the idea of experience exchanges in municipal administrations, mayors and vice-mayors participate in the seminar "*Socialist Administration: Government of all" – priority given to those excluded*". It was promoted by the João Mangabeira Foundation.

In September, the João Mangabeira Foundation edits *Cadernos Socialistas*, "*History of Democratic Socialism*", whose articles will work on the origin of the socialist ideals in Brazil, the first phase (1947-1965), the rebuilding in 1985 and a speech to the socialists, from the then PSB senator, Saturnino Braga.

On the 28, 29 and 30 of November, 1997, in Brasília, the VI National Congress of the PSB will be held, celebrating 50 years of existence.

In the Solemn Opening Session, the Party President, Miguel Arraes, pointed out that the PSB is an open and Democratic Party which wishes to welcome all who struggle for justice, for freedom and for democracy in the country and who always struggled for the unity of the popular forces. The paths are opposed, not to the people, but to the processes of governing the country.

In homage to Paulo Freire, Deputy Luiza Erundina pointed out the enormous contributions made by him to education in Brazil and in the world. When she was mayoress of São Paulo had the honor of having him as Secretary for Education.



Solemn Opening Session of the VI National Congress and Commemoration rally for the 50 years of the PSB.

In homage Che Guevara, César Callegari spoke about the hero of freedom, of utopia as the practice of hope, of the struggle and action in announcing. Several outstanding moments of the PSB history are presented.

In the general meeting, under the theme "*The challenges of the left heading towards the third millennium*", the speaker was Cristovam Buarque, Governor of Brasília, who pointed out that it is necessary to combine treatment of nature with development. He said that we cannot wait to take power to change.

The debater Miguel Arraes mentioned the subject of time, which causes us not to expect change from one day to the next. There are many steps to be taken to arrive at socialism. In certain places of this country which is so diversified, the simple fact of breaking the traditional municipal power is progress; it improves minds, opens new discussions. One thing is fundamental: without the support which comes from the population there is no one who can support himself on top, neither are there changes that stay forever.

The debates were guided by the two agenda points:

1. The construction of a great national and popular party, through a project of social inclusion which assures:

   a) the preservation of national sovereignty;

   b) the strengthening of the Federation;

   c) the consolidation and unification of popular movements;

   d) the solution to social and regional inequalities.

2. The alliance policies for the 1988 elections.

The National Directory and National Executive Commission chosen were:
President: Miguel Arraes
President of Honor: Jamil Haddad
First Vice-President: Luiza Erundina



Deputy Luiza Erundina giving her speech to the congressional delegates at the National Congress

Second Vice-President: Roberto Amaral
Third Vice-President: Ademir Andrade
General Secretary: Almino Affonso
First Secretary: Carlos Siqueira
Second Secretary: Renato Casagrande
Secretary for Finances: Uldurico Pinto
Second Secretary for Finances: Alexandre Cardoso
Secretary for Social Communication and Propaganda: James Lewis
Environment Secretary: Gustavo Balduino
Secretary for Agrarian Policies: Eudoro Santana
Secretary for Popular Mobilization: Wilma de Faria
Secretary for Parliamentary Action: José Pinotti
Secretary for the Syndical Movement: José Carlos Pereira da Silva
Secretary for Organization: Waldo Silva
Secretary for Culture and Political Formation: Ronaldo Lessa
Special Secretaries: João Capiberibe, Jacó Bittar and Beto Albuquerque
Leader in Senate: Antônio Carlos Valadares
Leader in Camera of Deputies: Alexandre Cardoso

In 1998, the Clerkship for Justice of Pernambuco, commanded by Roberto Franca Filho, in the government of the "*Third time Governor*", Miguel Arraes, edits *Caderno de Cidadania I*. It is within the *Programa Cidadão* which evolves with the handbook, workshops treating of such things as the conquest of human rights and citizenship and water. There is also a pedagogic production which is a collective soap opera.

In April, through indication from CEN, Roberto Amaral begins to develop a Program of Government for the PSB which, in a participative manner receives suggestions from many militants. The CEN approves the text which will be the basis of the Party for the candidacies in the November 1998 elections.

After a critical introduction to the conservative model, whose consequences can be demonstrated in numbers such as the level of absolute poverty which reaches 35 million Brazilians with a lower income than a minimum wage and, on another hand, seven million only pay income tax, indicators of the

brutal concentration of income. It points to regional inequality that can be seen when observing that in the Northeast 49% of the municipal public employees, excluding the capitals, earn less than 1.1 minimum wage. In the North, the percentile is 34%. But in the Southeast area, the index falls to 3.3% and in the South to1.82%. Unemployment reaches 25% in the age group from 18 to 24 destroying hopes of the future.

The document also points out that the root of these problems is the capitalism model, predator of man and nature. Its characteristics are the concentration of wealth and property, education and culture, the concentration of land, in the city and in the country, the dependence of the national economy on speculative international financial capital, the social and regional unevenness which threaten the Federation. Social apartheid divides and lacerates the Brazilian society, installing violence in the daily life of the people. All these problems – insufficient resources, lack of savings, intern, low scientific and technological development – are not essentially of an economical nature, but political nature: elite groups which detain power since colonial times, being unable to build development, with a free, solidarity and happy society. Even without changing the regime it is possible to face many of these problems opposing the strategic objectives of the dominant class with such as strategic objectives of nationalizing land, work, housing, education and health. The neo-conservative model installed by Fernando Henrique Cardoso's government brought the problems to a paroxysm with total subordination to the interests of the large international financial capital. The PSB believes that is possible to have a more sovereign insertion in the world environment and the Brazilian people can not wait for the socialist society to begin to face the great national problems.

The Government's Program works with the great goals:

> (...) Dignify the Brazilian people; affirmation of sovereignty and dignity of the nation; consolidation and improvement of democracy; dignify Brazilian political life and recovery of labor as an ethical value which will cement the society together.

So as to make these a reality one needs to elaborate a macro-economic policy, political decentralization and development of the municipal districts. In the second part, we need to advance in agrarian, fiscal, credit and Judiciary reform, in teaching, and in policies for each one of the areas. It is a clear proof of a party that has clear objectives for the exercise of power in a capitalist society, but looking for changes which favor the path to socialism.

The João Mangabeira Foundation, auxiliary organ of the PSB, a space for reflection and political formation of the Party, promotes in June of 1998 the I Training Course for Instructors in Political Formation, in Brasília. Militants from 18 states as well as the Federal District participate. For four days, in boarding school regime in the Center for Educational Technology of the CNTI, 38 militants will attend several lectures, discuss and plan their subsequent political work. They will be multipliers of the political formation in their area. With that, leadership conditions are enlarged, real socialists, they will develop the political work in society and in the representation area. The goal of the decentralization will be reached bit by bit: the Mato Grosso sector has courses, seminars, projects, informative bulletins and other events. Also in Mines, Amazonas, Sergipe and Espírito Santo the sectors multiply the work of socialist reflection.

As can be observed there is a combined party work. The performance in the several instances of power is accompanied with courses and seminars that create a common political culture, which is democratic and socialist.

The left wing alliance will look again, in 1998, towards Lula's election for Presidency. However, in

spite of the installed economical crisis, the voters prefer to give continuity to the FHC government, given the credibility of the Real and fears of radical change.

The PSB, which won 33 seats for state deputies in 1994, elects 47. Among the states with largest number of seats is Pernambuco with 12, followed by Mines with 5 and Bahia with 4. Of the 15 federal deputies chosen in 1994, the Party moves to 18, with Pernambuco heading the list having 8. For the Senate Saturnin Braga was chosen, by Rio de Janeiro. Two governors were chosen: Ronaldo Lessa for (AL) and João Capiberibe (AP) was reelected.

In the CEN meeting, soon after the second round of elections, Arraes presented the document "The elections of 1998 and the coup d'état of 1964". It shows that the elections of 1998 can consolidate the objectives of the 1964 coup d'état. It was the first international action to contain, in a preventive manner, popular movements. Several other North American actions in the same line will follow: Vietnam (May 1964), then, the coup d'état against Sukarno and many more. In 1964, in Brazil, there was an alliance with the military forces (there were some internal divergences among them). The financial sector began to prevail in our economy. The foreign debt had payment warranty. With the Collor Government the finances collapse. The great industries from São Paulo loose force. The liberals who ousted Vargas retake the leadership.

What are the next struggles for the PSB? Being more than just a front it is necessary to develop a wide social movement. The priorities are sovereign insertion in globalization, the world integration with the most modern sectors of the economy, re-composition of the Federative principle, redefinition of agrarian reform, broadening it with the restructuring of a surpassed production system, intensive investment in knowledge, redefinition and amplification of the armed forces, which besides national defense will act to help the population and democratization of access and control of the means of communication.

This analysis of Arraes shows the gravity of the moment and the new demands of the struggle. His leadership has importance not just in an electoral sense, but also in political reflection and strategic indications.

In December, the 50 years of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights are commemorated and the PSB edits the text with the presentation of state deputy for the PSB for São Paulo, Pedro Dallari.

On return to the Senate, for the PSB, Saturnino Braga edits the *Vertente Socialista* for his cabinet, containing his pronouncements and socialist debates. The senator also assumes the General Management of the João Mangabeira Foundation.

In March of 1999, the PSB promotes a seminar, later published in annals: "*The national economical crisis and the crisis of the Federation*". At this event Luciano Coutinho and Rui Affonso showed their work.

The FJM section from São Paulo edits a publication for the youth: *Você pode fazer um mundo melhor* (You can make a better world). Other publications from the PSB will call attention to national and international problems.

In May, Miguel Arraes has the text "*The PSB, oppositions and the national question*" approved and published by CEN. There should be continuity to the coalition that has been structured since 1989, but differentiated forms should be discussed so as to evaluate and combat the economical model and tactical divergences with relation to future electoral clashes. Electoral questions, which are important, cannot leave in second plan the main question: the struggle for national sovereignty.

In August, Roberto Amaral publishes *Civilização e Barbárie* showing the effects of the North American hegemony on the new international order. In September, Deputy Almino Affonso leaves the PSDB in conflict with the policies adopted by the FHC government and joins the PSB. He returns to his origins, as he had taken part in the PSB/SP, in the phase previous to the military regime. He also presents his vote as narrator in defense of the obligatory vote,



Opening Board of the IV National Congress, made up of gov. João Capiberibe, first secretary of the PSB Carlos Siqueira, gov. Miguel Arraes and gov. Brizola

understanding that the vote is not only a right, but also a citizen's duty.

In October, the João Mangabeira Foundation promotes a seminar on Municipal Public Policies. The objective is to improve the performance of the PSB in the municipal elections.

The topics will be: 1. Politics and Marketing; 2. The situation of the municipal district as being federative; 3. Experiences of Socialist Administrations (with examples from mayors and mayoresses of the PSB; 4. A common government platform for socialist candidacies; and 5. The importance of City Halls and aldermen in the inspection and support given to municipal administrations.



Miguel Arraes speaking during the VII National Congress, with Ronaldo Lessa, on his right, and João Capiberibe.

In November 1999, in Brasília, 1.137 credentialed delegates meets in VII Congress of the PSB. At the opening, Antônio Houaiss, first president in the rebuilding, was honored by friend and companion of party reorganization, Roberto Amaral. There was also homage for the 500 years of resistance of the Brazilian people.

The debates on the agenda were: "*The political and electoral challenges of the PSB*", *"Socialist proposal for sustainable development*", *"The new international order and the neo-liberalism crisis"*.

In the closing plenary, upon taking resolutions, the greatest innovation was the creation of the National Women's Clerkship which begins to have its own secretary as a CEN member. With two lists of candidates competing, the new Directory and CNE for the 1999/2001 mandate were chosen:

President: Miguel Arraes
President of Honor: Jamil Haddad
First Vice-President: Ronaldo Lessa
Second Vice-President: Roberto Amaral
Third Vice-President: Luiz Roberto de Albuquerque
General Secretary: Almino Affonso
First Secretary: Carlos Siqueira
Second Secretary: Gustavo Balduíno
First Secretary for Finances: Alexandre Cardoso
Second Secretary for Finances: Renato Casagrande



International Socialist Meeting – Solemn opening session of the International Socialist Meeting, at the Hotel Glória, Rio de Janeiro in 2001. In the center, Carlos Siqueira makes the inaugural pronouncement for the Meeting. From left to right, ambassador Samuel Pinheiro Guimarães; economist Celso Furtado; reporter for the Commission for Food from the UN, Jean Ziegler, dep. Alberto Costa from the Portuguese Socialist Party, journalist Maurice Lemoine from the *Le Monde Diplomatique* newspaper, gov. for Rio Antonio Garotinho, vice president of the PSB Roberto Amaral; Carlos Siqueira at that time president of the FJM; gov. Ronaldo Lessa: Germán Chaves secretary general for Latin American Socialist Coordination; dep. Alexandrre Cardoso; and Roberto Regalado representative of the Cuban Communist Party.

Secretary for Women: Mari Machado
Syndical Secretary: Francisco Nogueira Filho
National Secretary for Youth: Silvânio dos Santos
Special Secretaries: Gilson de Menezes, César Callegari, José Antônio de Almeida, Adalberto Lélis Filho, Eduardo Campos, Severino de Araújo, Pedro Valadares Neto, Jefferson Arruda.
Leader in Camera of Deputies: Luiza Erundina
Leader in Senate: Antônio Carlos Valadares

At the end, there were congratulations all round among the leaders of the two lists.

Anteceding the VII PSB Congress were:

- II Encounter PSB Syndicalists
- II JSB Congress
- I PSB Women's Congress

In 2000, in the face of the municipal elections, FJM publishes *Cartilha do Vereador Socialista* (Handbook for Socialist Alderman) which was produced by the directors from the Rio de Janeiro sector: Luiz Henrique Lima and Ricardo Pascher. There is information on the work and importance of the socialist alderman's, as well as the organization of the campaign. The FJM Minas Gerais sector publishes *Caderno Socialista*: *pequeno estudo sobre a política no Brasil hoje* (Socialist Handbook: a small study on politics in Brazil today), produced by the Course Director Vera Alice Cardoso. It presents basic notions on socialism, the PSB, the importance of the municipal district, public politics and the budget. The Rio Grande do Sul sector produces a seminar of political formation for the 2000 elections and a handbook of texts, in which is analyzed popular participation in administration, participative administration, new electoral legislation, development, education, culture and health.

In July, the João Mangabeira Foundation promotes a course on political formation for the JSB youth. For three days, in boarding school regime in Valparaíso (GO) where they discussed the role of the JSB, their relationship with social movements, educational politics, lines of performance for JSB in student movements, a critical analysis of FHC's government, the PSB that we want to build and internal rules of the JSB.



Dep. José Antonio de Almeida, lawyer Evandro Lins e Silva, economist Celso furtado, first secretary of the PSB Carlos Siqueira and ambassador Samuel Pinheiro Guimarães

In Recife, the FJM sector promotes a seminar about the university, with speaker Luís Antônio Cunha, educator and author of the books: *Universidade Cidadã* e *Universidade Crítica*. (University Citizen and Critical University).

In the municipal elections, the PSB which had elected 150 mayors in 1996, elects 133 in 2000. It moves from three to four mayors in state capitals: Macapá (AP), Natal (RN), Maceió (AL) and Belo Horizonte (MG).

Between January 25 and 30, 2001 the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre takes place. In the face of neo-liberalism it is not enough to protest, but to look for an alternative society as the Forum did. Cooperation, planning and solidarity are its principles, in total opposition to those of capitalism. Senator Saturnino Braga participated as guest on the testimony table, in which he talked about his participation in the execution of the Brazilian development project, as a technician of the BNDE in the 1950's and later as a politician. The senator considered the world adoption of the Tobin Tax, proposed by economist James Tobin, as a great proposal. Financial applications all over the world would have a low rate of 0,1% for a World Fund. One calculates between US$150 billion and US$ 200 billion a year. With this money applied for the benefit of poor populations in the world is possible to think about facing hunger and poverty. The *Vertente Socialista*, published by the senator's cabinet, covered the event.

Between the 2 and 4 of February, in the Nereu Ramos Auditorium of the Camera of Deputies, in Brasília, the seminar for mayors and vice-mayors is held:
"The socialist model of governing (municipal experiences)" with subsequent publication and distribution of the annals.

In the same month, between 15 and 18, the FJM together with the National Clerkship of Women of the PSB promoted a national seminar. The political conjuncture, the history of the political parties and the feminist movement and proposals for women's participation in the PSB were the themes in the debate.

In May, Senator Saturnino Braga, as member of the Commission for Ethics, presents a report about the manipulation of the electronic panel in the Senate. It considers the existence of consistent indications of

acts contrary to ethics and parliamentary decency of Senator Antônio Carlos Magalhães and José Roberto Arruda. In continuity of the process, both renounced when cassation was evident.

On June 1, the National Directory unanimously approves the text proposed by Miguel Arraes. The Party already decided to have its own candidacy in the presidential elections of 2002, but needs to have a program that identifies its project. He suggests five central ideas:

1 – *The insertion of Brazil in the global world* can not be carried out in terms of submission and dependence on the United States and the international financial organisms. It has to happen with sovereignty and self-determination. Our starting point is the constitution of an area of free trade for South America, starting from Mercosul, which strengthens us for negotiations with North America and Europe. Alca, as the United States would like it to be would be a shovel of whitewash on Latin-American integration.

2 – *The audit of the national and external debt*. The payment of the debts can not be made in detriment of the social investments which are more than urgent.

3 – *The revision of privatizations* made by the federal government, so as to accomplish our commitments with the international financial organisms.

4 – *The re-establishment of the Federation*. This government's policy has been of increasing the responsibilities of states and municipal districts while at the same time removing large part of the resources.

5 – *The strengthening of the role of the State* as an agent to promote development and reduce regional disparities.

He concludes showing that it is fundamental for the PSB to struggle against corruption, but this can not be its only fight. The whole text is in the *Revista Argumento*, n. 1, of September/October 2001.

The then governor of the State of Rio de Janeiro, Anthony Garotinho, after meetings with the national direction, enters in the PSB. He was in the PDT, from which he left due to divergences with Leonel Brizola.



Lawyer Evandro Lins e Silva giving his talk during the International Socialist Meeting

His objective was to candidate for the Presidency of the Republic.

Between the 2 and 4 of August, the João Mangabeira Foundation, promotes the Socialist International Encounter in Rio de Janeiro, afterwards producing a Memorial of the Encounter.

In "*Globalization and Regionalization in the International Order*: the Brazilian insertion in Alca, Mercosul, Pacto Andino", the economist Celso Furtado made a brilliant exposition and concluded his speech affirming that, without a project for autonomous development and economical growth geared towards the well-being of the population, the transnational groups will lead the way and unavoidably, the concentration of wealth in favor of the countries which create new technologies. Ambassador Samuel Pinheiro Guimarães accentuated that if the State does not have instruments we will just be a territory of the great multinationals, with great social exclusion and violence. All this is avoidable with political and ideological struggle.

In "*Estado Nacional e Desenvolvimento* (National State and Development)", Senator Saturnino Braga showed that the two concepts are inextricably linked and that we need forces regimented with ethics and transparency for us to build a new development project, with a social dimension. Maurice Lemoine, chief editor the *Le Monde Diplomatique* concluded his speech showing that all over the world it is necessary to guarantee the convergence of the social and civic movements and the democratic struggles for citizen re-conquest of States.

In "*The New International Agenda for Human Rights, Social Rights and the Disarray of the Capital Flow*", Jean Ziegler, from the Swiss Socialist Party, who worked all over the world with the victims of neo liberalism, concluded showing that it is possible to have change mentioning Pablo Neruda "*our enemies can cut all the flowers, but they will never stop the spring*". The jurist Hélio Bicudo showed the relationship between neo-liberalism and the growing violation of human rights and how the international instruments for people rights can avoid this.

In "*Socialism, struggles in the field and urban conflict*", João Pedro Stédile, from the *Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra- MST* (Movement of Rural Workers without Land), said that the struggle for agrarian reform and for another society in Brazil comes about through change in the economical model which is subordinate to the multinationals. Political scientist Luís Werneck Vianna, professor at the Academic Institute for Research of Rio de Janeiro (Iuperj), concluded his analysis of the Brazilian political model showing that there is no celestial decree which impedes unity between people and democracy, between social democracy and politics.
This is the place of the parties. There is not way out without parties.

In "*Socialism, social struggles and political process in Latin America*" the Argentinean political scientist Atílio Borón concluded his analysis by saying that many times revolutionary transformations were fruit of the ripening of a group of radical initiatives taken over time and which at a certain moment condensed in revolution. Also Antônio Carlos Peixoto, professor at the University of Rio de Janeiro, after analysis of the social struggles in Latin America, reached the conclusion that, on the day in which human dignity is established in Latin America, the door for socialism will be open. For Roberto Regalato, from the Cuban Communist Party, the great international corporations which dominate the world were able to empty the content of democracy. Who decides is not the President of the Republic, but the IMF, the government of the USA or the European Union.

In "*Socialism and Democracy*", the jurist Evandro Lins e Silva synthesized the present moment as the time of the market, it is everything, tarnishing the conscience of the world. For professor José Luís Quadros from the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG), we live in a neo-authoritarianism in which unconstitutional temporary measures are confirmed by an oligarchic Congress and are not examined by the Judiciary. Jacob Gorender, from the Workers Party, while analyzing the relationship between socialism and democracy concluded that they are fecundate and potentiate each other mutually, constituting

guidelines for the conquest and construction of a dynamic, prosperous and balanced society and as fair as the limits of the perfectibility of the human species allows.

In "*The paths for Socialism in Brazil*", Tarso Genro, from the PT, believes that to build socialism in Brazil it is necessary to have international relationships which allow for standing up to the North American empire, national development policy with social inclusion and construction of new republican institutions. The vice-president of the PSB, Roberto Amaral, after an analysis of the Marxist theory of socialism, verifies that there is no immediate socialist revolution, but that the historical task is to create conditions for transition on the path to socialism.

In September 2001 the PSB begins its magazine *Argumento*, which contains the proposal for the installation of a free and sovereign Constituent to reorganize the country. He brings articles, book and article reviews, and documents with in-depth analysis of the questions of present day Brazilian and international scenario.

The VIII National Congress of the PSB will be on November 30, 1st and 2 of December, 2001, in Brasília, (National Sovereignty and Latin-American Integration)

At the Opening ceremony Celso Furtado and Simon Bolívar are honored. The debate was concerning the elections of 2002, and the approved thesis defines:

1 – party candidacy for the Presidency of the Republic;

2 – eleven Party candidates for state government;

3 – campaign priority: federal deputies to overcome barrier clause, which will provide to Party with more time for political propaganda on TV and radio, and greater participation in party fund.

One day before the VIII Congresso, the II Congresso for Women, V JSB Congresso and the III National Syndical Congress take place.

At the end were chosen, for the period 2001/2003, the National Directory and CNE were thus composed:

President of Honor: Jamil Haddad
President: Miguel Arraes
First Vice-President: Ronaldo Lessa
Second Vice-President: Roberto Amaral
Third Vice-President: Luiz Roberto de Albuquerque
General Secretary: Renato Casagrande
First Secretary: Carlos Siqueira
Second Secretary: José Antônio de Almeida
First Secretary for Finances: Alexandre Cardoso
Second Secretary for Finances: Severino de Araújo
Special Secretaries: Luiza Erundina, João Capiberibe, Anthony Garotinho, Márcio França, Wilma de Faria, Jefferson Arruda, Sérgio Gaudenzi, Antônio Carlos Valadares and Eduardo Campos.
National secretary for Women: Mari Machado
National secretary for Youth: Silvânio of Santos
Syndical National Secretary: Joilson Cardoso
Leader in Camera of Deputies: Eduardo Campos
Leader in Federal Senate: Ademir Andrade

The year of 2002 will be the year of great advances for the PSB. It will have its own candidate for the Presidency of the Republic.

The Government Program "*Garotinho – o Brasil que queremos*" (Garotinho – the Brazil we want), coordinated by Roberto Amaral, is published in September. Based on debates and previous Party projects and, if compared to the PT's government program, that of the PSB is more to the left. The candidacy was supported by the coalition *Frente Brasil Esperança*, formed by the PSB, Christian Labor Party (PTC) and General Workers Party (PGT).

Garotinho makes a commitment with the people: breaking away from the actual model that privileges interests and speculative capital, persecutes wages, favors international capital, concentrates income and wealth; he proposes growth with generation of wealth and distribution of income, respect to the work and wage, and employment generation.

The Program is structured on five commitments:

- with operative sovereignty-autonomy;
- with citizen solidarity-nation

• with a coherent development-project;

• with sustainability; and

• with an enlarged democracy.

Miguel Arraes, president of the PSB, affirms in the presentation of the program that, in spite of the PSB constantly searching for unity, this time it was not possible, because the PT had changed its script, making the national question secondary, just going back to administer the chaos produced by FHC; what the PSB has is a proposal, a candidate and commitment, and proposes unity in the second round.

Roberto Amaral, coordinator of the Program Commission, declares that: "This unjust Brazil can be changed. To change it is the project of the PSB government".

The themes are ample and articulate with five commitments:

1 – Emergency policies: housing, food, work and peace.

2 – Macro-economic policies: tributary reform, interest policies, fiscal policies, monetary policies and inflation goals, exchange policies, credit, social security reforms, fomentation of production and exports.

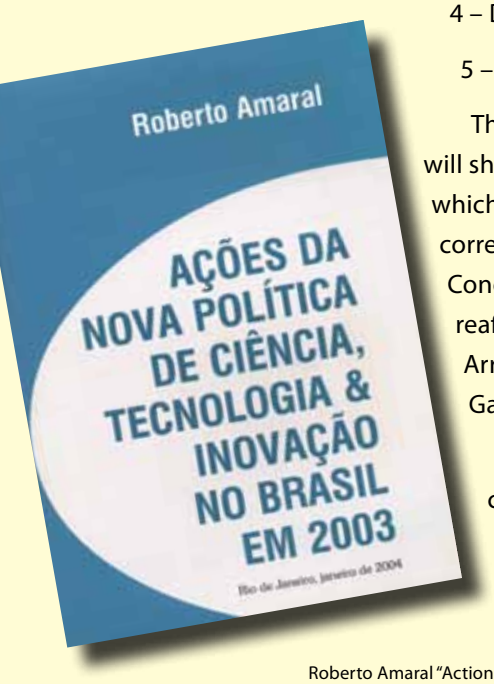
3 – Regional policies: Amazonia and the Northeast.

4 – Democratic state.

5 – Sector policies.

The electoral results will show how the strategy which was set up was correct for the PSB in the Congress of 2001, and reaffirmed by Miguel Arraes in Governo Garotinho's program.

The presidential candidacy obtained good voting results. With 15.180.097 votes, 17.86% of the valid votes, Garotinho was in third place. In the second round, the PSB supported Lula and a historical victory was obtained for a center-left front. For the Senate, the PSB elected 3 candidates: Geraldo Mesquita (AC), João Capiberibe (AP) and Antônio Valadares (SE). It elected 59 state deputies (12 more than in 1998). Most of them being from Rio de Janeiro, 12 in all, and then Pernambuco and São Paulo with 5 parliamentarians each. The party elected 4 governors, being those from Alagoas (Ronaldo Lessa), Espírito Santo (Paulo Hartung), Rio de Janeiro (Rosinha Garotinho) and Rio Grande do Norte (Wilma de Faria). In the election, which was decisive so as to overcome the barrier clause, the result was positive, going from 18 to 22 federal deputies. The Rio de Janeiro platform was the largest with 6 parliamentarians, followed by São Paulo with 5 and Pernambuco with 4.



Roberto Amaral "Action in the New Policy for Science, Technology and Innovation in Brasil in 2003"

Alliance with Independence (2003-2007)

The year of 2003 will bring for enormous responsibilities for the PSB. President Lula invites Roberto Amaral to the Ministry for Science and Technology. In the globalization process in course, the greater capital is located in knowledge and its technological application. In a year of Ministry, as Amaral relates in the publication *Ações da nova Política de Ciência e Tecnologia & Inovação no Brasil em 2003,* (Actions of the new Policies for Science and Technology & Innovation in Brazil in 2003), there was the search for the possible change. The difficulties were in entrenched structures in the State, in the conservative culture of the status quo, in the collapse of public administration led by the neoliberal policies. As Amaral comments besides the historical appropriation of the State by the elite classes, a mesh of rings of private interests is also at work.

The new politics had as its central thesis the decentralization of resources and scientific and technological research, which began to also contemplate the North, Northeast and Center-



Deputies Renato Casagrande and Miguel Arraes, first secretary Carlos Siqueira, vice president of the party Roberto Amaral and dep. Beto Albuquerque during the opening ceremony of the IX Congress, in Brasilia in 2003.

west areas and the joining together of scientists, researchers and teachers.

On March 10, 2003, the National Directory meeting made an evaluation of the electoral campaign and of the Party. The magazine *Argumento*, n. 8, of May/June, published the resolution which had been approved unanimously and the pronouncement from the Governor of Alagoas, Ronaldo Lessa.

The text from the Directory analyzes the positive points: the Party overcame the "barrier clause", it elected four governors, it increased the number of parliamentarians and it published its program. There were, however, divisive manifestations, mistakes and deficiencies in the campaign.

To consolidate the PSB as a political force that struggles for socialism, in an international and internal framework of great changes, the Directory makes a proposal with two fronts:

a) Enlarge the study and help in making the objectives of Party known to all:

- consolidate the *Argumento* magazine;
- expand relations with academic sectors and with the intellectual middle to help to understand the national and international situation, under different plans;
- systematize the formation of the PSB framework.

b) Administrative Structures:

- organize the physical structure of the Party in the states and municipal districts with equipment complementation;
- reduce personnel shortage with those of political trust and partly through outsourcing some tasks;
- restructuring and re-registration.

In Ronaldo Lessa's pronouncement the question of the Party's support for the Lula government without losing the capacity of propositional criticism is accentuated. It points to the question of regional development as a form of minimizing inequalities. However, the government placed in the Council for Development 68% of the members from the Southeast. He suggests larger internal debate to present propositions to the government. Reformulation should not be bureaucratic and formal. We need to make the Party agile, modern and propositional as to important national questions.

Between the 8 and 20 of April, 2003, the PSB, with support from the FJM, gathered the Socialist congressional block for discussion on the structural reforms proposed by the Government of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva. In a collection of six volumes, all the discussions were published.

On Political Reform, theme coordinated by Deputy Luiza Erundina, Carlos Siqueira made a broad analysis of the problems and proposals for change, placing as central the following points:

- the proportionality of representation in the Camera of Deputies needs to be changed, as the voter from Acre is worth 21 voters from São Paulo;
- the campaign financing should be public, but needs to be improved with rigorous penalties for the use of private resources and with more democratic distribution of the resources, not just including the representation in the Camera, but also in the Senate and the number of governors;
- if the reform be approved as is expected, this will create an oligopoly of parties and will exclude renewal;



X National Congress Assembly carried out on 21st August, at the House of Deputies, Brasilia/DF

- the person who has to limit the number of parties is the voter.

The political scientist, David Fleischer, agrees that representation in the Camera is more and more unequal, mainly for the maxim congressional block, but he believes that it will be difficult to bring about changes. He says that:

- party fidelity could come about if instead of the mandate being understood as individual it was understood as that of the party. The candidate who is expelled or changes party would lose his mandate;
- closing the list also strengthens the parties and reduced costs.

Ricardo Caldas presented as a proposal for electoral reform for the Camera of Deputies the adoption of the mixed proportional German system, with national elections and not by states.

There was ample debate.

In August of 2003, Garotinho, wanting to run for office again for Presidency in 2006, creates a conflict with the Party that participated of the support base of the Lula government. In the reregistering process, this was not accepted by the PSB. It was a courageous attitude of the Party in the face of a candidate with 15 million votes.

In December of 2003, IX National PSB Congress took place, in Brasília. It was preceded by the:

- IV National Syndical Congress of the PSB
- III National Congress for Women
- VII National Congress of the JSB
- I Encounter of Social Movements and Popular Socialists
- I Encounter of Negritude Socialists

During the Solemn Opening, at night, were honored jurist Evandro Lins e Silva, one of the founders of the PSB, in 1947, and the rebuilders in 1985, who were remembered by Roberto Amaral, as well as painter Cândido Portinari and the socialist president of Chile, Salvador Allende.

Ronaldo Lessa, Governor of Alagoas, spoke on behalf of the other governors showing the unique moment experienced by the PSB, which in former times to make a TV program had to raffle a car, and now with 18 years of rebuilding has defeated the "barrier clause" and is in the base of the federal government's alliance. The party has the opportunity to change the country. "We want a stronger PSB, with courage to discuss divergences", he says.

Antônio Carlos Valadares, leader of the PSB in the Senate, pays homage to the delegates who had come from all parts of Brazil: "We should search for a democracy where the struggle is not an aggression of people, but an instrument to change Brazil".

Eduardo Campos, leader of the PSB in the Camera, renders account of the work done by the



Opening table for the X Congress, made up by all the members of the National Executive. All the party delegates, under strong emotion paid homage to Arraes who had just away seven days before

The X PSB Congress calls attention as to the commitment of the country to the payment of the public debt at such levels which affect investments in structured social programs and the Brasilian infrastructure

congressional block. The support for Lula Government has the sense of facing FHC'S Government's perverse inheritance. Deputy Luiza Erundina coordinated the debates of the block on the reforms. On the Reform of Social Security, the block did not accept the package that came from the government. It defended a complementary social security which was public and not private. In Tax Reform, the party presented amendments from the block: taxation on financial speculation with the Tobin Tax, fairer rules in income tax, exonerating production and payroll.
The block did not increase on the party swapping plank, but, yes, with the indication of state and national Party leaders.

Miguel Arraes, National President of the PSB, pointed to the difficulties of the present world, from the invasion of Iraq without the approval of the UN to Brazil which tries to administer the difficult situation left by FHC. The PSB is at a new phase, needing to be inserted in the population, in the hearth of society, accompanying what there is already, informing and giving the possible observations so that we can look for solutions which are based on the concrete knowledge of the realities of each place.

The following is a synthesis of the proposals from the thematic groups:

Thematic group 1. Strategic policies for the country:

- carry out an audit of the debt, without a fanfare;
- make possible an arch of national alliance beyond the left;
- socialize data on public debt;
- create the International Association of Sovereign Debtors.

Thematic Group 2. Transforming the PSB into a popular party:

- restructure it so that the base nuclei really work;
- carry out seminars on political formation through FJM;
- carry out specific courses for militants from the popular movement, regionalized, by FJM;
- carry out the National Congress of Popular Socialist Movements;
- stimulate candidates to form and participate in the base nuclei;
- edit printed bulletin focused on the popular movements;
- reinforce communication between the bases and party representation;
- create a database on the bases.

Group 3. Evaluation of the participation of the PSB in the federal government

From 1989 to 2002, Party denounced the dismantling of public institutions, the impoverishment

of the country and the outsourcing of the political power of the State with the Agencies (neo-liberalism). Lula assumed in dramatic situation. There was progress, conquering international credibility.

The house was being tidied up. The PSB participated in a timid manner in the government, because the PT occupied ample space.
The PSB does not participate in the hard core nucleus, but just in the MCT, presidencies of Chesf, CNPq and Finep. In the MCT, there was decentralization of research budgets, programs for social inclusion, stakes in the space project and change in the agreement with the USA in the Alcântara base, significant investments in the North, Northeast and Center-west, Mercosul-Latin America platform. The MCT administration was eulogized by the group and received unanimous applause at the plenary session.

The socialists are defined as being against any privatization of the essential and bank sectors and they propose internal seminars for knowledge of the government's actions to show them to the people.

Group 4. Regional Question:

Brazil has been accentuating regional disparities. For each area proposals were made in the sense of sustainable development with distribution of income.

Group 5. Political Reform:

There was not consent on points debated. Seminar proposed on the theme.

Group 6. Labor Reform:

Proposed Seminar to give basis to bill to be presented by Party. .

Group 7. Strategies of the PSB for municipal elections of 2004:

- own candidacy in the greater number of cities;
- seminars, through the FJM, on municipal public policies;
- national commission to organize support for the candidacies;
- campaign committees to collectivize campaigns and mandates.

Group 8. Technological revolution and the capitalism crisis:

Greater publicity of policies adopted by the MCT was proposed

At the end of the IX National Congress, there were elections for the period 2003-2005 of the National Directory and National Executive Commission, which were composed as follows:

President: Miguel Arraes
President of Honor: Jamil Haddad
First Vice-President: Roberto Amaral
Second Vice-President: Luiz Roberto de Albuquerque
Third Vice-President: João Capiberibe
General Secretary: Renato Casagrande
First Secretary: Carlos Siqueira
Second Secretary: Wilma de Faria
First Secretary for Finances: Alexandre Cardoso
Second Secretary for Finances: Severino of Araújo
Special Secretaries: Luiza Erundina, Eduardo Campos, Márcio França, Willian Dib, Jaime Cardoso, Milton da Silva Neto, Sérgio Gaudenzi, Rodrigo Rollemberg and Sérgio Novaes.
National Secretary for Women: Mari Machado
National Secretary for Youth: Josué Freitas
National Syndical Secretary: Joilson Cardoso
Leader in the Camera of Deputies: Renato Casagrande
Leader in the Federal Senate: Antônio Carlos Valadares

In 2004, the party assumed the Ministry for Science and Technology in the person of Federal Deputy Eduardo Campos to give continuity to Roberto Amaral's work.

In November of 2004 were the municipal elections and the results raised to 176 the number of PSB, mayors elected, which in 2000 were 133.
The PSB elected the mayors of three capitals: João Pessoa, Natal and Manaus.

In March of 2005, Miguel Arraes published a paper: "*The Current Stage of the Democratic Struggle*", in which he does an in-depth analysis of the history of

Brazil in recent times, the struggle for Petrobrás until that moment. It shows that if the project for autonomous development had wide popular support, it was always challenged by the internal conservative forces and great international capital. After 1964 the conservative sections were victorious, establishing a "modern colonialism" which even with the fall of the military regime held on to the neoliberal strategy of the "Minimum State". He takes stock of the damages and points out that only with the wide articulation of the forces interested in the "integration of the territory and the population" will it be possible to correct the deviation. The longer this action is delayed the greater will be the social exclusion and the risk of a confrontation.

Doctor Arraes's health was seriously affected and went under intense treatment, being substituted in the Presidency of the PSB by the vice-president, Roberto Amaral. But on August 13, 2005, the combatant of the excluded did not resist and passed away. His funeral showed the love of the people from Pernambuco for their former-governor and of the Brazilian people for his leadership in the search of a fairer Brazil.

The X National PSB Congress took place a few days later and was marked by the emotion of this great loss, for PSB and the country.

In Brasília, on August 19, in the morning and in the afternoon, the IV National Congress for Women, VIII National JSB Congress, Congress of the Black Socialist Movement and V National Syndical Congress of the PSB took place.

At night, during the Opening Solemnity of the X National PSB Congress, the national president Roberto Amaral shows that we owe Arraes the most serious reflections on the emergency of what is national and popular: the permanent concern with the emancipation of the country, when bringing to the Party the militancy option for the excluded. The greatest homage – Amaral said – will be for each one present to assume, collectively and individually, the commitment of continuing his work.

Therefore after the solemnity, the Extraordinary National Congress Revision of the Statute was held.

In the afternoon of the 20th, a debate on the reform policy approved the following points:

> Reduction in campaign cost; creation of mechanisms for supporting fidelity; maintenance of the electoral coalitions for 2006; end of the verticalization (piggybacking); contemplation of policy for quotas for women and afro-descents; and the public financing as principles.

On the 21st, he declared the Plenary as closed and in which a video was presented in homage to Arraes, made by son, Guel, and approved a Political Declaration having as the main points:

- only the construction of the social justice will be able to generate true stability;
- as all the people, the PSB suffers with the erosion of the hope and dilapidation of the ethical-political patrimony;
- PSB reaffirms governability;
- search for exactness and evaluation of all and any irregularity or deviation of conduct in the public power;
- PSB defends sovereign economical policies and deep political reforms; and, finally,
- calls for the unity of the left: PSB, PCdoB, PCB, PDT, PPS, PSOL,PT, PSTU, PV.

Elections were held for the period: 2005-2008 for the National Directory and National Executive Commission. The resulting composition was:

President: Eduardo Campos
President of Honor: Jamil Haddad
First Vice-President: Roberto Amaral
Second Vice-President: Luiz Roberto de Albuquerque
Third Vice-President: João Capiberibe
Vice-President for Organization and Mobilization: Alexandre Cardoso
Vice-President for Institutional Relationships: Ciro Gomes

Vice-President for Federative Relations: Wilma de Faria
General Secretary: Renato Casagrande
First Secretary: Carlos Siqueira
Second Secretary: Antônio Carlos Valadares
Secretary for Finances: Márcio França
Second Secretary for Finances: Severino de Araújo
Special Secretaries: Luiza Erundina, Milton Coelho, Jaime Cardoso, Sérgio Gaudenzi, Rodrigo Rollemberg, Sérgio Novaes, Willian Dib, Mari Machado, Luís Abílio, Ademir Andrade and Isaías Silvestre.
National Secretary for the Youth: Josué Freitas
National Secretary for Women: Auxiliadora Pires
National Syndical Secretary: Joilson Cardoso
National Secretary for the Black Movement: Jacy Proença
Leader in the Camera of Deputies: Renato Casagrande
Leader in the Federal Senate: João Capiberibe.

In 2006, Sérgio Resende became the Minister for Science and Technology, giving continuity to the work of Roberto Amaral and Eduardo Campos.

In the elections of 2006, the PSB supported the victorious re-candidature of Lula for the Presidency of the Republic without participating in the formal alliance, given the legal demand for verticalization of the alliances. In the first and second round the party was represented by Roberto Amaral in the campaign committee. Three governors were elected: Eduardo Campos (PE), Wilma de Faria (reelected -RN) and Cid Gomes (CE).

In 2007, the PSB block in the Senate is composed of: Antônio Carlos Valadares (SE), Patrícia Sabóia Gomes (CE) and Renato Casagrande (ES).

In the Camera of Deputies, the party has a block of 29 parliamentarians. They formed the left block support group to the federal government and having 78 deputies, under deputy Márcio France's leadership, São Paulo. This block was made up of PDT, PCdoB, PRB, PMN and PHS.

In the municipal districts, the PSB has 176 mayors and 1.879 aldermen. In January of 2007, the João Mangabeira Foundation carries out a Seminar on Strategic Planning of the Organized Segments of the PSB. Each one of them has their National Congress one day before the National Congress of the PSB. They contribute towards the organization of movements relating to civil society and integration of Party and its representatives in the Executive and Legislative with the social movements.

The Brazilian Socialist Youth (JSB) had its first Congress in 1993. It has as its goal the understanding and politicization of the youth around socialism.

The Socialist Syndical Movement, with its first Congress in 1997, proposes a syndicalism which is free, democratic, classist, autonomous and of combat, committed to socialism.

The Woman's Clerkship had its first Congress in 1999. To achieve a socialist society it is necessary to look for equality in gender.

The Black Movement of the PSB was created in 2003. It struggles for a democratic socialism, with justice and equality, and unity in diversity.

As you can see, we have taken a trip over the 60 years of the PSB and we can say with safety that the Party which began as a seed has produced good fruit. In the following chapters we will examine the PSB in the city halls, in state governments, in the federal government, in the National Congress and in civil society so that we can evaluate its contributions towards an improvement in life conditions of Brazilian men and women.

Sources:
AMARAL, Roberto. *Informes da Secretaria Geral do PSB*, 1992.
Civilização e Barbárie, 1999.
Socialismo e Globalização, 2001.
Contribuição para um programa de governo dos socialistas, 2001.
ARRAES, Miguel. *A questão nacional e a crise*, 1993.
O PSB, as oposições e a questão nacional, 1999.
A etapa atual da luta democrática e popular, 2005.
HADDAD, Jamil. *A presença do povo no Parlamento*, 1994.
A Política do PSB, n. 6, n. 7, n. 8, 1991. PSB
PSB. *Anais dos Congressos Nacionais do PSB*, 1995, 1997, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2005.
PSB. *Eleições Socialistas*. Brasília: Fundação João Mangabeira, 2005.
PSB. *Coleção Jornal Brasil Socialista*, 1991, 1992,1993.
PSB. *Coleção Revista Argumento*, 2001, 2002,2003.
SATURNINO BRAGA, Roberto. *Coleção da Revista Vertente Socialista* , 1999, 2000, 2001.





Chapter IV
The PSB and the city

If it is in the city, *Polis* in the Greek language, where we find the origin of politics and democracy, it is also there where commerce and capitalism are born. However, the city can be the stage of a new political, socialist and democratic culture. In which ways over its 60 years has the PSB contributed to the construction of democratic coexistence, of solidarity and of the improvement of life conditions in our cities?

In 1947, Febus Gikovate, shows in the *Folha Socialista* that:

> It is in the municipal sphere that our action can be felt in a more concrete way. In discussing the more urgent needs of the working population it is easy to show the value of the solutions that we propose. The socialist-democratic solution is opposed to the idea of State socialism, of excessive centralization and bureaucratization. Socialization will really only be a reality if it is executed and controlled directly by the population to whom it matters. In this manner the municipal district takes on a greater importance and its economical and political autonomy becomes primordial. It is in the municipal environment that the democratic socialist experience should begin.

PSB tried to carry out, with good results as we will see, the project presented by Gikovate in 1947. In the initial period, 1947/1965, they had praise worthy mandates in mayors like João Luiz de Oliveira, in Anápolis/GO, by way of the moralizing action he took that saved thousands of Cruzeiros for city hall, or Pelópidas da Silveira, in Recife/PE, for his works in giving priority to the poorer people and for his intense popular participation in barrio associations and public audiences. There were brilliant aldermen such as Cid Franco, of São Paulo, with inspection projects for the Executive, struggles for municipal autonomy and honesty as to the public budget. But there were only a few socialists in municipal administrations.

Since the reconstruction in 1985 until today, the Party has elected many mayors and aldermen.

Candidate preparation begins before the electoral campaigns. Here the candidate learns about the obligations of the mandate and electoral legislation. The programs were reasons of party debate.

The João Mangabeira Foundation published versions of the *Cartilha do Vereador Socialista*, (handbook) which presents the three powers and the municipal competences.

To the mayors it indicates that:

> (...) they should dialogue with the community and social organizations, as well as local leadership, looking for their support and when necessary consulting them and listening to them to know their aspirations and needs, and integrate them in the municipal decision taking process, so as to govern with the community.

To the alderman, it shows the taske to be done:

> (...) to present bills and discussions relating to same and voting on matters of municipal interest in tune with popular desire. To decide about the municipal budget, municipal taxes and the Master Plan and the organization of public services in their city and to inspect the actions of the Executive. Having better proximity with the community makes him an important spokesperson for those he represents when speaking to

> senators, federal and state deputies and other authorities. Besides he is an important political articulator in popular movements and in the defense of the community's interests.

The handbook also has on the spot information about the municipal budget, electoral legislation, socialism. It ends by showing how an alderman can contribute to the construction of socialism:

> (...) Increase the spaces for popular participation, defending inspection and transparency of government actions, creating councils which guarantee the participation of the society in decision making.

In 1999, the João Mangabeira Foundation promoted the seminar for Municipal Public Policies. Edmundo Carvalho, general director of the sector in São Paulo, presented basic points for a common framework of municipal government. The government has to be active; it is not enough to have good ideas, planning and the community participating.

Upon examination the TSE data the progress of the PSB in the municipal electoral performance is notable.

ELECTED BY PSB		
Year	**Aldermen**	**Mayors**
1988	473	37
1992	458	59
1996	1.316	150
2000	1.722	133
2004	1.834	176

It is important to win elections and to occupy the spaces of power to change society. But numeric growth is accompanied with a socialist way of administering, improving peoples' lives. As we live in a capitalist society, the socialist municipal administrations will not be able to change the economical system. They can, however, go for new values: public interest always prevailing above private interests, solidarity, cooperativism, citizens' participation in decisions. It is possible to create conditions which day by day approach real equality, with jobs and worthy income, transport, health and public education of quality, fraternal coexistence instead of violence. With this, all will feel respected and develop the critical spirit. Deep down it is the path and education to a new society, preparing future possibilities.

Many aldermen made of their mandate the instrument of a popular struggle as did Manoel Cardoso de Almeida, from Pará, murdered because of his defense of the rural workers in 1989. Another like Vanderlan Carvalho de Vasconcelos, in Esteio, in Rio Grande do Sul, gave examples of socialist ethics. He did not accept illegal increase in pay determined by City hall in 1991 and went to Justice so that the municipal district was reimbursed. He won his case and the aldermen had to return the illegal wages. His mandate was revoked by his colleagues with the allegation of offending parliamentary decency! Happily, the District judge returned the mandate to him.

We have examined reports of several socialist city halls, annals of Congress and seminars of the PSB and we will expose some interesting experiences. We will see a socialist form of governing being built in a collective work of reflection and action of mayors, aldermen and PSB militants all working together, along with debates, information and consultancy from the party bodies in Congress and seminars:

Popular Participation

Several instruments were created or valued so that mayors and aldermen could be representatives of a participant people in the administration.

The municipal councils for Health, Education, Transports and many others, should be areas for definition and inspection of fundamental questions of

the community's life by their representatives. In most Brazilian cities, the councils end up being dominated by private interests and those of the mayors themselves. In socialist city halls the opposite happens.

Ruy Corrêa, mayor of Santarém, in Pará, when assuming the administration in 1993, reactivated the Council for Health and Culture and created the Council for Transport and Agricultural Politics and Land, with enormous social participation.

In the V National PSB Congress in November of 1995, one of the thematic groups was "Evaluation of the PSB participation in state governments and city halls of capital cities". Conceição Andrade, mayoress of São Luís do Maranhão, showed how the decisions of the Municipal Council for Health referring to several programs implemented in the area with the semi-complete municipalization, were respected. Investments had a hierarchy, going firstly to the public sector and only later to the philanthropic and private sector.

In the seminar for mayors and vice-mayors, in February of 2001, the mayoress of Pimenta Bueno, in Rondônia, Inês Zanol, showed that besides the election of the representatives to the Municipal Council for Health, Education, Social welfare, Children's and Adolescent's rights and Rural Development, each one of them defined a series of programs to be accomplished.

The support to democratic and active municipal councils will be common in the countless depositions coming from PSB mayors. Another valued form of popular participation is the participatory budget.

In the seminar "Socialist Administration: government of all, priority for the excluded", also for mayors and vices, in 1997, Bernardo de Souza, who was state deputy for Rio Grande do Sul, spoke on the first participatory budget carried out in Brazil, when he was mayor of Pelotas (1983/87). He pointed out the importance of free and periodic elections accompanied by the direct participation of the people in public administrations, so much in the definition of the politics as in the inspection of their execution. Without this:

> (...) the people come to the elections and then disappear. Participative democracy is the voter's calling so that in the course of the action he is permanently glued to, integrated with and close to the government. That does not mean that the representative gives up the authority bestowed on him by the ballot boxes. It is a qualification of the mandate.

There is a government program and the people who chose this program are called to share in the decisions. In Pelotas, with 200 thousand inhabitants, 54 debate and decision zones were set up.

It is important that the areas are smaller so that, with a smaller number of people, all participate fully. When summoned to the assemblies, the mayor and secretaries attend. After an initial explanation about the municipal budget, those present are divided in groups, facilitating participation, and priority lists are elaborated. Once more in group, the residents of that place organize the defined priorities in order of importance for the groups and choose representatives for subsequent meeting with the representatives of the other zones, to organize a general framework for the city. This experience was positive not just to the point of view of improvement in administration, treating the most important problems for the population, but also because of political progress among active citizens. Some even became aldermen.

In the same seminar, João Ananias, mayor of Santana do Acaraú, in Ceará, (later, elected as state deputy) a city with 25 thousand inhabitants, in one of the poorest areas of Brazil, showed how the participative budget was made, with a lot of simplicity:

> On the last Saturday of every month, the Community Council or "*conselhão*" met, with the presence of representatives from the ten zones of the municipal district. The mayor and his secretaries were also present. They discussed the problems and solutions for



Mayor Gilson Menezes, first secretary Carlos Siqueira, gov. Arraes, sen. Ademir Andrade, Renato Casagrande and Vitorio Sorotiuk

the city, with a collective definition as to the application of public resources. The people began to understand the municipal budget and to participate in local political life. And what is more, there was a cascade effect on neighboring cities that started to organize new participative forms of government.

In Maceió (AL), as soon as he assumed the city hall in 1993, Ronaldo Lessa divided the city into 10 regional zones. In each, the population defined its priorities and exercised its citizenship.

In October of 1999, Márcio França, mayor of São Vicente (SP), presented in the Municipal Public Policies seminar, organized by the João Mangabeira Foundation, a different from of participative budget. He presented in each neighborhood the net part of tributes paid and the residents defined how this portion should be used in their own neighborhood. This practice stimulated the payment of taxes, because the residents saw the results.

Other forms of popular participation were also mentioned by the mayors as, for instance, the mayor's and municipal secretaries' constant visits to barrios, or days of the week in that the citizens were received at city hall to present criticism and/or demands.

Wander Borges, mayor of Sabará (MG), an early riser, received the residents even at the door of his house, very early. The main thing in his government was to hear and to talk with the citizens.

Works of collective effort by city hall with residents were frequent.

The transparency in the application of the budget can happen through the internet or in a simpler way as on panels in city halls or in meetings with the community.

Mayor Paulo Gratacós, in Petrópolis (RJ) made pavements, stairways, bridges, sewerage and rain water networks, carried out in collective effort by the residents at the weekends, with material and accompaniment from city hall. In the current

Dep. Alexandre Cardoso, gov. Garotinho, gov. Arraes, secretary Carlos Siqueira, gov. Ronaldo Lessa and Jamil Haddad, president of Honor of the Party.
National Meeting Mayers and Vice Mayers Participative Democracy and Eocialism. A project for the XXI Century





Mayor Wilma de Faria, secretary Carlos Siqueira, mayor Saudade Braga, mayor Rubens Bontempo, and mayor Vander Borges
"FOR THE STRENGTHENING OF LOCAL POWER"

administration 2004/2008, with Rubens Bontempo, dialogue with the residents was constant. In the community of the Castelo São Manoel, for instance, the residents' claims took on the project for the construction of a health center with attendance capacity for 7.000 people to reduce the pressure on the hospital. Besides, other programs are implanted such as the Program for Family Health, the Program Full Basket, the Happy Family.

In the seminar *The Socialist Model of Governing*, in 2001, Inês Zanol, mayoress of Pimenta Bueno (RO), showed the program Clean Neighborhood, Pleasant City. The city hall sets up camp in the barrio with the machines of the Clerkship of Works, the community agent and the Health and Education teams and calls the community so that together they can do the cleaning. It is an exercise in education, combats malaria, dengue (break bone fever) etc.

In the newspaper *Brasil Socialista Especial*, of the V National PSB Congress, in 1995, the senator for Pará, Ademir Andrade, declares that the PSB should, more and more, give emphasis to the democratization of the State, as the central question. For him it is necessary to create ways and means for the State to fell the interference of society. In the same publication, Carlão, Chico Mendes and William, the leaders of the PSB in Alerj, point out the concern of avoiding populist cooption and comment:

> In that which concerns Popular Administration/Management or Democratic Administration, reason of our concerns, we have to guarantee the process of understanding and participation, meaning an improvement in the life quality of the population.

In João Pessoa, Paraíba, Mayor Ricardo Coutinho, elected for the PSB in 2004, annually promotes the Conference of the City in which actions for development are discussed the with popular participation. His administration combines participation with integrity and competence which for example in Operation Respect created effective administration goals to rationalize the use of the water, energy, telephone and fuel. In one year it saved R$ 2.4 million. With this type of political action the citizens gain, because the city hall has greater possibility to improve their lives, and nature also wins out with environmental preservation.

The various reports which were studied point out that popular participation in administration is the central principle of the PSB and that, with political will, citizens of all social classes participate. Important care to be considered for a greater participation is: adequate propaganda of the meetings, use of simple language in the explanations of the budgets or public policies, a good division of the city, allowing for a

smaller number of people in each meeting so that participation be integral and with quality.

The Executive Relationship/ Legislative/Citizens

Several problems interfere in the relationships between those in power and the citizens, as was observed in several depositions. A good part of the City Halls are elected predominantly by the party machine and end up creating a political culture in which the alderman answers small demands or appears through banners in the barrios as the person responsible for the works. The mayors, many times, are subordinate to physiologic and corrupt aldermen.

Since the beginning of the PSB there were clear positions on the role of the alderman. Of the text from Gikovate, *The Tasks of the Aldermen*, we can mention these recommendations:

> It befalls to the aldermen, elected by the PSB legend, to show that carrying out that which is proposed in the party program is the only way to solve the economical and political crisis in which the country struggles.



> (...) The state and federal governments' powers should be limited and their undue intervention in the municipal district eliminated. City halls, chosen by the secret vote, will gradually become purely political bodies in the administrative organs caring for the collective interests of the municipality. (...)In the administrative section we should struggle for the rational organization of municipal public services and for limitation of expenses with functionalism. Our aldermen should know the administrative machine in its smallest details, not only to openly denounce irregularities and mistakes, but also to propose the necessary reforms. (...) The legislation leaves wide margin for partial and gradual socialist solutions in the municipal ambit and the PSB aldermen should use it in carrying out their job. (...) We should openly denounce the exploiters of the people, the black market manipulators and the defrauders of the labor laws and the direct and indirect connivance of the public powers in the City hall tribune (...)

> The numerous tasks that befall the elected aldermen can not be reduced to the individual effort of same. The aldermen are Party delegates and they should interpret the thought of the party. They should, therefore, count on the permanent call of the party organisms. (...) The aldermen should also maintain permanent contact with the voters and population of the municipal district, directly or through party organizations.

In the seminar for Municipal Public Policies, in 1999, Pedro Dallari, when giving a description of Luiza Erundina as alderman, mayoress and federal deputy, pointed out that she always acted in a tripod manner: social movements, party and institutional action.

The PSB mayors had different relationships with the City halls. In the case of Márcio França, in São Vicente (SP), there was an agreement with the Camera







so as to govern together, substituting the previous form which was of constant bickering. Márcio worked from the idea that to disagree would be natural and to discuss even more. What one could not permit was to allow that the debates became the reason for administrative shut down. In eight years, no project of the mayor was rejected, no veto was overthrown.

However, Ives Ribeiro, mayor of Igarassu (PE) had a different performance. There was no ambulance in the city. He summoned the population to press the House to use the "*verba de paletó*" (money to buy a suit) budget in the purchase of six ambulances. After a lot of struggle the objective was reached.

Also in Diadem (SP), in Gilson Menezes's administration the participation of the population was very great; sometimes facing the *fisiologism* (pork-political corruption) of City hall, at other times the greed of transport companies.

As can be seen, the forms of relationship with city hall, house and community can vary. The important thing is to together look for the improvement in life conditions for the population in the political direction of social justice.

The socialist actions enlarge the public services and recover them when they are dismantled by previous administrations.

Sustainable Development

This concept is understood in a simple way as integrated economical, social, political and cultural development, respecting the environment. In other words, the socialist principles of social equality with the principles for the preservation of nature go hand in hand. Capitalism, with consumerism, pollution and wide social inequality is the opposite of sustainable development. The PSB has been discussing the theme and been looking for its application in the administrations.

In the seminar on Municipal Public Policies, in 1999, Fernando Madueño, vice-president of the PSB for Pirenópolis (GO), made important observations and proposals for facing a great environmental crisis. If those who had the power thought they could go on delaying the solutions, the situation would arrive at the point where there would be no return. In the light of this he presents the proposal of beginning, in each city, the *Municipal Agenda 21*. It is socialist in seeing the advantages and disadvantages of enterprises with the concern of community's well-being. The methodology is all based on in the participative discussion. What is sustainability? It is to guarantee the survival of the current and future generations through an economical model which satisfies the current needs, without committing natural capital, guaranteeing a healthy planet and with the preservation of its ecosystems.

The *Agenda 21* was elaborated in Rio-92 and signed by 170 countries, including Brazil. It is divided into four sections: Social and Economical Aspects, Conservation and Administration of Natural Resources, Strengthening of Social Groups and Means of Implementation. With this referential, the Environment Ministry, by means of wide discussions, elaborated the *Agenda 21 Brazil*. It is up to us now to look for its state and municipal implementation. Alongside the *Agenda 21* comes the *Master Plan* for the municipal district which should be elaborated through participative action and in synthesis with the *Municipal Agenda 21*.

We will find examples of environmental preservation in PSB city halls.

Mayor Paulo Baltazar, of Volta Redonda (RJ), exacted in Justice the repair of the environmental damages caused by the CSN (National Metallurgical







Company) in its half century of operation in the city.

Mayoress Inês Zanol, of Pimenta Bueno (RO), coordinated a project of 16 municipal districts in the area in which her municipal district is located – a fish farming center, which preserves the rivers and generates employment and income.

Ives Ribeiro, Igarassu (PE), developed in partnership with the fishing pastoral the recovery of 8 kilometers of river.

In the city hall of Petrópolis (RJ), under the administration of Rubens Bontempo, the program *Planting for the Future* is recovering the margins of the rivers and leaving parks and streets ever more beautiful and planted with trees. The *Petrópolis Recycles* program is already reducing the volume of PET bottles in the city dump, it creates income for 1.000 Comdep employees (Municipal Company for the Development of Petrópolis), as well as educating the children of the municipal network on the topic of recycling.

Health

This is one of the areas that have a great amount of work in all socialist city halls. Prevention is stimulated with *Family Health*, education, basic sanitation or garbage collection program. In the healing aspect one seeks the decentralization of attendance, quality and support to the citizen in the area of medicines or equipments for the treatment. When the public administration is well planned, articulate and with a public sense, the results are extraordinary.



The fact of the PSB having occupied the Ministry for Health, in the government of Itamar Franco, in the person of Jamil Haddad, with the "daring of carrying out the law", in other words, to render SUS which was foreseen as from the Constitution of 1988 something concrete, resulted in the municipal districts being able to democratize the health system, with defined policies and inspection from the Municipal Council for Health. The *Family Health* and *Milk Program* were implanted along with the direct transfer of the budgets to the municipal districts which organized their Council of Health and showed that the basic demands for a good application of the resources was being met. In the municipal area one can show how eye tests implanted in Maceió helped education, contributing to a fall in school evasion.

The articulation can be international. The family health program has its origin in the Cuban health policy. In the seminar of 1997, the first Secretary of the Cuban Embassy was present. He mentioned the fact that the whole health service in Cuba is free. Its basic orientation is preventive and prophylactic and develops with popular participation and internationalism. In the Brazilian case, the program was adapted to our conditions.

Kátia Born, who was Secretary for health in Maceió (AL) in Ronaldo Lessa's administration and later mayoress, presented examples of articulation among the several instances of government. In her debates she said that in Maceió, when Ronaldo







Lessa took office, it was necessary to recuperate the health centers. As mayoress she could maintain the prevention measures such as vaccines, community agents in the combat of endemic diseases and basic sanitation as well as amplifying the services.

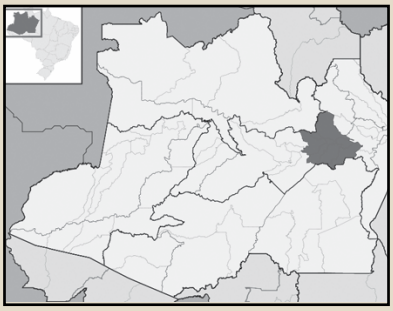
In Petrópolis (RJ), Paulo Gratacós, had inaugurated the Municipal Hospital during his first administration. This was shortly before being removed from office by the military regime in 1969. When he resumed office he recuperated and enlarged the hospital and the attendance network.

Conceição Andrade, in São Luís do Maranhão, as well as the *Family Health* program also set up *Saúde Cidadão(Citizens health)*, with mobile rural attendance and Basic Drugstore. In basic sanitation, which is a state obligation that is very seldom fulfilled, she developed a basic drainage system which was essential for the island.

In Macapá (AP), capital of Amapá, João Capiberibe as well as opening a great space of popular participation began the decentralization of health, created the municipal clinic, made an agreement with Apae (Parents and Friends Association of Disabled Persons), installed the first municipal ultra-sound machine, invested in the area of dentistry with chairs for proper attendance and developed rigorous sanitary surveillance.

In Pimenta Bueno (RO), Inês Zanol's administration was able to overcome a daily problem in Brazilian cities. There are no queues in the health centers, in hospital or laboratories. After preparatory work with the employees and the community it was possible to schedule a visit. In four years she was able to install the Family Health program one hundred percent.

In Igarassu (PE), Yves Ribeiro's administration radically transformed basic sanitation. When he took office the system only assisted 5% of the population and reached 75% being assisted within the *Esgoto Condominial* project, which won an award in Uruguay. The process was carried out with the community. As well as the technical support there was the understanding of the population. In the urban cleaning what was decisive was education using the puppet *Cata Tudo* (pick up everything): the head was a paint can; the body, a cardboard box; arms, of plastic; and legs, of glass. In this way the schools and parents were mobilized. The puppet became a character for the samba school. The recyclable garbage is selected by the population and exchanged for school material. With the help of Lafepe (Pharmaceutical Laboratory of Pernambuco State S/A), the Laboratory of Medicinal Herbs was set up.



In Sabará (MG), the mayor Wander Borges enlarged the sewerage system of the city from 60% to 97%. The solution was found in the reduction of costs. The average price of the companies was of 50 real per lineal meter. Using local workers he was able to lower the price to 30 real per lineal meter. As well as an economy for city hall, there was an increase in employment for the local workers.



In São Vicente (SP), Márcio França being worried about investing in health and not in disease gave emphasis to stimulating the *Family Health* program. He brought to an end to biggest environmental problem of the city: he closed the *lixão* (garbage dump) of Sambaiatuba. This dump affected the litter collectors, the growth of the mangroves and the river estuary. Gases produced there caused constant fires. Families built shacks

along the margins. Now the garbage is transported to a deposit in the great São Paulo. The *lixão* was substituted by an environmental park. Hell became a leisure and environmental education area. The litter collectors set up a cooperative which collects the recyclable garbage. The environmental and public health gains by far compensate the costs of the daily transport for the deposit in Mauá. The Breastfeeding campaign resulted in a fall in infantile malnutrition. Clinical attendance was tripled.



In the city hall of Manaus (AM), under the administration of Serafim Corrêa there is a jump in health starting from 2005. Those who qualified by civil service examination were installed and the health information system was consolidated. More than twenty new modules of family health were built, dental specialty center was set up, and more than two Emergency Care services were built as well as the Animal Control Center, the Municipal Laboratory Center for Clinical Analyses and Diagnosis. As well as all this an ambulance ship and two decks were acquired for the rivers Rio Negro and Rio Amazonas, among many other activities.

In São Bernardo (SP), during the administration of Dr. William Dibb, the first Regional Center for Medical Specialties was created. This can attend 6.000 people a month.

In São Vicente (SP), the first Popular Drugstore of Medicines was inaugurated during Tércio Garcia's administration. He succeeded Márcio França.

In Natal (RN), with mayor Carlos Eduardo Alves, the project *Vision for the Future* gratuitously supplied reading glasses, in partnership with the Ótica Diniz, to 2.008 children of the municipal school network.

Innovative experience also takes place in the administration of Maria da Saudade Braga, in New Friburgo (RJ). Two mobile health units combine the action of the Municipal Health Foundation, the Municipal Education Clerkship and University of Dentistry of New Friburgo. The medical and dental attendance visits the schools and day care centers of the municipal district.

Education

In this area, the socialist administrations were not just limiting themselves to opening vacancies in schools. They developed policies in search of quality in teaching with a lot of creativity.

Inês Zanol, in Pimenta Bueno (RO), set up an education model in the state. The direction of the schools was chosen by the school community. Democratization went beyond this. The mayoress indicated a list with three names so that the employees of the Clerkship for Education chose the municipal secretary. In a large rural area a school center was set up to attend children from pre-school to 8th grade. The socio-educational programs in theater, sports and music kept the children in school, off the street, with improvement in school performance and life quality.

Márcio França carried out an educational revolution in São Vicente (SP). The number frame is expressive:

	1997	2004
Municipal day care centers	6	66
School meals	30.000/day	100.000/day
Enrolled students	18.000	44.000
School units	25	60

In special education there was growth of 326% in the number of students attended. In his administration he set up the first public university in the *baixada (lowlands)*, Unesp (São Paulo State University).



Which path should we take? Since the beginning it stuck in his mind to set up Fundef (Fund for Maintenance and Development of Fundamental Teaching and Valorization of Teaching). He Municipalized 16 state schools and was able to get state financing to build other schools.

Two Substitute Centers were opened for people as from 14 years who had not finished fundamental schooling. The school food was improved and was accompanied by dietary education. Vegetables, fruits and green vegetables were consumed with pleasure. In the preparation of the food there was better use and so no waste. The Municipal Assistance Nucleus for those suffering from Autism was created. In the same building is the Center for Special Education.
The municipal district won several awards in the area of education.



Sabará (MG), with Wander Borges, also leaped forward. The number of children in school doubled: from 5 thousand to 10 thousand. Once having seen to the needs of fundamental schooling he went on to opening schools for the pre-school age group. Wander and many other mayors and mayoresses of the PSB, like Márcio, began to participate in the Ayrton Senna Project, reducing repetition and school abandonment.

In the administration of Serafim Corrêa, in Manaus (AM), new urban, rural and indigenous schools were built. There were also amplifications and reforms.
A democratic administration was implemented with school councils and also the Municipal *Bolsa-Escola* (school grant) program for 1.000 students. In pedagogic administration made possible, among others, the Learning Acceleration program, workshops for those with deficiencies, Precocious Stimulation, a School of Reference for the Deaf, Computer science in School, formation and valorization of the academic staff.

In Natal (RN), with mayor Carlos Eduardo Alves, there is not only reform and amplification of 49 schools but also the construction of thirty new ones. The guarantee of the school uniform was given to all students, as well as quality school meals.

Jobs and Income

To growing fall in the number of work positions is part of the current international scenario. The socialist policies in this case have been the search for a reduction in the work schedule, without loss of wages. This results in more people being able to have work opportunity. But in the day to day this drama has to be faced with creativity. The Brazilian Socialist Party promoted, in its seminars, the presentation of successful policies in the area.

In March of 1997, the João Mangabeira Foundation promoted the I National Encounter of Mayors and Vice-Mayors. One of the panels was on Municipal Programs for the Generation of Employment, Work and Income. Ariosto Holanda, who occupied the Clerkship for Science and Technology in the State of Ceará, made an ample exhibition of this theme. In his diagnosis he says that the main cause of the technological delay is the degradation of the educational base. He showed the axis for action in Ceará and the financing sources for a policy to face the problem.

The first point is Technological Assistance with the transfer of academic knowledge in a simplified way in vocational centers. The second axis is Managerial Assistance giving the bases for the setting up of small businesses. In third place is credit which can be obtained in FAT and with the creation in the municipal district of the Municipal Fund for Micro and Small Companies. Finally there is commercialization. The

municipal district can create a purchasing policy which favors the small and micro producers of the area.

The policies adopted at socialist city halls will vary according to local conditions.



In the case of São Luís do Maranhão, with mayoress Conceição Andrade, the policy she adopted was to seek integration of urban and rural zones. In the country side city hall invests in infrastructure: roads, rural electrification and water for planting and technical training. In the city there is the incentive to consume local production. The result is more than 4.000 jobs. Urban consumption which was only 5% of local rural production went to 20%. Individual and municipal district income increases.

In Petrópolis (RJ), during Paulo Gratacós's government, four low income communities created alternative revenue with 30 looms where two teachers taught the craft.

With João Ananias, in Santana do Acaraú, in Ceará, there was not only support for agrarian reform but also technical consultancy so as to recover the cotton culture and goat rearing. In land settlements 220 families produce 750 liters of goat milk a day.

In Maceió (AL), Kátia Born transformed tourism on its beautiful beaches in stimulating employment. From 12th place in the tourist scale Maceió went to 5th.

Márcio França, in São Vicente (SP), set up agendas of shows for the summer. He reactivated carnival, motivated cable car construction, and got several partnerships to help preserve the history of the first Brazilian city. As well as the tourist activity he attracted companies to the local economy.

Inês Zanol, in Pimenta Bueno (RO), set up community ice cream, joinery and clothing companies.



In Brejão (PE), Sandoval Cadenga's administration set up small businesses using Prodem (Program for Municipal Development) together with the Bank of Brazil.

In Igarassu, also in Pernambuco, mayor Yves Ribeiro created the Bricklayer's School. Unemployed people who had already worked in the profession take training courses in Senai and on completing the course they will give class in the slums. In this project city hall donated the construction material and with this many were able to build their own house and have a profession.

In Petrópolis (RJ), in Rubens Bontempo's government, the Fiscal Incentive Law, of September of 2003, attracted R$ 376 million in investment. This generated 13 thousand direct and indirect jobs.

In Santana do Livramento (RS), city hall under Wainer Machado's direction develops partnership with the Pastoral Commission for Water



and the Earth (CPAT). In this they developed cooperatives in family vegetable gardens and distribution of medicinal plants.

Social Assistance

From the socialist point of view social assistance is understood as a mechanism for the social inclusion. We are one of the countries with greatest inequality as to income in the world. The rights defined in our Constitution end up being left just on paper. In the socialist city halls we will see several forms of social action which will flee from paternalism and nepotism.

In Maceió (AL), during the administrations of Ronaldo Lessa and Kátia Born, a program was created in which street adolescents began to take care of cleaning the squares and work in vegetable gardens after school. They learn new activities and begin to see that they can obtain income helping to improve the life of the city and, at the same time learn the basics of a profession. In times of drought beans are distribution to the less well off by the federal government. This is accompanied by residents community work. They collected the garbage as an activity in environmental education. By helping the city they received a public benefit and not alms.

In Sabará (MG), Wander Borges after several chats with the population set up the *Família Cidadã* program guaranteeing a minimum income. It started with 15 families and arrived at 1.500. Distribution of pig heads and pig ribs on Saturdays, and chickens on Sundays faces situations of severe poverty.

In São Vicente (SP), Márcio França created CRIS (Rehabilitation and Social Inclusion Center) attending those with special needs. The Municipal Program of Órteses and Prostheses supply therapeutic equipments. The São Camilo Centro was created to assist handicapped children with neurological problems. Croi (Center for Reference in Oncology) gives support in cancer treatment. Nine Centers of Coexistence and Formation were set up render socio-educative help to children and adolescents, complementing school formation. The SOS Firemen program while helping to recover citizenship promotes cultural and sporting activities and training in fireman's techniques. The project *Rescuing* has resulted in São Vicente not having any more street children. Those over 50 years live together in the *Clube da Melhor Idade* (Best age club). Tércio Garcia succeeded Márcio França as mayor and extended the previous actions, arriving at the 16th Recreational Educational Center (CER), with extended day which combines leisure and school support with multi-disciplinary teams. The *Papel Passado* program gives house ownership documents to the poorest.

The mayoress Inês Zanol, in Pimenta Bueno (RO), developed a Program of Assisted Liberty, for children under protection of Justice and more than 95% did not return to their old ways. There are campaigns to avoid sexual abuse and early pregnancy.

In the administration of Dr. William Dibb, the *Fundação Criança*, of São Bernardo's city hall increased in 82% its preventative assistance to the vulnerabilities to which children and young people are exposed. There are two Centers for Child and Youth Assistance since 2004. 1.600 young people take courses in *capoeira* (war dance), sports, theater, plastic arts and educational complementation. There is selection and training of young people for *Rotativo Cidadão*(work placement program). The Family Assistance Center is already stimulating family coexistence. The positive results of the municipal policies can be seen by the fact that there has only been 5% of re-incidence after the socio-educational measures were adopted.

Public Transport

In most Brazilian cities transport is a common problem. Companies monopolize or create cartels

in the service of collective transport, serving the population very badly and at high prices.

In Maceió (AL), since Ronaldo Lessa's administration the Municipal Fund for Transports has been operating which with 3% of the money collected from the system, builds terminals, transport corridors and other measures defined by the Municipal Transport Council.

In São Luís do Maranhão, Conceição Andrade was able to open a channel of dialogue with the transport entrepreneurs and set up an integrated system, benefitting the population.

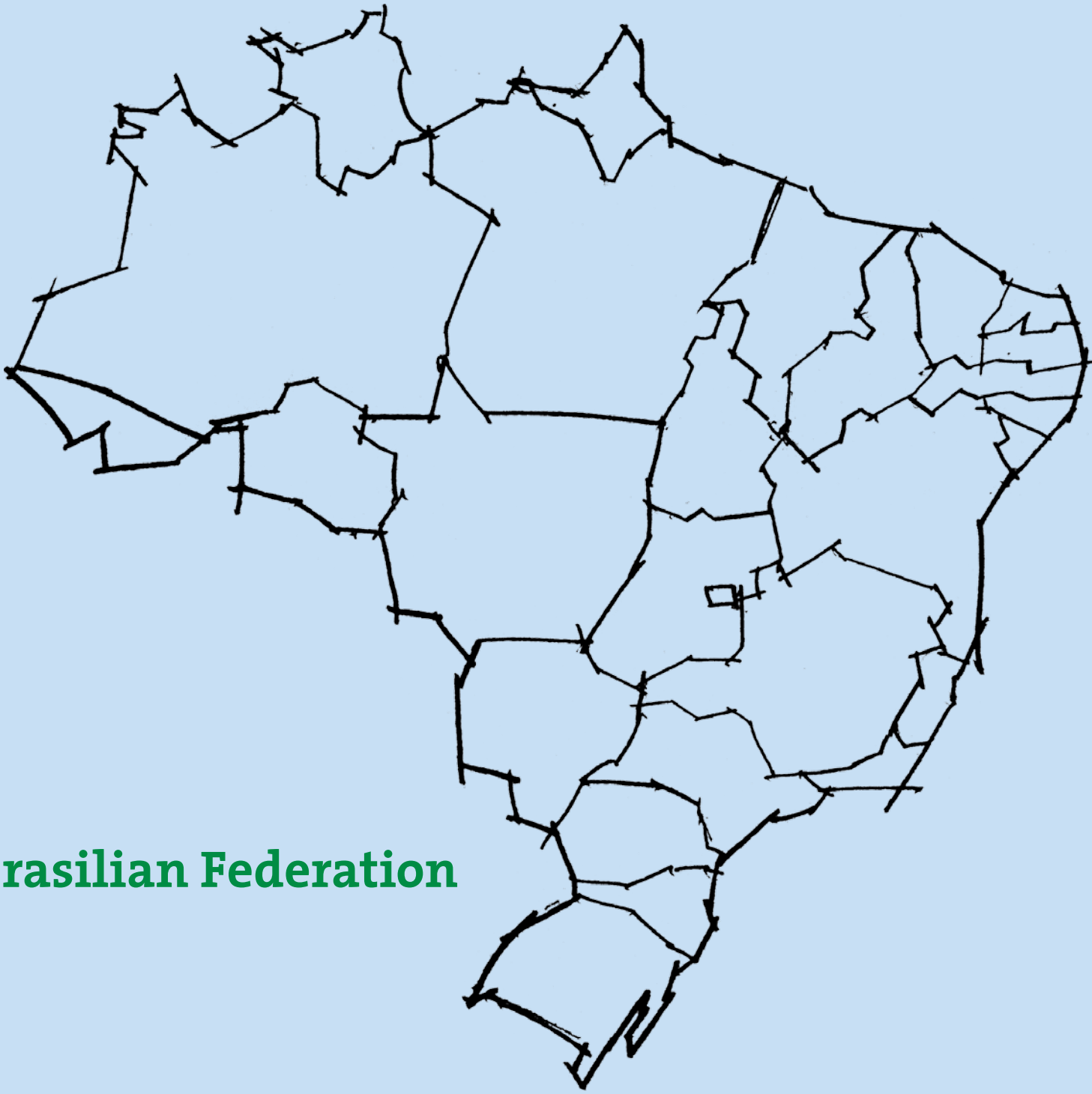
In São Vicente (SP), Márcio França made a radical change. The company that monopolized the transport with high prices and terrible services continued. But along side it came the legalized alternative transport which renders better services to the population with minibuses, with air conditioning, regular schedules and lower prices. They generate 2.300 jobs in three daily shifts. If the *Grupo Constantino*, which monopolized the transport collected 25.000 real in taxes, the alternative transport collects from between 60 to 70.000 real.

These are some of the contributions that we picked up in socialist municipal administrations. We believe that you must know many others, but we imagine that we have presented the socialist form of municipal administration in a synthetic way.

Sources:

GIKOVATE, Febus. "As tarefas dos vereadores socialistas" in: *Folha Socialista*, São Paulo, ano I, n.1, 27 de nov. de 1947, p.1.
LIMA, Luiz Henrique e PASCHER, Ricardo. *Cartilha do Vereador Socialista*, Brasília: Fundação João Mangabeira, 2000 e 2004.
PSB. *Brasil Socialista*, ano I, n.1, Brasília, ago. 1991.
_____. *Brasil Socialista*, ano III, n.11, Brasília, jun. de 1993.
_____. *Anais do V Congresso Nacional*, Recife, 1995.
_____. *Brasil Socialista. Especial do V Congresso Nacional do PSB*, Brasília, 1995.
_____. *Administração Socialista: Governo de Todos, Prioridade para os Excluídos*, Brasília: Fundação João Mangabeira, 1997.
_____. *Seminário de Políticas Públicas Municipais*, Brasília: TC Gráfica e Editora Ltda., 1999.
PSB. *O Modelo Socialista de Governar*, Brasília: TC Gráfica e Editora Ltda., 2001.
VASCONCELLOS, Clóvis. *O Segredo de Márcio França*, São Vicente: VR Color Gráfica e Editora, 2006.


ORDEM E PROGRESSO
FSB
FHC



Brasilian Federation

Chapter V
The PSB and the Federation

By our Constitution we are a Federative Republic. If we want that justice prevails in our country, we needed to develop as much republicanism as federalism. The core of the Republic is in its very name coming from the Latin: *res publica* – public things, or the prevalence of public interests over private ones. The core of the Federation is in decentralization, trying to carry out most of the administrative actions in the municipal districts, that which is of regional sphere through the state administration and federal matters are summarize in relations with other nations, guaranteeing the safety of the territory, common currency, planning articulations among the powers of each region, facing social and regional inequalities, supporting municipal districts and states, guaranteeing civil, political and social rights and a healthy environment.

But as much the Republic as the Federation pays very little attention to the Brazilian reality. The State is privatized by private interests and the Union centralizes most of the resources, subordinating the states and municipal districts in a humiliating manner.

The PSB being concerned with this reality has promoted lectures and discussions with Professor Rui Affonso, of the Institute for Economy at Unicamp, in March of 1999. He showed that federalism in Brazil has difficulties in becoming a reality because there are huge inequalities among the areas. He demands a pact, combining national development with the reduction of social and regional inequalities, as was pointed out by Celso Furtado. In the 1980's we had a combined democratization process with federalism, culminating in the Constitution of 1988 which strengthened states and municipal districts. In the 1990's with neo-liberalism and globalization, once again the Union concentrated revenues, and inequalities were enlarged. One of the central points of the performance of the PSB has been in creating once again the federative pact.

In the previous chapter we saw how the municipal socialist administrations were republican and improved the life of most of their citizens in an efficient manner. We will examine the socialist state governments now.

For the first time in its history the PSB elected state governors in 1994. Thereafter it has always had candidates elected for the position. They are: Miguel Arraes, in Pernambuco (1995-1998); João Capiberibe, in Amapá (1995-2002); Ronaldo Lessa, in Alagoas (1999-2006); Paulo Hartung, in Espírito Santo (2003-2010); Rosinha Matheus, in Rio de Janeiro (2003-2006); Wilma de Faria, in Rio Grande do Norte (2003-2010); Cid Gomes, in Ceará (2007-2010) and Eduardo Campos, in Pernambuco(2007-2010). The governments of Paulo Hartung and Rosinha Matheus will not be analyzed here because they did not remain very long in the PSB.

We will see that in the state governments the socialists developed the republican spirit making the public budget transparent and under constant surveillance. They stood up to the federal governments' difficulties when it tried to feed off the wealth produced in the states so as to pay its debts. The state governors are creating conditions so that together with other governors the states can guarantee their autonomy in the Federation.

Miguel Arraes (1995-1998)

Arraes was governor of Pernambuco for three terms. The first mandate (1963-64) was marked by the *Acordo do Campo* which brought peace to rural areas. For the first time in the history of Brazil rural workers began to have labor laws, as well as a minimum wage. The electrification of a good part of the interior was installed and great progress was made as to literacy



under Paulo Freire's leadership. In the cultural area the Popular Culture Movement (MCP) had all the support it needed. But the military coup d'état of 1964 took away Arraes's. He was one of the most important national leaders in the search for basic reforms. Prisoner and later exiled he comes back to Brail in 1979 when amnesty was granted

Elected to the government of Pernambuco, in 1986, in the campaign "*A esperança está de volta*" (hope is back), Arraes will enter through the door that he left. Rural electrification and housing will be the pillars of his administration. In the Clerkship for Culture, Ariano Suassuna, with all of his creativity was able to take the theater to every corner of the state on a shoe string. The governments of Arraes had the support of the left, always with PSB participation. In 1994 Arraes is chosen governor of Pernambuco , this time for the PSB.

The federal government, under Fernando Henrique Cardoso Presidency concentrates the public revenue that had been decentralized by the Constitution of 1988 once again. The critical position of Arraes to neo-liberalism will receive an answer from the Fernando Henrique government: any kind of federal support to Pernambuco being cut off. Ariano Suassuna reminds us that Arraes placed as basic idea: "Imagination is the capital of the people" and it will be with creativity that we will accomplish a lot with scarce resources. Arraes always combined the popular vision of Pernambuco, of the Northeastern area and Brazil with social justice and development.

The Clerkship for Justice, with secretary Roberto Franca Filho, develops a complete citizenship program. It guarantees free documentation for the people who for financial difficulties were still not recognized as Brazilian. Pedagogic workshops will work with several themes such as the Conquest of Citizenship and Human Rights, Citizenship and Water.

Upon reading the *I Handbook on Citizenship* we can imagine the new citizens' formation. In simple language, in verses and with many illustrations, they are presented with the profile of enormous inequalities of Brazilian society as much in their effects on income, education, work and even penal legislation and in the Judiciary Power that reproduce patrimonial privileges. The naive, illiterate Brazilian, without political participation, is obedient, accepts everything as the will of God and votes for the bosses who explore and humiliate him in exchange small presents and a lot of demagogy. He is a political illiterate. He does not exercise his citizenship.

The entrepreneur on the other hand takes care of his businesses, obsessed by money. He does not see the inequalities and votes for who protects his interests. The text will show what citizenship is all about, what the democracy of civil, social and political rights is all about. "Citizenship is man being subject of his own history". The small talk in comic style will show how citizenship comes about, and will question the reader as regards his rights and his responsibilities to society.

In the Clerkship for Education with Silke Weber up front a democratic administration develops. Maria das Graças Correia de Oliveira, secretary for planning of the Clerkship for Education of Pernambuco, at the National Encounter for Mayors and Vice-mayors of the PSB, in 1997, made a report on the work. The Clerkship has several instruments for popular participation. There are 16 inter institutional commissions and, among them are the Commissions for Adult Education, Agricultural Education and the Accompaniment of the State Plan for Education. Everything is discussed with society. Another instrument is the itinerant

education forums. In 1995 alone there were about 25 thousand participants in all the areas of the state. Teachers, students, mayors, deputies, aldermen, school directors and parents all participate. All have their say. Everything is systematized later and is the basis for the State Plan for Education.

Certain communities give emphasis the some themes while other communities place emphasis on something else. In the end there is a very rich framework for public administration. There are also interactive meetings which occur before or after each forum. In these commissions the Clerkship for Education participates. It works with the superior collegiate for directors and with the enlarged regional directors' collegiate. There are also the school councils in which teachers' representatives, employees, students and the community participate. And this is what chooses the pedagogic and administrative direction for the schools from among those teachers approved in exams for the position. All this work in which there is community participation and public administration has as its objective an education of quality capable of avoiding school evasion and repetition, and of being critical and creative student trainers.

In the same meeting of PSB mayors and vice-mayors was an exhibition of the work done by the Pharmaceutical Laboratory of Pernambuco (Lafepe) given by its president Antônio Alves. The Laboratory was created during the first government of Arraes. As well as producing medicines at lower prices and so as to have a better assistance for the population it develops research and produces equipment which transforms salubrious water into drinking water for human consumption. While the companies sell this equipment for 40 real, Lafepe sells it for 17 real. He supplies water to whoever needs it and also health because it is water which is exempt of bacteria, virus and other contaminants.

He also produces a *rapadura* lozenge (raw brown sugar tablet) which is a source of calcium and phosphorous for the school meal. With the Federal University of Pernambuco powdered feed complements were created. The bovine blood tablet combats anemia in children. While Protemol, a mixture of wheat, powdered milk and bovine blood is consumed by pregnant women. The production of lenses and glass frames are destined to the poor. There is also a mobile unit with an optic clinic that attends all the areas of the state. With the resin left over from making the glasses toothbrushes are manufactured for the dental health program. There is a social program with 120 destitute children supplying work, food and school, as well as a grant.

Public health is government's priority. This commitment is in research, in production and in reduced prices of products. And, with all this, Lafepe is able to obtain compatible profit from his public function. The secret is in cost reduction, appropriate maintenance of equipment and employee specialization.

If we point to the difficulties that the Arraes Government had with the federal government, commanded by Fernando Henrique, these actions of his administration point out that republican and federative spirit could be lacking for that president, but on the contrary Miguel Arraes's government used all the popular and scientific creativity that could be imagined for the public interest. And it is not by chance that Arraes was adored by the people of Pernambuco.



João Capiberibe (1995-2002)

Before giving a report on João Capiberibe's government, in Amapá, it is interesting we know a little about his life so that we can understand

how a government project which provoked profound changes in the state was developed over time.

Born on the Island of Marajó he went to live in Macapá with the family while still a child. He met Janete during the student struggles of the 1960's and got married in 1970. They were arrested by the military dictatorship and Janete was let free because she was pregnant. Being very sick Capi was sent to the hospital where Janete and friends were able to free him. With their daughter, Artionka, of 10 months, they managed to flee to Bolivia. Nine years were spent is flight through Peru, Chile, Canada and Mozambique. Upon return after the amnesty, they went to Pernambuco where Capi was adviser to Miguel Arraes, who had also returned from exile. They went back to Amapá, but being harassed politically they went to Acre and, finally to Macapá, where together with his sister, Raquel Capiberibe, who became a federal deputy, they organized the PSB. In 1988, Capi was chosen mayor of Macapá, and Janete Alderman.

The innovative municipal administration achieved high indexes of approval because there was popular participation, transparency in expenses, progresses in health, education, public works and payment on time for the municipal workers. With Janete being elected state deputy, in 1990, they created a left wing block which indicates his candidacy to be government of the state.

The death of Chico Mendes in 1988 and the Echo-92 in Rio de Janeiro will prompt Capi and a left wing active group from Amapá that, as well as the struggle for a fair society the environment should also be defended. Capi travels to all corners of the state and listens to the ideas of fishermen, Indians and *castanheiros* (sweet chestnut pickers.) Upon arrival to government, the team will have already visualized the rational use of fishing resources, those of the forest and tourism. Collecting the traditional knowledge of the people with scientific research will be the basis of the Sustainable Development Plan for Amapá (PDSA).

Mary Allegretti, an anthropologist who worked with Chico Mendes and who published her ideas in Brazil and all over world, accepted to leave the consultancy of the Interamerican Bank of Development (BID), in Washington, and be the secretary of Planning of Amapá. In little time, together with consultancy, the guidelines of the plan were elaborated. ONGs, clubs, associations, city halls and communities of the interior were invited to act as partners of the government.

All the administrative personnel of the state, accustomed with the previous military governments which were authoritarian and bureaucratic, now were stimulated and integrated into a new political culture. João Capiberibe showed his project in France, Belgium, Germany, Italy and Portugal. Amapá began to receive visits from European environmentalists and technicians who started to bring international support. He established great integration with his neighbor French Guiana, which is an overseas colony of France. There are 15 thousand Brazilians in Caiena, its capital. So the European Union begins to make investments in the area using the concept of a regional border that Capiberibe established with the French.

The Capi administration in Amapá is, therefore, a result of its life experiences. It is the result of the socialist fight against the military regime, of international knowledge accumulated during exile, of the principle of always integrating the traditional knowledge of the Indians, *ribeirinhos* (river bank dwellers) and fishermen with the scientific knowledge produced by universities and research centers.

Let's look at some of government's programs and what they accomplished: the role of the State is defined as that of articulator and regulator. The PDSA combined the technical gathering of the problems and potentialities with the demands of the population. It articulated the regions and politics in several areas, while not only inducing economical but also political, social and cultural development. The local environmental regulation will be in line with the advances in legislation in Brazil and in the world. Inspection and ecological education will be stimulated as much by the work of the forest police as

by the inclusion of the biodiversity law in the school curriculum. So as to have competent employees and public servers Center for Formation and Development of human resources was set up. It invested in training and updating. The progress of the state public budget can be inspected on the internet. In the opposite direction to the previous administration, which had constant deficits and use of budgets for powerful private interests, the budget was balanced and geared to the public policies defined in the PDSA. The government which succeeded cut the budget inspection program through the internet.

The Institute for Scientific and Technological Research of Amapá (Iepa), with the support of national and international scientific institutions, carried out ecological and economical zoning, transforming natural resources in improvement for human life. The Institute looked for an expansion of scientific knowledge when getting to know the traditional culture of the Indians and the people. It published and applied knowledge which was produced. In partnership with Fiocruz, candles were produced from crab wood which expels 75% of mosquitoes in the prevention of the malaria. Iepa later increased the capacity of the candle to 95% for the insects.

The Forest Midwives project is the union of their accumulated knowledge with qualification and training in new technical knowledge. Childbirth becomes more humanized and there is a reduction in infant mortality. It was the second lowest rate in Brazil. The rate of cesarean births became the lowest in Brazil.

The sweet chestnut industry is another combination of traditional knowledge with scientific knowledge and internationalization. The chestnut pickers of the Iratapuru valley in the south of the state lived as slaves. They collected the chestnut and gave them to the farmer to whom they were always in debt. They received in exchange for sixty kilos of whole nut a 450 grams tin of powdered milk. With the government's program they began to have the control of the production process. Now they can buy twenty cans of powdered milk with sixty kilos of chestnut because it is transformed in cookie, edible oil and cosmetics. The government purchases the chestnuts and the cookies for school meals. Part of the processed production is exported.

In Education, the principle is to learn without breaking contact with the land and with their own culture. The children begin to have quality teaching. The destitute receive grants and basic food baskets. French was placed as the first foreign language in secondary education. The indigenous communities had bilingual teaching.

The Interactive Police worked with the barrio associations, after having courses on human rights and training. The Police received an award from the Administration and Citizenship of Getúlio Vargas Foundation and BNDES.

Before this period Amapá experienced depredating projects. The Jarí project, belonging to Daniel Ludwig, mobilized 100 thousand people and 5 billion dollars. As he did not base his project on the knowledge of the area it was an economical failure and damaged a large area of the forest. The *Indústria e Comércio de Minérios S/A* (Icomi) so as to extract manganese from the *Serra do Navio* left huge craters. An inverse politics was adopted. Soy and livestock which are considered to be predators of the forest were not encouraged in the Capi government. To the contrary, the selective collection of wood was stimulated, with sustainable management. In this way it is possible to use the wealth of the forest and at the same time preserve her.

The North American paper and cellulose company Champion, today called National Papers, had to adapt its original project to that of the government of Amapá as much with regards to the rational use of resources as with regards to social questions. Of the 100 thousand planted hectares it separated 27 thousand for the furniture industry and local saw mills, with a school to qualify labor. The native cocoa removed by the cooperative will be transformed into chocolate in Amapá for a French company. For the assai palm there was an improvement in the harvest and it was sent to the market. Agribusiness was part of small rural communities with women's groups

producing medicine, perfume, tea and handmade crafts. Small cassava flour factories were also set up.

Industrial fishing was combated. There was the partnership with Guyana. The fishermen on each side keep 50% of the value of the product and with equal distribution. In the eight year government of Capi Amapá received a large number of migrants. And to readers amazement had the lowest index of unemployment for the country. Ecological tourism began. The routes were trips that showed the abilities of the riverside dwellers, the harvesting of the assai and cocoa and of course the natural beauty spots.

Ronaldo Lessa (1999/2006)



Lessa had a huge participation in the restructuring of the PSB and in its consolidation. He always defended the principles and practices of democratic socialism. He was alderman and mayor of Maceió responsible for important action. These included applying public resources to the collective interest and, especially for those excluded from them. With high indexes of approval he won the elections for governor of Alagoas, in 1988.

In Education as well as amplifying he also restores and constructs more than 250 schools. This resulted in 100 thousand new vacancies in the state school network. Quality was his mark. So as to promote teacher qualifications the Positions and Careers Plan was set up and attended 11 thousand professionals. He invested in the training of 5 thousand teachers.

He promoted a public selection test in 2000 in answer to the teachers' needs and to those of the administrative area. As well as the federal school grant which paid 15 real per student, the government of Alagoast created the Citizens School Grant paying 95 real per family. More than 2.500 families were helped this way. The *Saber (know)* plan thought 30 thousand young people and adults how to read and write. The improvement in state education can be shown with the approval of its students in significant numbers at the Federal University of Alagoas (UFAL) This had not been the case in recent times due to the scrapping of state education in previous administrations.

In Health the results were enormous. With the government's preventive actions in partnership with several institutions there was a fall in the shameful index of infant mortality of 78 in a thousand live births, to 45. The *Family Health Programa* of the PSF was established all over the state. The coverage of the PSF in Alagoas became second in the country. Dentists were also incorporated into the program. The public hospitals were reformed and reequipped, with a three fold increase in attendance.

The Industrial Pharmacist Laboratory of Alagoas (Lifal) was restored and began producing the greater part of the medicines consumed by the population, being able to export to other states two components of the cocktail for Aids patients. The break bone fever was under control. So as to improve life quality of the poor a soup was distribution to 2.000 people. There was also a milk program for 700 families from the interior.

In Culture the Theater project is really popular and with as entrance fee of R$ 1.99, has popularized access to shows. The *Zumbi dos Palmares Institute* was created bringing the R*adio/TV Educativa* and *Rádio Difusora* together. With new equipment local programming increased favoring the regionalization of journalistic, artistic and cultural production. The number of libraries was doubled in the interior of the state

In the areas of provisioning and sanitation there was an amplification of drilled wells, water mains and distribution network. In partnership with the federal government it was possible to carry out a sanitary sewage project for the greater part of the municipal districts.

In economical development with the regulation of the Fiscal Incentives Law 12 thousand new companies were set up generating thousands of jobs. The Irrigation of Pindorama project in partnership with the federal government and producing 12 thousand tons of fruits resulted in 3.000 new direct jobs and 8.000 indirect. The foot and mouth disease had not been combated for 15 years in the state. The animals were vaccinated and the herd was monitored. The federal program of Support for Family Agriculture with state government's support tripled the number of municipal districts receiving help. If at the beginning of Lessa's government Alagoas imported 90% of vegetables and legumes, with the increase in local production imports fell to 60%. The bean and corn crops doubled.

The public servants began to receive their wages on time. Their role was revitalized with 11 thousand being nominated following public selection. The FGTS which had not been collected for 17 was regularized.

In Security the number of policemen was increased passing through selection. New police cars and equipment was purchased. Alagoas was the first Brazilian state to sign the Protocol for Adhesion to the Unique System for Public Safety. There was reform and restructuring made to the Forensic and Criminalist Institutes.

There is no register of another government in Alagoas with so much popular participation and accomplishments. Ronaldo Lessa left the PSB in 2004.

Wilma de Faria (2002/2006 e 2006/2010)



Wilma spent a large part of her life dedicated to academic formation and academic performance. She is a specialized in Sociology, has a master's in education and professor at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte (UFRN).

Her activities in Social Action and Education made her into a leader and she was chosen as constituent federal deputy in 1986, and mayoress of Natal in 1988. In 1996 she was chosen again to Natal city hall, with reelection in 2000. She was elected to the government of Rio Grande do Norte in 2002 and reelected in 2006.

Her administration has won great popular approval. And it is in her government that the International Institute of Neurosciences of Natal is being built under the guidance of Dr. Miguel Nicolelis, a Brazilian admired all over the world for his researches at Duke University, in Durham, in the United States. These researches resulted in robotic arms which are moved by force of thought and move people's arms which had lost their movements. Nicolelis's project has the complete support of companies and institutions both national and international, of the Brazilian government through the Ministry for Science and Technology (MCT) as it is governed by Roberto Amaral, and the Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte. As well as the Research Center, the project already has a high level school for poor children and young people up and working in Natal.

The pillar of Wilma's administration is in the generation of employment and income. They are articulated programs that will be present in a synthetic way. So as to guarantee the state budget there is a fiscal education campaign, *Citizen Nota 10*, which stimulates the emission of invoices.
The growth agenda articulates actions to attract investments to RN and to foment the economical activities already existent. In the 11 business fairs which covered all areas of the state more than 200 thousand people participated in each edition. As well as the disclosure and commercialization of products and services it allows the local entrepreneur to know the market sector, to have access to credit and concession of incentives.

The Clerkship of Economical Development stimulates the participation of enterprising *potiguares* (locals from Rio Grande do Norte) in fairs both national

and international. The *Aprendiz Cidadão* project already assists students of between 15 and 17 years who come from the less favored sectors of society. Out side of the school schedule they participate in vocational courses which alternate with practical activities in companies. They are entitled to a formal work contract, monthly pay of half the minimum wage, and all labor rights such as buss passes, 13th wage, holidays and FGTS (Employee's dismissal fund).

The areas are those of sales and telemarketing, administrative assistant and supermarket operator, participating in paid apprenticeships of 11 months, according to the federal legislation. The majority of those taking part are incorporated into the companies, stimulating insertion in the market for formal labor. There is a partnership with the Regional Labor Office and the National Service for Commercial Learning (Senac). More than 3.000 young people from the state school network were assisted. Even with the reduction in resources sent in the last two years, by department of Labor for Rio Grande do Norte, which are to be used in training courses, the state government was firm in its decision of prioritizing employment generation and income politics, investing in labor formation and motivating the opening of new businesses.

To the volume of proper resources invested in this area the contribution of R$ 1 million should be added to the School Hotel Barreira Rocha for the training of cooks, waiters, chambermaids and receptionists including 1.185 professionals. Senac is the partner. In courses carried out through the Infantile Work Eradication Program (Peti) and Help Fund for Worker (FAT) the volume of the federal and state governments' resources are the same and benefit 6.860 families. The growth in the formal employment in RN has been the largest of the Northeast according to data from the department of Labor. To reduce poverty in the rural area there is the Solidarity Development Project. Through it projects of economical and social infrastructure are financed, making possible job generation and improvement of income as well as providing organization, training and formation with a view to making people aware of their rights and citizenship. Those benefited are from the poor rural communities (wage earners, partners, lease holders, squatters) artisans and other groups, provided that they are represented by community organizations.

The associations elaborate projects which they send to the Municipal Council for preliminary approval and from there proceed to the Council for Rural Development. There are examples of productive projects such as the breeding of small animals, other agricultural activities and handcraft. There is an improvement in income, generation of employment and life conditions. About 72 thousand families of the 152 municipal districts were assisted. Most of the resources (75%) are financed by the World Bank. The state government enters with 15% and the benefitted communities with 10%.

In Health the budget more than doubled from 2002 to 2007, going from R$ 334 million to R$ 834.976 million. The objective is regionalization, endowing the municipal district centers with structure to assist all the demands, relieving the public hospitals of Natal which receive a large number of patients from other cities. The hospitals of the state were reequipped, receiving more beds and pediatric and adult intensive care units. In the greater Natal area (eight municipal districts) the Metropolitan SAMU is being implanted, with ten ambulances for basic support and two for advanced support.

There are four popular drugstores in operation and eight in implantation, with medicines at cost price, bought from the Oswaldo Cruz Foundation (Fiocruz). The costs are divided between the Clerkship of Health and the Ministry of Health. Already the *Drugstore for All*, financed by state Treasury, with forecast of 50 units, supplies generic and similar medicine at prices on average 40% below those practiced by the private drugstores. There is a pharmacist present during opening time, so avoiding self medication.

Hemonorte carries out reception, screening, collection, serology, division and distribution of blood and hematherapeutics for hospitals and public and private clinics. It carries out ambulatory treatment with complementary services of dentistry and social

assistance. The hematology centers are distributed in fixed and mobile units in the state.

In disease prevention there are several projects. That of milk with the objective of reducing nutritional lacks in children, pregnant women, the undernourished and deficient. With the daily distribution of a liter of milk per family the poor populations of 167 municipal districts are assisted. An increase in livestock promotes the increment of livestock, improvement of flock, productivity of the *potiguar* milk chain, job generation and income. All the pasteurized C milk is acquired from the local producers. Also popular restaurants offer quality food at low prices.

Another form of disease prevention is basic sanitation. It is the largest ever to take place in Rio Grande do Norte and coordinated by the State Company for Water and Sewers (CAERN). The sanitary sewage jumped from 17% to 40% in the state and it doubled to 33% in Natal. The Rio Potengi was also cleaned up. As well as the states own resources there are agreements with the federal government and international institutions.

In the area of Education there is the incentive to educators and employees through the *Educational Merit* program. It is a bonus equivalent to two wages, divided in four payments and given to 30 thousand public servants. It is considered as one of the actions that improves the quality of the teaching most. To face the high rates of illiteracy in RN, which are at 25.43% of the population over 15 years, the *Reading and Learning* project was implanted. Its goal is to teach 60 thousand young people and adults to read and write. There is partnership with the federal government, unions, churches and no-governmental organizations.

Once knowing how to read and write the students will be included in fundamental teaching. On the education agenda for the second administration, initiating in 2007, one of the actions is making the internet universal in state schools by November of 2007. Also projected are professional training, pedagogic improvement and the amplification of the physical network of the state.

In articulation with MEC the State Secretary for Education will work on the Education Development Plan with priority in literacy and fundamental teaching. The governor discussed with the Minister for Education as to the integration of secondary learning with professional education, with the implantation of a network integrated with the Federal Center for Technological Education (Cefet) and the Vocational Technological Centers. The state also looks for inclusion of the State University of Rio Grande do Norte (UERN) in the Brazilian University Education as a Distance program, with continuous formation for the teachers.

Those efforts directed towards the youth have been: the Sentry program with activities of social action of a specialized nature. It is destined for children and adolescents who are victims of violence, 12 municipal districts are assisted. The *Agenda Jovem (*Young Persons Agenda) is an innovative proposal destined to young people from 15 to 17 years, of low income and in situation of social risk. It qualifies them in the areas of the citizenship, health, sexuality, environment and others. They also participate in social campaigns such as of vaccination, campaigns against smoking and drugs, correct storage the garbage among others. The hoped for result is their integration as protagonists in the development of their environment, exercising citizenship.

For the professionals, technicians and students of secondary and superior level, who exercise their activities in projects approved by the Foundation of Support for Research of Rio Grande do Norte (FapeRN), there are scholarships as researcher visitor, doctorate, technological and industrial development, and master's degree, technical support for research, technological and industrial initiation, scientific initiation and monograph. With all this there will be an elevation of scientific production in the state.

There is also the project of *Library for All*, which stimulates the taste for reading. 105 units are already installed in 95 municipal districts, each one with 3.500 books. 1.500 educators were qualified to work at the libraries, assisting the schools and city residents.

In the area of Housing the *Our House* program offers conditions for the improvement of the dwelling or for the construction of homes for people of low income, in all the areas of the state. In 2004 alone 5.000 houses were built in 86 municipal districts. The goal is to arrive at 30 thousand homes by the end of the administration. With the "*cheque reforma*" improvements or reforms of the houses are subsidized for families with income until half the minimum wage and with one house only to be used in the purchase of construction materials.

In June 2007 the environmental protection program, Proclima, began. The goals are to reduce the emission of carbonic gas, vulnerability indexes to the climatic changes and the pollution of the springs. The process of sewer treatment is in operation in Natal and so putting an end to the pollution of the Rio Potengí. On the margins of the river mangrove parks are created. The School Boat *Chama Maré* promotes environmental education.

We can end without intending to present all the angles of the administration, with the project *Segurança-Cidadã* which articulates the police with the community. The entrepreneurs are great partners. 31 fixed bases of *safety-citizen* have already been installed. For the *bugueiros (*buggy) communities there was training in water rescue. For the safety of the condominiums, janitors and keepers were supplied basic notions as to guarantee the residents' safety. Actions are carried out in partnerships with ONGs, mainly, in the combat of sexual violence and the exploration of sex tourism.

Cid Gomes (2006-2010)

Cid Ferreira Gomes was born in Sobral on April 27, 1963. He graduated in Civil Engineering from the Federal University of Ceará (UFC). He was chosen state deputy in 1991 and reelected in 1995. In the second term he was president of the Legislative Assembly of Ceará. Chosen as mayor of his home town, in 1996 and reelected in 2000 always with more than 60% of the votes. With indexes superior to 60% he was chosen in the first round in 2006, for the government of Ceará. His administration is just beginning but we can already outline the first results.

In his inaugural speech he showed how Ceará in spite of being the 8th state in Brazilian in population is the 23rd in per capita income. The numbers are very worrying: 40% of the adolescents are without studying, be it because the school is not attractive or because there are just not vacancies.
But the time is for work.

His priorities are Education, Health, Generation of Employment and Public Security. He gives prominence to social questions without neglecting the development of state infrastructure and promoting development.

To guarantee these priorities he has already began to make an administrative adjustment in the state, with a leaner and more efficient profile, with expressive decrease in maintenance expenses and costing of machinery, with the simultaneous commitment of valorization of the public servant and introduction of concrete mechanisms of participation, exercise of ethics and transparency. Social participation is present. To Constituent Cultural has held 108 municipal popular assemblies to update the legal mark and management of culture of Ceará. There was the discussion o the culture chapters in the State Constitution and an elaboration was made of the *Plano Plurianual de Política Cultural do Ceará.*

The *Plurianual Participativo Plano* "Ceará that we want – respecting regional diversity" began in April 2007. There were more than 4.000 participants in 30 meetings. The propositions were gathered in seven groups: Economy (agriculture and infrastructure); Health; Education; Social Assistance; Public Policies; Housing; Sanitation and Environment; Culture,



Tourism, Sport and Leisure. All were subjected to technical evaluation in the clerkships for subsequent carrying out.

The government's efforts for the excluded in the area of the Social Assistance will set up inter-municipal consortia networks of social assistance, articulating federal, state and municipal programs. With this it is possible to break with the welfare model that perpetuates the inequalities and accentuates the marks of poverty. Concrete proof of that was the meeting of the State Fund for Combating Poverty (Fecop) which will have R$ 112 million in 2007. Three areas were initially defined: work and social action; family agriculture; housing and sanitation. The next priorities will be: a simplified system of water supply, popular housing, productive inclusion, solidarity economy, environmental sanitation, microcredit, opportunities for the youth, training for entrepreneurs of low income.

At the top of the priorities is Health with the urgent construction of two large hospitals, one in the area of Cariri and the other in the north. With this there will be better attendance in the interior and relief to the hospitals of Fortaleza. The Prevention of Maternal Mortality Committee from Ceará, the state government's pact with the city halls has already begun its work. Between 1997 and 2005 the maternal mortality related to pregnancy and childbirth was 81 in 1.000. The goal is to lower it by 50% in four years. To this end in 80% of the PSF teams there will be courses for the pregnant women, nurseries of medium risk and neonatal ICUs will be set up in strategic municipal districts, and there will be teacher training in the whole secondary teaching network in reproductive health and pregnancy prevention.

In Security the principal commitment is the implantation of the *Ronda do Quarteirão* (round the block) program in the capital and metropolitan area. There will also be the opening of at least 50 police stations in the interior, increase in the number of military and civil police and the installation of surveillances cameras in the most dangerous points of the great cities. There is a package of actions against the sexual exploration of children and adolescents, with the prevention and combat of sexual tourism, and specialized assistance for the victims.

In Education the priority is the creation of vocational courses for secondary teaching, in the capital and in the interior, enlarging the possibilities for the youth. Apprenticeship programs are carried out in private companies and opening of internet kiosks. In the infantile and fundamental teaching and in leisure and sports there is a useful partnership with city hall. There is the commitment to teachers and police of salary readjustments above inflation. Together with MEC the Literacy program is being implemented at the *Right Age*. The goal is to reach all the alphabetized children at the right age up to 2010. The municipal districts that are firm in the program, defining the children's literacy as a priority goal, will have technical support and resources. The invigoration of higher education and Science and Technology are also fundamental for sustainable and integrated development.

The generation of employment is vital for the development of Ceará. Also are the modernization of infrastructure and creation of opportunities for all. To this end there is support with credit and training, for the micro and small companies of Ceará. In June 2007, the Forum of Work and Social Development began. It united state and municipal councils, ONGs, managerial associations and workers' unions to act together in the promotion of work and social assistance.

In Tourism which is a vital sector of the economy in Ceará there is the strong state government's incentive and commitment of making results arrive to all areas, benefitting ever larger contingents of the population, in craft, fishing, leisure and hostelry. *Prodetur II*, with financings from BID, from the federal and state governments is acting in 18 municipal districts of the *Pólo Ceará Costa do Sol*, (south coast center) for improvement in life quality and municipal administration of tourism. In June of 2007, the foundation stone for the Tourist Compound was set in Aquiraz. The enterprise which will be developed by the *Consórcio Luso-Brasileiro Aquiraz Empreendimentos*

Turísticos will generate 10 thousand direct and indirect jobs. The state government will invest in infrastructure works in highways that give access to the compound, sanitation on the beaches of that area, as well as the reinforcement and complementation of the electric network. With 1.800 meters of sea front, Aquiraz Riviera will have an area of environmental protection of 58 hectares for fauna and flora. The conclusion is foreseen for the end of 2010. The state government will also build a new center of conventions and will open a credit line for the small and medium businesses, with the objective of improving the quality of equipments for tourism and qualify the service providers.

In Agriculture the government offers the minimum price to the farmer for him to benefit from when the crop is good and abundant and also when the nature is like a stepmother, cruel. This is done through the support and improvement of the federal *Safe-crop* program.

Eduardo Campos (2006-2010)



Eduardo Henrique Accioly Campos was born in Recife, in 1965. He graduated in Economy from the Federal University of Pernambuco (UFPE). In 1986 he exchanged the possibility of a master's degree in the United States so as to participate in the return campaign of his grandfather, Miguel Arraes, to the government of Pernambuco. After taking office the governor appointed him cabinet chief. He participated in the creation of the first Clerkship of Science and Technology of the Northeast, in 1987, and, in 1989, the first Help Foundation for Research in the area, Facepe. He entered the PSB in 1990 and became state deputy. In the Legislative Assembly of Pernambuco he was with prominence the leader of the opposition. He arrived to the House of Deputies in 1994 with 133 thousand votes. He was at the disposition of the Government from Pernambuco in 1995, as secretary of Government, and, in 1996, as secretary of Finance. In 1998 and 2002 he was reelected as federal deputy being the most voted in the state. As leader of the block he became one of the articulators of parliamentary support to the Lula Government. In January of 2004 he substituted Roberto Amaral in MCT and remained until June of 2005. In that year he assumed the National Presidency of the PSB. He was elected Governor of Pernambuco in 2006.

In his inaugural speech he took on:

> (...) the task of writing a different history, one which inaugurates a new era for Pernambuco. A new time in which those who always lost finally can win.

He defines justice as the essence of his mandate:

> More important than building highways is to build citizenship, the inclusion of those who have always been on the margin of development. (...) To offer to the people from Pernambuco real opportunities so that they become emancipated starting from their own forces, own talent and capacity. And in this way they will become the true actors of their personal and collective history. (…) That mandate is also part of a movement on a continental scale which is strengthened in South America governments committed with the cause of the people, after the evident failure of the neoliberal model in our continent. (...) As if we lived a fine irony of history, the whole perspective for development of the economy from Pernambuco is strongly linked to projects led by the Brazilian State, the refinery, shipyard, trans-northeast railway, the *hemobrás,* the

transposition of the Rio San Francisco and so many other enterprises.

In his Government program stand out his facing unemployment and insecurity, amplification and improvement of the public services of water supply, sanitation, education, culture, health and transport. As well as facing the alarming poverty indexes and concentration of income, Pernambuco will invest in technical-scientific knowledge which is the basis for development in the XXI century. For this is needed:

> (...) reorganize the public service and continually qualify the public servants so that the population is appropriately assisted in their demands. (...) We want to bury in the past the fiscal wars among the Northeastern states, in which exemptions, subsidies and incentives became weapons, in the battles for the attraction of public and private enterprises. Such policies isolated and impoverished us. In its place we will look for regional planning, backed by the federal government's structured investments in the area, in the invigoration and modernization of institutional instruments such as the new Sudene and in articulate actions for the state governments' group.

Finally, Eduardo Campos presents a new form of government:

> (...) which is participative, transparent, politically united, responsible in fiscal administration and committed to the integrated and ecologically sustainable development for all the areas of the state.

He announces that the accounts of the state will be presented through internet and he sets up a Controlling body.

In sixty days the *Transparency Portal* was implanted and the anti-nepotism law was approved. In an unprecedented manner the *Comitês de Busca* (search comities) in the state were created with representatives from society so as to choose the Hemope managers, the Regional Managers for Health and Education, professionalizing areas where indications for positions were always disputed by political groups.

Among many actions of this beginning of government some stand out. Fulfilling campaign commitment in reducing the electric power bill of 677 thousand families by up to 26,8%, exempt from ICMS tax collection. Social programs were implanted as the *Chapéu de Palha* (straw hat) and this set off the second phase of the Combat Rural Poverty Project which will benefit 179 municipal districts in the interior of Pernambuco with the assistance of 3.100 associations and cooperatives. The state government and city hall of Recife, governed by João Paulo, PT, make partnerships in poorer barrios. There is already a consortium of federal and state governments and municipal districts for a Tourist and Cultural Compound for Recife and Olinda.

He assumed the government with a high deficit but is looking for a dynamic balance with reduction of expenses. For this he can make funds available for the construction of the new hospital on the north coast while not delay payment of employees and already beginning the construction of popular houses with the goal of 20 thousand by June 2008.

22 technology companies, national and multinational, were invited to invest in the state. On a visit to China, in June 2007, the governor made a partnership with the third company in patrimony in China, Citic Internation Co. Ltd., to make possible the Transnordestina project. New investments will generate thousands of new jobs, as the Abreu and Lima Refinery, the shipyard and the Petroquímico center in the Suape Port Compound.

In an interview on the PSB site he shows how he made the courageous decision of closing 70 state schools with such precarious conditions that, before his coming to office, a roof fell in. There was solidarity and temporary buildings were found so as to carry out reforms to the buildings in at the most 90 days.

As to the controversy transposition of Rio San Francisco he said that he did everything possible to revitalize the river. He thinks that when the transposition takes place, after the revitalization, one will need work on the water supply for the communities. The water systems in Pernambuco are rationed in rotation. Any way, Pernambuco will have by the end of 2007 a system of sustainable water supply in the cities to end the famous water truck, an instrument of politicians' power, that can change a can of water into a vote.

Concluding this chapter in which we told the story of the socialist state administrations, it is interesting to see that in May 2007, at the Forum for Governors of the Northeast there were three socialist governors: Wilma de Faria, Rio Grande do Norte; Cid Gomes, Ceará; and Eduardo Campos, Pernambuco. All in partnership with the federal government commanded by Lula, defending in a common way to end the fiscal war that has lasted twenty years, the Transnordestina railroad, bringing federal universities to the interior, biodiesel and vocational schools for secondary schooling. Each one of the governors seeks to defend the interests of his state, but within a regional and national vision. As much republicanism which places public interest above the private, and federalism which thinks of a plural Brazil, with the characteristics and cultures of each area respected and living together, with the decrease of regional inequalities obtained by a sovereign and sustainable national development, which are present in the states administrations of the PSB.

Sources:
MOULIN, Nilson (org.). *Amapá, um norte para o Brasil*. São Paulo: Cortez, 2000.
PSB. *Anais do 5º Congresso Nacional*, 1995
PSB/Fundação João Mangabeira. *O Modelo Socialista de Governar*, 2001
RUELLAN, Alain; CABRAL, Manuel e MOULIN, Nilson (orgs.). *Desenvolvimento Sustentável no Amapá: uma visão crítica*. Brasília: Fundação João Mangabeira, 2007.






01


02


03

01. Senator Patrícia Saboya
02. Senator Renato Casagrande (Leader)
03. Senator Antonio Carlos Valadares


04


05


06


07


08


09


10


11


12


13


14


15


16


17


18


19


20


21


22


23


24


25


26


27


28


29


30


31

04. Deputy Marcelo Serafim
05. Deputy Mauro Nazif
06. Deputy Eduardo Lopes
07. Deputy Fernando Coelho
08. Deputy Ciro Gomes
09. Deputy Rodrigo Rollemberg
10. Deputy Valadares Filho
11. Deputy Ubiali
12. Deputy Ribamar Alves
13. Deputy Gonzaga Patriota
14. Deputy Luiza Erundina
15. Deputy Ana Arraes
16. Deputy Abelardo Camarinha
17. Deputy Ariosto Holanda
18. Deputy Atila Lira
19. Deputy Beto Albuquerque

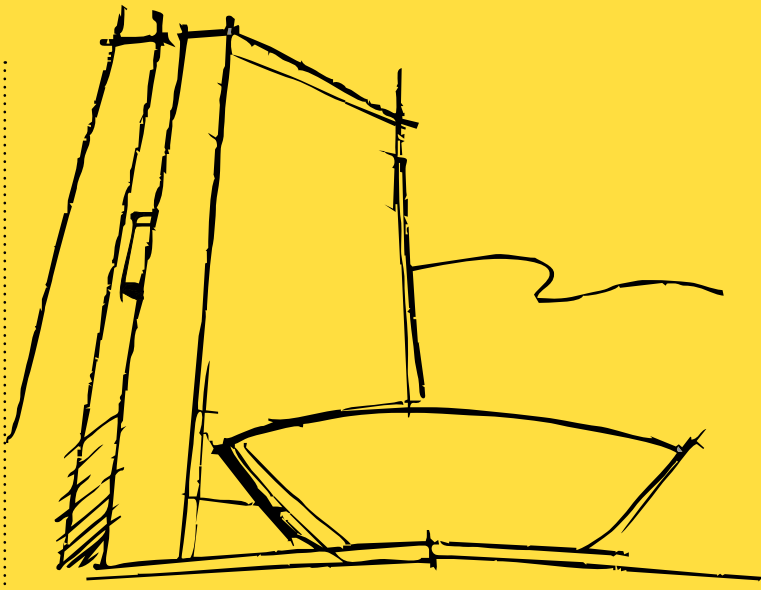
20. Deputy Djalma Berger
21. Deputy Márcio França (Leader)
22. Deputy Givaldo Carimbão
23. Deputy Janete Capiberibe
24. Deputy Júlio Delgado
25. Deputy Laurez Moreira
26. Deputy Lídice da Mata
27. Deputy Manoel Junior
28. Deputy Marcondes Gadelha
29. Deputy Rogério Marinho
30. Deputy Valtenir Pereira
31. Deputy Sandra Rosado
32. Deputy Maria Helena
33. Deputy B. Sá
34. Deputy Alexandre Cardosp (license)


32


33


34

Chapter VI
The PSB and the Nation



We have accompanied the historical course of the PSB over its 60 years of existence. We have seen its actions in city halls and states. We will now lean over and examiner closely its national actions. The PSB pursues a national objective – to build a socialist Brazil, with a combined representative democracy of citizen participation and political sovereignty. This objective is harmonized with a historical international struggle for a fair and united world. The reconstruction of the PSB began in Rio de Janeiro in 1985 but it united as much the old militants as new structures from all over the country. The Party contributed decisively in the democratic transition aimed at a real change and not just o formal one. During the Constituent National Congress, even with a small number of parliamentarians the Party was able to guarantee important conquests in the Brazilian Constitution. It was capable in of providing consistent opposition to the successive governments of Fernando Collor and Fernando Henrique Cardoso. It participated of the Government of Itamar guaranteeing innovative options in culture and health, without losing its critical independence, and removed itself when FHC started to dictate the economical policies. It acted and still acts guided by in left wing fronts and, when necessary, those of the center-left. Today it leads the left wing block that supports the progress of Lula's Government, without failing to present criticisms when the government options are subordinated to the big powers of Brazil and the world. The performance of the PSB will be examined in the Federal House, in the Senate of the Republic and in the ministries directed by its militants.

House of Deputies

The electoral results of the last federal elections resulted in the PSB moving from being a small parliamentary representation to that of being a party which overcame the "barrier clause" and even while not being part of the big parties has political weight due to its united and consistent performance. We will observe the political positions of the party through the performance of its political platforms, through the speeches, proposals and interventions and by way of legal propositions.

The federal deputies of the PSB in spite of giving priority to the questions of the state for which they were chosen also act combining regional questions with the national perspective. They are representatives of the Brazilian people and not just their states. Here we will make a general evaluation of the parliamentary performance of the PSB which soon after the reconstruction in 1986 chooses Beth Azize (AM) as its first federal deputy.

In 1987 as the Party had clear left wing positions and opposition to the Government of Sarney and as Senator Jamil Haddad was a very respected public figure, new left wing parliamentarians joined the PSB, for example José Luís Guedes (MG), Raquel Capiberibe (AP), Abigail Feitosa (BA), Ademir Andrade (PA) and José Carlos Sabóia (MA) who became leader of the

group. As members of the Constituent Congress they took part in the left wing alliance formed with the PT, PCB, PCdoB, PDT and the Progressive Unity Movement (MUP), obtaining political force and as a consequence being able to win a lot of votes. A great part of the advances in the Constitution were due to this strategy. It is important to point out that Jamil Haddad's performance brought about the definition, in the new "Carta" (Letter), that the crime of torture be without bail and insusceptible to pardon or amnesty. He also elaborated the bill that defines torture. The right wing ended up organizing the so called *"centrão"* to recover space in the voting and in so doing making the facilitative forms of agrarian reform unfeasible, for instance.

In 1989 the socialist parliamentarians voted against the Provisional Measures of Sarney's Government which compromised budgets for Health and Social Welfare, which closed the Ministry of Science and Technology and allowed for the alienation of up to 70% of the shares of state companies.

The socialists demanded the application of the new Constitution. Abigail Feitosa (BA) demanded from the minister for Communications, Antônio Carlos Magalhães, the compliance of art. 8, paragraph 5 that amnesties public servants who were punished for participating in strikes and political reasons. Parallel to this they participated in the articulations of the *Frente Brasil Popular* which would support Lula in the presidential elections, in the search for sustainable changes. At the end of the year the II National Congress of the PSB took place and the party began to occupy positions in the National Executive Commission. Ademir Andrade (PA) as 2nd vice-president; Raquel Capiberibe (AP), 3rd vice-president; José Carlos Sabóia (MA), treasurer; and Abigail Feitosa (BA) as voting membro.

Once Collor was elected the work of the socialist parliamentary opposition, now with 11 deputies, will be not only against the Plano Collor but also against privatization measures. An example of the application of the constitutional advances can be found in the proposal of Abigail Feitosa (BA) in an amendment to the Consolidation of the Labor Laws (CLT), increasing paragraphs to art. 389 with the obligation of companies with more than 50 employees of providing day care centers, and so fulfilling that determination in art. 7 clause XXV of the new *Carta.*

Law propositions that were shelved at the time are today a reality showing their proactive character, as that of Célio de Castro (MG) which prohibits the commercialization of blood and its derivatives; that of Jamil Haddad (RJ), of free transport on inter municipal busses for the over 65; or that o Maria Luiza Fontenele (CE), regulating on crimes of family violence and sanctions. Project that of Jamil Haddad, 1991, which became Law 9.023, on April 5, 1995, impeding in the area of health the destination of public resources for aid, subsidies, grants, as well as the concession of time limits or privileged interest rates to private institutions with a lucrative objective.

We can accompany several manifestations of the PSB federal deputies in the *Brasil Socialista* . In the number zero, of June 30, 1991, José Carlos Sabóia (MA), leader in the House, shows himself to be in total disagreement with the omission of Congress in the debate on the great national questions, such as the bankruptcy of the State as an instrument for stimulating the economy. Also vice-leader Célio de Castro (MG) warns of the risk in selling Usiminas and the privatization of important social institutions. "International capital returns now to the services sector, seen as the most profitable business in the world".

In the area of Health it presents the testimony of a Brazilian psychiatrist, professor at Harvard, in which the control of the large corporations and insurance companies in North American Medicine is shown. At that time the privatization that today takes care of the sector was beginning in Brazil. In the same edition, Deputy Jamil Haddad (RJ) talks about the favorable position to parliamentarism as the socialists' option in the plebiscite. This is because it decentralizes decisions, allows for greater popular participation and is more resistant to arbitration.

The newspaper also announces that the PSB deputies try to avoid the vetoes form Collor to the new electoral law, which favors distortions in the election.

In the 3rd edition of *Brasil Socialista*, of Oct/Nov. 1991, it announces the departure of Miguel Arraes to the tribune of the Camera, as spokesperson for the Parliamentary Nationalist Front, to read his manifesto. Among other points, the document condemns the sale of Usiminas and alerts as to the accelerated denationalization process.

In May 1992 when the accusations against the treasurer of Collor's campaign appear, the PSB, initially through the pronouncement for Deputy Miguel Arraes (PE) and, soon after by the leader in the Câmara Castro Célio (MG), requests the call for a CPI. This Commission will have as its members the federal Deputy Jamil Haddad (RJ) and Senator Paulo Bisol (RS). The work of the CPI, while respecting all juridical precepts, will be accompanied by great popular mobilization with the "*Fora Collor*".

In the 6th edition of *Brasil Socialista*, of July of this same year, the interview of Jamil Haddad (RJ) is transcribed to the *Jornal do Comércio*, of Rio de Janeiro, in which he analyzes the ministerial reform that Collor carried out so as to keep away the news of corruption and he points out the path for the opposition which is to present an alternative project to the ruling chaos. In the same edition of the BS, the leader in the House, Célio de Castro (MG) shows that the PSB is against the anticipation of the plebiscite, because of its illegal character and for it being an agreement among the elite.

In his pronouncement in the Camera, Arraes (PE) finds the federal government's optimistic declarations as strange and shows that the economical crisis intensifies alongside the political crisis. He makes an exhortation to the union of the forces of the nation in order to reverse the adopted economical politics, because once denationalized poverty will be greater and dismay will set in.

The newspaper also comments on the reaction of the small parties as to the voting of the proposal of law that seeks to make them unfeasible by using the "barrier clause". The leaders of the PTR, PPS, PST, PCdoB, PSB, PL, PV and PDC underwrite same.

In the 7th edition of BS, of September 1992, shows reiterating pronouncements from Deputy Jamil Haddad (RJ), president of the PSB, on the need for impeachment and the risk that there would be civil disobedience if impunity prevailed. Célio de Castro (MG), as leader in the House, points out that:

> (...) the defense of ethics should not be limited to the mere substitution of the President of the Republic. Ethics should mean the establishment of compatible social relationships with the dignity of the human being. Economical policies and other administrative actions can only be considered ethical if they answer to the interests of the majority of the Brazilian society.

Upon completion of the work of the CPI, the National Congress prepares the voting process for the impeachment. Itamar Franco, vice-president, assumes ad interim the Presidency and, after the renouncement and repeal of Collor, assumes in a permanent manner so as to complete the mandate.

PSB supports the Itamar Government with two ministers, Jamil Haddad, in Health, and Antônio Houaiss, in Culture. The party does not abandon, however, the critical vigilance of the government actions. In March of 1993, Deputy Miguel Arraes makes a serious pronouncement in defense of the nationalism and against the neoliberal pressure on the federal government.

In 1994, the socialists again support Lula for Presidency of the Republic, but he is defeated by Fernando Henrique Cardoso.

In the House of the Deputies, the Party moves from 11 to 15 parliamentarians. From 1995 to 2002 the block will make an intense combat against the neo-liberal policies applied by FHC.

The pronouncement of Deputy Ricardo Maranhão (RJ), in 27/9/99, *"Privatização: Modernidade ou Retrocesso"* (Privatization: Modernity or Setback), offers an example of a well sustained criticism. He begins by showing that the privatizations are being made with foundation in Law 8.031 of 12/4/90, originated from temporary measure edited in the Collor Government. Its defenders argued that the sale of state companies is necessary so as to remove the Brazilian State from economical activity so that it can devote itself to the government's typical tasks of Health, Education and Security.

Besides this the resources obtained would muffle the public debt, both internally and externally. Another argument in favor of the privatizations was that they would increase the productivity of the economy; they would generate employment and technological development and would lower the prices of products. And, finally, they argued that the Brazilian State would be very big, extravagant and inefficient, answering to the states companies for the public deficit.

Ricardo Maranhão then makes a critical evaluation of the results. The public services in Education, Health, Safety or Social welfare continued but of the worst possible quality.

We want to transform this State. It should not be bureaucratized. It should be humanized, reoriented as to its social obligations, it should not be corrupt, it should de democratized and above all made public. Never try to brush it aside, to make it minimum, weak, unable to carry out the true functions of the modern democratic State.

Examine the second argument of those who wish to privatize and see that the public debt which was estimated to be located between twenty or thirty billion Real had passed, after the sale of more than 100 public companies, to 400 billion. "We were left without patrimony and with an un-payable debt". Finally with regards to the inefficiency of the State and the public deficit it shows "the State spends badly and assists those who do not need public assistance".

Then he analyses some of the consequences of the National Program for Privatization:

1. Damages to Public Patrimony.

   Some companies were sold for ridiculous values. The National Metallurgical Company (CSN) was evaluated at values which were half its going price.

2. Unemployment.

   The privatizations have made dozens of thousands of workers unemployed, worsening the problem even more.

3. Privatization and non privatization.

   The Brazilian State was substituted by the foreign State or private companies in strategic sections of our economy.

4. Increase in prices and public tariffs.

5. Fall in the quality of services.

6. Worsening of the concentration of income in Brazil and creation of great fortunes over night, the "barons" of privatization.

7. Social setback.

   Besides mass dismissals the private companies stimulate the creation of cooperatives so as not to pay the social responsibilities. Insecurity as to work begins.

8. Technological setback.

9. Losses for the minority shareholders.

10. Losses for the communities where the privatized companies used to be.

With this there is an increase in the unemployment index, violence and the growth of slums.

Why not consult the people about the convenience and the need of continuing with these privatizations? The Uruguayan people when consulted in plebiscite showed by a wide majority to be against these privatizations. We leave our suggestion here.

As well as the public and well formulated combat against the neoliberal measures of FHC's government,

several federal deputies of the PSB also presented many bills over the period. There are important projects that unhappily were put in the drawer. Deputy Adelson Salvador's (ES) proposition in 1995, of instituting public compulsory examinations for the nomination of ministers to the Auditing Court of the Union would give greater independence to the ministers in the combat of corruption. Deputy José Antônio Almeida's proposition (MA), in 2001, eliminating the constitutional demand of the secret vote in the National Congress, would make it clearer which representatives voted for the population. This would hinder the election of those who vote against popular interests.

In the defense of life, Raquel Capiberibe (AP) presented a project, in 1995, against crimes of sexual harassment and violence in the home family; Beto Lelis (BA) proposed, in 1996, the transmission through the broadcasting stations of educational messages for the prevention of ill-treatments to children; Gonzaga Patriota (PE), in 1995, defended the obligatory use of the safety belt, and Doctor Evilásio, in 1999, proposed the prohibition of the use, ownership and commercialization of weapons.

For the creation of employment and income, Eduardo Campos (PE) proposed, in 1999 and 2003, incentives for the recruiting of young people for their first employment and unemployed with more than 45 years, and Gonzaga Patriota for unemployed above 40 years. Gervásio Oliveira's (AP) proposition of 1997 would turn obligatory the creation of ecological parks in all the Brazilian municipal districts. Still in process are several propositions of inspection as to the use of public budgets made by deputies Beto Albuquerque (RS), Pastor Francisco Olímpio (PE), Ribamar Alves (MA) and Renato Casagrande (ES) Carlos Mota's proposition (MG) typifies the crime of embezzlement of public resources.

Givaldo Carimbão has a proposition that would avoid in the case of a deputy close to being punished by loss of mandate to escape by way of renouncement, as it would be a case for ineligibility. Other projects make military service voluntary and extends higher qualification to the military police and firemen (Gonzaga Patriota/PE), create a progressive tax about inheritances and donations (Luiza Erundina/SP) or the expropriation of lands where slavery or similar conditions are used (Marcelo Serafim/AM). In the search for transparency in public administrations, Ariosto Holanda (CE) made an indicative project (which goes directly to the President) of a system of "info-vias" at the service of transparency which would be on line the information as to the movement of public bills, for all the citizens. Janete and João Capiberibe also presented a similar complementary bill.

We avoided presentation all the projects in transit or propositions that became juridical norms so as not to tire our readers.

In conclusion we can verify that after Lula's victory for the Presidency of the Republic, the PSB block supported the government with the first concern of forming a sustainable base that did not exist. Support the reforms, without subservience. In the pension reform the PSB did not waiver Public Pensions. In Tributary Reform the PSB made 11 proposals with respect to the consumer. The exoneration of the basic food basket won the identity of the PSB alongside the medicines of continuous use and also the generics. In the difficult moments of 2005, the PSB worked decisively in the construction of governability. In the second government of Lula, leading the left support block the PSB tries to make the center-left government move forward in the sense of the changes which are necessary and desired by most of the population. In June 2007, the party members of the left block – PSB, PDT, PCdoB, PMN, PRB and PHS – presented a Common Proposal Program.

Defenders of a national project of development guided by the invigoration of country sovereignty, amplification of democracy, social justice and continental integration define your commitments as to common actions. We conclude with the presentation of five indispensable reforms to the national project:

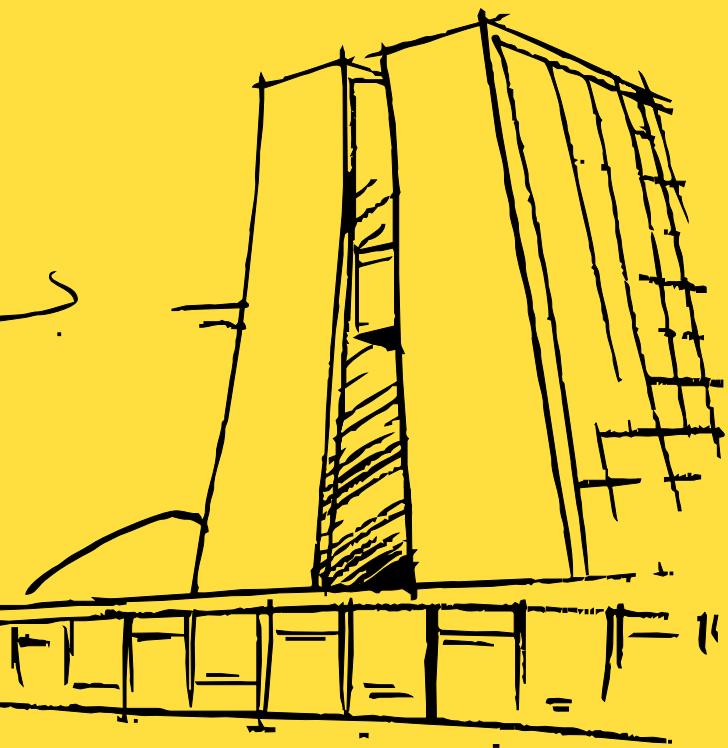
Political reforms which strengthen and enlarge democracy and participation and assure political pluralism. Tributary reforms

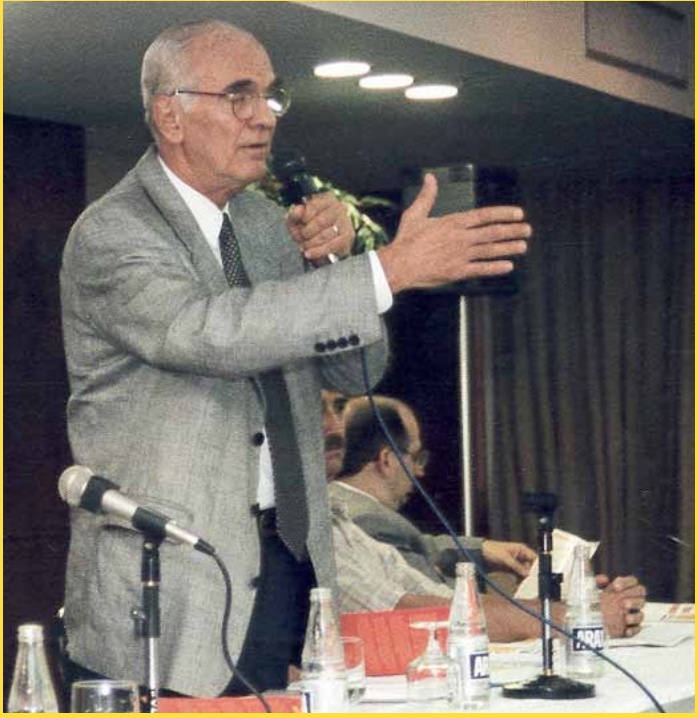
committed to the de-concentration the income, combat regional inequalities, exoneration of production and formal employment. Academic reforms which democratize access to higher education, with the expansion of public universities and social control of private teaching and massive and systematic investments in research. Urban reform with the necessary investments to guarantee access to quality housing and essential services, especially, basic sanitation and mass public transportation. Ample agrarian reforms wide, massive and of quality, and the application of agricultural policies that promote the development of national agriculture.

Republic Senate

The Senate is formed according to Brazilian institutional logic by three representatives from each state of the Federation, independent of the number of voters.

If the House of Deputies represents the Brazilian people, the Senate represents the states of the federation. But if the socialist senators try to represent the interests of their states in a manner that shows priority, they apply in their parliamentary action a





national vision. After all, if we move forward nationally in the construction of a developed society, sustainable and just, all the states will be benefitted. As federal deputies, the senators of Party have acted within the party strategy, in opposition to the governments of Sarney, Collor, FHC, in support, with independence of the Government Itamar Franco and in the support, without subordination, for the Lula Government.

Upon reconstruction of the PSB in 1985, its first senator, in this period, Jamil Haddad, assumes office as substitute to Saturnino Braga, elected mayor of Rio de Janeiro. Besides presiding over the PSB, he had vigorous performances in the Senate, receiving note 10 from the Intersindical Department of Parliamentary Consultancy (Diap). Of the 536 amendments that were presented in the systematization phase of the Constitution, 114 were approved. He voted in favor of the proposals of breaking diplomatic relationships with countries that adopted politics of racial discrimination, of proportional dismissal notice, of syndical unity, of the vote for 16 year olds, of the nationalization of the underground, of remuneration of 50% above for extra work, a weekly working day of 40 hours, the prohibition to trade blood, the limitation for responsibilities as to the foreign debt, the creation of a support fund for agrarian reform, and stability in employment. He voted against the death penalty proposals, the presidential system and the five year mandate for Sarney and the legalization of the *jogo do bicho* (sort of lottery).

It was the amendment of his authorship that typifies the crime of torture in State organs and the punishments for the crime. He finished his mandate in the beginning of 1991, having been chosen federal deputy for Rio de Janeiro, in 1990.

Senator José Paulo Bisol, of Rio Grande do Sul joined the PSB, in 1989. He was chosen as candidate for vice-president of the Republic, in the *Frente Brasil Popular* campaign, with Lula for president. His participation was very important to take Lula to the second round against Collor. He was an outstanding member, a respected jurist, of the CPI that investigated Collor's crimes and indicated the repeal of his mandate, in 1992. He ended his parliamentary activities, in 1995.

Chosen senator for Pará, in 1994, the then federal deputy Ademir Andrade exercised his mandate up to 2002. Examining his propositions we see all the coherence of a socialist mandate. As well as the critical speeches against the privatization process accentuated in the FHC government, he directs solicitations to the ministers, as to those for Planning and Budget, from whom he asks explanations, in 1996, about the privatization of *Eletronorte* assets. On the other hand constant are his supervisory solicitations to the Ministry for Health, as to the total value, reviewed month after month, originating from the CPMF (Provisional Contribution on Financial Transfers); to the Treasury Department, on the receivables of the CPMF; to the Ministry of Aeronautics, in 1999, on accusations as to the use of military aircrafts for the ministers carnival in Fernando de Noronha; or on expenses with publicity and propaganda in several ministries. He makes amendments that determine obligatory notification to the Legislative Assemblies and Legislative House of the Federal District of resources liberated by the federal government to the states and Federal District.

Amazonia is a constant concern in his mandate. In 1996, he requests the formation of a Temporary Commission, composed of 11 titular senators and the same number of substitutes, to look together with the scientific community and society in general for new proposals as to the development of Amazonia, with improvement in life quality for the whole population. This concern is accompanied by the environmental variable. To the Ministry for the Environment, for Water Resources and Amazonian Legal he requests information, in 1997, on the Asian timber companies acting in the Amazonian region and responsible for the destruction of an important part of the forest. To stimulate ecological actions he proposes amendment that grant tributary immunity, for a period of 15 years, for fluorescent lamps, sodium lamps and the inputs destined to their production. Another concern which is always present is the rural workers' defense against violence. For instance he requests the setting up of an external commission, formed of five senators, destined to discover, in loco, the violent occurrence against forty rural land less workers, in Eldorado dos Carajás, in the state of Pará, in 1996, in order to establish responsibilities and proposes measures to the state Executive and Judiciary, as well as to the federal government.

Elected as Senator by Rio de Janeiro in 1998, Saturnino Braga makes important propositions as to preference of procedure for people's juridical processes for those who are 60 years and over and the dispensation from procedural costs for the poor and unemployed. Also to add to the Code of Consumer Defense the need for information as to the useful life of the product. In 2001, as a reporter for the Commission of Ethics, he examined the accusation as to the violation of the voting panel of the Senate by senators Antônio Carlos Magalhães and José Roberto de Arruda, he registered the obvious existence of indications of practice of acts contrary to parliamentary decency, and indicated opening the process for the repeal of the respective mandates. In the face of the repeal hypothesis, both renounced before. In 2002, he left the PSB because he did support the indication of Garotinho's candidacy to the Presidency of the Republic.

João Capiberibe was elected in 2002 as senator for Amapá where he had been governor for two terms. Among his propositions we have detached the accompaniment of problems experienced by the

population of his state. He demands providences from the Ministry of Health on successive crises of the bone break fever, accusations as to bad administration of medicines and deficiencies in several state hospitals. But the most important and innovator proposal was the *Lei Complementar* (Complementary Bill) 217/2004, presented by him in the Senate and by Janete Capiberibe in the House which determines the publication of revenues and expenses of all public bodies, of municipal districts, states and Union, in real time, by electronic means (via internet). The *Frente Parlamentar de Combate à Corrupção* (Parliamentary Front to Combat Corruption) included this matter as priority for voting. We hope that when you are reading this history of the PSB this will have already become law. One cannot put an end entirely to the corruption which reigns in the country, but we can try to reduce the margin for maneuver of the public money thieves. This senator, a person who always made of his political life an example of honesty in the use of public money ended up losing his mandate, in 2005, because the TSE accepted as truthful his political opponents' accusation, that of a presumed purchase of votes.

Chosen as senator in 2002, by the PSB, for Sergipe, Antônio Carlos Valadares has been doing an admirable job of his mandate. Among his propositions there is a clear combats against the possibilities of corruption. He proposed an amendment to art 71 of the Constitution, to check auto enforceability as to the decisions of the Union's Accounts Tribunal. He proposes an amendment that alters the composition of art 37 of the Constitution and defines parameters for the laws establishing requirements that should be observed by candidates to positions and public employment. For the election mandates he proposes alterations to arts 17 and 55 of the Constitution, to establish party fidelity. He also enlarges the power of the electorate when altering the composition of art 14 of the Constitution creating two new institutes of participative democracy, the Right of Repeal and the Popular Veto. Concerning the question of divorce he added to the Code of Civil Process the consensual conversion of the separation in divorce by administrative means, which makes the process faster.

Elected in 2002 as senator for Ceará, Patrícia Sabóia Gomes was president of the Commission for Social Affairs. Between June 2003 and July 2004 she presided over CPMI destined to investigate the sexual exploration of children and adolescents. The questions which stand out in her mandate are the social subjects which attend the Brazilian family. She made propositions that created the *Empresa–Cidadã* program (Company-Citizen), destined to extend maternity license through the concession of fiscal incentives; the allocation of values originally outstanding to public agents and recovered by legal entities of public right to the National Fund for the Child and Adolescent; the registration of the *Apgar* Index of in the records of the newly born and in the child's card. On unemployment insurance she made an amendment increasing the maximum period of insurance perception in the case of the physically disabled worker.

The most recent senator of the PSB is Renato Casagrande who was elected for Espírito Santo in 2006. He has been working very hard on subjects relating of the environment. Examples of this are the amendment to arts. 21, 22 and 38 of Law no. 9.433/1997 so as to establish retribution for environmental services resulting from good rural practices which result in a greater availability of water in amount and quality in the hydrographic basins. Also the new composition of art. 31 of Law no. 8.078/1990 to include the duty of the suppliers to inform the consumers, when putting products on offer, as the efficiency and energy consumption of products and services

He also made the amendment to Legislative Decree no. 7/1995 to impede payment of allowance to the parliamentarian during the extraordinary legislative sessions. We citizens thank him.

As to the PSB parliamentarians in the National Congress, the Diap evaluations are always positive. Annually various socialist are shown on the list of the 100 more influential parliamentarians. Among the deputies are Rodrigo Rollemberg (DF), Márcio França and Luiza Erundina (SP), Beto Albuquerque (RS) and

Ciro Gomes (CE). Among the senators are Renato Casagrande (ES) and Patrícia Sabóia (CE).

Federal Government

The reconstructed PSB will occupy important ministries in the governments of Itamar Franco and Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva.

In spite of not participating in power nucleus, the politics adopted by these administrators had the socialists' mark.

Between October 1992 and August 1993, Jamil Haddad was minister for Health, in Itamar Franco's government. His life experience, as an admired doctor, socialist and constituent senator brought to the ministry the diagnosis of the "hospital Brazil": an example of inequality and social injustice. Illnesses such as tuberculosis, malaria, schistosomiasis and chagas, which are nonexistent in more just societies, continue to have thousands of victims in this continental country. The model of economical development, established by the military regime and continued in the democratic period, will have as its basic features:

1. Centralization of resources and power in the federal sphere;
2. Spatial concentration of productive activities, provoking enormous regional inequalities;
3. Extreme inequality in the distribution of income;
4. Absence of priority to state actions destined to assist the basic needs of the population;
5. Loss by the state and municipal governments of revenue and administration autonomy in consequence of a strong dependence on federal transfers.

Besides this the recognition of health as a social right and duty of the State, the frequent elevation of expenses due to increases in the complexity of the work relating to health and the bad use of public resources, which is a national tradition, have become even more serious than diagnosed. But in a short time in ministry for Health, Jamil revolutionized its administration. There were four decisive changes thanks to a competent policy, directed to the needs of the majority of the population, and using public resources honesty.

The *Sistema Único de Saúde* (unified health system) (SUS) was beginning its implantation, but the Collor Government had left a debt of US$ 500 million. The minister is able to gradually make the payments and offers the opportunity to all municipal districts of the implantation of the decentralized system, provided that they carry out the demands such as the implantation of the Municipal Council of Health, Health Plan and others. The municipal districts work with accompaniment from the ministry of Health. The constitutional purpose begins to be carried out. Decree 793, of April 1993, known as "*the law of the generics*" will implant a new policy for medicines which combines quality with a reduction in prices. What is important is the active principle of the medicine and not its invented name. The great international laboratories will use all possible weapons to defeat this policy. Fortunately Jamil won the day and generic medicine is a reality today.



The Clerkship for Sanitary Surveillance, under Roberto Chabo's direction, reevaluated the medicines on the market, prohibiting many that were innocuous or noxious, it reorganized the clerkship, giving quality to an essential service that had been put on the scrap heap in the Collor Government. The public state and military laboratories received an injection of vitality with the financial support from the Ministry. They were almost destroyed and they increased production by leaps and bounds. The Party accompanied the administration, publishing the work commanded by Jamil, who when he left the post was awarder the honors of honorary President.

At his side in the Ministry for Culture will be Antônio Houaiss who applies to the cultural policies his vast experience as professor, linguist, translator, literary critic, diplomat and socialist. He was so respected in the area of the culture that he was honored by great Brazilian intellectuals with the book *Antônio Houaiss: a life*, when he completed 80 years of age in 1995. In the several governments this ministry received insufficient budgets to carry out its tasks. Even so, Houaiss invested in two priorities: the recovery of our historical and artistic patrimony and support to cultural creation from the various regions. In this policy there was the incentive for the school network to make the production of Brazilian cultural the center of its work and the various media guarantee space for local culture in each area.

Houaiss started from the idea that the Ministry for Culture was the stimulator of several expressions of national culture, with ample freedom for creation. He helped to rebuild the national cinema that was dying. The Audiovisual Law was bombarded in the Congress by the all powerful North American ambassador for movies Harry Stone. The commission of representatives of the artistic class already discussed the criteria for the *"Prêmio Resgate do Cinema Brasileiro"* (Ransom Award for the Brazilian Cinema) which divided US$ 20 million among hundreds of projects. Having creativity, honesty and competence as their only resources, the museum directors kept the house open with the aid of Friends Associations. Ferreira Gullar, in Funarte, and Roman Afonso de Sant`Ana, in the National Library, were able to work miracles with the computerization of the archives, seminars, awards and releases. Under violent pressure from the cultural industry, Houaiss ended up getting sick and left the Ministry in August 1993.

In 2003, as from the beginning of Lula's Government, the PSB seeks to guarantee in Parliament the changes in administration directed at interests of most of the Brazilian population and the Party participates, in the Executive, of the application of the government's program which was proposed to the voters in 2002. Science and technology are shown, all over the world developed, as activities of the greatest importance for the development of a people. In its several government programs, and in the state governments that it commanded, the PSB gave emphasis to this area as the instrument for sovereign insertion of Brazil in the globalization process. The country that grows in scientific and technological knowledge can not only face the problems of its reality better, contribute to the knowledge and development humanity, but also to have prominence in international competition, without needing to kneel down and beg in front of international capital and big powers.

In the Ministry for Science and Technology the PSB will be represented, in 2003, for minister by Roberto Amaral, lawyer, political scientist and writer between January 2004 and June 2005, and by the economist and federal deputy Eduardo Campos; and as from June 2005 onwards, by the Doctor (PhD) in Electronic Engineering/Material Science, Sérgio Resende. A policy that has continuity and adaptations in the face of the needs of the area is being applied. At the end of 2003, Miguel Arraes, who was federal deputy and president of the PSB, declared:

> Upon accepting to be part of the present government, the PSB chose an absolutely strategic Ministry. To lead it the choice fell to companion Roberto Amaral who was conducting a coherent administration with the ideas of Party and with the vision and sense of transformation advocated by President Lula's government. In minister

> Amaral's mandate the idea which is the force for change is, in fact, expressed in the ethical posture of seeing science and technology as fundamental instruments for the construction of a society which is inclusive, fair and uniting. From here comes the firm orientation for special de-concentration, in other words, the expansion of scientific and technological development to all areas of the country, with a strong sense of the absolute need for overcoming historical unbalances, administering the challenge of supporting and guaranteeing the development of the present centers of excellence, and promote, at the same time, the advance of the areas of lower economical, scientific and technological density.

Minister Roberto Amaral had clarity as to the difficulties he was to face. In a speech given on 4/6/2003, "Science and Technology in the change process", the minister said:

> To lead changes is to combat a conservative State. It is to hurt privileges which are camouflaged as rights. It is to never treat of popular rights. They are always the interests of the owners' of power, in a perversely authoritarian society. (...) These changes depend on support, the clarity of the civil society. (...) Change is possible.

We can mention some points of its democratic administration and with participation, as the re-articulation of the National Council for Science and Technology, which was two years without meeting; the federalization of the decisions establishing partnerships with state governments; establishment of permanent consultations with the scientific community; and working in cooperation with the government organs of related politics. Among the innovations was the setting up of the Clerkship for Science and Technology for Social Inclusion; the de-concentration of investments such as support for the creation of the International Institute of Neurosciences, in Natal; the acceleration of the Regional Center for Nuclear Research for medical and agricultural applications, in Recife; the installation of the Institute for the Semi-arid; studies for the implantation of a center of drug production, in Fortaleza; and a Technology Institute in Piauí. The construction of the Center for Excellency in Advanced Technology, in Rio Grande do Sul, for the micro-electronic production is an example of the accomplishments of MCT for the competitive substitution of imports. Another implemented policy was to accelerate the formation of researchers, raising to 14.500 the number of grants. The goal until the end of Lula's mandate is to form 10 thousand doctors a year, an increase of almost 70%. The international work of the MCT has been developing side by side with the new guidelines for autonomy and national sovereignty. Minister Amaral signed an agreement with the United States to develop advanced nuclear research and negotiated with Ukraine and the National Congress the approval of the Safeguards Agreement for the use of the Rocket Launch Center at Alcântara for the Cyclone craft. It also enlarged cooperation with China in the areas of nuclear and space research, and boost scientific and technological cooperation with the Mercosul countries.

In his administration Eduardo Campos insisted on showing that the Ministry for Science and Technology, managed by the PSB, belongs to the Brazilian society, governed by it and for it. He always sought for the connection between the scientific and academic community's interests with the needs of the country. In the strategic program of the MCT there was enlargement of spaces such as programs of genetic improvement of family agriculture and technologies for popular housing. Articulate with the government group he was able to get the approval and implementation of the Industrial, Technological and External Trade Policy (PITCE). He also helped, together with the National Congress, with the approval of the Technological Innovation Law, which authorizes research with embryonic stem-cells. He supported programs which create links between the detainers of scientific and technological

knowledge, and bearers of popular wisdom such as the Vocational Technological Centers, Local Productive Arrangements, Technological Academic Extension and Network of Social Technology.

Sérgio Resende, who was Secretary of State for Science and Technology and Environment for Pernambuco, in Miguel Arraes's administration, and before assuming the MCT was president of the Studies and Projects Funding (Finep/MCT), gave continuity to the policies of the ministry set up by Amaral and Eduardo Campos, and created new actions. The policy of the MCT is with such positive evaluation that the scientific community suggested Sérgio's continuity as minister in the second government of Lula. This took place. Only to have an idea of the work of the MCT, we have transmitted some of the news of June 2007:

- Brazil and Cepal close an agreement in the area of energy for the study of bio-combustibles, climatic changes, intellectual property and financing of sustainable industrial processes.
- The MCT promotes workshop gathering researchers and managers of entities linked to the questions of the Northeast as to the semi-arid. MCT and CNPq launched an announcement for the selection of projects of scientific propaganda in the Amazon region.
- The Federal government enlarged the benefits for the Computer Program for All, including notebooks.

In 2005 Ciro Gomes opted to join the PSB. He was minister for National Integration. The ministry has as guideline a greater performance in the National Policies for Regional Development (PNDR). The ministry guides the formulation and implementation of large macro-regional structuring projects which result in the construction of federative relationships among the three government bodies – federal, state and municipal – and the wide participation of the sub-regional members. PNDR dedicates its attention to the traditional regional inequalities in the country, but it also looks for the potentials for development of the areas, exploring their social, economical and cultural diversity. Let us see the programs and actions of the Ministry for National Integration (MIN) by his clerkships:

In the Clerkship for Regional Programs are:

- Sustainability of Sub-regional Spaces Program (Promeso)
- Integrated and Sustainable Development of the Semi-arid Program (Conviver)
- Promotion and Economical Insertion of Sub-Regions areas Program (Promover)
- Development of Border Area Program
- Productive Organization of Communities Program (Produzir)
- Integrated Region of Development (Ride) of the Petrolina Center (PE) and Juazeiro (BA)

In the National Clerkship of civil defense are:

- Prevention and Preparation for Emergency and Disasters Program (PPED)
- Disaster Assistance Program (PRD)

In the Clerkship for Water Infrastructure are:

- Development Program for Irrigated Agriculture
- Sustainable Urban Drainage Program
- Efficiency Program in Irrigated Agriculture
- Integration Program for Water Basins
- *Proágua* Infrastructure Program
- Program for Administration Transfer for Public Irrigation Perimeters

In the Clerkship of Development of the Center-west are:

- Sub-regional Space for the Integrated Area for Development of the Federal Distrito and Surrounding Area (Ride)
- Sub-regional Space for Mesorregion of Water Chain
- Sub-regional Space of Border Area
- Actions of the Clerkship in the Center-west

Finally, the Clerkship for Regional Development

Policies has the Program for Administration of the Policies of the Regional Development and Territorial Planning. So as to have a more concrete vision of the actions in Ciro Gomes's administration we will accompany moments of his in action.

In April of 2005, the minister inaugurated the ration factory and fish farm of the *Arranjo Produtivo Local* (APL) for fishing and aquiculture of Benjamim Constant, in Amazonas. R$ 3 million were used, only in that year, in projects for the reduction of inequality in the area. In Piauí, Ciro tells rural producers and leaders that R$ 5 million were insured to boost the production on the Guadeloupe Plateaus, set up 1989 and which experienced periods of abandonment. It is necessary to attract new investments and to settle the workers definitively. Through the National Department of Labor Against the Drought (Dnocs) there was the recovery of infrastructure, with drainage services, preparation of soil, and electric pumps for water supply.

In July 2005 he signed an agreement with the National Bank of Economical and Social Development (BNDES) destined to enlarge the government's actions in relation to regional development. He aims at the exchange of data bases, studies and research, socio-economic analyses so as to support actions devoted to the use of productive potentials and reduction of regional inequalities, and resources from the Constitutional Fund to finance enterprises inserted in the plans for development of sub-areas. Presenting the Border Area Program, the minister shows that he seeks greater integration of Brazil with South America. The Brazilian border has 15.789 kilometers, which corresponds to 27% of our territory. The expected results are economical activation, the invigoration of the local social base, the restoring of citizenship and contribution to the actions of development of South America.

The projects treat of fishing, of wood cutting activity, ecological tourism in Amazonas, reforestation and horticulture in Rio Grande do Sul, beekeeping and culture of herbal tea in Mato Grosso do Sul. In November 2005, Ciro asks for the support of the MCT to incite the scientific community to collaborate in the reduction of the regional unbalance. It is the combined work of the several ministries which can take the country to sustainable growth.

When he left the ministry to run for office as federal deputy for Ceará he was substituted by Pedro Brito, PSB for Ceará, who gave continuity to programs already set up. In 2007, President Lula decided to create the Clerkship for Ports, with ministry status and he invited Pedro Brito to direct it. When assuming the secretariat, he received the incumbency of accomplishing an executive style work of the port area, decisive for external trade. Pedro Brito began the work with a diagnosis of the situation and with the presentation of a new administration model.

The three big initial questions are the resolution of the labor liability, road and rail access to ports and



the amplification of the capacity of the port of Santos. Labor liability corresponds to R$ 800 million, in Santos, and R$ 400 million, in Rio de Janeiro. So as to have an idea of the amount it corresponds to half of the R$ 2.7 billion already foreseen in the Growth Acceleration Program (PAC). Queues and delays in loading and unloading and traffic jam of ships bring enormous losses to our economy. The solution proposed for Santos is to create a parking system with sophisticated systems of control. Dispatch to the port will only take place when the ship is ready to load or unload. Access to the port of Santos, which corresponds to 30% of international trade, will improve in 2010 with the conclusion of part of Ring Road and Railway Ring Road. It will be necessary to deepen the channel at Santos – it is from 12 to 13 meters and will need to be at least 15 meters. Pedro Brito will try to make the Docks profitable, creating in this way an internal fund for their own investment. Studies as to improvements of other ports are in progress.

Here we complete our stroll as we accompanied the activities of the PSB, from the municipal districts to the federal government. We saw important changes, the republican concern as to the appropriate use of public goods and finances and the beginning of the federative principle marked by the effort in combining the conquests of each area in a strong and happy nation. But the deepest changes will only come when Brazilian citizenship, through its countless civil organizations, is able to drive the political game. For this reason, we will conclude our work in the next chapter looking at the history of socialist organizations in the syndical movement, among the youth, the women, the blacks and in the popular movements in general.

Sources:

AMARAL, Roberto. *Ações da Nova Política de Ciência e Tecnologia & Inovação no Brasil em 2003*, 2003.
CÂMARA DOS DEPUTADOS. *Relatórios de Proposições Transformadas em Norma Jurídica, Arquivadas e ainda Tramitando.*
SENADO FEDERAL. *Relatórios de Senadores do PSB.*



Chapter VII
FJM and the Social Segments of the PSB

During this journey over 60 years the PSB carried on building its ideas based on the principles of democratic socialism, its organization in all the national territory, occupying areas of power in the legislatives and executives of the municipal districts, states and the Union. But to arrive at a socialist society one has to bring the society round to ones ideals. The social segments excluded from the political power, conscious and organized, struggle so that the changes are carried out. Popular power will have to substitute the power of national and international capital.

To discuss and propagate socialism, to formulate public politics and to carry out political formation, the PSB created in 1990 the *João Mangabeira Foundation* (FJM). Its purpose is to participate in the social struggle, indicating the socialist path, create segments that express the ideas, desires, commitments and struggles of the youth, trade unions, women, blacks and popular movements. The organized segments of Party will help to increase the social bases, giving force to the elected representatives in the several governmental areas so as to promote sustainable change, which will come about in a gradual manner and will become inevitable when the ideas and socialist practices become hegemonic, becoming the dominant culture in the country.

The João Mangabeira Foundation

In November 1990 the João Mangabeira Foundation (FJM) created by the National Directory of the PSB became legal, as a non profitable private entity. It has as its objective the gathering of militants of socialism, independent of party affiliation, to discuss socialism in study groups, courses, symposia or conferences; to promote research and studies of economical, social, cultural and political caliber; to publish books, hand books, pamphlets and newspapers; to edit programs for TV, video, or other communication means.

It also has the objective of advising the PSB in its permanent functions, its militants in political formation and its representatives in the Legislative and Executive.

Its direction bodies are the Trustee Council, Executive Management and Fiscal Council.

In the initial period the work of the Foundation was very difficult because the Party was financially very fragile. José Belizário Nunes, José da Silva Moura and Sebastião Abreu worked with a lot of commitment in the direction of FJM. Since 1992 there was the project of providing consultancy to the new city halls conquered by the Party in the elections, but it was difficult to carry this out. There was negotiation with the Cuban government in the form of an "umbrella" agreement to transfer directly to the associated city halls, services, equipments and know-how especially in the areas of biotechnology, education and health. .

In December 1992 the FJM promoted the seminar "*Culture in Question*". Two final documents were produced. In the first, "*Culture in Question*", there is an analysis of modernity in Brazilian culture of the time, which was limited to technical progress. The document defends that the modern theory is that of a society that is able to offer to its citizens free time for the exercise of the cultural activities and educational conditions so that they exercise freely, without any censorship and without hierarchy between noble and no-noble culture.
A new logic should prevail in which ethical values are the guiding forces. Based in them are defined

social objectives, economical rationality and finally techniques.

In the second document, "*Suggestions of the Seminar for a Cultural Policy*", sent to the minister for Culture, Antônio Houaiss, 16 points summarized the analyses made at the event:

1. Freedom of expression and creation in all levels, classes and regions. It befalls the State to provide opportunities for access and production.
2. Education should be supported in Culture. The school network while respecting local culture should use the Brazilian cultural production as a preferential auxiliary means.
3. It is necessary to modify legislation on communication means to make them more accessible to the regional cultures.
4. Incentives and enlargement of the tools for diffusion of Brazilian artistic and cultural production should be created.
5. Make access less bureaucratic for producers of culture to the Ministry and create support material for projects and specific events.
6. Integration of the action of national, regional and local cultural institutions, in a manner so as to boost potential.
7. Articulation with the Legislative to implement laws and measures which are of interest to Brazilian culture.
8. Create and implement mechanisms to receive resources, through fiscal incentives, assuring greater agility and more alternatives to make projects viable.
9. Action together with the Ministry for Foreign Affairs for the popularization and diffusion of Brazilian culture.
10. Action with MEC for the inclusion in the curricula "*education for the media*", analyzing the structure and content of the means of communication in Brazil.
11. To adopt the claims of the National Forum for Movies and Audiovisuals, being as priority for the Ministry of Culture to provide enough resources for the production and commercialization of, at least, 40 films of long and 40 of medium and short duration, over the next 12 months.
12. To regulate the presence of Brazilian culture in the private means of communication and not just those of the state, with supervision.
13. To provide legal instruments to facilitate the importation of equipment, instruments and necessary materials necessary for artistic and cultural production.
14. Support policies for cultural activities and access to cultural goods for the new generations, on who fall the heaviest obligation as to cultural distortion.
15. Stimulation of cultural tourism, allowing for contact with artistic and historical patrimony.
16. Modernize information on Brazilian cultural patrimony with computerization and creation of databases.

In 1997 as a result of non accountability, FJM had its continuity threatened. Carlos Siqueira, lawyer and secretary of the Party, got a new period from the public prosecution service for the regularization of the Foundation. The new direction began to have some financial resources because the Party increased its parliamentary representation and, with that, it's Supporting Fund. Also there was great concern from the directorates in enlarging FJM performance and in accomplishing all the legal demands for its operation.

Margarida Vieira assumed as general director (1997/1998) and was proceeded later by senator Saturnino Braga(1998/2000) with the mandate completed by Carlos Siqueira. Jaime Cardoso was general director in the administration 2003/2006, and at the end of 2006 Carlos Siqueira assumed the post.

One of the first decisions for the consolidation of the FJM was to decentralize activities through state



Carlos Veneranda; Joilson Cardoso; dep Rodrigo Rollemberg; Roberto Amaral; Carlos Siqueira; Mari Machado, Dora Pires, Carmen Puig and Josué Feritas make up the Opening Table at the meeting for the organized segments of the PSB, promoted by FJM

sectors as we are a continental country. With this the Foundation began to have visibility in the states, attracting new affiliates and sympathizers of the Party and provoking debates and research. São Paulo, Minas Gerais, Espírito Santo, Amazonas and Mato Grosso were the first to do so and were soon followed by other states. Just to exemplify the regional activities we can mention the carrying out of the Political Formation Seminar in 2000, with subsequent publication of the annals, organized for the sector from Rio Grande do Sul; the edition of *Você pode fazer um mundo melhor*,(You can make a better world) a publication for the youth, was published by the São Paulo sector; *Pequeno Estudo sobre a Política no Brasil de Hoje* e *Caderno de Formação Política* (A Short study on Politics in the Brazil of Today and Notebook of Political Formation) were two publications edited by the Minas Gerais sector.

The Foundation began to have its national headquarters in Brasília, equipped with pieces of furniture, computer, telephones, fax and e-mail. Small texts were produced and published all over the country, such as the *A reconstrução do Brasil* (reconstruction of Brazil) by Celso Furtado; *Civilização e Barbárie* (Civilization and Barbarism) by Roberto Amaral, and *Desenvolvimento Sustentável* (Sustainable Development) by Fernando Madueño.

The courses on political formation began for militants from several states. These became

Public Formation Course, January 2007



Public Formation Course, July 2007





Seminar on PAC (Plan for Acceleration in Growth). Dep. Luiza Erundina takes part in the debates at the table; dep. Márcio França, prof. Poshmann, secretary Carlos Siqueira, vice president Roberto Amaral and dep. Ciro Gomes

multipliers, people in charge of giving courses in their areas. The Brazilian Socialist Youth (JSB) also had its special course on formation. Socialist handbooks were published with the history of the Party and the *Cartilha do Vereador Socialista* (Socialist Alderman's Handbook). Also reactivated was the *Brasil Socialista* newspaper with a special edition dedicated to the VI National Congress of PSB which commemorated 50 years of Party, in 1997. The Foundation promoted events, accompanied by publications as, in 1999,



Dep. Ciro Gomes speaks about PAC to PSB militants and directors

the *Seminar of Public Municipal Policies*; in 2000, the *Seminar of Political Formation for the JSB*, and, in 2001 *the International Socialist Encounter*. In that year the *Democracia Participativa no Brasil*, (Participative Democracy in Brazil) was published and there was the *The Socialist Model of Governing – Municipal Experiences* seminar. In 2003, the Foundation promoted Rounds of Debates, accompanied by publications, on Structural Reforms.

The present moment of the FJM is that of the greatest performance in its history. On April 16, 2007 it inaugurated a new phase of political qualification with the Course on Formation, Training and Political Updating. It offers to 600 enrolled students, classes in the field of the Political Science, Philosophy, Economy, History, Ethics and other areas, through virtual conference and it is free. The Foundation's headquarters houses the Miguel Arraes Library and organizes archives which can be consulted by the militancy and researchers, as well as the auditorium that can be used for several events. "*On line*", the João Mangabeira TV and *Revista FJM* (magazine) were created.

It promoted debates on central questions of the political agenda as *Education Perspectives in Brazil, PAC and Political Reform*. It recently published the books *Em defesa da Utopia* (In defense of the Utopia) by Roberto Amaral, and *Desenvolvimento Sustentável no Amapá: uma visão crítica,* (Sustainable Development in Amapá: a critical vision), organized by Ruellan, Cabral and Moulin. Three work groups are already working with a view to studying the themes "*Urban Reform*", "*Formulation of Public Politics for Education*" and "*Formulation of Public Politics for Health*".

Dep. Ana Arraes participates in the debate on PAC, fromoted by the FJM.





Opening table at the solemn inauguration of FJM's own headquarters, for the formation Course on Politics at a distance. Ex minister Amaral, president of the FJM Carlos Siqueira, minister Sérgio Rezende and leader of the House Marcio França (center) Mari Machado, deputies Rodrigo Rollemberg, Beto Albuquerque and Rogério Miranda. On the screen the governor Eduardo Campos, national president of the PSB, speaks from his cabinet in the *Campo das Princesas* to all the socialist militants. Inaugurating the João Mangabeira TV

Miguel Arraes's memory is reverenced permanently among the militants of the PSB and by all who work at the FJM. It is remembered in the day to day activity with the Miguel Arraes Library and School of Political Formation in his name. On special dates the FJM has honored Doctor Arraes with events and publications that give opportunity to the young people to know his work and that of those who had the pleasure of his company in reliving very special moments in the history of national politics. As well as our memories, his leadership, thoughts, propositions, theses are registered, organized in publications released until now, and in those which are to come. In December 2006 the 80 years of Arraes were commemorated with an event that recollected his unequivocal passion for Brazil, his dreams and accomplishments as a politician of enormous sensibility. The registration of this event is for publication *Um olhar na história, uma visão no futuro* (A glance in history, a vision in the future) launched in February of 2007.

Last August on the occasion of the second anniversary of his passing the FJM organized a cultural act with the release of two more works: *Arraes na boca do povo* (Arraes on everybody's mind) organized for Juareiz Correya, containing a collection of lines and verse that popular artists offered to the political man who always filled with hope those who were the simplest and most needy during his life after his return to Brazil which was possible with the amnesty of 1979. The second publication, organized by journalist Evaldo Costa, *Cartas de Agosto* (Letters of August) gathers articles from journalists, politicians, intellectuals, transmitted on sites, newspapers and Brazilian magazines for the occasion of August 13.



Unveiling of the inauguration plate at the headquarters of the FJM on 16 April, 2007

As the warranty for changes is not just in the occupation of power in the Legislative and Executive, but also in the effective organization and participation of the social sectors who are dedicated to a socialist society, the FJM organized in January of 2007, *the Seminar of Strategic Planning for the Organized Segments of the PSB.*

We will follow the history of each one of these segments, its advances and difficulties and its projects for the future.

The Socialist Brazilian Youth (JSB)

It is not by chance that the first segment to organize was the socialist youth. The struggle for freedom and social justice has been a mark of young people all over the world. The history of the Brazilian student movement is expressive in this sense. It will be UNE, under the leadership of presidents Roberto Gusmão's (1947/1948) and Rogê Ferreira (1949/1950), PSB militants, one of the leading forces in the campaign "*O petróleo é nosso*" (The petroleum is ours), social base for the creation of Petrobrás. It will also be the students participants in the struggle for the basic reforms in the Goulart Government and also student combatants against the military dictatorship that was followed by the coup d'état that ousted the legal and legitimate president of Brazil. It will also be the *cara-pintadas* (painted faces) who will be active in the "*Fora Collor"* campaign.



Brasilian Socialist Youth meeting at political formation courses promoted by the FJM

It is exactly at this time that Brazilian Socialist Youth JSB begins to be organized. It is a younger version of the PSB being constituted by militants affiliated to the Party, who are between 18 and 30 years of age. Their greater goal is the creation of awareness and political orientation of young people around the ideas of socialism.

In 1993 at the IV Congresso of the PSB they had their first Congress. They define that this year will be the year for the formation of the PSB militancy for the electoral campaign of 1994. After the discussion of the initial document which prioritizes the student movement, there are disputes. They reach the conclusion that there should be an integration of academic knowledge with the community, discussion forums to attract young people to the Party and the socialist parliamentarians' support to make the projects possible. In the student movement the PSB can make a difference because it does not orchestrate them like other parties and is connected to the student debates on annuities, job market, technological innovation, University restaurants, student housing and other important themes for young people.

They define that the student entities need transparent financial politics in collection sources as student portfolios and promotions and to have an independent fiscal council from the Directory. They also need
statutes and structures. The organization of the youth was a collective work of hundreds of militants. As youth secretaries, participating in the National Executive Commission, we can mention: Augusto Carreras, Silvanio dos Santos and Josué Freitas.

In 2000, the João Mangabeira Foundation and the National Secretary for Youth promoted the Seminar on Political Formation, with 40 leaders from all over the

country. From the JSB there were three directors from the National Union of Students (UNE), the secretary general of the Brazilian Union of Secondary Students (UBES), president and directors of Municipal Unions of Secondary Students (UMES), members of the National Coordination of the JSB, as well as presidents and leaders of Central Directories of Students and Academic Centers of 15 Brazilian states. The presence of so many leaders displays the growth of the JSB. The debates produced texts which were published in the *Políticas de Atuação da JSB* (Action Politics) booklet in which principles for action are defined:

- the social movements are composed by people with diverse opinions. Therefore, it is necessary to maintain ones independence in relation to parties and ideological tendencies;
- the legitimacy of the leadership of the entities will occur when they reflect the opinion of the majority of their members, through democracy and representativeness. The leaders should be chosen democratically;
- the main objective of the JSB is to contribute to the organization of a civil society;
- JSB needs to expand its area of performance, participating in the innovative forms of organization;
- in the student movement, members of the JSB should guarantee the autonomy of the entities with relation to government bodies, the administrations of institutions and party groups. The
  action should be in the sense of supporting the students' claims, trying to politicize them beginning from an analysis of the context in which they are inserted.

In the IX National Congress of the PSB in 2003, the VII National Congress of the JSB took place. The main proposals for work for the biennium 2003/2005 were:

- regional seminars;
- activities of political formation;
- incentive and accompaniment of youth candidacies in the elections of 2004
- development of communication policies
- participation in public politics for the youth.

In X National Congress of the PSB in 2005, the VIII National Congress of the JSB took place. Josué de Freitas, national secretary of the PSB Youth, made an evaluation of his administration. He showed the progress and difficulties of the socialist youth. In the political agglutination they carried out a national camp in Bombinhas (SC). In a poetic atmosphere they made discussions on the political conjuncture,



Brasilian Socialist Youth meeting at political formation courses promoted by the FJM

student movement, young peoples' artistic and cultural manifestations and public policies. Besides the political debates they made a public manifestation against social injustices. The greater progress was in participation in the debates for the elaboration and direction of public policies for the youth.

They were present in the works of the Special Commission for Public Policies for the Youth, at Federal Camera, in the Inter-ministerial Group of Public Policies for the Youth, in the Regional Forums and in the Youth's National Conference. JSB has representatives in National Youth Clerkship and in National Youth Council. They also participate in National Youth Network and Youth organizations. There is good relationship between the young people and the deputies and senators of the PSB. In the elections of 2004, 1.912 young people from the PSB were candidates and, among them, 78 aldermen were chosen, 8 mayors and some vice-mayors. In social communication, the site is up and running www.jsb.org.br and a documentary is being elaborated about the construction of the JSB since 1993.

Union Movement of the PSB

The second social segment being organized in the PSB was the union movement.

Its I National Congress took place together with the VI National Congress of the PSB, in 1997.

However the union organization through unionization begins in 1991, in the I Unionization Meeting in Espírito Santo. The Temporary Coordination had the direction of Gilson Menezes, Márcia Machado and Leopoldo Paulino. With the presence of 12 state delegations they elaborate the *Letter of Vitória*, which defines:

- against union rigging;
- united socialist performance in the union movement for the construction of the socialist society in Brazil;
- structuring of national, regional and municipal coordination, with annual unionization;
- development of a socialist culture in the union movement and presentation of subsidies to the direction of the PSB;



Trade union leaders from all states, meeting to discuss an intense agenda. At the center of the work table is the national secretary of the trade unions, Joilson Cardoso

- autonomy and democracy in the union entities and direct representation of the entities in the CUT Congress.

In IV National Congress of the PSB in 1993 the thesis of the trade union movement was approved. It defines a new union concept with the breaking away from of the unions which were linked to the State and overcoming corporatism. The union should be intimately linked to its bases and avoid the elite feeling of the director union class. The unions should not be linked to the parties, but the workers should have their party. The PSB should get closer to the workers to know their problems and claims, and to present proposals and projects in the Legislative. They show general struggles that should be supported by the union movement such as the democratic administration of public schools, combating their privatization, ample agrarian reform, under worker control, accompanied by an agricultural policy directed to the internal market while exporting the surplus.

In the I National Congress of the Socialist Syndical Movement in 1997, the general political positioning is opposed to FHC'S Government economical package, suggesting alternative policies which instead of privileging the large managerial groups, search to carry out social rights. It shows that the maintenance of the work places will determine the real growth of the economy, because the workers make up the greater part of the consumer market.

The generation of new jobs should consider the need for a reduction in the working day, without salary reduction. To oppose the worn out trade union politics, practiced by several factions and to indicate an alternative conception and trade union practice guided by democratic socialism, independence with freedom and union autonomy, reject the organic trade unionism, combat the neoliberal reforms of FHC and the production model which generates the current army of unemployed. This is the big challenge of the PSB trade unionists.

The trade union model was defined. The trade union movement only takes care of the worker with signed work card. It is also necessary to protect the unemployed, retired, young people who are looking for work, outsourcing worker, the land less and informal workers. The trade union movement is a live organism of the workers and an instrument of their organization and struggles. As a class tool it is much wider than the claim aspect alone. It should bring to the struggle a political character of combat against capitalism, aiming at class conscience and the construction of a society under the worker control. The trade union movement should constitute in a democratic manner with ample freedom of opinion and unity of action. It should be a popular trade union movement that organizes the workers in the struggle against capitalism which oppresses and explores the working class.

The Coordination of the Trade Union Movement was created (CMS) as a party body and the *Corrente do Sindicalismo Socialista Brasileiro* (C-SSB) in the trade union movement.

The field of performance for the PSB trade union members was approved as CUT and independent.

In IV National Congress of the Socialist Trade union Movement in 2003, the controversy will fall around the reforms proposed by the Lula Government. With regards to labor and trade union reform, the combat is proposed to the precarious and flexible interpretations of the labor laws. The slogan is "*Respeito à Carteira de Trabalho*" (Respect to the Work Card). The end of the temporary work and hour bank is defined. It indicates the need for the regulation of cooperatives, against the deviations practiced on the workers. The trade union movement should be organized for each work place, with trade union unity and recognition of the unions.

On the Reform of Social Security the trade unions suggest a national effort to ransom the credibility of social security with effective social controls, to combat fraud and to promote the qualification of the security employees. In Agrarian Reform, a big need, they show that there will only be success if it is accompanied by new agricultural and technological policies for the reorganization of the agro industry



PSB trade unionists in photograph with prof. Adriano Sandri, (center) assessor to the João Mangabeira Foundation

and of the commercialization chains. The trade union movement should struggle for legislation establishing the maximum size of rural property in each ecosystem. In Tributary Reform they defend the reduction of tax collection on internal production, exonerate productive investment and exportation, moving tax collection to superfluous consumption, patrimony and wealth transfer. They still make proposals in support to women's rights, of afro-descendents, of indigenous people. They end with the independence of the trade union movement as regards the government and so avoiding "*peleguismo chapa branca*" government infiltrators.

In V National Congress of the PSB Trade Union Movement in 2005, there is a clear manifestation against the union reform proposed by the Lula Government, by PEC 369/05. They criticize the changes in collective negotiation, as weakening the performance of the trade unions and the prerogatives of the Ministry for Labor, which removes itself from intermediation in negotiations. In the debate o Political Reform, there was consent on three points: public financing, party fidelity and obligatory vote.

The organization of the Trade Union Movement in the PSB is due to a great number of militant. Among the national trade union secretaries, who were members of the National Executive Commission we can mention: José Carlos da Silva, Francisco Nogueira and Joilson Cardoso.

The action plan for the 2007/2008 period of the PSB Trade Union is:

- to reinforce the formation framework;
- to implant and organize the Brazilian Socialist Trade Union (SSB) current
- to elaborate and publish the socialist trade union proposals;
- to hire political consultancy;
- to articulate bases in non-organized states;
- to organize database;
- to systematize the information policies;
- to create a calendar of action;
- to integrate the struggles of the social and popular movements,;

- to offer political and ideological formation; and
- to accompany the development and work of the PSB trade union leaders.

National Clerkship for Women

The I National Congress of PSB Women will be in 1999 with articulation originated by the gaucho socialists. The National Clerkship of Women is created under Mari Machado's direction. Its aim is to motivate and support feminine participation in the Party and in society. The states began to organize their clerkships with representation in the National Political Council. Rio Grande do Sul had already created its State Clerkship for Women, in the State Congress of 1998, and had chosen Mari as secretary, motivating the creation of discussion nuclei in all the state. They began to occupy a space in the Woman's State Coordination, of the State government, with socialist Miriam Velasquez. With the presence of Deputy Luiza Erundina, the then leader of the PSB in the Federal House, they organized the seminar "Women and the year 2000", discussing their integration in electoral processes.

Already in 2000, Mari was with her socialist companions who were marching from several states, in the *Marcha das Margaridas* (March of the Daisies) to Brasília. It was organized by the Confederation of



PSB Women's Meeting , coordinated by secretary Mari Machado Natal (RN)

Agriculture Workers (Contag), as part of the "World March for Women 2000" against the political and economical models which do not respect equality of rights. It was also as a homage to trade unionist Margarida Maria Alves, murdered on August 12, 1983 in the city of Alagoa Grande, in Paraíba. As is common practice in Brazil her death was not clarified and the murderers continue unpunished. For Maria de Fátima Rodrigues da Silva, director for Formation and trade Union Organization for Contag and affiliated to the PSB in the state of Piauí, the march was a historical moment of unification of the field and city, showing the political and economical importance of those who work in the fields. For Mari Machado,

> (...) that manifestation, which gathered more than 20 thousand women, showed the trade union force which struggles today to place in national debate the great discrimination suffered by women as workers and victims of their aggressors' impunity.



PSB Women meeting with companion Dora Pires, national women's secretary on the occasion of the seminar on Political Formation , promoted by FJM, in January 2007, in Brasilia/DF

The National Seminar for Political Formation in March of 2001 promoted together with the João Mangabeira Foundation and by the National Clerkship for Women, answer to a claim of the socialist women. Representatives from 18 states of the Federation participated. Publication was printed of the debates which took place. Professor Vera Alice Cardoso, from the Department of Political Science of UFMG, made an exhibition on the political conjuncture and the preparation for the 2002 elections which pointed to the possibility of victory for the center-left forces. Carlos Siqueira
secretary of the PSB and administrative director of the FJM made an explanation on the History of Political Parties: the party that we want to build, placing importance on women's participation in the PSB, with their banners and ideas-strength defined with clarity. This means elaborating a project for Brazil that privileges the redistributive policies, the structural politics, and not just compensatory politics, as the other Brazilian political parties were already are doing.

The Sociologist Almira Rodrigues, director collegiate of the Feminist Center for Studies and Consultancy (CFêmea), talked about the History of the Feminist Movement: conquests and progress. She emphasized the difference between the feminine movements, composed by women who look for common political objectives (against general pardon, high prices, for day care centers, for peace etc.) and the feminist movements which struggle for the transformation of women's condition of subordination in society and for democratic and symmetrical relationships between men and women. The PSB Clerkship for Women tries to combine the two tendencies.

Also presented was the contribution of the State Council for Woman Rights Rio de Janeiro on women's history. In conclusion proposals were elaborated as to the performance of socialist women in the PSB and social movements. Among others there is the idea of discussing the question of black women in its specificities, in the perspective of forming PSB thought, of combating racism and racial intolerance – since race is an ideological concept – participating in organized black movement and the promotion of public policies, to represent the women politically in the party organs with the minimum quota of 30% and to position against all the forms of violence, discrimination and prejudices against woman, stimulating and publishing accusations so as to discourage and punish offenders.

In the same year 2001 the II National Congress of Women takes place. As well as socialists from all the states, the Congress counted on the participation of several elected representatives from the PSB, such as the federal deputies Luiza Erundina (SP); Miriam Reid (RJ); Graça Matos (RJ); the state deputies Lídice da Mata (BA); Márcia Maia (RN); and the mayoresses of Maceió (AL), Kátia Born; of Natal (RN), Wilma de Faria; Cleusa Pereira (Salgueiro/PE); Maria Inês Zanol (Pimenta Bueno/RO); and the alderwomen Evanete



Group of socialist women with Dora Pires at the center, regional secretary of the PSB on the occasion of the seminar on Political Formation, promoted by FJM, in January 2007, in Brasilia/DF



Militants from the Racial Equality Movement of the PSB, in front (standing up) the vice mayor of Fortaleza, companion Carlos Veneranda, national secretary of the movement

Négris (ES); Iraci Gama (BA); Maria Edivone da Silva (RN); Isabel Maria Pimentel (PA); Jaqueline Souza (CE); Regina Itoneli (RJ); Verônica Alcântara (RN); Wilma Moreira (MT).

In the III Congress for Women in 2003, Mari pointed out in her speech how the women have occupied a small space in the party framework. The performance in the job market and education, with feminine movements, they have begun to expand their political performance.

In the IV Congresso for Women, in 2005 there was a debate on Political Reform, with deputy Alexandre Cardoso and the secretary of the PSB, Carlos Siqueira. Deputy Márcia Maia, from Rio Grande do Norte, gave testimony as to the programs from Wilma de Faria's government which are references inside and outside of the country. It proposed encounters so as to exchange administrative experiences. Mari Machado made an evaluation of her work as MCT cabinet boss, when Eduardo Campos was minister.
There was support for her research on feminism/ gender. She took part in public policies of the federal government. She became integrated part of the National Women's Council and participated in the I Government Conference for Women.

Auxiliadora Pires, from Pernambuco, assumed the National Clerkship for Women. Lilá, general secretary; Marta Rocha, 1st secretary; Neide Lima, coordinator of finances; Márcia Maia, coordinator for mobilization and events; Eli, coordinator for social movements; and Mari Machado, coordinator for political formation.

The work program for 2007/2008 has as its objectives the improvement of the financial structure so as to make possible the operation of the clerkship, to suggest public policies directed at women, to strengthen women's commitment with the clerkship, to deepen dialogue with women from other parties, to enlarge the number of candidates in the next elections, to organize encounters and seminars, and expand internal communications within the Party and society.

The Negro Movement in the PSB

In December I Encounter of the Brazilian Socialist Blacks takes place and it constituted the National Clerkship for the Socialist Black Movement, under the direction of Jacy Proença, coordinator for ethnicity

Group work of the socialist militants for racial equality



of the National Clerkship of Women, general director of FJM/MT and manager of projects for the Special Clerkship of Policies for the Promotion of Racial Equality/Presidency of the Republic.
She presented indicators as to the ethnic inequalities in Brazil and proposals as to how to have a national encounter with the black militancy and the publication of the theoretical construction of the Socialist Black Movement.

The II National Congress of the Black Socialist Movement will be held in August of 2005. Jacy Proença, now vice-mayoress of Cuiabá, defended policies for affirmative action.

Carlos Veneranda, vice-mayor of Fortaleza, trade unionist, militant in the socialist black movement, gave information on the I Conference for the Promotion of Racial Equality, in the municipal district of Fortaleza, with 450 participants, and on the politics developed for the 67 remaining *Quilombos*. Deputy Janete Capiberibe who is part of the Front for the Defense of Black People in Brazil, was present giving her support, with deputies Renato Casagrande and Givaldo Carimbão. On that occasion Carlos Siqueira first secretary of the National Executive of the PSB emphasized:

The women, youth, trade unions, black ovements, popular movements, all of them are in my understand the essence, that which can bring an oxygenation to party life and they should influence from the internal point of view the life of the PSB, in the party organizations, so that other companions who are not part of its specific struggle can understand it better and to embrace the Party as a whole in the struggle of the black Brazilian people of which all of you, as socialists, participate.

The proposals for the Congress were the support for the Statute on Racial Equality, the quotas in higher education and the strengthening of basic public education (fundamental and secondary schooling).

The planning for the sector for 2007/2008 is to organize the secretariat in the municipal districts where the PSB is not organized and to reach 50% of the municipal districts where Party is organized.

As well as this one should participate in social movements and in the construction of the National Congress for the Black Movement and to intervene in the proceedings for public policies. Another objective is the organization of the national and state clerkships of the movement, with courses on specific political formation. Carlos Veneranda is the current national secretary for the black movement.

Source
PSB. *Anais dos Congressos Nacionais e Publicações da Fundação João Mangabeira.*



Opening table for the National Women's Congress under the direction of the national woman's secretary of the PSB, Mari Machado.


PSB PELA AUDITORIA DAS
DÍVIDAS INTER E EXTERNA
INDEPENDÊNCIA E SOBERANIA

PSB



Socialism
and liberty

Chapter VIII
The Challenges for the New Generation

After having examined these 60 years of the PSB we can understood the reason for the Party militants' enormous pride. The seed sewn in 1947 produced good fruits. A small party, originally with reduced presence in apresentation all over the whole country, is growing in the social movements and is respected by the fidelity to its principles and program. With compactness it criticizes the capitalist society in which we live and presents propositions directed towards a future society that will be; we are sure, socialist and democratic, democratic because it will be socialist.

If we have accompanied all the building process of the PSB, of its ideas, leaderships and actions in society and its spaces in power, if we have felt as heirs of this history with brilliant results in parliaments and in the Executive, in such adverse conditions, new challenges will appear for the PSB and for all of us, socialists.

The analyses of the strategic and tactical subjects in the present day political situation, within the PSB, are many. Unfortunately we do not have space to address them all. We will just make a synthesis of some of them.

In the text of May 2007, "*A esquerda socialista e o governo nacional-popular*" (The socialist left and the popular national government), Roberto Amaral, vice-president of the PSB, makes a historical analysis of movements which are spreading in Latin America as vague: the era of the dictatorships, the era of the re-democratization and the era of the emergency of the masses. How can one impede, in a democratic regime, the resumption of the neo-liberalism? It can be done through the strengthening of social movements, organizations and left wing parties and their insertion in the popular movement. The unifying element is still not the construction of a socialist society – the goal that we cannot abandon – but it is the collective elaboration of a unifying project, a project for the nation, a national project of development which means growth with distribution of income, an economical project subordinate to political option.

The governor of Pernambuco, Eduardo Campos, president of the PSB, considers that:

> (...) after three decades of economical stagnation, the country has reencountered the economical conditions to live a new cycle of development. Having reached macro-economical milestones it is the time for placing these conquests in the life of the people. The focus has to be growth with regional balance and attention to the social. To increase production and distribute income at the same speed so that Brazil increases for all and not for few, as historically has happened. And we have strong conviction that we are walking firmly in this direction.

In the proposal of the Common Program of the Left wing Block, formed by the PSB, PDT, PCdoB, PMN, PRB and PHS, in June 2007, five reforms are considered indispensable: "Political Reform which that strengthens and expands democracy and participation, and assures political pluralism; Tributary Reform committed to the de- concentration of income, combat to regional inequalities, exoneration of production and formal employment; Academic Reform which democratizes access to higher education, with the expansion of public universities and social control of private teaching and massive and systematic investments in research; the Urban Reform with the necessary investments to guarantee access to quality housing and essential services, especially those of basic sanitation and mass public transportation; an ample Agrarian Reform, both massive and of quality

and the application of an agricultural policy which promotes the development of national agriculture".

Carlos Siqueira, PSB secretary, presented a thesis to the IX Congresso of the PSB in 2003, stimulating the development of an amplification project of the strategic objectives of the PSB. He starts out from the historically basic concerns of the left and those outstanding in the life of the PSB: equality, justice, freedom and participation. He adds to the strategic project of the Party, of structural changes in society, the new problems and actors which are not limited to the proletariat versus bourgeoisie or socialism versus capitalism dispute. In the diversity and plurality of contemporary social life there are other relationships of dominance and subordination as that of gender or ethnic which need not only to have a space to speak but to also become part of the process of socialist liberation. Democratization needs to be deepened with citizen participation but it needs to be extended to the diverse social institutions such as the family, the school, churches, the public services...

The emergency of a new left, polycentric, environmentalist and libertarian is the form that, as I see it, is the form that the Brazilian Socialist Party should assume."

Six questions become important:

1. that the socialist discourse is capable of thinking about this diversity and give it a sense of group;
2. the socialist project has to formulate in an intelligent manner the existent links among an endless number of voices whose lack of social and political opportunities does not thematize (categorize) their problems in the political struggle;
3. that the socialist political practice be capable of impelling the political struggles including those diversities which should appear in its speeches, in its dignity and identity, without dissolving the specificity;
4. that the socialist program makes proposals for the needs of the "here and now" which have to be contemplated, alongside the of medium and long term objectives;
5. the enlarged project should have an ethical-political commitment with the present and the future of the live systems of the planet, revolutionizing people's lives without deteriorating nature;
6. that the socialist project assumes as its fundamental values that which is equalitarian and popular, democratic, ecological and the autonomous – liberating.

All this project for a new left in Brazil will only be feasible in a sovereign nation, which is capable of including itself in globalization without subservience to the interests of huge capital and great potencies.

The new leaders of the PSB such as Eduardo Campos, Renato Casagrande, Márcio França and many others, with the experience of João Capiberibe's, Luiza Erundina, Jamil Haddad, Roberto Amaral and so many others, are challenged to conduct the construction of this new left in Brazil.

A left capable of having clarity in urban politics, when 80% of Brazilians live in the cities, surrounded by pockets of poverty, with serious employment, housing, education and health problems, with conflicts that produce urban violence which reaches us all, especially the poorer people. It is necessary to have a comprehensive project for the big cities, one which contemplates the population with assess to health, public education with quality, creation of jobs, professional formation, mainly for the youths who live in the periphery of our cities. It is possible to develop an economy which has solidarity at its core and includes in the Brazilian economical process people who would never be included by conventional means. With articulated actions we can make our cities good places to live together and to create a future.

A new left which is capable of reorganizing the federative pact so that mayors and governors stop going to Brasília with a saucer in their hands, begging



Part of the new generation of National PSB directors

for money. For this it is necessary to study common solutions for metropolitan areas, the territorial re-division of Brazil, according to groups geo-politically articulated, a deep tributary reform which makes the municipal districts and states capable of investing in quality of life of their population.

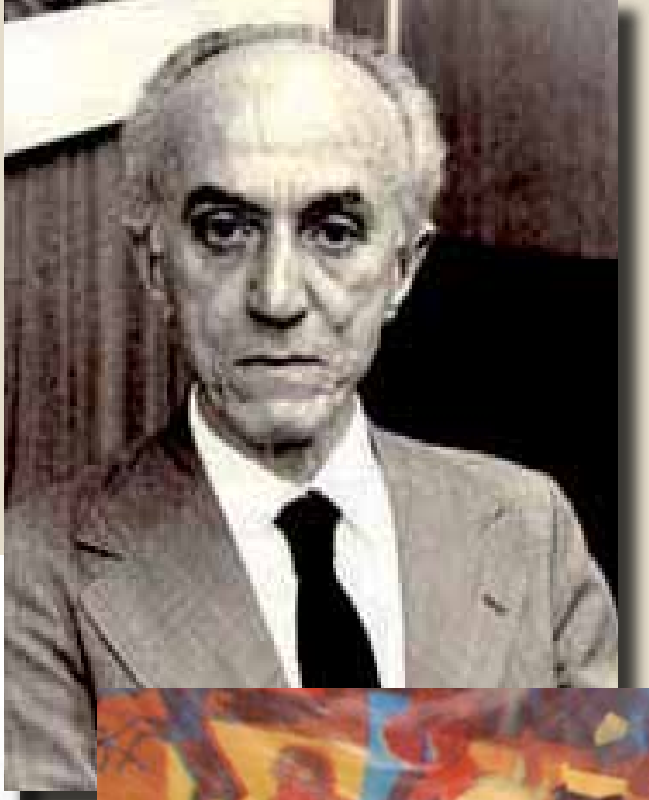
A new left which is capable of implanting transparency in the use of public resources so that the population is the inspector of the different governments.

A new left which is capable of formulating and implementing sustainable development, building a solid internal market, creating employment for Brazilians, developing science and technology to guarantee internal production with great added value, for us to gain more in exports, which will stop being predominantly of primary products, facing the culture of superfluous consumption of capitalism, guaranteeing coexistence with nature and not its destruction.

In this manner we will be accomplishing the two great banners of the PSB in the year in which it commemorates its 60 years of existence. These are the combat against the social exclusion of thousands of Brazilians, including all in national ambit and sustainable development with social justice in all areas of Brazil.

The PSB together with other forces from the left, with organized participation of the population, can be an instrument of transformation from political habits to life conditions. We are all invited to participate in the challenge.













Chapter IX
PSB Presidents

João Mangabeira (1880-1964)



João Mangabeira was born in Salvador, in Bahia, on June 26, 1880. During university, at the *Faculdade de Direito* (Law Faculty) of Salvador, he took part in writing the newspaper *A Bahia*, where he defended republican and democratic solutions for the problems of Brazil.

In 1896, with his friend Bernardino Madureira de Pinho, he wrote a violent manifesto condemning the repression in *Canudos*: "barbarism unworthy of a civilized people and outrageous to the traditions of Bahia".

Graduated in Juridical and Social Sciences in 1897, at 17 years of age, he moved to Ilhéus to practice law. In his debut, defending a miserable defendant, he denounced "that the main cause of that human rag was not he, the illiterate person, but it was the society that generated him and that without having given him anything demanded everything from him". He set up the newspaper *A Luta*, in opposition to the local conservative forces.

In 1906 he was elected state deputy and named mayor of Ilhéus in 1907. His administration brought a lot of improvements such as the installation of water and sewer system, illumination services and electric power, pavement for the main streets with paving stones, construction of schools and generalization in collection of taxes.

He was elected Federal deputy in 1909. In this period he participated actively in Rui Barbosa's Civilista Campaign for Presidente.

He went to Rio de Janeiro in 1911, becoming the editor-boss of the *Diário de Notícias*. He was again elected for the Camera of the Deputies in 1914 and had his mandate renewed up to 1929.

With the Revolution of October 3, 1930 he lost his mandate, because the Legislative was dissolution. He returned to Law.

In November of 1932 he was named member of the Commission which elaborated the project for the new Constitution. He had an important participation as the inclusion of mandate safety in the text was of his authorship. The Constitution was promulgated in 1934. In the same year, he was chosen for the Federal House of Representatives. With 19 other deputies and Senator Abel Chermont he founded the parliamentary group in favor of popular freedom to combat the national safety law, in vigor since March of 1935.

On November 23 the Communist Insurrection breaks out in Natal. The following day Vargas asked Congress for permission to decree national state of siege for 60 days. The request was approved with votes contrary being those of João Mangabeira, Domingos Vellasco and other opposition deputies. With the appearance of the movement in Rio, his son, Francisco Mangabeira, one of the signatories of the foundation manifesto of the *Aliança Nacional Libertadora* (ALN) was taken prisoner. João Mangabeira petitioned *habeas – corpus* for his son and other detainees on the ship Pedro I which was refused.

On March 21, 1936 the State of War was implanted extending enlarging the discretionary powers. Senator Chermont, Deputies João Mangabeira, Domingos Vellasco and others were arrested under the accusation that they were part of a "parliamentary committee at the service of Luís Carlos Prestes". João Mangabeira was freed in the end of June and he made pronouncement against the violence and crimes practiced by the government.

With the implantation of the New State on November 10, 1937, the legislatives were closed and Mangabeira lost his mandate again.

In 1943, a conference on Rui Barbosa was unfolded in articles in the *Diário Carioca* and later gathered in the book *Rui, o Estadista da República* (Rui Statesman of the Republic.)

At the end of 1944, as patron to the graduating group from the Faculty for Law at Salvador, he made a speech considering State Law and Democracy. The text was censured in the newspaper that tried to publish it. Only in 1955 would it be published the "Patron's Prayer".

In January of 1945 he was one of the delegates from Bahia in the I Brazilian Congress for Writers, in São Paulo, in which was unanimously approved a declaration in favor of the democratization of the country. With an end to censorship of the press, the reporters asked for declarations as to the announced elections. He said: "We do not have elections – we and the African tribes".

In an article published on March 2, 1945 was demonstrated that the Fascist structure was still here and ended by saying: "in every dictator the will to stay on is great, but even greater is the fear of leaving".

The National Democratic Union (UDN) was set up on April 7 and he began to frequent it. A group of socialist tendencies was constituting itself and from this is born the Democratic Left, which tried to liberate the UDN of "undesirable conservatives". In August of 46 it became Party of the Democratic Left and João Mangabeira was chosen federal deputy (DF) in January of 1947, in complementary elections. When the PCB had its registration canceled, in May of 1947, he made a pronouncement in the Housw defending the communist mandates. He was defeated in this idea.

In August of 1947 ED started to be called Brazilian Socialist Party and João Mangabeira became its president. In this legislature he presented several projects: emergency trade union law to liberate the unions from being linked to the department of Labor, extension of labor laws to the rural workers in the field, amnesty for those convicts for strikes.

In 1950 he was candidate for President of the PSB, with Alípio Correia as vice. The result was inexpressive electorally: 9.466 votes against 3.849.040 for Vargas. But when the opponents of Vargas tried to refute him under the excuse of not having obtained absolute majority, he defended the legitimacy of the ownership, because the Constitution did not make this demand.

In the "*Campanha do Petróleo é nosso*", in 1953, he declared in lecture:

Friends of the people of the United States, always. Agents of the great North American companies,
never... to allow that any of those companies... penetrate, although be it the ownership of an action, in a mixed company of exploration of wealth essential to national defense, is a crime against the homeland.

During the JK government he was nominated a member of the Superior Council of the Savings Banks. In 1958 he was defeated in the election for the Senate.

Durante o governo JK foi nomeado membro do Conselho Superior das Caixas Econômicas. Em 1958 foi derrotado na eleição para o Senado.

In the Goulart government he was Minister for Mines and Energy between July and September of 1962 and Minister for Justice between September 1962 and May 1963. He died in Rio de Janeiro, on April 27, 1964, a little after the military coup d'état

Sources:
Dicionário Histórico-Biográfico Brasileiro pós-30. Coordenação: Alzira Alves de Abreu [et al.], Rio de Janeiro; Editora FGV, CPDoc, 2001.
MANGABEIRA, João. Idéias Políticas de João Mangabeira, Brasília, Senado Federal, 3v., 1987.

Antônio Houaiss (1915/1999)

He was a professor, philologist, linguist, diplomat, composer of encyclopedias and dictionaries, politician, in all a humanist. He was born in Rio de Janeiro on October 15, 1915 and died, also in Rio, on March 7, 1999.

His intellectual formation was in public teaching. He became auditor in 1933, finished secondary grade school in Madureza in 1935, Bachelor in 1940 and Licentiate in 1942 in Classical Literature, at the National University of Philosophy of the University of Brazil. He got married, in 1942, to Ruth Marques de Salles, who died in 1988, and he did not have any children.

He taught Portuguese, Latin and Literature in official secondary teaching in the Distrito Federal, between 1934 to 1946, when he asked to be discharged, when choosing to be approved in public contest. He was vice-consul in Geneva (1947/1949), integrating Brazilian representations in the General Assemblies of the United Nations, the International Organization of Labor, the World Organization for Health, and the World Organization for Refugees. He was third secretary for the Embassy of Brazil in São Domingos, Dominican Republic, from 1949 to 1951, and in Athens, from 1951 to 1953. In this year, as an effect of the "cold war", he was placed at disposition, without remuneration, together with João Cabral de Melo Neto and others, under the accusation of subversive activities. The act was annulled by unanimous voting of the STF, being reintegrated to his functions. He went to the permanent delegation of Brazil in the UN, in New York, in 1960. As a member of the Commission of Amnesty for Political Prisoners from Rwanda-Urundi, he examined the 1.220 political prisoners' processes, all being amnestied by the General Assembly of the United Nations, in 1962. He was reporter for the IV Commission of the General Assembly of the United Nations (custody and non-autonomous territories), in 1963.



With the military coup d'état of 1964, he was removed from diplomatic life and his political rights were annulled for 10 years. It came back to Brazil to the new battle ground: resistance to the military regime.

He was editor of the *Correio da Manhã* (Morning Mail) (1964-1965) and editor-boss of the Mirador International Encyclopedia. He was member of the Commission for the Establishment of Guidelines for the Improvement of Teaching/Learning of the Portuguese Language, with a conclusive report in December of 1985.

In 1985, he was chosen, by the reorganizers as the first president of reconstructed PSB. He was president of the Fluminense Regional, candidate to vice-governor and senator of the Republic for the PSB, remaining all time as member of the National Directory of the Party.

He was secretary and delegated Brazilian spokesperson in the Encounter for the Orthographic Unification of the Portuguese Language, in Rio de Janeiro, in 1986. He organized the International Congress for Translators, in Campos in 1988.

He published 19 books, among them: Socialism and Freedom (1990), Variations around the Democracy concept (1992), Socialism: life, death and resurrection (1993) and Modernity in Brazil: conciliation and rupture (1995), those, in collaboration with Roberto Amaral.

He was Minister for Culture in the Government of Itamar Franco (1993) and president of the Brazilian Academy of Letters in 1996

Known as "the greatest specialist of the words of the Portuguese language" in modern times, he organized in ten years, the two most important encyclopedias of the country: *Delta-Larousse* and

Mirador International. His last work, ended by the team who accompanied him, is the *Dicionário Houaiss of the Portuguese Language*, and he was the first translator, in the Portuguese language of Ulisses, by James Joyce.

Sources:
Biografia-Academia Brasileira de Letras
MARIZ, Vasco (coordenador). *Antônio Houaiss: uma vida*, Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1995.

Jamil Haddad



He was born in Rio de Janeiro, on April 2, 1926. When he was a young student he began to play basketball because he was the highest with his 1.87m. In 1944 he enters the National University of Medicine, in Praia Vermelha, in which he was member of the Academic Directory. He rowed for the University in 1946 and the following year for Botafogo. Between 1948/49 he was two-time carioca basketball champion for Flamengo. In 1949 he graduated in medicine and contained his sporting life.

From 1950 to 1962 he was orthopedic specialist for Iapetec, later Inamps, of Bonsucesso, Hospital Manoel Vargas.

In 1956 he entered, through the hands of Bayard Boiteux the PSB. He was elected Deputy in 1962, for the Legislative Assembly of the then State of Guanabara. He was president of the Economy Commission and vice-leader of the opposition to the Carlos Lacerda Government. He married Aída Gomes in 1963.

With the extinction of the political parties in 1965, he was among the founders of the MDB, being reelected state deputy. In this mandate he presided over the Commission for Health. He was member of the Commissions Inquiry which examined the introduction and use of contraceptives in the country, without medical control, and the use and traffic of narcotics in state schools.

In 1968, he was president of the Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry set up to clarify the circumstances which culminated with student Édson Luiz's murder in Calabouço. After the AI-5, in December of 1968, he was arrested, has his parliamentary mandate revoked and his political rights suspended for 10 years.

He went back to concentrate in medicine in the Cruz Vermelha Hospital, where he set up the Service for victims of Accidents at Work, in agreement with the Welfare Department INPS. It was at this time that the famous case of Mr. Cazuza happened. He was at the surgery table to amputate Cazuza's leg when he Jamil was called by the family to do a diagnosis. He asked permission from his colleagues, reexamined the leg with the supposed gangrene, plastered it and ordered Mr. Cazuza, then 70 years old, home. After 60 days the plaster was removed and physiotherapy treatment was carried out. Mr. Cazuza recovered and returned to his favorite sports riding the bicycle and swimming, all which he continued to do until he was 91 years of age, a little before dying.

In 1979, after the amnesty, he returned to the Hospital of Bonsucesso, where he was one of the founders of the *Trautortopedia* Service.

He also returned to politics, founding with companions the Labor Democratic Party (PDT). He integrated in the direction of the campaign which took Brizola to the government of the State of Rio of January, in 1982.

On March 23, 1983, he was elected with expressive voting of the Legislative Assembly, to be mayor of Rio de Janeiro. He took office and began his administration with a high budget deficit left by the previous mayor. With austere work he was able to rebalance the finances of the municipal district. He defended the thesis of the construction of a definitive place for the *Carvaval* parade of the samba schools and other events, seeking to end with the industry of building and dismantling, which made life hell for the city and caused serious financial damages, during about eight months of the year. His proposal won the day and he kept a close eye on the planning and construction of the *Sambódromo*. In his administration he decreed for intervention in RIOTUR, promoting financial sanitation. Concerned with the incessant rains which affected the city and knowing the precarious conditions of the hillsides, he preferred to allocate the few available resources for a rigorous geotechnical work, carrying out construction work on 86 hillsides.

Within two months of taking office he reformulated and implanted a revolutionary food system in the schools. The directors of the schools began to administer the buying and preparation of the food which became balanced, with fresh victuals, answering to the students' needs. In this way he put an end to the fraudulent industry of school food. He implanted the pioneering system of garbage collection in the slums with mini-tractors. He determined studies for the maternal feeding program that was implanted in the government which succeeded him. He established administrative inquiries in the Clerkship of Health for the constant deviations of hospital material and medicines. He implanted a new system of purchases, going to public laboratories, with great economy for the area of health. He left the city hall in 1983.

In 1985 he was one of the reorganizers of the PSB. As substitute to Saturnino Braga, he assumed the Federal Senate when Saturnino was chosen mayor of Rio de Janeiro, in 1986. As well as his brilliant parliamentary work, he created conditions for the organization of the PSB all over the country. He was national president of the PSB from 1986 to 1992.

He had a fundamental role in the organization of the *Frente Brasil Popular* with Lula for president and Bisol, of the PSB, for vice. In 1990 he was elected federal deputy, leading the socialist opposition to Collor's Government. In the Government of Itamar Franco he was minister of Health. In his administration the SUS was implanted all over the country and it motivated prevention with the Family Health Program. With the ordinance as to generic medicine he was able to reduce the price of the medicines.

In 1993 he was elected president of honor of the PSB. In 2003 he ended his political-parliamentary career as state deputy.

Source:
Louzeiro, José et al. *Jamil Haddad, em nome da vida*. Rio de Janeiro: Janine Produções.

Miguel Arraes (1916- 2005)



Miguel Arraes de Alencar was born on December 15, 1916 in Araripe, Ceará, the son of a small rural proprietor. He attended elementary school in his home town and secondary school at Crato in Ceará.

In 1932 he went to live in Rio de Janeiro where he studied Law. With difficulty to obtain employment to sustain himself in his studies, he went to Recife, where he got a modest position in the Sugar and Alcohol Institute (IAA). He continued his course at the Law University of Recife, receiving his Bachelors Degree in 1937. Because of his privileged intelligence allowed him to ascend in the hierarchy of the Institute, participating in the elaboration of the *Lavoura Canavieira's Statute*,(Cane cutters Statute) which became Law in 1941. In 1943 became Delegate for the Institute, a position that he occupied up to 1947. That year, Barbosa Lima Sobrinho was chosen governor of Pernambuco and he invited Miguel to be secretary of Finance. Arraes was in that position up to 1950. That year he ran for state deputy for the Democratic Social Party (PSD), being first substitute. He ran again in 1954 and was elected by the Social Labor Party (PST). He supported the candidacy of João Cleofas of the National Democratic Union (UDN) with alliance on the left. The victory, however, went to Cordeiro de Farias(PSD).

Arraes assumes the mandate in 1955 and forms an alliance with the opposition to the state government, participating Frente de Esquerda (Left Front), constituted by the communists, socialists and labor, with the objective of choosing Pelópidas da Silveira (PSB) to the city hall of Recife. In the same year Pelópidas won with many votes to spare and took office at city hall. The year of 1955 is one of growth of the influence of the left also in rural areas. He founded the Agricultural and Cattle Society of Pernambuco (SAPP), the first association of farmers of the state, uniting the lease holders of the *Engenho Galiléia* (Galileia sugar mill) in Vitória do Santo Antão, with the objective of marketing green vegetables and setting up a program of assistance. The lawyer of the association was state deputy Francisco Julião (PSB). Arraes and the front members of left gave support to the initiative.

In the following years the associations were multiplying under the names of Farmers' Leagues, with intense repression from the state government. The confrontation between the opposition and the government culminated again with the adoption Tributary Code in 1957. The entrepreneurs of the Federation for Industries and Commercial Association decreed a strike and the workers and rural workers supported. Miguel Arraes was leader of the opposition group and sealed the unity of the parliamentarians, entrepreneurs and workers against the approval of the Tributary Code. The strike movement suffered violent repression from policeman. In May 1958, due to managerial initiative and support from the left front a new strike is called with police repression. This year Arraes received the title of Deputy of the Year award by the unanimous vote of his colleagues. Cid Sampaio, his wife's brother in law runs for Government of the State for the United Coalition Oppositions (UDN, PSB, PTN, PTB and PSP) and it wins the elections. Arraes was candidate for reelection. According to Paulo Cavalcanti, "so big was his interest in Cid Sampaio's victory that he neglected his own candidacy and was defeated.

In 1959, Arraes was named secretary of Finances of Governor Cid Sampaio. Many times there were divergences between them, because Cid ended up looking for support from the conservative sectors. He formed the opposition front, PST, PTN and PRP which with the support of PSB and PCB took Arraes to win the elections for mayor of Recife. In his administration there was amplification of the system of water and sewers and electric power mainly for the poor of the shanty towns. He urbanized poor neighborhoods and coastal neighborhood of Boa Viagem, paved and illuminated a lot of streets and inaugurated the network of electric busses. The most important accomplishment was the Popular Culture Movement (MCP) instituted with the collaboration of students, artists and intellectuals. He began with the literacy classes for adolescents and adults in rooms offered by neighborhood associations, sporting entities and temples. Soon this became political understanding and cultural elevation of the popular masses, with art galleries, movies, theaters, recreation parks, workshops for plastic arts. There were table-round debates about popular culture and valorization of craft and traditional celebrations. The right accused

Arraes of being communist. But among the creators of the MCP was Paulo Freire, whose elaborated literacy methods that freed the workers through political conscience, had the support of the CNBB. CNBB will create in 1961 the Base Education Movement (MEB) giving value to popular culture.

The political scene became radicalized between left and right in the whole country. Once again the left front supports Arraes and he is elected governor of Pernambuco in 1962. The Brazilian Institute of Democratic Action (IBAD) channeled North American money for the opponent João Cleofas candidacy, but Arraes was chosen by popular vote.

As soon as he assumes the government Arraes celebrates an agreement between the workers and planters with a code of tasks in the field, impeding in this way that if there was a readjustment in the minimum wage on the part of the federal government, the entrepreneurs increased the tasks annulling in practice the readjustment. Parallel to this there was the amplification of the agricultural credit for small proprietors. With the collaboration of the Catholic Church and the communists, the rural labor organization which had avoided *Ligas Camponesas* driven by the exacerbated radicalism of Julião, were begun. To avoid disputes policemen were sent to the field to unarm sugar mill owners and land lords. They created Grocery stores for Provisioning which sold victuals of first necessity with prices below the local trade. The Itinerant Assistance Service was created (SAI) for emergency solutions to sanitary problems in the interior. The Laboratory of the State was set up producing the medicines of greater popular consumption at moderate prices. The connection with the workers was one of his government's basic characteristics. In March of 1964, when the political climate in the country was radicalized the *Encontro de Palmares* takes place in the headquarters of the largest rural workers' union in the country. During one week they discussed the government's politics with the farmers.

On the 31 of March of 1964 the military coup d'état breaks out. On the 1st, students carry out manifestation in Recife screaming "Down with the coup" and "Long live Miguel Arraes". The army troops open fire and kill two secondary school students. The commandant of the 3rd Naval District tries uselessly to convince Arraes to renounce. In the face of the negative answer the governor is arrested and taken to Fernando Noronha Island. On April 9 the name of Arraes is on the first list of those repelled of political rights. Arraes will be transferred from prisons going to Recife and later to Rio de Janeiro. On April 21, 1965 he gets habeas-corpus from STF. Four days later takes refuge at the Algeria embassy and a little later goes into exile in Argel. In an interview granted to the newspaper *Le Monde* on July 30, he affirms that the situation of Brazil is similar to that of Cuba during Fulgêncio Batista's dictatorship

In exile he enters in contact with the leaders of the African liberation movements, he meets with Brazilian members of the opposition, he grants interviews and writes. His book, *Brasil, o povo e o poder* was edited in Paris and, later, the João Mangabeira Foundation edited it in Brazil. He makes an analysis of the History of Brazil in which the central question is foreign dominance and the path to liberation is in popular organization.

In September 1979 after the amnesty he comes back to Brazil defending the same ideas which made him a great popular leader. A crowd receives him. He joins the MDB and participates in interviews and debates. He is elected in 1982 by PMDB as federal deputy for Pernambuco with the largest voting ever seen in the state. In the House, he was leader of the "independent left" PMDB.

In 1986 he is elected governor of Pernambuco being supported by a party front that brought together the PMDB, PCB, PCdoB and PSB. He managed for the popular sectors their main government actions, such as the expansion of the water system, rural credit in the interior, the distribution of seeds in the rural areas, the dispossession of lands and the preservation of employment in the between season of the sugar-cane industry in the Forest Zone, alternative programs for housing and expansion of health, education,

documentation and transport services. He stimulated industry in the interior. He set up projects as "*Vaca na corda*" (Cow on rope) which financed the purchase of a cow; "*Chapéu de Palha*" (straw hat) which hired cane cutters in the off season to work in small public works and the "*Água na roça*" (Water on the farm) which financed the purchase of motor pumps for irrigation.

In the second round of the presidential elections of 1989 he is engaged actively in Lula's campaign. Among the Pernambuco electorate Lula beat Collor.

In February 1990 he separated from the PMDB and joined the PSB. In July he became vice-president of the PSB and in November the deputy federal proportionally best voted in the country. In his first pronouncement in the House he announced that his performance would have as priority "to struggle against the recessive economical policies". He presided from 1991 to 1995 in the Nationalist Parliamentary Front. He supported the opening of CPI to investigate the accusations against Collor and the impeachment.

When Itamar Franco assumed the presidency he supported the participation of the PSB in the government with ministers Jamil Haddad in Health, and Antônio Houaiss in Culture. For Arraes, in spite of the PSB having a reduced party presence it would give a progressive profile to the government, from which he only disagreed on the question of the regulation of patents and in some points of the privatization program. He assumed the presidency of the PSB, because Jamil
Haddad became minister for Health and he was reelected to the National Congress in 1993.

In 1994 he was for the third time as governor of Pernambuco. He participated in the governors' block contrary Fernando Henrique Cardoso government's economical program. With six more governors from the Northeast, he indicated to the federal government ten proposals of short time period for the area. He was defeated when trying for reelection for the government from Pernambuco in 1998. In 2002 he returns to the Federal House.

He was reelected in 1995, 1997, 1999, 2001 and 2003 for the presidency of the PSB. Arraes was married to Célia de Souza Leão, with whom he had 8 children. With the death of this his first wife in 1961 he got married again to Maria Madalena Fiúza Arraes de Alencar, with whom he had two children.

Publications: *Palavras de Arrais* (1965), *Carta de Argel* (1967), *O Brasil e o povo no poder* (1970), *Brasil: a questão nacional* (1973) *A nova face da ditadura, o jogo do poder no Brasil* (1981), *Os rumos da mudança* (1984), *A democracia e a questão nordestina* (1985), *A dívida externa e outras questões* (1987), *Miguel Arraes: pensamento e ação política* (org. Jair Pereira e outros), 1997.

On 13 th of August 5005, Arraes died.

Source:
Abreu, Alzira Alves de [et al.]. *Dicionário histórico-biográfico brasileiro pós-30,*
Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV; CPDoc, 2001.

Roberto Amaral



Roberto Amaral was born in Fortaleza, on December 24, 1939. From an early age he gave in to the vocation of politics and literature. As a boy, a student of the then secondary course he participated in several student Congresses and was president of the school union; later, studying Classics, in the State School of Ceará, he was head of the student union, and speaker for his group at graduation. He was militant the Ceará Union of Secondary Students and in the Ceará Student Center. At that time, with other friends, he set up the *Academia dos Novos* (new boys academy)(contesting official writers) and at 14 years of age he participates as essayist in the book *Antologia dos novos*, edited by the Institute of Ceará.

While still a college student he enters journalism, first in the newspaper *O Estado* and later, in 1959, already a university student, he would be writer for the *Diário do Povo*, of the opposition, newspaper founded and managed by by Jáder de Carvalho, leftist leader and controversialist, and one of the founders of the Democratic Left and the PSB, in 1947.

When a Law student in Ceará he became a university leader, he was head of the State Union of Students, being vice-president of the National Union of Students (UNE) for the mandate 1961-62, when he enters in Brazilian Communist Party. After the mandate, and after long trips to the socialist republics of the East and France, he returns to Fortaleza, and retakes his Law course at the University and he enters at Catholic University of Ceará. He continues acting in the student movement and, for diverging on tactical lines he leaves the PCB and enters the PSB, and along with other companions sets up the grouping of socialist students. He continues participating in the UNE and, in 1963 takes office of trade union and student advisor for governor Virgílio Távora, from where with the coop d'état of March 31, he was removed

During the military regime he again acted in the Brazilian Communist Party (PCB) and then already in Rio de Janeiro where he moves in January 1966 escaping from the military persecution of which he was victim, again diverging from the line of the PCB, he enters in Brazilian Communist Revolutionary Party (PCBR) and will act alongside Mário Alves, Jacob Gorender and Apolônio de Carvalho.

In spite of the processes to which he answered, including in the University, he was able to conclude his Law course and obtain bachelor's title in Juridical and Social Sciences from the Federal University of Ceará, in 1964, and bachelor in Philosophy from the Catholic Universities of Ceará, in 1965. Still as a law student, he starts to defend the politically perused and he is devoted to this task after conclusion of his course, now as a lawyer.

On his last process, convicted in the STM, he was removed thanks to the interference of habeas corpus before the STF. It was his lawyer jurist José Aguiar Dias. The group that judged him was constituted by Evandro Lins e Silva (Reporter), Hermes Lima and Victor Nunes Leal.

In Rio de Janeiro, without conditions of returning to advocacy, impeded in obtaining his registration in the OAB, he will work as editor in the Getúlio Vargas Foundation, and, in the hands for José Aguiar Dias, minister of the TFR now retired and removed by the military regime, he will coordinate the *Repertório Enciclopédico* of the Brazilian Law and he enters the University of Law of Rio de Janeiro as Professor of Political Economy. Later he will enter the UFRJ School of Communication (when he publishes the book *O futuro da comunicação*) in the Hélio Alonso Faculty and in the Papal Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro, in which he will teach the communication course. It is when he leads, still during the dictatorship, the first academic teachers from private schools in the Rio de Janeiro strike. He continues his political activities, although now in hiding and frequently travels to São Paulo, for meetings with the leaders of PCBR, until the dismantling of this organization, by the dictatorship, and the assassination of Mário Alves. During the Geisel Government and part of the Figueiredo Government he is the writer for the *Jornal do Commércio*, Rio, writing a critical economical column twice a week of the military government. From this collaboration resulted his book *Crônica dos anos Geisel*, published by the Editora Forense Universitária.

With Jamil Haddad's taking office in the senator's seat for Rio de Janeiro he practically is transferred for Brasília, from where he commands the PSB process of organization. He still exercises the task of advisor to the socialist's block in Constituent.

He was one of the most important rebuilders of the PSB in 1985, having been a general secretary between 1985 and 1993 and soon after vice-president, exercising the Presidency, in 2005, when Miguel Arraes got sick, and, later dies, and in 2006, when Eduardo Campos was in campaign for the government of Pernambuco. He was coordinator for the Government Program of Garotinho as candidate the

Presidency for the PSB, in 2002. In the presidential elections of 1989 (he was one of the builders of the *Frente Brasil-Popular*), 1994, 1998 and in the second round of 2002, he represented the PSB in the coordination of Lula's campaign. He exercises, in the Party, unquestionable ideological leadership.

He was minister for Science and Technology in 2003 in the Lula Government, implanting new politics devoted to combat exclusion and the federative redistribution of resources for the development of science and technology which gave the basic guidelines adopted by the ministers who succeeded him, with adaptations.

He is Assistant Professor of the Papal Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro and Titular Teacher of Hélio Alonso Faculty.

He is integrated to the Order of Lawyers in Brazil (OAB), Rio de Janeiro sector, the Institute of Lawyers of Brazil (IAB), International Sociological Association, International Political Science Association, International Association for Judicial Methodology, member of the *Coordenadoria Socialista Latinoamericana*. He integrated the State Council of Culture for the State of Rio de Janeiro.

In January of 1982 he founded, together with Antônio Houaiss, Herbert José de Souza, César Guimarães, Darcy Ribeiro and other intellectuals the Brazilian Center of Superior Studies for Latin-American (Cebela) which develops research, courses and publications on Latin America and edits the magazine *Comunicação&Política*, of which he is founder and editor.

As apolitical scientist, journalist and writer he has already published works in the area of fiction as the romance *Não há noite tão longa* (there is no night so long) and books of stories as *Limites* e *Viagem* . He has more than 20 books in the area of the Law, Political Science and Communication. We selected some as *Introdução ao Estudo do Estado e do Direito*, *Manual das Eleições, Textos Políticos da História do Brasil, Ciência e Tecnologia a Serviço do Progresso e da Inclusão Social* e *O papel do intelectual na política*. (Introduction to Study of State and Law, Manual for Elections, Political Texts on the History of Brazil, Science and Technology at the Service of Progress and Social Inclusion and the role of the intellectual in politics.) With Antônio Houaiss he wrote *Socialismo, vida, morte e ressurreição* e *A modernidade no Brasil: conciliação ou ruptura* ? (Socialism, life, death and resurrection and Modernity in Brazil: conciliation or rupture) His last book *Em defesa da utopia (ou A necessidade de defender Dom Quixote dos Sanchos Panças)* {In defense of the utopia (or the need to defend Dom Quixote by Sanchos Panças), was edited by the João Mangabeira Foundation. He carried out research such as *"Macrocefalia da comunicação de massa no Brasil", "Os meios de comunicação na América Latina", "A TV no Brasil", "O parque gráfico brasileiro e a produção de livros no Brasil", "As perspectivas brasileiras na América do Sul", "Ciência, tecnologia e ética", "Perspectivas do desenvolvimento científico-tecnológico brasileiro".* *("*"Macrocephalic of mass communication in Brazil', "The means of communication in Latin America", "the TV in Brazil", "The Brazilian graphic park and the production of books in Brazil", "The Brazilian perspectives in South America", "Science, technology and ethics", "Perspectives of the Brazilian scientific-technological development".

Source:
Ordem Nacional do Mérito Científico.

Eduardo Campos



He was born in Recife, on August 10, 1965. When very young at the age of 16 years he was already studying economy at the Federal University of Pernambuco. He

was president of the Academic Directory, already demonstrating his political leadership. He was speaker of the group at graduation in 1985. In 1986, he could go for his master's degree in the USA, but his grandfather, Miguel Arraes, was candidate to the government from Pernambuco and Eduardo entered body and soul in the campaign. Arraes returns to the *Palácio das Princesas* and Eduardo becomes cabinet boss. He participates directly in the creation of the first Clerkship of Science and Technology of the Northeast, in 1987, and the first Foundation to Help Research in the region, Facepe, in 1989.

He joins the PSB in 1990 and is chosen state deputy. He was leader of the opposition and received the *Prêmio Leão do Norte*, which is given by the Legislative Assembly to the most outstanding parliamentarians.

He arrived at the House of Deputies in 1994. He was at the service of the government's from Pernambuco as secretary of Government (1995). In 1996 he assumed the Clerkship of Finance. With the campaign "*Todos com a nota*" (All with the note) he gave impulse to culture and soccer in Pernambuco and raised tribute collection to levels never reached before.

He was reelected in 1998 as the most voted federal deputy in the state. In his third mandate, as leader of the PSB block he became one of Government Lula's principal articulators in the Congress, in the approval of the reforms of Social Welfare and Tributary.

He always received prominence in the evaluation of the Inter trade union Department of Parliamentary Consultancy (DIAP) and was for three years on the 100 most influential parliamentarians' list

He participated in several Parliamentary Commissions of Inquiry (CPIs) with prominence in the one on Brazilian Soccer (Nike/CBF) where, as sub-reporter, denounced the traffic of young Brazilian footballers to the exterior. He was president of the Parliamentarian Front for the Defense of Brazilian Historical, Artistic and Natural Patrimony, of nonpartisan character and created by his initiative. Among the bills he introduced we emphasize that which typifies *lightning kidnapping* as crime in the penal code and that which allows for the use of FGTS resource for the payment of worker's higher education and that of his dependents.

In 2003 he assumed the Ministry of Science and Technology, expanding the policy of placing scientific and technological knowledge at the service of society. He articulated the approval of the Program of Bio-security with Congress, which allows the embryonic cell-stems to be used in research and got the unanimous approval for the Technological Innovation Law which creates a regulatory mark in relations among universities, companies and research institutions.

In August of 2005 he was chosen president of the PSB, during the X Congresso.

He was elected Governor of Pernambuco in 2006 having as his commitment the facing of poverty, misery, violence and social exclusion in a transparency government with open doors for the people.

Source:
Site of the government of Pernambuco which is –
www.pe.gov.br/governo -governador-biografia.htm

ABOUT THE AUTHOR



Margarida Vieira, Guida, was born in Belo Horizonte in December of 1948. She married Xandão with whom she had three daughters: Mônica, Ana and Bárbara. She graduated in History at UFMG, specialized in Modern and Contemporary History in Prepes/PUC, did her master's degree in Political Science in DCP/UFMG and Doctorate in History in UFF.

She was professor of the Cootepe course, in Pedro Leopoldo (MG). While a professor, she taught in the Colégios Pitágoras and Santo Agostinho, in PUC, in Univale and in UFMG where she retired. She published together with Miracy Gustin the book *Semeando Democracia* (Sowing Democracy) – the path of democratic socialism in Brazil, "68: the students of Minas Gerais and the desire of a new world", in "1968 it is 30 years", organized by João Roberto Martins Filho and "The Brazilian Socialist Party and Marxism " in: vol. V "History of Marxism in Brazil", organized by Marcelo Ridenti and Daniel Aarão Reis Filho. She was Managing Director of the João Mangabeira Fondation and Director of Programs for Capes.



CLSW 302 – Bloco B – Sala 123 – Ed. Park Center
CEP 70673-612 – Setor Sudoeste – Cruzeiro, DF
Telefax: (61) **3033-3704** / **9986-3632**
e-mail: tereza@intertexto.net
editorial.abare@gmail.com