

FOR ADMINISTRATIVE USE ONLY

BRAZIL

GUIDE TO PROGRAM OFFICERS, TEAM MANAGERS, AND LECTURERS

Lecturers, team managers, and program officers who either participate in or address themselves to the successful execution of these study and field programs should bear in mind that the basic rationale for team visits to the U.S.A. is the furtherance of U.S. foreign policy objectives in Latin America. Current U.S. objectives give high priority to aiding and assisting the formation and development of free, independent trade unions who can rightfully assume a responsible role in protecting the legitimate interests of their members, the participation by trade unions in reinforcing the democratic process in each country and finally aiding in the successful realization of the social and economic objectives of the Alliance for Progress.

Such team visits, encompassing as they do, a prescribed course of academic trade union study, implemented by field visits to factories, unions, social and community organizations, etc., provide team participants with a knowledge of American industrial and trade union techniques. From such exposure, team members select those aspects of the program which can be successfully utilized in their own domestic situation. Consequently, lecturers, programmers, and team managers should bear in mind that policies and programs do not operate in a vacuum and that the preferable approach is to translate and relate American trade union policies and practices to the prevailing trade union and political situation in the participants' home countries.

Area: 3,287,199 square miles (nearly as large as the U.S.A.)
Population: 82,000,000
Labor Force: 26,000,000
Capital: Brasilia
Currency: Cruzeiro
Language: Portugese
Independence Day: September 7
National Hero: Jose Bonifacio de Andrada e Silva

Brazil, the largest nation of South America, lies in the east central portion of the continent. Brazil's neighbors are Colombia, Venezuela, and the Guianas on the north, Peru and Bolivia on the east, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Argentina on the south.

Geographical Features: Brazil, often called the land of the future, is endowed with varied resources from its three diverse regions, the tropical, heavily forested Amazon basin, the high plateaus, and the central coastland. Unlike many of the other South American countries, Brazil has a very extensive navigable river system, perhaps one of the largest in the world. The Amazon River by itself is navigable for about 1,700 miles across Brazil.

Principal Cities: On April 21, 1960, the city of Brasilia was inaugurated as the new capital. This brain child of Kubitchek was hewn from the virgin plateaus of central Brazil, replacing the traditional capital, Rio de Janeiro, which has a population of more than three million and serves as the commercial, political, and cultural center of the country. Next in importance is Sao Paulo, industrial center of the country with a population of 3.7 million. Recife, population 750,000, is Brazil's third largest city, a modern Venice. Salvador, population 600,000, serves more than 100 mills and factories. Other major Brazilian cities are Porto Alegre, Belo Horizonte, Belem, and Santos.

People: Brazil's people, made up of all the basic stocks into which the human race is divided - Indian, Caucasian, Negro, and Asiatic - reflect a varied culture. Centuries of intermarriage have produced a distinctive Brazilian people and virtually eliminated racial discrimination. The country has no segregation and creates no ethnic outcasts. The official language is Portuguese. In religion, Brazil is largely Roman Catholic (93%) but there is a strict separation between Church and State.

Brazil is a virtual melting pot or amalgam of varied human stocks, divided between Caucasian, Negro, Mulatto, and Asiatic. One must bear in mind, after carefully studying these figures, that the percentage of Brazilians with one African ancestor is considerably higher than the figures would indicate.

Government: Since 1930, when a Revolutionary Government took control, Brazil has fought depression, inflation, and economic crises. Getulio D. Vargas (Labor Party) became provisional president in 1930. In 1933, he was elected president under a new constitution, but was forced by the army to retire in 1945. Vargas was re-elected in 1950, after five dormant years. He later committed suicide while still in office.

In April, 1964, a military junta, led by General Humberto Castello Branco, assumed control of the government deposing the former president, Goulart. National elections have been scheduled for the fall of 1966.

Economy: The national economy of Brazil is largely dependent upon its export trade in agricultural and forest products, the principal ones being coffee, cotton, cacao, tobacco, sugar, hides, yerba mate, carnauba wax, and sisal fiber. Industrial diamonds, rock crystal, and precious and semi-precious gems also are exported. The country is still dependent upon imports for machinery, vehicles, fuels, industrial chemicals, pharmaceuticals, and wheat. Food production leads the field of industry while iron and steel production is expanding.

HISTORY AND STRUCTURE OF BRAZILIAN TRADE UNIONS

Syndicates, federations, and confederations, Brazil's three levels of union organization operate under regulations of the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare, in line with tight restrictions imposed by the Labor Code. A new union must be legally recognized by the Ministry of Labor before it can begin to function. The Ministry is empowered to supervise union elections, union financial matters, collective bargaining negotiations, and enforcement of contract provisions. The Minister of Labor can also "intervene" (take control of) a union if, in his opinion, the union does not adequately fulfill its functions. He can remove union officers and regulate strike activity. This concept of government control of unions was introduced into Brazil by Getulio Vargas in the 1930's under the doctrine of "Estado Novo" (New State). The practices that he initiated largely persist although perceptible changes have been underway since 1955.

There is no national center of all trade unions in Brazil comparable to the AFL-CIO in the United States, where the individual affiliated unions maintain a free and independent status. The Brazilian trade unions, as well as employer organizations, were set up as integral parts of a corporate state, not unlike those in Mussolini's fascist Italy. In 1937, the then president of Brazil, Getulio Vargas, introduced a new constitution which transformed the trade union movement into a syndical organization. Trade unions which could not be adapted to this system became illegal. The formation of syndicates is voluntary in Brazil, and they are generally organized in the manner prescribed by the Consolidation of Brazilian Labor Laws. However, the Ministry of Labor exercises flexibility in applying the laws, so that deviations from the standard pattern can and do occur.

Workers coming under any classification of activities and professions who want to form a syndicate must first organize into professional associations and petition the Government for the registration of their association. These associations, when accorded recognition, represent all workers employed in the particular category, whether or not they are enrolled as members of the syndicate.

Generally, each category of workers may be represented by only one syndicate. For example, when an association of at least one-third of the workers in the metal industry in Sao Paulo has requested and received recognition from the Ministry of Labor, it can organize a syndicate. This syndicate then becomes the only such organization which may represent these workers. Although some variations are possible, usually the jurisdictional base for the worker's syndicate is a "município", which corresponds roughly to our concept of parish or county, and may include more than one urban center. Over half of the worker syndicates are to be found in six states: Sao Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, Minas Gerais, Guanabara (former Federal District), Parana, and Santa Catarina.

Most, but not all workers' syndicates, are affiliated with federations of workers of a particular category. Federations usually have a state as their jurisdictional base. They may be organized by not less than five syndicates and may include groups of workers in identical, or related, activities. For instance, the workers in the milling, baking, and meat-packing industries may be combined into a state federation of food workers. There are, however, some federations with a regional or nation-wide base, e.g., the National Federation of Maritime Workers, whose affiliates are organized on a craft basis. Nearly half of the worker federations are located in the states of Guanabara and Sao Paulo.

Confederations may be organized on a vertical basis by not less than three federations and compared to the latter, may combine more diverse elements, such as all commercial workers or industrial workers. A confederation is national in character and usually maintains headquarters in the national capital. It represents the workers point of view on a federal level, and presses for government action on matters affecting their welfare. The number of confederations is limited by law to eight.

The labor legislation which enables syndicates to be organized calls for the voluntary creation of parallel but separate employer and employee organizations in order to represent their respective economic, occupational, or professional interests. Thus, worker syndicates or trade unions generally bargain (in the manner prescribed by law) with corresponding management syndicates. Both kinds of syndicates are considered to be voluntary associations since they are formed by the interested parties and not created by the Federal Government. A syndicate, however, must receive official recognition from the Government in order to be legally established. Such recognition gives the syndicate the right to represent the entire occupational class over which it claims jurisdiction and for which it has been legally recognized. The worker syndicates receive the funds of the syndical tax, which all workers and employers must pay, whether they are members of their respective syndicates or not.

Government control affects virtually all aspects of union activities and labor-management relations. Furthermore, the many benefits provided by the extensive labor legislation have tended to make workers look to the Government rather than to the unions for improvements in their conditions. A natural result has been some worker apathy toward the trade union movement. Syndical organizations are considered to be public though not official agencies.

The official concept of trade unionism is expressed in the section of the law which outlines the privileges and duties of local unions. Privileges of a union include the right to represent its members before public authority, enter into collective agreements with the appropriate employer syndicate, elect union officers, cooperate with the Government in studying and solving workers' problems, levy local union dues, and operate employment agencies. Duties include cooperation with public authorities in the development of good community relations and the development of industrial skills by the labor force.

The eight general confederations of workers, plus other labor groupings, are described below:

(A) National Confederations

1. CNTI (National Confederation of Industrial Workers) - The CNTI is the largest and most powerful confederation in Brazil. It is affiliated to the ICFTU (International Confederation of Free Trade Unions) and has a current membership estimated at about 1,000,000. The CNTI claims that its affiliates bargain collectively for approximately 2,000,000 workers. The Confederation is composed principally of national federations or workers in a particular industry and state federations of industrial workers from various industries.

For over a decade prior to 1961, the CNTI enjoyed relatively democratic leadership, a fact reflected in its early affiliation with the ICFTU and ORIT. During this period there was a continuous struggle for control within the organization between communist and non-communist forces. The CNTI held its most recent convention in April, 1966. All previously incumbent officers were re-elected, most of whom have been to the U.S.A. on the "union-to-union" program. An opposition slate drawing its support from the Sao Paulo Metal, Textile, Food, Public Utilities, and Clothing Federations; the Rio de Janeiro Metal Workers; the Sergipe Industrial Workers Federations; and the Pernambuco Industrial Workers Federation was readily defeated.

The present officers are:

Joao Wagner	President
Olavo Previatti	General Secretary
Manoel Francisco da Silva	Administrative Secretary
Rudor Blumm	Treasurer
Ary Campista	Secretary for Labor and Social Security
Onofre Martins Barbosa	International Affairs
Domingos Alvarez	Public Relations Secretary
Daniel Soares	Secretary for Organization

2. CNTC (National Confederation of Commercial Workers) - The CNTC, the second largest national confederation in Brazil, is affiliated to the ICFTU and ORIT. It claims 1,200,000 members. It is estimated that its membership is under 1,000,000. The Confederation is composed of six national federations established along occupational lines (salesmen, warehousemen, service station employees, etc.), and state federations of mixed commercial workers. Since the 1964 revolution, several formerly communist-dominated federations have been taken over by democratic groups, notably the Federation of Warehousemen and Co-feloaders. Virtually all of their top officials have been in the U.S.A. The president is Antonio Alves de Almeida, and Juracy Martins is Secretary-General. Both have been in the U.S.A. It is

affiliated to the International Federation of Commercial, Clerical and Technical Employees (IFTCCE).

3. CNTTT (National Confederation of Land Transport Workers) - The CNTTT claims 500,000 members, but its strength is estimated at closer to 200,000. It consists of national federations of railway workers, street-car workers, teamsters, and chauffeurs; and two state federations of mixed land-transport workers. It is affiliated to ORIT and the ICFTU. It is likewise affiliated to an International Trade Secretariat, the International Transport Workers Federation. Mario Lopez de Oliveira is president.

4. CONTEC (National Confederation of Workers in Insurance and Credit Institutions) - CONTEC was formed in 1959 by bringing together five state and regional federations of bank workers. The estimated membership of CONTEC is 40,000. Following the revolution, control of the confederation was wrested from the communists, but the communists still have significant strength in the states of Rio, Guanabara, Minas Gerais, and in the city of Brasilia.

5. CNTTMFA (National Confederation of Maritime, River and Air Transport Workers) - The CNTTMFA was formed in June, 1960, of three small federations of marine engineers, river transport workers, and some air transport workers. Today, the CNTTMFA claims 135,000 members in 11 federations and 22 unions. All but three were intervened following the revolution. Esmeraldo Alves da Silva is president.

6. CONTAG (National Confederation of Agricultural Workers) - This relatively recent confederation of farm workers is under the leadership of anti-communist Catholics with its financial strength centered in the state of Sao Paulo. Two celebrated priests, Padre Melo and Padre Crespo have been in the forefront of the campaign to organize these workers. Currently they claim 12 federations with 500 local unions.

7. CONTCOP (National Confederation of Communications and Publicity Workers) - This also is a recently formed federation with the Communication Workers Union (CWA) of America assisting. It currently numbers five federations.

8. Education and Culture - Negotiations for this confederation embracing trade union organizations in the fields of education and culture appear to be drawing to a successful conclusion. This success has been largely due to the efforts of the Rio and Sao Paulo Federations of Entertainment Workers and the Sao Paulo Federation of Teachers. This new confederation, for the first time, provides centralized leadership for a sector which, before the revolution, was a source of strength for the CGT. Currently it numbers four federations.

Workers General Command (CGT) - At present, the formation of a single national labor federation similar to the AFL-CIO embracing workers in all segments of organized labor is not permitted by the Labor Code. A long-time goal of the communists, however, had been the establishment of a unified national labor center which they would control. They took the indirect route of building a national labor organization, the Workers General Command (CGT), from the top down in 1962. The CGT was disbanded in 1964, some of its leaders were arrested and sent to prison. Others fled the country.

Communist Infiltration in the Labor Movement - Before the 1964 revolution, the CGT, e.g. communist-controlled, had its principal strength in the National Confederation of Credit Institution Workers; the National Confederation of Air, River and Maritime Transport Workers; and the National Confederation of Industrial Workers. In the communications, educational, and cultural sectors, national confederations were not formed; but the existing federations for the most part were dominated by pro-CGT factions.

Strategically speaking, the most important affiliates of the National Confederation of Industrial Workers (CNTI) dominated by the CGT included the Federation of Metal Workers of the State of Guanabara and Rio de Janeiro, and the local metal workers union in Sao Paulo City and Rio. In the food sector, the influential food workers federation in Sao Paulo provided some of the more prominent leadership in the CGT. In the Petroleum and Chemical Workers Federation, affiliates of the CNTI, most of the PETROBRAS (Government Petroleum Monopoly) workers unions were dominated by the communists, as was one of the two existing Chemical and Pharmaceutical Workers Federations in Sao Paulo. In other states, at least six affiliated state industrial workers' federations, where no one industry was sufficiently developed to warrant a separate federation, were dominated by CGT factions.

Through its interventions in former communist-controlled unions, the government has effectively purged communists in the top level of the labor movement. However, communist agitation continues among the rank and file. For a number of reasons, communist-supported slates generally fared well against intervener-supported slates in recent elections held by formerly intervened unions. There is strong evidence that the new executive boards in many of these unions are composed of relatively unknown communists, communist dupes, and fellow travellers, who may be biding their time before pressing extremist agitation.

Trade Union Representation in Government Policy - The Revolutionary Government has made a point of including worker representatives on various government commissions regulating aspects of its economic and financial programs, such as CONSPLAN and the CONEP. Former Labor Minister Sussekind initiated the practice of providing to labor and management groups the opportunity to study and comment on draft laws affecting their interests prior to the submission of these proposals to the Congress.

Brazilian unions charge that the present government has given very little weight to labor movement opinions or its reactions to key sections of its economic-financial program.

Trade Union Education - Conducted almost exclusively by the International Trade Secretariats and the Instituto Cultural de Trabalho (ICT-AIFLD), labor education programs continue to expand. By December, 1965, the ICT reported having graduated a total of 2,500 workers from seminars in all but one state since its inception in mid-1964. The International Federation of Commercial, Clerical and Technical Employees (IFCCTE-FIET); the Postal, Telephone and Telegraph International (PTTI-ICCT); the International Federation of Petroleum and Chemical Workers (IFPCW); and the Inter-American Federation of Working Newspapermen's Organizations (IFWNO-FIOPI) - often in collaboration with the ICT and the ORIT - maintain a steady rhythm of educational seminars designed to create membership interest in their unions and to develop new, dynamic leadership.

An inhibiting factor to the successful operation of labor education programs is the indifference and at times outright opposition to change which generally characterizes Brazilian labor leadership. There is considerable evidence that the Brazilian worker wants change, particularly from the stereotyped structure and practices which have dominated Brazilian labor since Getulio Vargas first became enamored of the corporate state of Mussolini. However, even if the rank and file of the workers were able and willing to voice its demands for a change, the old practices and habits of thought and need, exemplified in the pelego, would, in the short run at least, blunt and possibly negate its demands for a new approach to the solution of labor's problems.

Union Administration in Brazil - Government intervention in internal union affairs does not end with the Ministry of Labor's right to prescribe the conditions of recognition and jurisdiction. The law specifies what matters must be voted on by secret ballot, who may or may not belong to unions, as well as a series of prohibitions, such as:

- (a) propaganda incompatible with the institutions and interests of the state;
- (b) number of posts a member may hold;
- (c) prohibition of payment of those holding union positions;
- (d) the renting of union headquarters to other groups, especially those of a political nature.

The law specifies when union elections shall take place, the list of candidates to be registered and specifications for the conduct of the elections. The Ministry of Labor has the power to annul the results of union elections and order new ones.

Collective Bargaining in Brazil - Although a few unions in Brazil have developed what North Americans would call collective bargaining, the principal tasks of Brazilian trade unions is to assist their members and present grievances to the local labor courts. Vargas' design and that of the Estado Novo, which he created, was to keep the unions financially strong and organizationally weak. His purpose was to limit their activities and area of influence in the economic field, expand their activities in social fields, and control their political activities.

In June, 1965, the government introduced to the Congress draft legislation providing for meaningful collective bargaining. This bill was withdrawn in July, 1965, reportedly because of contradiction with government wage policies as exemplified in Law 4725. Despite government promises, this draft bill has never been resubmitted because of strong opposition to the collective bargaining legislation among employer groups and conservative forces.

Inasmuch as the Brazilian laws comprehensively cover all aspects of minimum wages, hours, and working conditions, the only residual area reserved for true collective bargaining is for wages in excess of minimums.

Despite the limitations imposed on both the employer and labor syndicates, both are required by law to establish wages, hours, and other conditions of employment. Each contract must be approved by the Ministry of Labor who can then make it applicable to an entire industry, regionally or nationally. Agreements must be approved by two-thirds of the membership present at a union meeting. Once in effect, it has the force of the law, and responsibility of enforcement lies with the labor inspectors of the Ministry of Labor. This exercise by the state, of what in free countries is one of a labor union's most important functions, further contributes to the weakness of Brazilian unions.

Recognition Procedure - All workers' or employers' groups which wish to engage in collective bargaining must first gain recognition from the Ministry of Labor, Industry, and Commerce. If more than one associacao in an area in the same industry or profession applies for recognition as a sindicato, the registration section of the Ministry is empowered to decide which application shall be accepted. The custom is to accept the group which has the most property and the greater program of social services, even though it might have less members than a rival group.

Collective disputes (not bargaining) emanate from the workers' demands for changes in collective agreements. They are forwarded to the Regional Labor Tribunal which then sends them to the employer syndicate, requesting at the same time a counter-proposal. The Tribunal then decides what shall be granted. Under Brazilian law only employer syndicates can enter into collective agreements, not individual employers. In some instances, agreements between workers and employers are reached by direct negotiation. However, these cases are relatively few.

The Right to Strike - In June, 1964, the government was instrumental in obtaining Congressional approval for the first Brazilian legislation regulating the right to strike (Law 4330). By dint of this law and the general politico-military atmosphere, the disruptive politically-motivated strikes, so common under the Goulart Government, has been completely absent since the revolution. While containing many positive features, in effect, Law 4330 rather sharply restricts the right to strike. In addition, the imposition of government formulas for calculating wage increases by Law 4725, deprives strikes of their basic economic purpose as a last resort of the unions in obtaining higher wages, better living conditions, etc. Recent strikes during wage negotiations have merely served to pressure the labor courts to apply more rapidly the relatively rigid government wage policy, with no calculable effect on the percentages of wage increases or other benefits.

Union Finances in Brazil - The Government regulates the income and expenditures of the syndicates of employees, employers, and self-employed workers. The major source of financial support is provided by a syndical tax; the Imposto Sindical, which, for employed persons, amounts to one day's wages per year for each nonagricultural worker, except those in the government and in domestic service.

This method of government regulation of union finances is one of the principal methods by which the government exercises a direct control over unions. The law further stipulates the following conditions relative to union finances:

1. Details specifically what shall constitute the union's assets and revenue.
2. Prescribes the manner in which they shall be spent. All unions must submit their budgets annually to the Ministry for prior approval.
3. Empowers the Ministry to investigate any charge of irregularity, audit books, and intervene in the operation of the union, including the right to name someone to run the union pending disposition of its affairs.

Most of the union leaders have suggested that the imposto sindical be abolished as a means of freeing the unions from the control of the state. Some leaders are opposed to such a measure since it would virtually abolish the union's social service and would make it almost impossible to maintain the office staff necessary to carry on union business.

The payment of the imposto sindical does not automatically make a worker a member of his union. He must pay a small monthly membership fee in addition. Only 30 to 40 percent of all Brazilian workers are actually union members and pay dues.

Grievance Procedure in Brazil - Collective disputes are only a small part of the work of the Brazilian labor courts. More numerous are the reclama-
coes or individual grievances of workers against employers which comprise the bulk of conciliation cases. In the absence of standardized grievance procedure in a plant or enterprise, the worker's grievance is often, in the first step, presented to the courts. However, there is a growing tendency to try to handle grievances in the first instance as matters strictly "within the family". This particularly applies to industries where the unions are well organized and where employers are aware of this.

As in other Latin American countries, American and other foreign employers, having familiarity and experience with grievance procedures in their own countries, prefer to deal directly with the workers rather than have their problems aired before labor courts.

Notwithstanding, a systematic and orderly system for settling employee dissatisfaction within the factories is still in its incipient stages.

The labor courts system, in effect, takes the place of both collective contract negotiation and grievance procedure as practiced in the United States. The result is to channel worker discontent through the government rather than through independent working class organizations and further serve to mitigate the union's effectiveness at the work place.

Labor Legislation in Brazil - In addition to legislation on the syndical movement, Brazil has very comprehensive laws concerning the protection of workers' rights, the setting up of standard working conditions, the establishment of minimum wages, and the organization of social insurance programs.

The Current Situation - After more than a year of intervention, trade unions have entered the phase of new elections and the preliminary results show that democratic factions face increasing difficulty in getting worker support due to the worker resentment toward the continuing increase of the cost of living and the lack of effective action on basic problems affecting the daily life of the workers, including food, clothing, shelter, health, and education. Discontent in the unions is increasing on these issues. The unions feel that the Institutional Acts, instead of creating "tranquility" will be the source of increasing unrest and political instability.

At the time of the April 1 revolution, four major long-range trends provided the issues around which the political maneuvers for power developed in the Brazilian labor movement:

- (a) The more rapid growth of urban population over job creation.
- (b) Perhaps most dramatic was the increasing rate of inflation with its negative effect on real wages.
- (c) The declining rate of housing construction for workers during the last three years before the revolution.
- (d) The neglect of problems of rural labor and landless sharecroppers.

In addition to these long-range economic problems, Goulart's independent foreign policy, combined with strong communist influences in the labor movement, blocked effective coordination between U.S. and Brazilian trade unions and precluded Brazilian labor support for the Alliance for Progress. The accelerating inflation which eroded workers' real wages provided the ready issue for leftist agitators. Goulart cast blame on the Brazilian oligarchy and its alleged U.S. supporters for this decline in real wages, refusing to oppose the rising number of illegal strikes and relying heavily on the extra-legal CGT for rural and urban labor political support.

Since the revolution, there has been little significant change in the long-range trends on job creation, housing for workers, and solutions to problems of rural labor. Although important progress has been made on reducing the effect of inflation on real wages, this issue continues to be the major source of worker discontent.

In addition, the political exploitation of these issues has changed little. The leftists and communists continue to blame the Brazilian oligarchy and its alleged U.S. supporters for the continuing decline in real wages and claim that the outlawing of political parties and the communist-dominated CGT has eliminated any excuse that the government might have for not resolving these problems. The experience since the revolution is proof of lack of ability to deal with these problems, they claim. These arguments have had significant impact and have served to weaken seriously the position of democratic labor elements.

Election Review Since the Revolution - After the revolution, the elections which were most important, from a strategic point of view, took place in the Metal and Bank Workers sectors which traditionally provided much of the intellectual leadership of the CGT movement before the revolution. In the Rio Metal Workers Union, which was the base of power of Benedicto Cerqueira, WFTU Executive Council member, a slate organized by his faction won over a democratic slate by two-to-one majority. In this case, the workers' decision did not involve voting for an unpopular slate of inter-ventors, but a coalition of socialists and Christian democratic-oriented leaders. In Sao Paulo, where the Metal Workers Union is the largest local union in Latin America, the democratic factions did not feel sufficiently strong to run a separate slate and negotiated the equivalent of a united front, which included one well known leader of the dissident "Chinese" Communist faction and several Socialists with records of past collaboration with the communists.

Similar united fronts were reportedly organized in Metal Workers Unions in the Sao Paulo industrial suburbs of Guarulhos and Osasco. In the three large unions in the so-called "ABC" triangle, heart of the automobile manufacturing industry, democratic slates won by small majorities or are otherwise in weak positions. This, in Brazil, the only position of strength of democratic factions in the metal industry is in the area of Santa Catarina, where a new federation of metal workers has been formed, and in Rio Grande do Sul.

In the Santos local union, which has been the base of power of Domingues Alvarez, CNTI Metal Workers leader, a united front slate was elected and disqualified by the Regional Labor Delegate for alleged fraud.

The democratic groups generally did a bit better in elections in medium-sized metal worker unions in the State of Sao Paulo, such as those of Campinas and Mogi Cruzes. The Textile Federation of Sao Paulo, an affiliate of CNTI, emerged from intervention under democratic leadership. However, the large local unions in the City of Sao Paulo, the Americana, Jundiai, and Piracicaba unions, communist-supported opposition slates won lopsided victories over slates identified with the former interventors. Only in Santo Andre and the textile foremen's local was democratic leadership elected.

In the Chemical and Petroleum sector, the Sao Paulo State Federation is now under democratic leadership following intervention, and has affiliated to the International Federation of Petroleum and Chemical Workers (IFPCW). In the large Sao Paulo City Chemical and Pharmaceutical Workers Union and in the key Cubatao PETROBRAS Refinery Workers Union, communist-supported slates defeated candidates identified with the former interventors.

In the State Federation of Chemical Workers in Guanabara, leadership continued in the hands of a democratic faction, but this Federation has not affiliated to the International Federation of Petroleum and Chemical Workers (IFPCW). The IFPCW has been moving forward on its plan for training new leadership in a program sponsored with the cooperation of PETROBRAS management. However, progress has been slow and few elections have been held in PETROBRAS unions. The local union of Duque de Caxias has been a loyal ally of the IFPCW and has arranged contracts with other PETROBRAS unions still remains unclear in many of the intervened unions.

The Sao Paulo State Food Workers Federation emerged from intervention with democratic leadership. Few conclusive results can be reported at present regarding elections in Sao Paulo Food Workers local unions intervened following the revolution.

One of the most significant favorable developments since the revolution was the application for membership in the International Federation of Food and Drink Workers by the State Federation of Food Workers in Rio Grande do Sul. The Rio Federation of Food Workers continued under democratic control.

In the Graphic Workers field, also heavily infiltrated prior to the revolution, the Sao Paulo City Graphic Workers election resulted in a sweeping victory for the communist-supported opposition over the former interventors. For its part, the National Federation of Graphic Arts Workers has taken the initiative to establish relations with western-oriented unions and has indicated a desire to establish "union-to-union" relations with its counterparts in the United States. One of the members, Carnavachi, of the Executive Council, from the State of Sao Paulo, participated in a Labor Exchange Program.

The major construction workers local union intervened in Sao Paulo was the large Sao Paulo City local. Subsequent elections ended in a victory for the reportedly popular former interventor in a contest in which only a small fraction of the membership was allowed to vote.

Many elections are still outstanding in other intervened federations of construction workers. However, the key construction workers local union in the City of Rio is still in the hands of non-communist leadership. This leadership has been more friendly to the United States since the revolution, and the recent "union-to-union" team in the United States has done much to make this union more friendly.

Democratic former interventors squeezed out a narrow victory over communist-supported opposition in the Sao Paulo City Shoe Workers Union, formerly communist-dominated and intervened following the revolution.

The only major Public Utility Workers local intervened in the State of Sao Paulo was the Campinas Hydro-Electric Workers Union. In a recent election, the popular former interventor won decisively over communist-supported opposition. The National Federation of Public Utility Workers is now controlled by a democratic faction headed by Luis Miranda, who was the Regional President before being ousted by communist leadership before the revolution. The largest public utility union dominated by the communists was the Rio Public Utility Local which served as one of the main bases of strength of the CGT in Rio. This union, which developed a large secondary school, as well as Medical and Dental Services and Cooperative Bank, is now under intervention and has not yet scheduled elections. Present information indicates that the manager of the Cooperative Bank is still in this position and may not be removed unless the forthcoming elections result in a clear victory for the democratic slate. The democratic faction was led by some of the founders of this union, who were ousted by the communists when the democratic faction divided on issues of personality and membership resentment toward insensitive leadership.

In the mine workers sector, the coal mines are located in Southern Brazil, in the States of Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul. The hard core of communist strength was in the area of Criciuma, where the communists controlled this union for about six years and built it into the most powerful single communist-dominated union in Southern Brazil. During the revolution this union organized over 100 groups of 11 and indications were that only the failure to get arms from Brizola, in Rio Grande do Sul, prevented this area from becoming a theater of civil war.

In the glass workers sector there was comparatively little influence in Southern Brazil of the CGT and after the revolution, the glass workers in Sao Paulo appeared to be in the democratic camp.

Moving to the credit and banking sector, a communist-supported opposition slate scored a clear victory over the former interventor's slate in a crucial Sao Paulo City Bank Workers Union.

The Sao Paulo State Federation of Bank Workers elected its democratic former interventor and is presently supported by a democratic executive board.

The maritime sector in Sao Paulo has not yet completed elections, especially in the stevedores and some other port unions. However, the two largest dockworkers union in Santos, formerly under intervention, are now under elected democratic leadership. The president of the National Federation is a former treasurer and president of the Rio local union.

After a clash with the Government of Brazil over its wage policy soon after the April 1 revolution, the Air Transport Federation remains under an interventor. A key Sao Paulo local remains under the same leadership that collaborated formerly with the CGT group. In the confederation (CNTTMFA) elections, the former interventor, who resigned to run, may be elected president.

In the land transport workers sector, interventions continue in two key Sao Paulo unions. In the Sao Paulo City local unions of streetcar workers and bus and truck drivers, communist-supported opposition slates won the elections held after termination of the interventions, defeating slates identified with the former interventors. However, in both cases, the elections were annulled and the intervention extended by the Regional Labor Delegate because of irregularities, and the communist-controlled Santos-Jundiai Railroad Workers Union held elections with an unopposed democratic slate, which achieved the necessary quorum on the third and last try.

In summary, in areas where the former pro-communist forces showed strategic strength in organized labor prior to the revolution, they have continued to remain strong since the revolution. The situation in Brazil today resembles that in Argentina following Peron's overthrow; the top leadership in intervened unions has been pushed out, but the basic strength of the CGT forces remains. This is particularly true in the national organizations which had international ties through the communist-oriented CGT. These include the Metal Workers Federation, represented in the WFTU by Benedicto Cequeira who is now in Yugoslavia; the Air, River and Maritime Transport Workers Confederation (CNTTMFA); and the Bankworkers Confederation (CONTEC).

While there has been some improvement in the balance of power between the democratic and pro-communist factions in the Railroad Workers Federation of the Land Transport Workers Confederation (CNTTPT) and the Warehouse, Hotel and Coffee Loaders Federations of the Commercial Workers Confederation (CNTC), the basic strength of the pro-communist forces in the CNTTMFA, CONTEC, and in the metal workers sector continues.

In organizations at every level, the play of forces between the former CGT elements and the democratic groups continues to turn upon GOB performances in carrying out its post-revolution commitments to labor.

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