

## Classes, social struggles and public policies: Inflections to the brazilian working class



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### ABSTRACT

This article proposes a debate about social classes, social struggles and public policies based on the societal context that demarcates Brazil in the post-coup period of 2016, especially from 2018 to 2022 when social inequality worsens, the dismantling of public policies, mainly the demobilization of the political organization of the working class, having in return for rights, deep marks of neo-fascism and the naturalization of barbarism, impacting the social reality and the population's way of life. The objective is to provoke debate and reflection on the political tricks and maneuvers that intensify inequality and social injustice in the country, concomitantly, on the demobilization strategies of the working class, however, to point out some triggers for new paths for the period that enters 2023 of the so-called reconstruction. This is a bibliographic, exploratory and qualitative study, whose analyzes are based on the critical social theoretical perspective and resulting in some clues relating to social participation as a possibility of social control and resistance in the face of a dismantling engendered in the country's history.

**Keywords:** Historical conjunctures, Coup 2016, Presidential Elections, Public Policies, Social participation.

## 1 INTRODUCTION

Although the process of struggle for the survival of the working class is historical, it is also tangential, especially in the present time, the dilemmas suffered and faced, initially by the assumption that those who produce, but do not own the means of production, therefore experience all forms of



exploitation and oppression promoted and provoked by the bourgeoisie, that is, by the owners of the means of production.

"The process of accumulation is based on the exploitation of labor by capital: contradiction between owners of the means of production on a world scale and living labor force organized and defined at the national level (SOUZA, 2014)."

Regarding the process of colonization of Brazil, when faced with the false discovery of the country, the original peoples who were already here, had the control of the means of production and survival usurped, and not "only" that, they were subjected since the time of Cabral, to a painful process of acculturation and, since then, the constitution of the Brazilian people has been subjected to all forms of cruelty. exclusion, expropriation of their labor force and means of survival, a process instituted as a project of destruction that is perpetuated and materialized to this day. We can verify, with the consecutive scenarios and conjunctures, the innumerable expressions of the social question that are subscribed to in daily life.

A legacy is perpetuated, not to a stable degree, but intensified by social inequality, and therefore by social injustices. In the face of this legacy, referring to the strategies of the Portuguese colonizers who first tried to seduce indigenous people by seducing objects (things) unknown until then, they later identified resistance of the caciques and shamans in the face of the plan of domination, describing them as hard souls and seeing in women, especially children, greater ease of ascension, considering and naming them as less hard souls. What did this mean, and what strategy engenders this story?

The plan was through the field of the imposition of ideas, in the formulation of a new thought that would weaken the resistance expressed by the native peoples, introducing catechization for children, and in another way, through various forms of seduction of women, such as the explorer and colonizer Portuguese, João Ramalho, who assumed the position of captain-general of the village of São Paulo de Piratininga and who, Not being able to co-opt the Indian Tibiriça, he married his daughter, the Indian Bartira, thus achieving concreteness in his plans for domination of the territory, that is, São Paulo and the ABC Paulista Region, land seen above the Serra do Mar where he was with a troop in the current village of Cubatão.

However, from the beginnings to the present day, as Marx said, "history repeats itself, the first as tragedy and the second as farce" Marx, (1852). Therefore, it is necessary that we be attentive and attentive, because the song in Cazuzza's voice, also alerts us when it says [...] "I see the future repeating the past, I see a museum of great novelties, time doesn't stop, it doesn't stop" Araújo Neto & Brandão (1988).

In this sense, this article proposes reflections regarding the conjuncture between 2016 and 2022, announced in the binomial tragedy-farce.



## 2 THE SYSTEM AND ITS SUBJECTS: THE ELECTORAL DISPUTES IN BRAZIL AND THE TRIGGERS OF THE 2016 COUP PROJECT

"They didn't invite me,  
To this poor party  
That the men set up to convince me  
Paying without seeing  
All that  
That comes already worked out  
Before I was born"  
(CAZUZA, 1988)

It was from there that, in the name of "God, the Homeland and the Family", a historical motto reproduced by the integralist movement led by Plínio Salgado, whose political thought was influenced by Italian fascism, that powerful representatives of the ruling classes in Brazil, in 2016, executed a plan for the domination of power by initiating an impeachment process against the former president of the republic Dilma Vana Rousseff (Workers' Party – PT, 2011 to 2014 and second term started in 2015, impeached in August 2016).

It is a coup engineered and already announced since the tense electoral process of 2014, when President Dilma was seeking reelection and disputed with the candidate Aécio Neves (PSDB), in that scenario, there was already a fierce dispute for antagonistic ideopolitical strands, the result was 51.64% for Dilma, against 48.36% for Aécio, a difference of 3.28%, equivalent to 3,459,963 votes. A highlight worth noting are null votes and abstentions, which were equivalent to 4.63% and 21.10%, respectively.

To better understand the subsequent history, it is worth remembering the attacks and violence that the candidate suffered throughout the dispute, especially attacks that evidenced gender discrimination and there, a significant part of the population began to feel comfortable (represented) in reproducing sexist, sexist discourses and producing materials that violated their honor and associated it with a place where patriarchy persists in assigning to women, That is, they subjugated her intelligence and ability to preside over a country, claiming that women would only know how to drive stoves and sinks.

It was a process in which the narrative was based on persistent gender inequality and discrimination. Images of the candidate with her buttocks exposed were emblazoned on cars and trucks with stickers on the fuel filler caps with the illustration of the pump hose, demarcating what "she deserved." There was indignation and protest on the part of feminist movements and women who felt violated, based on their gender condition, however, for many other women it was a naturalized event and, among men, what was seen was the profanity offenses.

Not enough, with the victory of President Dilma Rousseff, the threats did not cease and the defeated candidate declared that she would not finish her term and as long as she was in power, she would not have the support of Congress. The coup was already underway and with only 1 year and 3



months in office, the special commission approved the opening of the impeachment process against Dilma.

On April 17, 2016, it was possible to watch on national television the barbarity announced in the voices of 367 of the 511 parliamentarians representing the country, defending the establishment of impeachment proceedings accusing her of a crime of fiscal responsibility, alleging that in the name of God, the family, their children and grandchildren shouted/voted yes. That night, when declaring his vote, the then federal deputy Jair Messias Bolsonaro, at the time affiliated with the Christian Socialist Party (PCS-RJ), in order to attack the president, paid tribute to the torturer of the period of the military dictatorship (1964-1985), Colonel Brilhante Ustra, that is, he made his apology for torture, fascism and everything that hurts Brazilian democracy. There, in the figure of an insignificant congressman in history, considered to be one of the lower clergy of the Chamber of Deputies, emerges as someone who would become a new image projected for future presidential elections.

On August 31, 2016, in the Senate, by 61 votes to 20, senators approved the loss of President Dilma Rousseff's mandate, confirming at that time a parliamentary-administrative-media coup, assuming as interim president, her then vice president Michel Temer (MDB) who promised greater openness of negotiations and a more liberal stance, co-opting the Centrão,<sup>1</sup> which strengthened the conformation of the votes necessary for the coup.

Among the negotiations and atrocities committed in the Temer government (2016-2018), there is the Proposed Constitutional Amendment 241 (PEC 241) known as the PEC of the ceiling on public spending, but which, in fact, is the so-called PEC of death, which takes shape under the argument of avoiding the growth of public debt, through the containment of public spending. That is, to establish a limit for the federal government's spending on public expenditures (i.e., public policies, especially social ones) for the next 20 years from 2017, consequently, until the year 2027.

What is the meaning of the PEC of death for the working class? Drastic cuts and "freezes" of investment in social areas, among them, Health and Social Assistance, that is, in the opposite direction of investing in Public Policies, it was decided to compress, retain and succumb to fundamental social rights, resulting in scrapping and destruction for the people who need them, thus revealing the real intention of the coup, to prioritize the interests of capital to the detriment of work, deepening the neoliberal program underway in the country since 1990. There was a broad demonstration by organized social movements, however, they continued with the project and its consolidation, impacting the lives of the population and threatening millions of lives. During the interim government, consecutive demonstrations took place in the country with the "Fora Temer" (Temer Out), however, it was maintained until December 2018 when a new figure supported by President Temer, the Centrão and

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<sup>1</sup> A term used since the period of redemocratization to designate a portion of Congress that does not have a defined political ideology, is guided by its own interests and usually moves between governments, whether right-wing or left-wing, offering its support in exchange for positions.



right-wing politicians was launched, this one, the one who praised a torturer, the one who had already been in public life for 27 years (Federal Deputy for Rio de Janeiro from 1991 to 2018) without having carried out any action or project that would favor even his Jair Messias Bolsonaro, candidate for president of Brazil in 2018, for the Social Liberal Party (PSL).

Also in this context, there is the creation of Operation Car Wash in March 2014, which we will not address the objectives of its creation, but the means and ends of its methods, given that its legacy was disastrous. Alves, (2021), analyzes that:

"The methods of Lava Jato led to the criminalization of political parties and leaders, which had as its greatest expression the unprecedented *lawfare* campaign against a Brazilian political leader – former President Lula, convicted and imprisoned without evidence for 580 days. The "preventive" incarceration of executives of private and public companies, forged plea bargains, illegal coercive conducts, filmed arrests, selective leaks to Rede Globo, falsification of documents and spying on defense lawyers of the accused were some of the criminal mechanisms used by the operation."

And he adds,

"Lava Jato also bequeathed a huge liability in the country's economy. Under the pretext of fighting corruption, it caused the implosion of entire sectors of the national economy, affecting the construction and heavy infrastructure industry, the naval industry, the chemical sector, and the oil and gas production chain (ALVES, 2021)".

In fact, according to the columnist of Revista Brasil de Fato, Milton Alves, to talk about Lava Jato is to indicate former judge Sérgio Moro and his impartiality as the author/protagonist of this arbitrary process, as he was in charge of it, instructed and judged with previously outlined objectives of condemning Lula and excluding him from the 2018 presidential electoral process, treating the leader as a personal and political enemy.

In this movement, there is a significant list of illegalities committed and carried out by him and the prosecutors to curtail the defense, forge the evidence and in fact manipulate public opinion against his target, having the media in his favor, generating a broad support of millions of Brazilians and resulting in the electoral victory of the proto-fascist and genocidal. as well pointed out by the columnist, based on statements by the national president of the Workers' Party (PT), Gleisi Hoffmann, to the figure of Bolsonaro at the helm of the Brazilian government.

In the game of powers, on November 7, 2019, the plenary of the Federal Superior Court (STF), by decision of Judge Danilo Pereira Júnior, head of the 12th Federal Court of Curitiba, overturned the arrests after the second instance, determining the release of Lula who left the Federal Police jail, where he had been imprisoned since April 2018.

The issue under debate refers to the clear individual and political interests of former judge Sergio Moro, who, with Bolsonaro's inauguration, assumed the position of Minister of Justice in the



then government, which was short-lived, as vanities, ambitions and individual interests, led both to the level of adversaries and the former judge leaves the ministry after 15 months of having assumed it.

This scenario created national tension, divided public opinion, co-opted a new electorate to the extreme right, acting in the demoralization of the PT, as well as intense theoretical misunderstandings about the understanding of communism and socialism, opening spaces for part of the population, until then, many times, politically apathetic, to position itself in support of a thought that denies human diversity and to claim the military dictatorship. The amnesty process in Brazil did not punish the crimes of the period of the military dictatorship. In this sense, the population influenced by conservative ideology, that is, a way of thinking that assumes the tendency to mystify political relations through moralism, which manifests itself through prejudice, discrimination, violations and fascist acts in support of the extermination of the LGBTQIAPN+ population, native peoples, women, the black population, among others who make up the so-called minorities, as well as the disqualification of teachers and scientists. Thus, the contradictions that involve the economy and politics in Brazilian society, through the motto: God, Homeland and Family, are transformed into moralism, reproducing the alienated and alienating disvalues, which favor the manifestations of destruction of those who do not correspond to traditional values.

The 2018 presidential electoral process had as main candidates and led to the 2nd round, the candidate who won the election, Jair Bolsonaro, against Fernando Haddad (PT). Initially, we pointed out that during some months prior to the process, the idea was that the PT was finished, doomed to national discredit, accused of having promoted the biggest corruption scandal, concomitantly, Lula imprisoned and out of the race as a result of the clean record that prevents candidacies of those who have already been convicted in two instances of justice. In this case, the former president wrongly convicted of the crime of passive corruption and money laundering, in fact, through slides of conviction, without evidence.

With Lula out of the race, the national executive of the PT approves the nomination of Fernando Haddad as candidate for president and Manuela D'Avila (PCdoB of RS) as vice president on the ticket "The happy people again", whose coalition was between PT, PCdoB and PROS. The candidacy was made official on September 11 of this year, through a letter written by Lula and read by the lawyer and one of the founders of the Workers' Party, Luiz Eduardo Greenhalgh, in front of the Federal Police headquarters in Curitiba/Paraná, just 26 days before the election that took place on October 7, 2018.

The discourses analyzed here are not limited to isolated facts, but analyses of conjunctures that we dedicate ourselves to making with due care in distinguishing facts from events, that is, occurrences whose dimensions and their effects affect the destiny and lives of millions of people, of society as a whole.



The campaign model of the now former President Bolsonaro, was based on the electoral model of marketing based on fake news, use of technology and social networks to disseminate false information, following the line of Donald Trump, then president of the United States, and perpetrated by the ideologue of the American ultra-right, Steve Bannon of The Movement, a key figure in a platform of political parties.

The central idea is based on co-opting followers who not only accept them, but appropriate them to multiply them, keeping an engaged electorate and sowing the ground for actions to destabilize democratic institutions, as pointed out by Carta Capital Magazine, when it points out 15 tactics in which Bolsonaro follows Trump's example to the letter. These range from fake news, the false idea of electoral fraud, to not recognizing the victory of the opponent and not passing on the presidential sash.

The speeches given in the 2018 election campaign did not bring anything new in the sense of violent and lying attacks against competitors, as this practice demarcates our history and has intensified since the 2000s, especially in 2014, as already signaled. So what did you bring to the table? Investment in the use of social networks and fake news, which rapidly reach millions of people, called followers.

The agenda of the right and the extreme right materialized in the slogan of Bolsonaro's campaign, "Brazil above all, God above all" and with this phrase, he inserted his debate against Human Rights, diversity, the right to life itself, in other words, a rhetoric of moral and religious values to the detriment of human values. Fake news was numerous, among them, the false proposal to distribute the gay booklet in schools by candidate Fernando Haddad.

Despite the slow announcement of the PT's candidacy, with 26 days to go before the election, it was possible for Haddad to lead to the second round. On October 7, in the 1st round, Bolsonaro obtained 49,276,990 votes, (46.03%) against 31,342,005 votes, (29.28%) for Haddad, however, even with an important work of various popular movements, the 21 days between October 7 and 28 were not enough to effect the turnaround and victory of the PT.

Among the perverse mechanisms used by the opposing camp, the famous "stabbing" that Bolsonaro says he suffered in the city of Juiz de Fora/MG would have hit him at the time of the campaign, the "attack" that did not even leave marks of blood garnered the increase of his electorate which, in turn, untruthfully disseminated that the stabbing would have been engineered by the PT.

Therefore, the scenario of the 2nd round allows us some indicators for analysis, despite the result. Bolsonaro emerged victorious on October 28 with 57,797,847 votes (55.13%), while Haddad obtained 47,040,906 votes (44.87%). Thus, we can observe that the PT was not doomed to the end according to the discourse in question, that the PT grew more than its opponent from the first to the second round, 15.59% while the other, 9.1%, even though it had the support of the machine, the right, the extreme right, the center, social networks, the media, businessmen, churches and the conservative population. They sought to show that in the class struggle, the Brazilian right had an ascent, and it did,



but it was not as much as expected, even with the left or left or center-left tendencies not articulated in the context.

Another point of analysis provoked here refers to the silence of the oppressed, since the sum of those who did not cast their votes totaled 29.12% in the 1st round, distributed as follows: null 7,206,205 votes (6.14%), blank 3,106,936 (2.65%) and abstentions 29,941,265 (20.33%).

In the 2nd round, 1.75% more voters silenced their choice, the total increased to 30.87%, distributed as follows: null, 8,608,105 votes (7.43%), blank 2,486,593 (2.14%) and abstentions, 31,371,704 votes (21.30%).

Even in the face of the understanding that these numbers represent the discredit with Brazilian politics on the part of 42,466,402 people, it was undeniable that it referred to an important class dispute, even if in its composition it had, on the one hand, ultra-conservative agendas and, on the other, a tendency towards dialogues (and even agreements) considered irreconcilable with the owners of capital. therefore, flexibility with the market. In this sense, it never ceased to mean that, on the one hand, there was neofascism, dressed up in ultra-conservatism and ultra-neoliberalism, and, on the other, minorities and the working class, in short, antagonistic subjects. The body of work led Brazil to experience the worst years of attacks on democracy, after the military-business dictatorship, through the inauguration of the Bolsonaro misgovernment, from 2018 to 2022. And, in the end, who paid the price ("FIEPI's duck")?

## 2.1 THE BRAZILIAN CONJUNCTURE IN BOLSONARO'S (DIS)GOVERNMENT: FROM PUBLIC POLICIES TO THE PLACE OF SOCIAL NON-BEING

Brazil and the Brazilian people (the social "minorities"), without disregarding the migrant peoples, have experienced the last few years when the figure of former President Jair Bolsonaro (PSL) was at the head of the national political scene, because there were impacts on daily life, on the minimum possibility of survival of the working class, especially the minorities of this country.

Living conditions have worsened, political actions have set real setbacks in the conquests of rights previously conquered by the working class, public policies have been looted, scrapped, destroyed, countless violations of rights have stood out on the social scene. The multiple political, economic, and cultural determinations have had an impact on the intensification of social inequality, on the unbridled expansion of the old and new expressions of the social question, and yet on the increase of violence of all kinds.

Hate speeches were disseminated by the then president, creating a time of true obscurantism of the extreme right, represented in Brazil by Bolsonarism, a difficult and perverse inheritance that was installed, because his voice and his attitudes set precedents so that anyone could put evil into action,





reached our social environment and generated beyond chaos, social terror, propagated by the permissible loss of any modesty in defending hatred and barbarism.

Violence grew through misogyny, sexism, lgbtphobia, xenophobia, racism, and aporophobia, the latter, according to Valle (2022), a term created by Spanish writer and philosopher Adela Cortina to designate aversion to the poor and its implications for democracy. We have been able to see people who consider themselves a constitutive part of the so-called middle class reproduce the discourses of the ruling class, as if they had access to private property and the means of production, of those who declare affection for gay entities, blacks, etc., distilling hatred for them, mainly, with measures that allowed and encouraged the use of weapons. The growth of 1483 certificates for new shooting establishments between the years 2019 and 2022, whose president, already affiliated to the Liberal Party (PL) authorized the opening of one shooting club per day in his mandate. What did that mean?

It signified the increase in violence in the country, endorsed in the discourse of the "myth", strengthened among its followers that it was necessary to put an end to the left in the country, even if it was bulletproof. Thus, it created panic, weakening the class struggle, as the tension silenced the defenders of human rights and democracy, and murders marked the ongoing disputes and those to come.

Also in the context of the growth of inequalities in the country, a survey carried out by the Brazilian Research Network on Food and Nutrition Sovereignty and Security (REDE PENSSAN) points out that Brazil has returned to the hunger map, reaching 33.1 million people, equivalent to 15.5% of the Brazilian population and millions more in a state of food insecurity and severe malnutrition; Femicide broke a record while the former governor cut funding to combat violence against women, his hate speech against women took place in public, but his sexist story was not new; violently affected the survival conditions of indigenous peoples, violence in the countryside, according to the report "Conflicts in the Countryside", in 2021 there was a 75% increase in murders in the countryside compared to the previous year, and most of the victims were indigenous as a result of territorial disputes; in addition to the official rates of violence against the LGBTQIA+ population that have grown throughout the aforementioned administration.

Public policies suffered cuts, were impacted by PEC 241 (PEC DA MORTE) which brings the freezing of public spending for 20 years, but also with the planned and consented neglect to destroy them, starting with the destruction of ministries, secretariats, mechanisms of social control whose social participation was nodal to tension and claim funding and management for the continuity and advancement of public policies, In fact, on the contrary, he appointed to the positions of ministers figures who met the assumptions of destruction, but these analyses will be left for another study.

On the way, in 2019 a pandemic settled globally and arrived in Brazil in February 2020, coming from the new coronavirus, named by the World Health Organization (WHO) as Covid-19, naturally



requiring strict isolation and social distancing measures, in addition to protective measures against contacts with objects and food handling, as the virus (still without the existence of vaccination) arrives claiming thousands of lives, Even more so in a context in which hospitals did not have adequate preparations to accommodate the demand.

Many events have happened throughout the pandemic in Brazil that have impacted life and social relations, but we will highlight some that have demarcated the meaning of a conjuncture full of crises that were not limited to health, but were also political, social, economic, cultural and ethical.

While the guidelines of the WHO and scientists were to preserve lives, comply with isolation measures and, in case of contamination, adhere to health protocols, the acting president denied science, mocked people's panic, purposely circulated among people and encouraged their agglomeration without wearing a mask and other necessary measures, when asked about the high number of deaths that was only growing in the country, he smiled and said that he didn't even want to know why he wasn't a gravedigger, he imitated people dying of shortness of breath in hospitals, he didn't buy vaccines when he should have, he tried and managed to overprice the values of the vaccines, in a late acquisition process, he created conflicts with state governors, especially with the governor of São Paulo, João Dória (Brazilian Social Democracy Party – PSDB), discrediting the task force of scientists who produced the Coronavac vaccine in record time, at the Butantã Institute.

The result of deaths from covid-19 in Brazil reached the mark of 703,719 lives and it was not enough for the (dis)government to take actions that could prevent it. While all this was happening in the country, the then president condoned and led the largest deforestation in history, favored agribusiness and enhanced the destruction of the organization of family farming, marginalized social movements, and his pathological admiration for U.S. President Trump, even managed to create fights, barriers and disagreements with other world leaders. This article would not account for so many achievements that, by themselves, would demonstrate what a government that had at its core a genocidal policy, as a result of the 2016 coup, was. Was the pandemic to blame? No. And this denunciation is already in history.

And in the days of a new electoral season (2022 presidential elections), in the face of this misgovernment, we have in a broad field in defense of democracy the return of Luís Inácio Lula da Silva (PT) on the political scene, a necessary way out in the class struggle in defense of democratic minimums devastated by Bolsonaro's misrule.

### **3 THE RESURGENCE OF THE PT: THEY TRIED TO KILL US, BUT THEY FORGOT THAT WE ARE SEEDS**

After former President Lula was acquitted of the charges due to the absence of evidence and bias of former judge Sergio Moro, he became eligible to run in the 2022 elections.



Articulations began to be made, and Lula began to dialogue with the former governor of São Paulo, Geraldo Alckimin, who was from the Brazilian Social Democracy Party (PSDB) and today, affiliated to the Brazilian Socialist Party (PSB), which generated discomfort and refusal on the part of PT militants, but whose name was consolidated as vice-president in the composition of the slate, which, later, it was called Union and Reconstruction.

From this alliance, new dialogues and articulations were initiated throughout Brazil, politicians changing parties, declining interests for certain political positions and migrating to new proposals, thus reaffirming, by leaps and bounds, a broad coalition that came to be consolidated, including dialogues led by the candidate for vice president in the search for approximations with the market. while Lula dialogued with social movements and popular leaders.

What began with approximations, many of them coming from antagonistic histories in public life, was consolidated a new redesign in the Brazilian political scene. The country's worst electoral process was about to begin. Why the worst? What kind of struggle was going on? Has it demarcated itself as a class struggle? What was it necessary to retreat, so that worse losses would not win?

At this moment, we chose to invert the presentation of the events, of the discourses of the disputes, because what was at stake was no longer the prospect of affiliation or sympathy for a certain party, but for something much bigger, thus, we argued that it was indeed a class struggle, whose interests of the working class (so usurped in the post-coup period of 2016, mainly from 2018 to 2022) were at much greater risk, requiring at the historical moment to put into action a union justified and explained by Lula to the four corners of the country and in the media.

Lula explained the articulations as necessary to face the moment and explained them based on the thought of Paulo Freire who says: "it is necessary to unite the divergent, to better confront the antagonistic". With this speech, Lula affirms that he would unite democrats of all origins and hues, of the most varied political trajectories, of all social classes and of all religious creeds to defeat Bolsonaro's ultraconservative and ultra-neoliberal neofascism and rescue the right to life, which became clear with the public discovery of what had happened to the native peoples.

The dispute was dense and intense in the 2022 election, Bolsonaro held the power of the machine, spared no forces to attack the opponent, Moro returns to the political scene as a candidate for Senator of the Republic for the State of Paraná and in support of the current president, declaring in the political time of Paraná that the same would be his opponent, while Lula, his enemy. He was present at the last political debate promoted by Rede Globo between the two candidates of the 2nd round in order to destabilize Lula, but only reinforced how much his project (Operation Car Wash) was never for justice, but for individual and political interests, thus, becoming elected senator.

The 2022 election had two rounds, broad mobilization of society, project disputes, class struggle, but a trademark was the violence that materializes, among other facts, in the murder of the



treasurer of the PT of Foz do Iguaçu (Marcelo Arruda) at his birthday party, as well as federal deputy Carla Zambelli assaulting a black man, A PT militant journalist on the streets of an upscale neighborhood of São Paulo on election day, running after him pointing a gun. It was a process in which resistance was the weapon of the working class, and the working class campaigned, dialogued, organized, but always with fear hovering, because the threats were constant.

On October 2, in the first round, there were 118,229,719 valid votes, equivalent to 95.59%, of the total votes in this election, where Bolsonaro obtained 51,072,345 votes (43.20%) and Lula, 57,259,504 (48.43%), both of which were led to the second round. In third place, Simone Tebet (MDB) with 4.16%, surpassing Ciro Gomes who obtained only 3.04% and the others combined, a total of 1.17%. Here we highlight again how the silence in the polls occurred through null votes, which were 3,487,874 (2.82%); white votes: 1,964,779 (1.59%); and abstentions reached 32,770,982 (20.95%), that is, there was a total silence of 38,223,635 people (25.36%), which would give the possibility of concluding the election in the 1st round.

From this result, new articulations of support for the Lula-Alckmim ticket were sewn, where Tebet and Marina Silva declared support and vote against the misrule of death, assuming a unique role in the second round campaign of this ticket, while once again, Ciro Gomes kept silent (which says a lot). And so followed a strong work and a broad front in favor of Brazilian democracy in support of Lula, where former President Bolsonaro's neglect and deliberate negligence in the pandemic was a fundamental agenda in this campaign and at this moment.

The second round took place on October 30, when the victory of Brazilian democracy was confirmed, through Lula's victory with 60,345,999 (50.90%) against 58,206,354 (49.10%) for his opponent, despite the tense day of the election with roadblocks in the northeast, trying to prevent Lula voters from voting.

From the silence of the defeated, followed by the non-recognition of the results, protests led by the extreme right took place with the wide blockade on the main highways of the country and in front of the barracks, being financed by businessmen, mainly in the agribusiness area.

The transition, with all its controversies, was constituted in a democratic way in the parties of the coalition with the PT, intellectuals, various social/popular movements and other sectors of civil society, needing to create amendments to legitimize important measures of attention to minorities, especially those related to the Bolsa Família Program, since a real dismantling of social and public policies had already been planned to be incapable of meeting urgent demands. above all, Health and Social Assistance.

Therefore, in 2023 we enter the country of union and reconstruction, not everyone who supported Lula's victory placed credit in his figure, but understood that he was the only one to defeat the ultraconservative and ultra-neoliberal far-right barbarism installed in the country. The majority that



voted and supported the victory of the PT was centered on the agendas and placed themselves as subjects who returned to dialogue, propose and tension when necessary.

Lula's inauguration was emblematic, for the first time in the country's history a president-elect does not receive the sash in person by the former presidential candidate, who "fled" on December 30 to Florida, in the United States. However, against all conservative extremist wishes, on January 1, 2023, democracy climbed the ramp of the presidential palace, represented by diverse subjects and with latent demands, which have been ignored since 2016 in the post-coup period, as the exclusion and violation of its existence have intensified.

Without illusions, we continue with the hope of subjects who will not be supporting actors, but who will return to fight and to be able to position themselves in defense of important flags of struggle, in an intransigent way for human rights. We understand and need to be attentive and strong to the permanent class struggle, because for Lula's victory, it required the continuity of agreements that do not favor the class that lives from work, that is, we refer to the meaning and risks of the old conciliation.

We have many dilemmas and challenges, despite seeing the important advances in the balance of the first 6 months of government. However, the question that leads us to ask now is: What is the path of possibilities?

Without innocence, here we are back, we beat Bolsonaro, but not Bolsonarism (neo-fascist, ultra-conservative thought and actions, based on hatred of diversity and moralizing values), we won at the polls, but it does not mean that governability will be pacified, on the contrary, it is already shown with numerous tensions, therefore, organization and social participation will be fundamental, after all, who can deny that the 2022 dispute was not a class struggle?

Therefore, in the field of possibilities, we understand the relevance of social participation, the democratic resumption of social control mechanisms, conferences, the strengthening of social movements and organized civil society in the struggle.

Although, in the class struggle, there is no stalemate, therefore, it is in the struggle that we find ourselves.

#### **4 CONCLUSION**

That blacks are not the mark of unhealthy or heavy work, measured as arroba. May women not be reduced to bodies to be consumed and under the domination of men.

That the native peoples are not prey to extermination. May the land not remain in the hands of a few, being cultivated by workers in exchange for crumbs.

That the poor do not perpetuate themselves like the "rabble". That young people are of no use for a formation that is servile to trafficking and that the elderly and people with disabilities do not perpetuate themselves as invisible and unproductive.



That the LGBTQIAPN+ population is no longer considered an anomaly and, therefore, dead, living under the risk of lgbtqiapn+phobia.

That the Brazilian people, natives and immigrants can be free [...].

Free from social inequalities and their injustices. Free from the fetish of capital, exploitation, expropriation and class oppression, from this bourgeois ideology that determines our way of being and living, conditioning us to survive with crumbs and having co-opted class belonging, therefore, capturing us in the fragilities arising from the needs or the fable of capitalism, to reproduce its hegemony, opposing rights.

It is time for resistance, to rescue grassroots work and the protagonism of old collective political subjects, to build new leaderships of the class that lives from work, fighting against the imposed alienation.

What do the electoral disputes, therefore, show us? That the form and content are historical, that is, that "history repeats itself, the first as tragedy and the second as farce" Marx, (1852).

We need to participate, propose, criticize, suggest, show our existence and demand the implementation of the agendas that we defended and voted on October 30, 2022. When we saw Lula in the electronic ballot box, we did not see him alone, but accompanied by 60 million Brazilians who voted and countless agendas that move us to hope, without illusions, but still to hope.

The way forward will certainly not be through this bourgeois-democratic republican political history, presented in this work, but through those who get up early, dust themselves off and get back on their feet.

We believe, defend and fight democratically for another society and sociability, therefore, transformation is not only desired, but is possible from the trail left by Marx (1948) when he warns us "Workers of the whole world, unite".



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