



Plataforma Operária e Camponesa da Água e Energia

PROPOSALS FOR A NATIONAL ENERGY POLICY

Brazil for Brazilians

Brasília, September 14, 2026

We emphasize that **Brazil's energy sector is one of excellence**. Even with countless contradictions, our country possesses vast **natural resources** (water, rivers, oil, critical minerals, sunlight, wind, uranium, among others) that provide comparative and competitive advantages on a global scale. We have an **oil and electricity industry** with the potential to meet the needs of the Brazilian people. We have **highly skilled workers** who produce and supply electricity, water, cooking gas, gasoline, diesel fuel, agricultural fertilizers, and other products derived from this vast country. We have strong production capacity and advanced technologies. We have experience in treating those affected by construction projects and workers in the sector with dignity, while still maintaining prices that are affordable for the population. And we have the **potential to expand and improve** in all these areas.

However, the **reckless privatization of strategic companies**, carried out by right-wing and far-right governments, has harmed our country in order to favor speculators and rentiers. This path **has compromised Brazil's sovereignty, independence, and energy security**. Energy policy has been hijacked by financial capital, which extracts exorbitant profits, while the Brazilian people are the main victims. The privatized energy model penalizes the vast majority of the Brazilian people.

Treason against the homeland, sabotage, and the boycott of everything that is sovereign, public, and for the people are the defining characteristics of **fascist and far-right forces at the national and state levels. These are the traitors to the homeland.**

In 2023, the Lula administration inherited a devastated country. It had to prioritize a mandate of national reconstruction. Despite institutional efforts at reconstruction, since 2023, the energy sector has remained subject to the coercive rules of capital appreciation and the transfer of wealth to financial capital, whether domestic or foreign. The historical persistence of steep increases in electricity and water bills, along with the consolidation of a market-oriented regulatory framework, proves that the state's role has been to manage the instability of these industries, shielding shareholders' profits and offloading losses onto the backs of the Brazilian working class. In the electricity sector, there was a R\$500 billion deficit, in addition to the criminal privatization of Eletrobrás. The water and sanitation sector was undergoing rapid privatization in all aspects and continues down this path in several states governed by the right wing. In the oil and gas industry, Petrobras was being carved up and sold off, while the Brazilian people were subjected to exorbitant prices for cooking gas, gasoline, and diesel fuel. Now, amid rising geopolitical tensions, the need for state-owned enterprises to operate directly in this sector has become even more evident.

As the Water and Energy Platform, we are key players **whose work supports major industrial sectors in Brazil**: the **Oil and Gas Industry**; the Brazilian **Electricity Industry**; the **Water and Basic Sanitation Industry**; the **Biofuels Industry** (biodiesel and ethanol); **Machinery and Equipment Industry**; **Heavy Construction Industry**; as well as thousands of **communities affected** by dams, dam failures, and climate-related events.

Now is the time to move forward. We believe that the **central focus must be on regaining energy sovereignty.** The energy issue is of extraordinary strategic importance to national development and improving the lives of the Brazilian people. **Water and energy should not be commodities.**

WE PRESENT THE FOLLOWING PROPOSALS FOR ENERGY REFORM OF NATIONAL INTEREST:

1. PERSIST IN ACHIEVING NATIONAL ENERGY SOVEREIGNTY AND THE INTEGRATION OF PEOPLES.

The defining feature of Brazil's electricity, sanitation, and oil industries is the dominance of financial capital. In other words, it is the domination of large banks and investment funds (both Brazilian and international) that imposes the perverse logic of excessive profits and financial parasitism.

It is necessary to establish 100% state-owned, public, and comprehensive control over the industrial chains of electricity, oil, and natural gas in the national energy sector. The same must apply to basic sanitation.

The most urgent national task is to confront financial capital. The banks and financial funds that control most of the companies in the national energy sector use them exclusively to benefit a minority of speculators and rentiers. They are the true parasites of the Brazilian people.

"RE-NATIONALIZE BRAZIL" under public control is our main platform. The new government's priority must be to strengthen the public system; it must completely re-nationalize the Eletrobrás system, BR Distribuidora, Liquigás, the Fafen(s), and the refineries that were privatized, placing them under the control of the Brazilian state and restoring the nation's refining capacity.

We must commit to reversing the privatization of water and sanitation companies (reservoirs, rivers, and other water resources) and prioritize public, community-based, and people-centered basic sanitation.

Furthermore, we must strengthen our defenses against imperialist attacks—particularly those by the U.S.—on Latin America, especially regarding our oil reserves and rare earth minerals. We must strengthen measures for integration with other countries, particularly here in Latin America, to confront authoritarian and far-right governments that are once again attacking our sovereignty.

Our approach in our relations with the peoples of Latin America is **to develop energy integration based on solidarity and respect for the self-determination of peoples**, particularly in the areas of production, organization, and popular struggles, in pursuit of a community with a shared future—free from rivalries and characterized by the highest level of human development.

2. ESTABLISH A POLICY OF STRONG GOVERNMENT CONTROL OVER PRICES AND RATES FOR ELECTRICITY, BASIC SANITATION, COOKING GAS, AND FUELS.

We are entering a new historical era in which neoliberalism is in decline, and the challenge is to overcome it. The parasitic logic of pricing and tariff policies under the market's "invisible hand" has prioritized rent-seeking, led to sharp price increases, and resulted in a decline in the quality of services provided to the Brazilian population.

We believe that the prices of domestic water and energy products are central issues

for the control and distribution of the wealth produced in the country, as well as for national reindustrialization.

It is time to move forward toward overcoming the neoliberal energy model, which continues to dominate the setting of prices and rates for water, electricity, and even fuels.

We propose to persist in de-financialization, to “Brazilianize” the system, and to set prices based on domestic production costs. We must dismantle the regulatory model of auctions and “maximum price” tariffs, which index water and energy prices in Brazil to serve global accumulation. Only in this way can we redirect the extraordinary profits captured by financial capital toward better service quality and immediate, lower rates that improve the daily lives of the Brazilian people.

3. REFORM AND PREPARE GOVERNMENT STRUCTURES FOR THE NEW HISTORICAL ERA.

This new historical era reveals that the state must play a central role in the planning and development of the national economy, with strong involvement and control in strategic areas and services.

It is time to strengthen public enterprises (federal, state, and municipal). Building state-owned enterprises of excellence in the electricity sector, in oil and gas, and in other areas means rejecting both the private model and the bureaucratic state model, as both operate under the parameters of market efficiency and the coercive subordination of workers.

We emphasize the importance of the **state-owned Eletrobrás** system and the newly created **ENBPar (the parent company of Itaipu and Eletronuclear)**, as well as a **sovereign Petrobras that serves Brazil**, with integrated capabilities—operating from the well to the gas station and utility pole. Likewise, CEPEL must be strengthened in the areas of knowledge and technology, along with public financing instruments through the BNDES, Caixa, Banco do Brasil, and others.

It is time to reform and democratize the main state agencies responsible for national energy policy. All of these archaic structures, reeking of anachronism, remain captive to parasitic financial capital, which operates at odds with national interests. The **Water and Energy Platform proposes promoting democracy and expanding popular participation and oversight, starting with the CNPE, ONS, EPE, ANEEL, ANP, ANA, CCEE, and CADE.** In regulatory agencies, it is necessary to ensure a public model of regulation, thereby democratizing the main state agencies.

It is also time to change the laws, rules, and bylaws of state-owned enterprises that perpetuate the private-sector logic of privileging the already privileged, as well as the financialization and commodification of our country’s water and energy resources. It is unfair and cruel that the working class (residential) is forced to pay approximately R\$ 50 billion per year in sector-specific charges to cover the deficit in subsidies intended for the wealthiest consumers—such as large industrial and commercial entities with Incentivized Power Sources, Distributed Generation, and even irrigation for large agricultural farms.

4. DEVELOP AN APPROPRIATE POLICY TO ADDRESS THE CLIMATE CRISIS.

The planet is getting hotter, and in all extreme weather events—floods, flash floods, heat waves, melting ice, droughts, landslides, tornadoes, pollution, among others—those who have contributed the least to climate change are the hardest hit, especially the working class in urban peripheries, riverside communities, and, in particular, black people and women. In other words, **the effects of the climate crisis hit the working class the hardest.**

The Water and Energy Platform believes that overcoming this crisis requires placing state policies at the center and confronting the financialization of nature. Therefore, it is the role of governments to lead policy efforts and provide the necessary financial resources. We emphasize that it is essential **to combat deforestation and criminal wildfires**, prevent the privatization of environmental areas, and **lead emergency reconstruction efforts in regions**

affected by extreme weather events.

We propose implementing a just energy transition policy under state leadership, without reducing it solely to the choice of renewable technologies. Rather, it should be guided by the organizational foundations for a new energy policy that guarantees sovereignty and full respect for workers in all areas of energy generation (renewable and non-renewable) and for the affected communities where these industries are located, with the aim of combating environmental racism. Petrobras, as part of the fossil fuel industry, must assume greater responsibility for solving the climate crisis.

We also propose the creation of a fund, financed by taxes on extraordinary profits from oil and gas exploration companies, to be allocated to initiatives for decarbonization, climate adaptation, professional training, historical reparations for vulnerable populations, and the strengthening of environmental oversight.

5. IT IS TIME TO ENSURE THE PROTECTION AND RIGHTS OF THE AFFECTED POPULATIONS.

Currently, the affected population encompasses three distinct groups: those affected by dam construction, primarily hydroelectric dams; those affected by socio-environmental crimes caused by threats to or breaches of dams; and those affected by increasingly frequent extreme weather events resulting from climate change.

The passage of the **National Policy on the Rights of Communities Affected by Dams (PNAB)**, Federal Law 14,755/2023—which was unanimously approved by the Federal Senate and signed into law by President Lula in December of that same year—represents the greatest achievement in the history of these affected communities. Unfortunately, however, corporate interests in the mining and energy sectors are working to block its implementation. **The law still requires regulations, the creation of a “state agency” capable of coordinating its implementation, and a “National Fund” with financial resources.**

6. IT IS TIME TO IMPROVE WORKING CONDITIONS BY VALUING WORKERS.

We propose **respecting and valuing workers** in the national energy sector and in construction projects, offering them better working conditions and wages, while expanding their rights and achievements. The primary focus is on creating jobs in Brazil, training workers and providing decent work opportunities for the communities surrounding each project and production facility.

We must develop an **adequate occupational health and safety policy** for workers and impose limits on outsourcing and the precariousness of working conditions, ensuring equal rights and bringing conditions in line with the best standards in the sector. It is of great importance to mandatorily include psychosocial risk factors in workers’ working conditions to identify, assess, and control issues that may affect the mental health of workers. It is also important to consider the effects on the world of work caused by extreme weather events, rising temperatures, and other consequences of global warming.

We need to establish a national policy that provides safeguards for green jobs, training programs, support from public banks, and protection for traditional communities. This also includes protocols for extreme weather events, such as an emergency minimum income for affected workers.

7. CONTINUE THE POLICY OF NATIONAL REINDUSTRIALIZATION IN BRAZIL'S ENERGY PRODUCTION CHAINS.

These initiatives must be led by the government, with mechanisms to support domestic industrialization and more efficient ways to generate high-quality jobs and income for our people, ensuring self-sufficiency, security, and excellence in results. It is also necessary to continue maintaining and expanding the **Revenue Sharing Law and ensuring the fair distribution of benefits and results** generated in the energy sector.

The Water and Energy Platform proposes continuing the national content policy, particularly: A) in the area of oil production and exploration, including the construction of oil tankers; B) in the development of renewable electricity generation; C) in the production of rare earth elements; D) and in sanitation, with an emphasis on chemical, mechanical, electronic, and computational aspects.

We propose a strong resumption of investments in refining and fertilizer production to meet Brazil's demand. We also propose revising the gas law to increase Petrobras' involvement in the natural gas sector, from production to distribution. It is essential **to expand national refining capacity** by resuming projects to expand and build new refineries, increase investments in **new fertilizer plants, and reactivate all plants that have been decommissioned and sold**, in order to reduce our dependence on foreign sources and achieve self-sufficiency.

8. DEVELOPMENT OF SOVEREIGN KNOWLEDGE AND TECHNOLOGY IN STRATEGIC AREAS.

We must continue to advance science to ensure the highest quality in terms of efficiency and productivity, and foster a high level of **education, organization, and knowledge among the entire Brazilian population** regarding the national energy issue.

The Water and Energy Platform proposes to promote research, innovation, and technological development with the goals of reducing working hours and the arduous nature of labor, with a focus on public and state control of CEPEL, Cenpes, and EPE, as well as strong state investment in research centers at universities and federal institutes.

Similarly, it is necessary **to strengthen the state-owned enterprises SGB-CPRM (Geological Survey of Brazil – Mineral Resources Research Company) and CETEM (Mineral Technology Center)**. We consider these to be strategic state-owned enterprises for understanding our mineral resources—including rare earths and critical minerals—and for developing national and sovereign technology for the extraction and production of these minerals, while respecting the environment and Brazilian society.

The nuclear issue in Brazil should be considered a strategic area for sovereignty, technological development, and reindustrialization, integrated into a sovereign national policy on critical minerals and rare earth elements. Thus, Eletronuclear should be strengthened as the centerpiece of this policy, working in coordination with ENBPar, Brazilian Nuclear Industries (INB), the National Nuclear Energy Commission (CNEN), universities, research institutes, and other public institutions, while preserving and expanding Brazil's capacity to develop, operate, and master nuclear technologies.

9. RESTORE THE QUALITY OF SERVICES PROVIDED TO THE POPULATION.

The decline in service quality includes dim lighting, prolonged power outages, a lack of customer service centers, and the collection of undue fees and charges, among other issues.

The government must strengthen state oversight mechanisms and promote greater public participation to ensure that **electricity and sanitation services meet national standards for quality and corporate performance**, with the aim of improving the quality of service delivery to society, especially in outlying neighborhoods and communities.

It is also necessary to impose limits on outsourcing and subordinate self-management arrangements.

We need to develop initiatives that can eradicate energy poverty, ensuring equal and universal access to energy systems, affordable rates, and energy efficiency for low-income families.

10. ENSURE STRONG PUBLIC AND GOVERNMENT INVESTMENT AS THE DRIVING FORCE BEHIND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND CONTINUE TO STRIVE FOR A FAIR DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH.

It is essential that all public banks (BNDES, Banco do Brasil, Caixa, etc.) be authorized to

resume financing state-owned enterprises on a fully equal footing and without restrictions.

We advocate for the **sharing and fair distribution of wealth and profits generated in the energy sector, with priority given to improving health care and ensuring free, universal, and high-quality education.** May this wealth also serve to advance **knowledge and sovereign technology** in strategic areas.

Water and energy are not commodities.

Sovereignty over water and energy, wealth distribution, and popular control!

Workers' and Peasants' Platform for Water and Energy

Organizations of the Workers' and Peasants' Platform for Water and Energy: AEEL – Association of Eletrobrás Employees; CNE – National Collective of Electric Power Workers; CNTE – National Confederation of Education Workers; CNU – National Confederation of Urban Workers; CNM – National Confederation of Metalworkers; FURCEN – Regional Federation of Urban Workers of the Midwest; FISENGE – Interstate Federation of Engineers' Unions; FNU – National Federation of Urban Workers; FRUNE – Regional Federation of Urban Workers of the Northeast; FSU – Regional Federation of Urban Workers of the South; FTUN – Interstate Federation of Urban Workers of the North; FRUSE – Interstate Federation of Urban Workers of the Southeast; FUP – United Federation of Oil Workers; Sindipetro AM; Sindipetro CE/PI; Sindipetro RN; Sindipetro PE; Sindipetro BA; Sindipetro MG; Sindipetro ES; Sindipetro Caxias; Sindipetro NF; Unified Sindipetro SP; Sindipetro PR/SC; Sindipetro RS; SINAERJ—Union of Administrators of the State of Rio de Janeiro; SINTERN; INTERCEL; INTERSUL; Popular Youth Uprising; MCP—Popular Peasants' Movement; MAB - Movement of People Affected by Dams; MPA - Small Farmers' Movement; PROIFES – Federation of Teachers' Unions of Federal Institutions of Higher Education and Basic Technical and Technological Education; SENGE/BA - Bahia Engineers' Union; SENGE/PR - Paraná Engineers' Union; SENGE/RJ - Rio de Janeiro Engineers' Union; SINDIELETRO/MG; SINDUR/RO; SINERGIA/SC; SINERGIA/BA; STIU/DF.