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ANALYSIS OF THE ELECTION IN AMAZONIA

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I. Amazonia - Area-wide.

A. The Extent of ARENA's Victory

1. Although there are still votes to be counted, recounted and redistributed, it is obvious that ARENA has won a smashing electoral victory throughout the Amazon area. The pro-Government forces were favored in the North, but virtually no one had predicted the magnitude of the victory. Total votes cast were over 2 to 1 in favor of ARENA. Except in the case of Manaus, ARENA swept both the cities and the interior. In Belém, the area's largest city, the ARENA overall vote margin was close to 5 to 1. In Maranhão, the MDB did a reverse by taking most of its vote in the interior, where traditional loyalties are stronger than in the capital, São Luís, which went heavily for ARENA. The strong MDB vote in Manaus was more than offset by an ARENA interior margin that reached 10 to 1 in some municipalities of Amazonas. Besides taking the major proportion of the federal and state races, it appears to date that ARENA has won over three-fourths of the mayoralty contests disputed in the election. In many cases, the closer battle was between the ARENA and ARENA sub-legend candidates, rather than between the two parties.

2. The extent of the ARENA victory can be seen in the following region-wide statistics (including the States of Acre, Amazonas, Maranhão and Pará, and the Federal Territories of Amapá, Roraima and Rorainópolis):

a) Senate Seats

Won by ARENA - 13 by MDB - 1

Disputed after January 10, 1970

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b) Number of Deputist Seats

Won by AREMA - at least 32; by MDB - 11

c) State Legislative Assemblies

All four won by AREMA with at least two-thirds majorities in each State.

B. Challenges to Candidacies (Impugnações)

3. There were relatively few challenges to candidacies in the eyes. Shortly before the election an MDB candidate for State Deputy in Para, Teófilo de Silva, had his political rights suspended. Three MDB candidates for the Para Legislative Assembly were also challenged, but one of these, Dario Macaureches, won his case before the Regional Electoral Tribunal. He was not elected, however. Only Cavaleiro de Macode, an MDB candidate for State Deputy, had his candidacy revoked on political grounds - "acts against the democratic regime." Additionally, two AREMA sub-legal candidates for Mayor in the interior of Para, and an AREMA candidate for the Belém City Council, were challenged on technical grounds, concerning their party registrations, and did not run. The most significant challenge involved Evandro Sarney, the brother of the Maracanã Governor, who was running for Federal Deputy. The Electoral Tribunal ruled that Sarney could not be a candidate for an office other than that which he was held, because of his relationship to the Governor. Sarney subsequently ran for State Deputy, and won.

C. High Percentages of Non-Voters

4. Official Statistics on abstentions, blank ballots and null ballots have not yet been released. Based on press reports, however, it appears that abstentions ranged from a low of 20% in Maranhão to a high of 35% in Para and Amazonas. Blank ballots ran approximately 12% to 15% and null ballots 8% to 12% of total votes cast. The reasons for that high percentage of non-votes are obvious. In addition to the rather low interest in the election, there was a great deal of confusion regarding the method of voting. Although the press published articles prior to election day showing voters how to cast their ballots, a good part of the basically unpopulated northern electorate remained in the dark. Many either stayed away from the polls or cast blank ballots. Others spoiled their ballots due to ignorance of voting regulations, particularly regarding the requirement to vote for candidates of the same party for federal and state deputy.

D. Reasons for the AREMA Victory

5. Local observers see AREMA's sweep of state and federal offices as a combination of factors. Even though the campaign was generally slow and dull, AREMA, for the most part, showed more initiative, attracted more and better candidates, made more mistakes, bought more advertisements and was better organized.

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The issue which ARENA candidates stressed most heavily was the basically honest and efficient government brought to the Amazon area by the Revolution. Whether justified, or not, the MDB was linked with the possible return of the old system of graft, corruption and extremism which had held back Amazonia for so many years. This argument proved to be stronger than the MDB plea for the return of democracy to Brazil. A regional factor benefitting ARENA was the Federal Government's apparently increasing attention to the area, as evidenced by "Operation Amazonia" announced by President Castello Branco in September. In contrast to many other regions of Brazil, the northern candidates of ARENA emphasized their ties with, and support of, the Federal Government, rather than playing them down. A further important element in ARENA's success was its monopoly of dominant personalities, such as Jose Sarney and Clodoaldo Milet in Maranhao, Jorges Passarinho in Para, and Danilo Azevedo and Leopoldo Pires in Amazonas. These men were able to pull a number of weaker ARENA candidates to victory.

## II. State-by-State Analysis

### A. Acre

#### 6. Winners were:

- a) Senate - Adalberto Sena (MDB)
- b) Chamber of Deputies - ARENA - 4 possibly 5; MDB 2 possibly 3
- c) Legislative Assembly - ARENA - 9 possibly 10; MDB - 5 possibly 6

7. ARENA's overall win in Acre was expected. ARENA had organized headquarters in all of the state's five municipalities, while the MDB had no organization to speak of. The MDB was also hit hard by the round of cassations earlier this year which cancelled its majority in the state legislative assembly and gave the Governor's office to the ARENA candidate, Jorge Kalume. The MDB Senate victory (by a margin of 400 votes out of 80,000) was due more to the personalities involved than the parties. The ARENA candidate, former Governor Edgar Cergueira, was disliked by many of his colleagues and had only lukewarm support from the party. A Senate source close to Cergueira recently claimed that Kalume and other influential members of Jose's ARENA had sabotaged his campaign and had let it be known in state political circles that Sena was their favored candidate. Cergueira was also hindered by rumors of corruption and the misuse of public funds in his administration, a relatively easy task in isolated Acre. In the Chamber of Deputies race, all former Deputies affiliated to ARENA were reelected, while the MDB saw two of its contingent in the Chamber go down to defeat. It is also noteworthy that Maria Amato received the highest vote of all MDB candidates. She is the wife of the first elected Governor of Acre, who resigned shortly after the Revolution. He has since been charged with subversive activities and is awaiting trial in Belas. The ARENA victory in the Legislative Assembly election gives Kalume an elected majority, rather than one created by cassations, as formerly. Another indication of ARENA's strength is that it won four of the five mayoralty contests in the State.

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B. Amazonas8. Winners were:

- a) Senate - Alvaro Maia (ARENA)
- b) Chamber of Deputies - ARENA - 5, MDB - 2
- c) Legislative Assembly - ARENA - 20 to 22, MDB - 3 to 10

9. The ARENA triumph in Amazonas can be laid wholly to its lopsided margin in the interior. Alvaro Maia, the ARENA sub-legend candidate, and the ARENA candidates for other offices, did strikingly well outside Manaus. Maia, who trailed the MDB's João Veiga through most of the vote counting (although his legend pushed ahead of the MDB early), finally came up with a plurality of the votes, thereby upsetting ARENA incumbent Vivaldo Lima. The ARENA win came in spite of the fact that the party was split and squabbling. This had been the basis for pre-election predictions that the MDB would do quite well in the state. Consulate sources in Manaus say that the ARENA nomination list was simply made up of better candidates. Even so, none of the MDB members who were elected in 1962 were reelected on November 15. One of these, Paulo Coelho, is the brother of Amazonas' former Governor, Plínio Coelho, whose mandate was cancelled after the Revolution. On the ARENA side, three former Federal Deputies were reelected. Significantly, ARENA's José Lindoso was one of the top vote-getting candidates. Lindoso was a former Secretary of Education under Governor Arbur Reis, who broke with Reis in 1965. Reis resigned from ARENA in October, after Lindoso's sub-legend candidacy was accepted by the party. An important element in the statewide ARENA victory was the campaigning throughout the state of ARENA Governor-Elect Danilo Azevedo. Azevedo travelled widely in the last stages of the campaign, and this, together with his promised emphasis on the interior during his coming administration is thought to have greatly aided the ARENA cause. While he was formerly viewed as a puppet of Governor Reis, Azevedo's strong campaigning and independent line has boosted his image considerably. He will have more than a two-thirds majority in the state legislature.

C. Maranhão10. Elected votes

- a) Senate - Gláucio Hillet (ARENA)
- b) Chamber of Deputies - ARENA - 12; MDB - 4
- c) State Legislative Assembly - ARENA - at least 28; MDB - 12.

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11. Of all the states in Amazônia, perhaps the most significant ARENA win came in Maranhão. Here the MDB was most active in its attacks on the Federal and State Governments and in its direct challenge to the leadership of Governor José Sarney in the State. Sarney, a young leader in the "bossy news" line of Brazilian politics who has promised to produce a "New Maranhão," had experienced a number of difficulties with his development plans during his first year of office. The MDB challenge and Sarney's response meant that Sarney's prestige and future ability to govern were at stake in the election. The complete ARENA sweep of offices has reinforced his position greatly. ARENA's Cledeusir Milet, with Sarney's support, beat off the challenge of the incumbent Eurécio Barros, an ARENA sub-legend candidate, and the MDB nominee, and, in fact, received more votes than the combined votes of his two opponents. Besides this, Milet's win has undermined the position of Riva Lira Mayer, Epitácio Cafeteira, who broke with Sarney and supported Barros' candidacy. Cafeteira promised to resign his office if Barros lost, but, as yet, he has not done so. Adding to the rout of the opposition, ARENA took 12 of the 16 Maranhão seats in the Chamber of Deputies, a gain of two, and 18 of the 40 seats in the state legislature, again of six. Only one of ARENA's incumbents in the Chamber of Deputies was defeated. Two of its top vote-getters are new and promise to be leaders in state politics - Américo de Souza, a former "employee" from Rio Grande do Norte, and João Pires de Melo, the director of the DIÁRIOS ASSOCIADOS in Maranhão and a one-time legal advisor to José Calmon. Although the MDB was soundly beaten in the election, it did succeed in electing its most vociferous and critical members, Renato Kremer and Gil Carvalho. Even so, as a result of the election, Sarney and his group of young technicians should have clearer sailing in their future efforts to modernize Maranhão's antiquated economy, political system and social structure.

D. Pará12. Winning votes

- a) Senate - Juracy Passarinho (ARENA)
- b) Chamber of Deputies - ARENA - 8; MDB - 2
- c) Legislative Assembly - ARENA - at least 29; MDB - 8

13. It is clear that ARENA's success in Pará was due primarily to the popularity and leadership of former Revolutionary Governor Juracy Passarinho. Passarinho and his group of supporters forged ARENA, chose its candidates and dictated its policies from the very outset. The MDB, beset by a lack of leadership and demoralized by the toppling of its local President and a number of other members by the corruption case earlier this year, was lucky to maintain a presence in Pará. The Senate race was not even a contest as Passarinho rolled up a startling 6 to 1 margin over his MDB opponent. Passarinho also carried with him three unopposed candidates for Federal Deputy who had not even engaged in active politics before, besides ensuring the victories of candidates considered to be in his camp. All ARENA members who had opposed him in local

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political circles, but who had gained ARENA backing at the national level, were defeated, to add further to his personal triumph. Particularly satisfying to Passarinho were the defeats of ARENA nominees Federal Deputy Lopo de Castro and Senator Eacarias de Assumpcao, both of whom had opposed Passarinho's candidate in the 1965 Governor's election. To measure the size of the ARENA victory, it should be noted that there were more blank and null ballots cast than total votes for the MDB. The only important ARENA defeat was the loss of the Mayor's race to the MDB in Santarem by a close margin. The almost four-fifths ARENA control of the State Legislative Assembly will give Governor Alacid Nunes a free hand to push his legislative program, but, at the same time, will necessitate Passarinho's support for his policies, considering Passarinho's even more dominant position in the State due to the election results. Passarinho's entourage in Para is now pushing him as a national leader of the first order, and there are rumors that he may help spearhead the drive for an independent party modelled on Christian Democratic principles. If these rumors are true, Passarinho should have little trouble bringing a good part of Para's federal representation with him.

### B. Federal Territories

1b. As anticipated, ARENA won the three federal deputy seats at stake in the Territories of Amapa, Rondonia and Serania. Supported by federal funds and headed by federally appointed Governors, the territories could hardly have been expected to give the opposition such backing, but it is interesting that ARENA sub-legendary success won in each case. This is only considered to be of significance in Amapa, where the winner, January Nunes, has been engaged in a bitter, almost violent, battle with the territorial government. As a result of Nunes' victory, it is probable that the Governor, General Luis Mendes da Silva, will be replaced in the near future.

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