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|---------------|------|------|
| ORIGIN/ACTION |      |      |
| ARA-5         |      |      |
| RM/R          | REP  | AF   |
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| ARA           | EUR  | FE   |
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| NEA           | CU   | INR  |
|               | 5    | 5    |
| E             | P    | IO   |
| 4             |      |      |
| L             | FBO  | AID  |
|               |      | 12   |
| 3             | 1    | 1    |
| AGR           | COM  | FRB  |
|               | 10   |      |
| INT           | LAB  | TAR  |
|               | 6    |      |
| TR            | XMB  | AIR  |
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| ARMY          | CIA  | NAVY |
| 5             | 10   | 5    |
| OSD           | USIA | NSA  |
| 16            | 8    | 3    |
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|               |      | 6    |

# AIRGRAM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

POL 21 BRAZ

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HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : DEPARTMENT OF STATE 1964 MAR 16 PM 12 37  
 INFO : RIO DE JANEIRO, BRASILIA, BELEM, RECIFE, BELO HORIZONTE, CURITIBA, PORTO ALEGRE, SALVADOR.

ANALYSIS & DISTRIBUTION  
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FROM : AmConGen, SÃO PAULO

DATE: March 12, 1964

SUBJECT : Weekly Summary No. 11

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INR;  
 ARA;  
 LAB, RIO;  
 PAO, RIO.

RM R File  
 4/2/64

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
 BUREAU OF  
 INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS  
 MAR 17 1964

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FORM 4-62 DS-323

☐ In ☐ Out

Drafted by: DCProper/JLiebof:el 3-10-64 Contents and Classification Approved by: Scott C. Lyon

Clearances:

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 Authority NND 954000

1. CP reluctant to run for Mayor.

In a typically vague public statement, ex-Governor CARVALHO PINTO allowed that he really ought not to try for the São Paulo mayoralty. He was opposed, he said, to using public offices only as springboards to higher positions. This was both an admission of his own ambitions -- to the presidency or the governorship -- and a slap at Jânio QUADROS, the front-running candidate who clearly intends to use the mayoralty exactly as a springboard.

Two recent electoral polls have showed Carvalho Pinto strong in local popularity. Though almost surely unreliable, the polls strengthened the local opinion that he was the man to beat Jânio. When CP declined the challenge, press reaction was adverse, while private political comments verged on the bitter. Observers argued that it was CP's duty to win the mayoralty, forgetting the 1965 presidential race and going on in '66 to regain the governorship. CP ignored this well-intentioned advice, as usual, and gave signs of wanting to run for president even as the candidate of the radical left. He talked at length to Miguel ARRAES (item 7) and appeared at a political rally organized by PDC far-leftists.

Vice Governor Laudo NATEL thus found himself involved in an increasingly frustrating Alphonse-and-Gaston routine with Carvalho Pinto. Laudo now seems inclined to run if CP refuses, but the latter's indecisiveness makes Natel afraid to stick his neck out. In the meantime, more and more candidates enter the race, and more and more parties commit themselves (item 2), splintering the anti-Jânio vote. Laudo's own Republican Party has just nominated Jânio himself for mayor. This opportunistic move (the PR now supports GOULART, Adhemar, and Jânio, all three) could conceivably be reversed, but there is no time to spare.  
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Comment: Incumbent Mayor PRESTES MAIA began his successful campaign only shortly before the 1959 election, but he was not running against Jânio Quadros. This year Quadros already has a long head start. His opponents are a major force, but only if they are united. Laudo might be able to bring them together and CP surely could. His curiously durable prestige is based precisely on his disdain for politics, and his followers are willing to forgive many political blunders. But he must move very soon. If he continues to play Hamlet, he will be making Jânio a gift of the São Paulo mayoralty. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE)

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2. PDC nominates Montoro.

On March 6, a convention of the Christian Democratic Party (PDC) nominated ex-Labor Minister and Federal Deputy Franco MONTORO for the São Paulo mayoralty. The PDC candidate for Vice Mayor was not named but is also expected to come from Party ranks. Montoro has as much as admitted publicly that he hopes to capitalize on the anti-Jânio vote. He claims that Carvalho Pinto has promised to campaign for him. The Cardinal-Archbishop of São Paulo has also promised to support Montoro. (UNCLASSIFIED)

Comment: Franco Montoro has little chance against Jânio. On the contrary, he will probably help Quadros by dividing the vote of those opposed to him, especially if Carvalho Pinto provides misguided assistance. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE)

3. Radical left may run mayoralty candidates.

Ex-Councilman Rio Branco PARANHOS and Labor stooge (pelego) Dante PELLACANI have expressed interest in running for Mayor and Vice Mayor, respectively. Paranhos is a PCB member who was prevented from taking office as Federal Deputy after the elections of October 1962. It is not clear how he could persuade the electoral court to forget his Communist status long enough to register his candidacy. (UNCLASSIFIED)

Comment: This is probably only comic relief, but it would be good news if it came true. Paranhos and Pellacani would be beaten roundly, with Paranhos showing just enough strength to hurt Jânio a little. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE)

4. Jânio supporting Lacerda?

During the latest of his frequent visits to São Paulo, Carlos Lacerda talked to many politicians of the MTR and PTN -- the two parties most closely identified here with Jânio Quadros. This development seemed too remarkable to be a coincidence. There was immediate speculation that Jânio was at least considering throwing his support to Lacerda. On another recent visit, the Guanabara Governor had let it be known that such support would be welcome. (UNCLASSIFIED)

Comment: Lacerda's key role in Quadros' resignation had made this turn of events unlikely, to say the least, but it does now appear that the possibility of rapprochement is being

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seriously explored. This is another demonstration that anything whatever can happen in Brazilian politics. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE)

5. Adhemar organizing national campaign.

Adhemar de BARROS has designated "coordinators" to run his presidential campaign in every Brazilian region. He says that he intends to devote time to each of the states. (UNCLASSIFIED)

Comment: Adhemar's lieutenants in fact expect to get votes mainly in São Paulo, southern Minas, northern Paraná, and the Northeast, in approximately that order. Long-standing ties in these areas encourage them. The Governor apparently intends, however, to run a full national campaign, picking up a few votes wherever he can find them. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE)

6. Anti-Communist groups active.

The "Anti-Communist Front" (Frente Anticomunista -- FAC), one of the most militant of the many similar local movements (see Weekly Summary of December 13, 1963), held a major meeting in the city of Baurú on March 7. It was reportedly well attended by delegates from many São Paulo cities and even from other States. Governor Adhemar de Barros was represented by his Secretary of Agriculture. Anti-Communist films and speeches were featured. The May 13 rally in Rio de Janeiro drew heavy criticism. The Commander of the São Paulo Civil Police spoke of the necessity of regimenting the "forces of reaction" to fight the left. Vice Presidential candidate João CALMON vowed that Congress would never allow Goulart to keep himself in office for a second term or to recognize the Communist Party. The insignia of a FAC delegation from one city, as prominently displayed, was a toothy gorilla shattering a hammer and sickle. The press gave considerable publicity.

In parallel developments, a "Democratic Vigilance Front" was started in the city of Pindamonhangaba, and a group called the "Christian League Against Communism" announced its formation in São Paulo. A number of São Paulo doctors signed a manifesto denouncing Communist subversion. (UNCLASSIFIED)

Comment: And so it goes. Few weeks now pass without news of this kind. Communist progress, however, is also a fact in São Paulo (item 8). The process of right-left polarization, un-Brazilian as it seems, gains momentum constantly. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE)

7. Arraes stays calm.

Pernambuco Governor Miguel Arraes paid this State a brief visit that must be considered a success. Press coverage was complete, especially in leftist Ultima Hora, which had carried a full-page advertisement -- presumably expensive -- "re-establishing the truth" about the Pernambuco situation. São Paulo Cardinal-Archbishop MOTTA received Arraes, scandalizing conservative Estado de S. Paulo. Most dangerous point of the visit came just before the Governor was scheduled to appear on a television program. Anti-Communist groups outside the station protested, leading to a brawl that nearly forced cancelation of the event. Once on the air, however, Arraes skillfully fielded questions of a type that have flustered others. He answered evasively, but he maintained equanimity and an air of injured innocence. Samples: He denied, though not in so many words, that he was a Communist. "I was not elected by the left, but by the people. Everybody under the sun in this country has been supported at one time by Mr. Luis Carlos PRESTES and the Communists. Why not me?" The Pernambuco Governor hoped for a revolution without bloodshed and believed that the danger of violence came from the right, not the left. He called Carlos Lacerda "an intelligent and talented man, whose basic defect is having accumulated not adversaries but enemies." Arraes claimed to have repudiated several Alliance for Progress agreements because of "unacceptable" American requirements. He had made no new agreements, he said, but simply gone along with some made by his predecessor. He would, however, be inclined to accept money coming through SUDENE with no strings attached, whatever the source. "I do not believe that Ambassador Lincoln Gordon wants to intervene in Brazilian affairs," said the Governor, "but I believe that the United States does." (UNCLASSIFIED)

8. Communist labor leaders pushing hard on various fronts, while either demoralized or inactive.

São Paulo Communist labor leaders have recently engaged in a whirlwind of activity, with major efforts directed at:

a. Organizing caravans of workers to attend the March 13 rally in Rio de Janeiro. Local Communists claim as many as 5,000 Paulistas will make the trip. For this purpose the Communists are working out of the new CNTI regional headquarters here in a local IAPI building.

b. Organizing a monster May Day rally in São Paulo, featuring President Goulart and the principal CNTI and CGT

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leaders. This would be the main Communist May Day effort in all Brazil.

c. Organizing labor meetings at the municipal and state-wide levels preparatory to the IV National Labor Congress scheduled for Rio de Janeiro on July 28.

In contrast, democratic labor leaders have in effect been standing still. Some seem demoralized; they ask how they can be expected to buck what they see as increasingly massive Brazilian Federal Government financial and organizational support for the Communist efforts (e.g., union funds could not possibly pay for transportation, board and lodging of large numbers of local workers attending the Rio rally). Local democratic labor elements in general appear incapable of adopting effective countermeasures, much less of seizing the initiative. The long-heralded National Labor Center of Free Workers (CSNTL or CGT-L), planned as a democratic counterweight to the CGT, seems no closer to fruition now than a month ago. While democratic São Paulo May Day rallies in the previous two years overshadowed competing Communist rallies, so far the democratic elements have not shown any marked determination or concrete plans to stage a major rally here this May Day.  
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Comment: There is no question but that the Communists, with Federal Government help, have taken the initiative on the local labor scene and are meeting little coordinated opposition.  
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PSYCHOLOGICAL

1. Estado reports conversation of Arraes and Russian Ambassador.

Estado de S. Paulo, claiming an unimpeachable but secret source, published a damaging account of a conversation between USSR Ambassador Andrei FOMIN and Pernambuco Governor Miguel Arraes. Fomin reportedly had opined that Goulart should find a way to run for re-election in 1965, as he "inspires absolute confidence for the execution of the vast program of the left in Brazil." Other items: Fomin allegedly expressed concern with the activities of the Alliance for Progress and "rightist organizations" in the Northeast; was pleased with the progress of the PCB; offered study grants and substantial Soviet aid;

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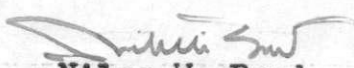
Authority NND 959000

talked of the installation of a USSR Consulate in Recife; admitted the failure of Russian agriculture; and said that the USSR was opposed to disarmament. (UNCLASSIFIED)

Comment: Much as the paper must have enjoyed printing this story, prestigious Estado is not likely to have made it up entirely out of thin air. Some of the report seems hard to believe, but to our knowledge it has not yet been denied by any of the parties involved. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE)

2. Rally on 13th arouses concern.

Local newspapers continue (see last weekly summary) to devote much space to Goulart's proposed appearance at the Friday-the-13th rally. Most editorials are opposed, stressing the Communist role in organizing the comício, the holding of the event at an illegal site, the encouragement of agitation, and the possibility of outright violence. Governor Adhemar de Barros makes no secret of his extreme concern. He claims to fear serious disorders after the rally -- particularly land invasions -- and has put his police on the alert. (UNCLASSIFIED)

  
Niles W. Bond  
Minister Consul General

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