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HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : Department of State

1966 NOV 3

INFO : RIO DE JANEIRO, BRASILIA

FROM : Amcongen SAO PAULO

DATE: November 1, 1966

SUBJECT : Sao Paulo ARENA Federal and State Slates for November

REF :

### SUMMARY

Though the leadership of Sao Paulo's ARENA agreed to a set of rules to govern selection of party candidates for the November 1966 congressional and assembly elections, ARENA's slate was chosen only after weeks of dispute and bargaining. The party nominated the maximum number of candidates for federal and state deputy allowed under Revolutionary acts, but the number finally registered by the Sao Paulo Regional Electoral Tribunal was somewhat less. Only one senatorial and one alternate senatorial contender were proposed. ARENA's Federal Chamber and Legislative Assembly slates reflect the political diversity and rivalries within the local party itself. Most of the pro-Revolutionary party's nominees are either incumbent officeholders or past office-seekers. Very few new prominent names were included. Viewed in the light of traditional Sao Paulo politics, the tickets roughly divide into thirds: one-third Adhemaristas and those who cooperated with Adhemar's state administration; one-third ex-Udentistas, assorted conservatives and anti-Adhemaristas, most of whom now form the backbone of support for Governor-elect Abreu SODRE, former UDN state president; and one-third Carvalhistas, miscellaneous adherents of present state Governor Laudo NATEL, and splinter groups not definitely aligned with any present or previous leader. Viewed according to ideology, though many Paulista politicians notoriously lack a specific political credo, the political

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spectrum embraced by the ARENA slates ranges from firm Conservatism, through the Center, to the slightly Left-of-Center with the mean falling somewhere in the moderate Right Center. Though these are at best generalizations, the above descriptions portray with fair accuracy the composition of the pro-Federal Government party slates. Thus, to all appearances, ARENA's ticket by and large presents the same old gang to the Sao Paulo electorate. The list of candidates is constructed to give present incumbents the best possible chance for re-election. Very little new Revolutionary blood has been transfused into the Sao Paulo Revolutionary slate, chosen by party leaders who still for the most part represent and are intent to preserve the old state political framework. ARENA here is evidently as disunited and as beset by factionalism as it was in the beginning. Under such circumstances it appears extremely doubtful that the party will be able to survive as an effective political force after the elections and expiration on March 15, 1967 of the Revolutionary decrees which led to its creation.

#### A. Facts and Figures

##### (1) Electorate in State of Sao Paulo:

1,871,797	- City of Sao Paulo
2,900,000	- official estimate, remainder of State
<u>4,771,797</u>	- estimated total

##### (2) ARENA State Membership:

4,597	- City of Sao Paulo
800	- official estimate, remainder of State
<u>5,397</u>	- estimated total

##### (3) Federal and State seats at stake:

1	- Federal Senate
59	- Federal Chamber of Deputies
115	- State Legislative Assembly

##### (4) Maximum Number of Candidates Permitted to each party for Federal and State Deputy (Complementary Act 7 to Institutional Act No. 2, number of seats at stake plus 75%) and for Federal Senate (Complementary Act 7, to Institutional Act No. 2, three sub-parties permitted each with candidate for senator and for alternate senator):

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3 - For Federal Senator  
 3 - For Alternate Federal Senator  
 103 - For Federal Deputy  
 201 - For State Deputy

(5) ARENA Registrations Approved by Sao Paulo Regional Electoral Tribunal (TRE):

1 - For Federal Senator  
 1 - For Alternate Federal Senator  
 82 - For Federal Deputy  
 193 - For State Deputy

B. Selection of Candidates

Though under Revolutionary regulations ARENA candidates could only be selected from among registered ARENA members, a small circle of only some 5,400 voters in the State of Sao Paulo, the party still had enormous difficulties in composing its final Sao Paulo slates for the November 15, 1966 direct congressional and state assembly elections. So many of the inscribed ARENA adherents were ambitious and determined to run that choosing between prospective competing candidates and devising a definitive list of no more candidates than the legal maximum proved extremely time-consuming because of endless wrangles and negotiations that developed between party factions. Attempts by the party's State Executive Commission to sidestep divisive, harmful disputes by formulating general and specific guidelines for the selection of nominees had only limited success.

ARENA criteria for the approval of November nominees sought to satisfy particular claims of special interest groups and of mutually hostile political amalgamations thrown together in uneasy proximity within the Sao Paulo pro-government political organization by the abolition of Brazil's traditional political parties. Theoretically, by establishing definite, prior criteria the Executive Commission hoped to arrive at a fair and reasonably acceptable allocation of nominations, at state-wide geographic coverage, and at as electorally potent a list as possible. Some general precepts applied equally to selection of both federal and state nominees. Thus, all incumbent federal and state deputies who belonged to ARENA were guaranteed the right to nomination for re-election. No non-incumbent new candidates were to be designated from geographic areas of influence or electoral strength of any of the incumbent ARENA members seeking re-election. Each incumbent candidate was invited to

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propose possible nominees and offer suggestions and advice. In the final selection of candidates, the place of their geographic residence in the state was to be taken into consideration so that the party would present contenders from as many major areas of the state as possible. The qualifications of competing aspirants for nomination were also to be judged in the light of their relative vote drawing potential.

In addition to the above general criteria a few special precepts were established for the choice of candidates for Federal Deputy. Five places on the Federal Deputy ticket were reserved for incumbent members of the State Assembly. Sao Paulo city aldermen were guaranteed at least three vacancies. Five nominations were also reserved for representatives of special social or economic groups.

A few special regulations were also formulated to govern the choice of candidates for state deputy. An agreement was made with ARENA Sao Paulo city aldermen that as many as 25 of them would be assured an opportunity to compete for election to the State Assembly. Spots on the ticket were also designated for the first alternate state deputy of each of the formerly existing 12 political parties which were represented in the Assembly before the dissolution of political parties. Ten places were set aside for members of special social and economic pressure groups. As a special concession to ARENA's senatorial nominee, ex-Governor CARVALHO PINTO, five slots of the State Assembly ticket were saved for members of the ex-PDC, the party which had nominated him for Governor of Sao Paulo last year.

Though ARENA officially could have established as many as three sub-parties and thus could have nominated a candidate for senator and for alternate senator to represent each of them, the Sao Paulo party leadership vigorously fought off all attempts to create formal, recognized divisions within it. As the Consulate General reported, Sao Paulo's ARENA is riven by factionalism as it is, and though Adhemaristas, Carvalhistas, and ex-Udenistas all pressed at various times for their own sub-party, the state ARENA Executive Commission parried or stymied all their efforts. The local ARENA leadership in Sao Paulo was concerned that the existence of mutually competitive separate sub-parties within ARENA would serve merely to dissipate further whatever coordination and force that could be stimulated within such a heterogeneous and fragile organization. Thus,

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as a result of this policy ARENA was able to nominate only one senatorial contender and one alternate to contest the Sao Paulo senate seat to be disputed on November 15.

### C. ARENA Nominations

Sao Paulo's ARENA finally nominated the maximum number of federal (103) and state (201) deputy candidates permitted under Revolutionary acts for the November elections. However, despite strenuous effort, ARENA's intention to register full slates with the Sao Paulo TRE was not realized. In the final analysis, only 82 candidates for federal deputy and 193 state deputy nominees were successfully registered. There are various reasons for this shortfall. The party itself has complained that so much complicated documentation for each candidate was required by TRE under new Revolutionary regulations that the party ultimately was unable to prepare all the necessary registration petitions. TRE rejected many registration requests because they were incomplete or incorrectly formulated. According to party sources, it proved impossible for ARENA to revise all of these for resubmission before the October 16 deadline. Under provisions of the Electoral Code, TRE also rejected or challenged registration requests for a few ARENA nominees on legal or strictly technical grounds. In such cases, ARENA quickly nominated new candidates, most of whom failed to prepare proper petitions in time to win a place on the official TRE ballot.

While these ARENA contentions are valid, as far as they go, several other reasons have been offered for the party's failure to register all of its nominees. Some disgruntled ARENA members have charged that interminable delays by the party Executive Commission to select nominees and publish nomination lists did not permit some nominees time enough to supply documentation. Everything was deferred to the eleventh hour, they claim, with the consequence that time ran out. Some sources blame ARENA administrative bungling for the delays, others impute sinister motives to the ARENA leadership, claiming that delays were planned in order to sabotage unwanted contenders. It has also been hinted that some ARENA incumbents welcomed tickets with less than the maximum number of candidates so as to improve their chances for re-election.

### D. Senatorial Candidates

Ex-UDN Senator Padre Benedito CALAZANS, an ardent Revolutionary and a founding member of Sao Paulo's ARENA, fully expected to

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run for re-election as ARENA's senatorial nominee. According to ARENA's own rules, he was guaranteed the right to run for the Senate seat he presently holds. ARENA strategists, however, decided that a bigger, more attractive name might be available to head the state ticket and to counteract obvious popular coolness toward the pro-Federal Government party. Despite Padre Calazans' incontestable claims, the party openly pursued and begged ex-Governor Professor Carlos Alberto Alves de CARVALHO PINTO, an ex-Minister of Finance of former President João GOULART, to join ARENA and become its November ticket leader. When CP finally accepted, Calazans found himself isolated and betrayed. While some half-sincere offers were reported to permit Calazans to run as an ARENA sub-party senatorial nominee, the party clearly wished him to desist and try for a Federal Chamber seat. In outrage and disgust Calazans and some of his Lacerdista supporters bolted ARENA for MDB.

Thus, Carvalho Pinto who is by no means a Revolutionary, became ARENA's sole senatorial nominee and its chief single hope for victory in November. Carvalho Pinto is widely respected, if not popular, in Sao Paulo for his very successful, reputedly honest term as Governor, and his presence on the slate undoubtedly beefs it up considerably. He is one of Sao Paulo's traditional "grand electors", an acknowledged leader with a strong state-wide personal following, and he is the only "grand elector" still eligible to participate in politics. ARENA planners hope that his reputation as an efficient, honest, apolitical administrator will attract votes for the entire party slate.

Carvalho Pinto handpicked the ARENA candidate for Alternate Senator, Virgilio LOPES DA SILVA, who was his State Secretary for Public Security. Lopes da Silva was also Carvalho Pinto's choice as his vice gubernatorial running mate when he was nominated for Governor of Sao Paulo by the ex-PDC last year before the Second Institutional Act was decreed. Like his sponsor, Lopes da Silva is considered more of an independent politically, more of a technician than a political professional.

#### E. Candidates for Federal Deputy

Sao Paulo's TRE has approved the registrations of 82 ARENA nominees for federal deputy. Of these 82 contenders the Consulate General has collected data on 65. The remaining 18 have not been identified. Included among the 65 known candidates are 29 of ARENA's 34 incumbent federal deputies, 5

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incumbent state deputies, 3 incumbent Sao Paulo city aldermen, 8 unsuccessful 1962 candidates for federal deputy, 4 also-ran 1962 contenders for state deputy, and three other individuals who have previously held or run for public office. Thus, at least 52 of ARENA's 83 candidates have been previously involved in politics, of whom at least 40 have held elective public office. Most of them are reasonably well-known throughout the State of Sao Paulo. (See enclosure 1 for list of incumbent federal deputies who are running.)

Besides present incumbent federal and state deputies and city aldermen, other publicly prominent ARENA candidates for federal deputy include the following: Edmundo MONTEIRO, Sao Paulo director of Chateaubriand's Diarios Associados interests; Paulo ABREU, ex-PSD Senator for Sao Paulo until 1963; Mario BENI, one of ex-Governor Adhemar de BARROS' most loyal and effective political henchmen and former head of the Sao Paulo State agricultural storage agency, CAGESP; N. PITHAN E SILVA, president of Sao Paulo's World War II veterans' association; Argeu Egydio dos SANTOS, president of the Sao Paulo State Federation of Metalworkers; Sergio CARDOSO DE ALMEIDA, a director of the Sao Paulo and of the National Federation of Agriculture; João Soares do AMARAL Neto, a director of the Sao Paulo Federation of Industries (FIESP), and Francisco RAMALHO Alves Junior, student leader who was federal interventor of the State Union of Students (UEE) after the Revolution.

It is not surprising that the political composition of ARENA's ticket for Federal deputy is as diverse and diffuse as that of the splintered Sao Paulo party itself. All Sao Paulo ARENA's component parts are represented. Of the 65 identified candidates, the former political inclinations of 61 have been established. While a great many political convulsions have occurred in Brazil in the last several years, the former political affiliations of candidates still provide rough indications of their outlook and sentiments. The former parties of the 61 candidates with known previous connections are as follows: 16-PSP; 13-UDN; 9-PSD; 7-PTN/MTR; 5-PDC; 4-PTB; 2 each PR and PST; 1 each PL, PRP and PRT. Clearly the largest single elements with a degree of internal cohesion are members of the former PSP of Adhemar de Barros and adherents of the ex-UDN, two groups which in the past have nurtured extreme mutual antagonism that has by no means disappeared. To venture a not too dangerous generalization, ARENA's list of federal deputies, reflecting the original make-up of Sao Paulo's ARENA, is more or less split into thirds--one-third Adhemaristas and their various, chiefly ex-PSD, allies; one-third ex-UDN,

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UDN sympathizers and anti-Adhemaristas, most of whom now support Sao Paulo Governor-elect Roberto Abreu SOBRE; and one-third Carvalhistas, backers of present Governor Laudo NATEL, and other small groups in the middle, uncommitted to any of the larger combinations.

To consider the slate from another perspective, according to its general ideological complexion, it may be described as a list which extends from the confirmed Right through the Center to the moderate Left Center. Its center of gravity, however, undoubtedly lies somewhere slightly Right-of-Center as the small Left-wing of the Sao Paulo party is composed of only a limited number of fairly moderate Leftists, mainly labor representatives and Christian Democrats. It must also be mentioned, however, that a good many politicians on the slate are chiefly motivated by rank political opportunism.

Five present ARENA Federal deputies are not running for re-election this year. They are Antonio Mendes de BARROS (ex-PSP), Milo CAMARAZZANO (ex-PR), Francisco SCARPA (ex-PDC), Hugo BORGHI (ex-PRT), and Adib CHAMMAS (ex-PSP). Antonio de Barros, a son of former Governor Adhemar de Barros, announced that he withdrew so as not to compete against his more active and ambitious brother, Adhemar de BARROS Filho, a candidate for Federal Deputy on the MDB ticket. The registration of Milo Camarazzano was challenged by the Sao Paulo TRE because of his alleged implication in 1962 election frauds, and the Supreme Electoral Tribunal rejected his appeal, making him ineligible to run. Adib Chammas cannot try for re-election because on October 12, 1966 he suffered cassation and suspension of his political rights for ten years. Scarpa and Broghi have not announced their reasons for retiring from politics.

#### F. Candidates for State Deputy

ARENA's roll of candidates for state deputy is a virtual duplicate of the pro-Government party's federal slate. TRE has accepted 193 ARENA registrations for state deputy. Of this number the Consulate General has gathered some data on 153 nominees, leaving 40 in the unknown category. Of the 153 identified contenders 71 are incumbent state deputies competing for re-election, 16 are incumbent Sao Paulo city aldermen, 27 ran for State Deputy unsuccessfully in 1962, 1 tried for Sao Paulo alderman unsuccessfully, and 17 others have previously held or competed for public office, mostly on the municipal level. Thus, at least 132 of ARENA's 193 state deputy candidates

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have previously involved themselves in politics, of whom at least 99 have previously won some elective office. To some degree, then, a majority of ARENA's state legislature hopefuls are also comparatively known to the Sao Paulo voting public.

Besides present officeholders, ARENA's state level ticket includes the following other well-known local public figures. Four Sao Paulo labor leaders are on the ticket: José ROTTA, president of the National Confederation of Agricultural Workers (CONTAG) and president of the Sao Paulo State Federation; Eduardo BARNABE, former president of the Mogiana Railroad Workers' Union; Nilson Ferreira da COSTA, president of the Association of Railroad Workers, Northwest Railroad of Brazil; and Nelson Antunes de MATTOS, president of the Santos Dock Checkers' Union. Three local newspapermen were given slots: José TAVARES DE MIRANDA, social columnist for Folha de Sao Paulo; Rubens RODRIGUES DOS SANTOS, an editor for O Estado de Sao Paulo who ran unsuccessfully for federal deputy in 1962 on the ex-UDN ticket; and Antonio Henrique da SILVA NETO, a journalist with Noticias Populares, associated with Federal Deputy Herbert LEVY. Other prominent candidates for state deputy are: Helio Martins de OLIVEIRA, president of the Sao Paulo Institute of Engineering; Djair RIBEIRO DA COSTA, Acting Chief of the Civil Household of former Governor Adhemar de Barros just prior to the latter's ouster; Alvaro FONTES, Adhemarista President of the Santos City Council; Roberto ISNARD, wealthy businessman and Revolutionary associated with Governor-elect Sodre and with Levy; Agnaldo Rodrigues de CARVALHO Junior, Governor Laudo Natel's Vice President of the Sao Paulo State Bank; and Wadih HELU, President of the Corinthians' Football Club and Natel's Councilor of the Sao Paulo State Savings Bank.

ARENA's slate for the Sao Paulo State Assembly, like its list of candidates for the Federal Chamber, reflects a fair approximation of the political heterogeneity of the party. All the mutually hostile, competing ARENA factions are represented, thanks to intensive, careful bargaining among the leaders of the various cliques. Of the 153 identified contenders the Consulate General has been able to research the former political loyalties of 145 of them. The results are as follows: 31-PSP; 24-UDN; 18-PDC; 17-PR; 14-PRT; 10-PRP; 10-PTB; 10-PTN/MTR; 6-PSD; and 5-PST. Viewed according to traditional Sao Paulo loyalties, the state level ARENA slate can be broken roughly

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into thirds, just like the party's federal slate: one-third which to some degree supported Adhemar de Barros and his regime (PSP and some PSD, PTB and PR); one-third conservative and anti-Adhemar which presently comprises the focal point of Sodre's strength (UDN, and some PRP, PRT, and PSD); and one-third divided among backers of Carvalho Pinto, associates of Laudo Natel, and independents and assorted opportunists (PDC, PTN/MTR and some PR and PST). Though this is only a rule-of-thumb breakdown, it nevertheless is a fair description of the previous political tendencies the candidates represent. Considered according to ideological outlook, the range covered is also similar to that projected for ARENA's federal ticket--from Right through Center to slightly Left-of-Center with the mean settling somewhere at moderate Right Center. However, as in the case of the federal list, it must be pointed out that many state level politicians, more than on the federal level, are relatively unencumbered by any firm or formulated ideological convictions.

#### G. The Same Old Gang

For the most part, the ARENA congressional and state assembly slate, as demonstrated above, does no more than present the same old political faces to the Sao Paulo electorate. Almost all the old perennial officeholders and office-seekers included in ARENA are running again. A few of them admittedly are genuine Revolutionaries, some are dedicated reformers, and some are high-minded public servants. But when the slates were finally hammered together, the quality of the party's standard-bearers was but a minor consideration. A good many of the Sao Paulo ARENA candidates are tired hacks who jumped into the party set up by the regime in power primarily to safeguard their own political futures. The ticket contains only the barest smattering of prominent political newcomers. There is only the usual amount of fill, of generally unknown would-be politicians, hardly any of whom stand the slimmest chance of victory. Thus rather than represent the vanguard of a new renovating, Revolutionary order, the ARENA ticket in its composition is only a run-of-the-mill list, designed to favor strongly the re-election of present party incumbents.

As the only really new thing about the National Renewal Alliance Sao Paulo slate is its name, it must be concluded that the Revolution has utterly failed to inspire a horde of new, forceful innovators to run for office in order to clean out politicians belonging to the old order. Indeed, the Revolution never sought to do so here. Even if such potential candidates had risen up spontaneously and presented themselves to the Sao

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Paulo ARENA Executive Commission, their candidacy petitions would surely have been rejected by the hard-bitten political pros who run the party here and who are interested above all in preserving their own interests and those of their factions and allies. The very composition of the slate underlines what the Consulate General has already reported--that Sao Paulo's ARENA has almost nothing "Revolutionary" about it.

The November slate also demonstrates that the old-time politicians who gathered together to form the party have by no means coalesced into a cohesive, united organization. Sao Paulo's ARENA is still nothing more than a loose, forced alliance of separate, rival splinter groups, each of which is still striving to maintain its identity and strength. Under present circumstances it is doubtful that ARENA will survive in Sao Paulo as a viable, potent political force after the elections and after the lapse on March 15, 1967, of the Revolutionary decree that necessitated its creation, unless, of course, the Federal Government provides new reasons for its continued existence.

One final observation must be made. Surely ARENA will be benefited by presenting a ticket with such a large percentage of familiar names to the electorate. According to long-time local observers, many of the less educated voters tend to cast their ballots for candidates who are known, rather than for parties. However, the preponderance of known names, many of which have been discredited in the past, has hurt the party with a smaller, but more influential, group. Many of Sao Paulo's more sophisticated and cynical voters have reacted to the present "Revolutionary" slate which is not Revolutionary with indifference or with outright contempt.

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Enclosure to  
São Paulo A-136

Incumbent ARENA Federal Deputies Running for Reelection

1. Adriaõ Bernardes (ex-PST)
2. André Broca Filho (ex-PSP)
3. Aniz Badra (ex-PDC)
4. Antonio Ezequiel Feliciano da Silva (ex-PSD)
5. Antonio Sylvio Cunha Bueno (ex-PSD)
6. Arnaldo dos Santos Cerdeira (ex-PSP)
7. Cantidio Nogueira Sampaio (ex-PSP)
8. Celso Amaral (ex-PTB)
9. Ernesto Pereira Lopes (ex-UDN)
10. Geraldo Pereira de Barros (ex-PSP)
11. Hamilton Prado (ex-PTN)
12. Harry Normanton (ex-PSP)
13. Herbert Levy (ex-UDN)
14. Hugo Lacorte Vitale (ex-PTB)
15. João Baptista Ramos (ex-PTB)
16. João Sussumu Hirata (ex-UDN)
17. José Carvalho Sobrinho (ex-PSP)
18. José Henrique Turner (ex-PDC)
19. José Jorge Resegue (ex-PSD)
20. José Menck (ex-PDC)
21. Lauro Monteiro da Cruz (ex-UDN)
22. Nicolau Tuma (ex-UDN)
23. Octavio Pinheiro Brizola (ex-PSP)
24. Oswaldo Junqueira OrtizMonteiro (ex-PRT)
25. Plinio Salgado (ex-PRP)
26. Romeu de Campos Vergal (ex-PSP)
27. Sylvestre Ferraz Egreja (ex-UDN)
28. Tufy Nassif (ex-PTN)
29. Yukishigue Tamura (ex-PSD)

Note: Alternate Federal Deputies who sometimes served in Congress and who are running for election as deputies are: Alfredo Condeixas Filho (ex-PSP); Italo Fitipaldi (ex-PSP) and Paulo Lauro (ex-PSP).

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