

AIRGRAM

(Departmental and Foreign Service)

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TO : Department of State
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BUREAU OF
INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS
MAR 13 1964

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ANALYSIS & DISTRIBUTION
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FROM : Amembassy BRASILIA Office

DATE: March 3, 1964

SUBJECT : Adhemar for President: The PSP National Convention

REF :

SUMMARY

The PSP national convention, held in Rio de Janeiro February 24, nominated São Paulo Governor Adhemar de Barros for President amid lingering doubts that he would stay in the race. The convention also nominated Federal Deputy João Calmon (PSD-Espírito Santo, and a Director of the powerful Diários Associados newspaper, radio and television chain) for Vice-President. Both candidates hold to a center-right political position: for social reforms without altering the Constitution; nationalists, but without inclinations toward Communism or the Communist Bloc. Adhemar's campaign appears to be centered in São Paulo. Calmon is expected to campaign throughout Brazil. Because of his access to publicity through Diários Associados, Calmon is expected to be a strong contender for Vice-President. As the Presidential campaign stands now, Adhemar is expected to run a poor third, given the inroads both Lacerda and Kubitschek have made on his São Paulo electoral base.

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GROUP 3

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FORM DS-323
11-61

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Contents and Classification Approved by: POL: RDean/JKeppel

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The PSP (Partido Social Progressista) nominated São Paulo Governor Adhemar de Barros for President and Federal Deputy João Calmon (PSD-Espírito Santo) for Vice-President at its national convention February 24 in Rio de Janeiro.

The Candidates

Adhemar's nomination was no surprise. He has control of the PSP and has been an announced candidate since about last July. In fact, Adhemar has put off his official nomination so often that one of his deepest campaign difficulties will be to erase the voters' doubts that he will not quit before election day. In December, he had a short-lived agreement with Minas Gerais Governor and Presidential aspirant Magalhães Pinto for the weaker candidate to drop out of the race. Adhemar did not appear irrevocably committed to running in January. As late as early February his Civil Household Chief Artur Audrá found it necessary to deny to the press that Adhemar had put his hat in the ring only to make a political deal. Adhemar even devoted part of his acceptance speech to a detailed reaffirmation of the certainty of his candidacy. UDN President Bilac Pinto, who discussed Adhemar's candidacy with Embassy officers (Brasilia's A-89) shortly after a conversation with him, said that Adhemar's main concern was "to fix his electorate" so that it could not be taken over by leftists. Pinto thought that if there was a candidate who would be certain to win and who Adhemar could support, he might give in; if not, he would remain a candidate. Another view, discussed below, is that Adhemar could win solidly in São Paulo and pick up enough incidental votes in other states to give him a fighting chance of winning.

From all appearances, João Calmon's candidacy was the result of a last minute agreement. (Under Brazil's electoral system the Vice-President does not have to be of the same party or run on the same ticket as the President.) Calmon, a Director of the powerful Diários Associados newspaper, radio and television chain, was a well-known journalist before he became a deputy in 1962. He made his political mark by taking on leftist leader Leonel Brizola in television debates and by denouncing in the Chamber of Deputies Brizola's hypocritical stand on agrarian reform. Calmon showed that Brizola's agrarian reform on his fazenda, "Pangaré", was really agrarian business, that Brizola had received tremendous profits from his "reform". Brizola, who vacated his seat in

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Congress shouting threats, was at his lowest point in years. Calmon institutionalized his attack against Brizola by organizing the "Democracy Network" to counter the Brizolista Radio Mayrink Veiga network. The former network continues to broadcast views of conservative congressmen and public figures. Calmon is a natural leader who puts across his strong center-right views well. Nevertheless, perhaps his most attractive ~~quality~~ ^{quality} from Adhemar's viewpoint is his access to publicity.

The Adhemar-Calmon ticket is good business for both candidates: Calmon has received a party label for his candidacy and Adhemar presumably will get Diários Associados support. However, judging by the coverage in the Brasília Diários Associados paper, Correio Braziliense, Adhemar may be fated to be known as the man who is running for President on Calmon's ticket.

Positions and Platforms

Adhemar de Barros' acceptance speech was warmly paternalistic, cast in the little used and familial intimate tense. Adhemar saw himself in just that role, "I feel like the head of an immense family whom they have asked to assume greater responsibilities in a time of uncertainty and bewilderment." He presented no program for a future government, explaining, "I could talk to you of plans and programs but the capacity of the idealists who accompany me for getting things done, and who have given meaning to my Administrations, represents a guarantee I don't have to talk to you about here." Adhemar, however, was not lacking positions. He said he was 1) for "democracy, the federal system, freedom of opinion and initiative, the right of social betterment and maintaining a given position through one's own merits and efforts," 2) for reforms without altering the Constitution, 3) strongly against legalization of the Communist Party, "introducing a trojan horse in democratic institutions," 4) against political strikes (but he has not always been able to distinguish between political and genuine economic strikes), and 5) for a return to the "old foreign affairs line". After the convention, Adhemar announced his administration would include a five-year integrated development plan, which he called a PDI (Plano de Desenvolvimento Integrado) and promised to publish it soon.

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João Calmon's speech was shorter, clearer and more forceful. He said his political position was public and clear. He described himself as 1) a nationalist, "in the true sense of the word, an uncompromising defender of my country's interests, without the servility of the false nationalists, who have Fidel Castro as their model and inspiration...but a nationalist who also does not concede to the abject, corrupt subservience of a Batista...", 2) a reformist, for a "structural revision of the present regime, which is cold and egoistic, but a revision made rigorously in accord with the democratic principles which enshrine private property and the free enterprise system", 3) for clean administration and against corruption, especially involving the state, 4) firmly anti-communist and anti-revolutionary (Brizola), and 5) for getting out the vote for Vice-President. According to Calmon's figures, the vote for Vice-President fell 12%, 7% and 10% below the vote for President in the last three Presidential elections, respectively.

Both candidacies are strongly imbued with the cause of saving Brazil for democracy. Both Adhemar and Calmon claim to be men who can rescue Brazil in a time of supreme social crisis. Calmon even quoted Winston Churchill on blood, sweat and tears to emphasize his point.

Campaign Strategy

Adhemar's statements with respect to strategy have indicated that he will limit his intensive campaigning to São Paulo and foray for votes only into other southern states. This is also indicated because of his age (64 in 1965) and because São Paulo, his political base, is expected to have 5 million voters by 1965, according to Superior Electoral Court projections. The broad strategy of Adhemar's campaign, as it now stands, is to win 2 or 3 million votes in São Paulo, pick up enough in other states to bring the total past 4 million, and win the presidency over the fractionated votes of Carlos Lacerda and Juscelino Kubitschek. Adhemar was apparently encouraged in his presidential hopes by the showing the PSP made in the recent São Paulo municipal elections. He plans to follow up this success by well-placed public works projects and by increasing the number of state PSP Directorates from 800 to 3000.

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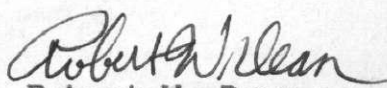
If Adhemar's strength is in São Paulo, his vulnerable point is there also. When he leaves the governorship about April, 1965, Adhemar will have to turn the government over to the popular Vice-Governor Laudo Natel (PR). The political relationship between Adhemar and Laudo runs hot and cold, so it is difficult to predict what stage it will be at when Adhemar leaves office. Presumably, Natel could undercut Adhemar's campaign by uncovering scandal, etc. Both Lacerda and Kubitschek have sounded Natel out, but no political understandings were made, at least not for public consumption.

Calmon's campaign strategy, to the extent it has been aired, promises to be quite different. He has indicated that he will campaign throughout Brazil and make extensive use of radio and television.

Conclusions

The Adhemar-Calmon ticket is probably one of convenience; as yet, there is no evidence of a common, coordinated campaign. In basing his campaign on São Paulo, Adhemar discredits the strength of both Lacerda and Kubitschek in that state. Another strong attack on his strength would come from Carvalho Pinto's candidacy. Politically, he is weak, sharing electoral support with Lacerda on the right and Kubitschek on the left, but with neither the dynamism of Lacerda nor the record of Kubitschek. Calmon is just becoming known politically, but he has earned the respect of his fellow politicians. Two years of image building by Diários Associados will probably make him a strong candidate for the Vice-Presidency. Based on reactions to the announcement of the two candidacies, João Calmon appears to have a better chance of becoming Vice-President than Adhemar de Barros of becoming President.

For the Ambassador:


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