

# AIRGRAM

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
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MAY 25 1965  
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ANALYSIS & DISTRIBUTION  
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FROM : AmEmbassy RIO DE JANEIRO

DATE: May 18, 1965

SUBJECT : The 1965 UDN Convention

REF :

### SUMMARY

The UDN National Convention, held on April 29 and 30, was, in itself, not very expressive. Circumstances surrounding the convention, however, highlighted some current thinking in the party. A rumored break between the UDN presidential candidate, Governor Carlos Lacerda, and President Castello Branco, did not materialize due to the efforts of the administration, the UDN leadership and possibly Lacerda's realization that such attacks were costing him military support. A threatened fight between Deputy Amaral Neto and Lacerda turned out to be mostly verbal. The business of the convention, electing new national leaders and setting the party's political policy, was conducted almost without incident. Deputy Ernani Satiro and Deputy Oscar Dias Correia, both Lacerda supporters, were elected President and Secretary General, respectively. As for political policy, previous decisions were unanimously ratified in a compromise resolution pledging support to Carlos Lacerda and to President Castello Branco. Despite Lacerda's new control over the party machinery, reaction to Lacerda's candidacy also appeared to be growing. This led to perhaps the most important result of the convention: a more forceful presentation of the possibility of a future option between Carlos Lacerda and Castello Branco.

The Setting. UDN members agree that the party's 1965 national convention, held April 29 and 30 in Niteroi, was a

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Drafted by: POL:RBBentley:rb

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Clearances: POL - Mr. Krebs

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rather dull affair. They attribute this to poor planning, including the choice of Niteroi--just across the bay from the big city attractions of Rio de Janeiro. Because they did not expect much, some members stayed away from the convention; others made only perfunctory appearances. Popular turnout was low, but at least some of the gallery seats were filled by persons eager to see a fight to the finish between Carlos Lacerda and Deputy Amaral Neto--or by policemen sent to make sure the dispute did not get that far.

Election of Officers. The business of the convention, electing new party officers and setting the party's political policy, was conducted almost without incident. In accordance with previous agreements, Deputy Ernani Sátiro was elected President. Deputies Antonio Carlos Magalhães and Padre Godinho and Senator Adolpho de Oliveira Franco were elected Vice Presidents. Deputy Oscar Dias Correia was chosen UDN Secretary General with Deputy Lourival Batista as his substitute. With the exception of Antonio Carlos Magalhães, all these officers are identified with Carlos Lacerda.

There was a last-minute attempt by anti-Lacerda forces to switch the positions of Oscar Correia and Antonio Carlos Magalhães, but it was unsuccessful. Ernani Sátiro disputed the presidency with Deputy Aliomar Baleeiro, who received only 60 of the 341 votes cast. Whereas Sátiro had campaigned on a platform pledging support for both President Castello Branco and Lacerda, Baleeiro's candidacy was taken as a purely anti-Lacerda one. Publicly, Baleeiro argued that his campaign was to call attention to his position against Lacerda's methods of leadership. He said he did not expect to win. Privately, Baleeiro's stated objective was to plant the seeds for a reconsideration of Lacerda's candidacy by the UDN. That suggestion has since been made publicly by Deputy Eurípedes Cardoso de Menezes (Guanabara), who has also proposed the re-election of President Castello Branco. Both candidates strongly reflected the party's persistent claims for increased patronage from the Castello Branco administration. In his acceptance speech, Ernani Sátiro stated his position clearly: "The natural aspiration of a political party is power. And we have the candidate for achieving power. It is in the service of this cause that I will place all my energies, your energies, not for us, but not without you, for Brazil...There is no one more interested than we are in the success of this government, for what it represents for our future. Why not help it, support it, if we intend to continue it, if we are going to continue it?"

President Castello Branco rather publicly supported Ernani Sátiro's candidacy some time before the convention. This is consistent with his tactic of restricting Lacerda's forays into the

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opposition by keeping him and the UDN at relatively close range. If Baleeiro had been elected, there would be little left within the party to keep Lacerda from moving into all-out opposition to Castello Branco, and the administration's key UDN support would have become splintered.

Motions. At the 1963 UDN convention in Curitiba, the party was preoccupied with stating its beliefs fully and precisely to show how it differed from Goulart's PTB administration. At this convention, the key motion merely reaffirmed previous decisions. It reads:

"The National Democratic Union, in its XV Regular Convention, meeting in the city of Niteroi, resolves:

I -- To ratify the conclusions of the São Paulo convention which have been faithfully carried out and are part of President Bilac Pinto's political report;

II -- To confirm its intention to support the democratic process restored by the revolution of March 31, 1964, the institutionalization of which has already made it possible to launch the candidacy of our eminent colleague, Carlos Lacerda, as a legitimate aspiration of UDN members and of the Brazilian people;

III -- To manifest, reaffirming it, integral support for the revolutionary government of the egregious Marshal Humberto de Alencar Castello Branco, who brought back to the nation tranquility, order and confidence in the destinies of democracy."

Convention Chairman Deputy Rondon Pacheco told Embassy officers on April 29 that he had drafted the motion as a compromise to keep the split within the party from deepening. His suggestion was adopted unanimously over two other motions which proposed an expression of support only for President Castello Branco (suggested by the Bahia section) or only for Carlos Lacerda (Paraná).

Carlos Lacerda. Tension had built up just before the convention with respect to Carlos Lacerda's threatened break with President Castello Branco and with respect to promised attacks--including physical ones--against Lacerda by Deputy Amaral Neto. Lacerda took leave from the Guanabara governorship on April 23 in response to what he felt was Castello Branco's undermining of his leadership in the state by stimulating gubernatorial candidates after he had already chosen one. He traveled to São Paulo to appeal for proscribed

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ex-President Jânio Quadros' support; then visited Minas Gerais Governor Magalhães Pinto to invigorate their "alliance" against Castello Branco. Touring small towns by automobile in both states, Lacerda made campaign statements violently critical of the federal government and its ministers. He even threatened to start conspiring again if the President did not take the measures he deems necessary to "save" the revolution.

The tension was dissipated by a statement by War Minister Costa e Silva, who advised Lacerda only to worry about having enough votes if he wants to become President. Outgoing UDN President Bilac Pinto, who Lacerda had charged was being prepared as a rival presidential candidate, also helped calm the situation by telling the press that he was not a candidate and that the duty of the UDN is to support Lacerda's candidacy. In addition, there were some indications (including declarations by Lacerda identifying himself with the military "idealists of the revolution" who are in charge of the Military Police Inquiries) that Lacerda's violent attacks against the President had cost him some military support. The UDN congressional leadership also made known its extreme dislike of Lacerda's moves to oppose President Castello Branco politically. The closed-door all-night session they had with Lacerda at the apartment of former deputy Edilberto Ribeiro de Castro on April 29 was perhaps the key meeting of the convention. Another sign of Lacerda's retreat from his position of the previous week was his reassumption of office on April 29.

In his convention speech, Lacerda stressed a) the need for unity in the UDN, b) the need to recognize his leadership, especially in Guanabara, because he is the party's candidate for President, and c) praise of young military officers. He said he would not simply criticize, but would offer "solutions" to the government's economic and financial problems. Lacerda concluded by chiding the "announcers of catastrophes" who thought he would make a speech against Castello Branco. At least Governor Magalhães Pinto appeared to be deceived by Lacerda's about-face, leaving him out on a limb in terms of criticism of the federal government. Pinto, who did not attend the convention, demonstrated his peevishness in remarks to the press and has since appeared to open the door again to closer relations with the federal government.

The incident with Deputy Amaral Neto was minor. It served only to create an exploitable popular--but lamentable--interest in an otherwise dull convention. Amaral had accused Lacerda of besmirching his honor in a letter to a voter, advising her not to support Amaral's candidacy for Governor of Guanabara. He threatened to prevent Lacerda from speaking until the proper apologies had been extended,

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intimating that, otherwise, one of the two might leave the convention feet first. When it came time for Lacerda to speak, Amaral and a goon squad led by his son grabbed up all the microphones at the rostrum. Lacerda calmly walked over to the President's table and spoke from there, while Amaral contented himself with shouting "Vile Scoundrel! Fascist! Brazilian Hitler!" and other endearing remarks. In the galleries, partisans of the two politicians defended their leaders point of view with fists and chairs. The immediate result was that Lacerda appeared to be a calm leader confronting a lunatic. Afterwards, UDN members blamed Amaral Neto, Lacerda and themselves for allowing a scene so detrimental to the party's image to take place. A move is now underway to expel Amaral Neto from the UDN.

New Business. One result of the convention was that Ernani Sátiro emerged as President of the party, UDN Chamber Floor Leader and President of the revolution's Parliamentary Bloc (BPR). Deputy Aduino Cardoso, who opposes Lacerda, announced he would try for the two latter posts, but because of Sátiro's opposition, he desisted from the more important Floor Leader job. Thus Cardoso has been selected BPR President only, even though Sátiro had held this job as a result of being UDN Floor Leader. For Floor Leader, a more impartial deputy is being sought such as Guilherme Machado (Minas Gerais) or Djalma Marinho (Rio Grande do Norte). First-term Deputy Adolpho de Oliveira (Rio de Janeiro) is also trying for the post without much hope of success. The episode is an example of how Ernani Sátiro, as UDN President, can work to keep the party united behind Carlos Lacerda.

The convention highlighted the fact that Lacerda's candidacy has not yet been legally registered. The electoral courts refused to register it until, in accordance with last year's constitutional amendment, his candidacy is complemented by a running mate for Vice President. The search for a Vice President is now officially on. Senators João Agripino and Milton Campos, who is also Justice Minister, and Ambassador Juracy Magalhães, have been mentioned.

Conclusions. The successes of the convention were mostly preventative: Carlos Lacerda did not break with the President. Amaral Neto did not carry out his threats to a disastrous extreme. On paper it appears that Lacerda's candidacy was strongly reinforced at the convention. In spite of his diminished backing in Congress, all but one of the new party officers support him. However, the conditions surrounding the convention and subsequent developments have left it clear that the agreement reached there was a paste-up job to avoid appearances that Lacerda was leading the UDN away from the government. This agreement began to disintegrate soon after when Lacerda again

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resorted to harsh criticism of President Castello Branco in a Manchete interview (issue of May 22).

Perhaps the most important result of the convention was the forceful way in which the delicate option--Castello Branco or Lacerda--was sidestepped at this time. The important happenings of the convention revolved around the option. Aliomar Baleeiro was a candidate for UDN President on the basis of offering to undertake the task of making the option viable. The key political motion was to prevent the choice from having to be made at this time. The meeting between Lacerda and UDN leaders was to convince him of the necessity of not forcing the choice. This was also one objective of Ernani Sátiro's candidacy. Thus while it appeared that Lacerda was increasingly consolidating his candidacy in the party, most of the UDN congressional leaders made it clear that their support was conditioned to Lacerda's support of Castello Branco. With Lacerda's sporadic but continued attacks against the administration's policies and against Castello Branco himself, the remaining mutual confidence between the two is steadily decreasing. This process, if it continues, will eventually place the choice between Castello Branco and Lacerda squarely before the UDN members. Many, including Ernani Sátiro (see Rio's A-1158), already accept the distinct possibility of having to make such a future choice. When or if that time comes, most congressional UDN members, career oriented, are expected to back the man they judge most powerful.

For the Ambassador:

*Robert B. Bentley*  
Robert B. Bentley  
Third Secretary

Enclosure:

Members of UDN National Directorate  
Elected April 30, 1965.

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Members of the UDN National Directorate, Elected April 30, 1965

Acre  
José Guilherme Torres Maciel

Guanabara  
Deputy Hamilton Nogueira

Amazonas  
Alberto de Rezende Rocha

Rio de Janeiro  
Deputy Raimundo Padilha

Pará  
Deputy Gabriel Hermes

Minas Gerais  
Deputy Rondon Pacheco

Maranhão  
Deputy José Sarney

São Paulo  
Deputy Herbert Levy

Piauí  
Senator José Cândido Ferraz

Paraná  
Deputy Newton Carneiro

Ceará  
Deputy Paulo Sarazate

Santa Catarina  
Senator Irineu Bornhausen

Rio Grande do Norte  
Senator Dinarte Mariz

Rio Grande do Sul  
Senator Daniel Krieger

Paraíba  
Senator João Agripino

Goiás  
Deputy Emival Caiado

Pernambuco  
Deputy Alde Sampaio

Mato Grosso  
Deputy Ítório Correia da Costa

Alagoas  
Deputy Segismundo Andrade

Amapá  
Dalton Cordeiro

Sergipe  
Deputy Lourival Batista

Rondonia  
Luís Brasil Catanhede

Bahia  
Deputy João Mendes

Roraima  
Aldemar Rocha

Espirito Santo  
Deputy Gil Veloso

National Council of the UDN

Deputy Costa Cavalcanti, President  
Deputy Leao Sampaio, Vice President

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