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TO : DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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 1964 JUN 22 PM 7 01

INFO : RIO DE JANEIRO, BRASILIA, SAO PAULO, SALVADOR

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

BUREAU OF

INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

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FROM : AmConGen JIN 23 1964

DATE: June 15, 1964

SUBJECT : Wiggling Off the Hook: the Pernambuco PSD and JK

REF :

Summary

After consulting with local party leaders, Pernambuco Governor Paulo Guerra (PSD) formally disassociated the Pernambuco PSD from the decision of the National Directorate to withdraw from Government majority in Congress. In the State Assembly non-PSD parties sought to embarrass the PSD by voting a motion in praise of the cassation of Kubitschek's mandate; but finally allowed the PSD to amend it so as to eliminate any direct references.

Governor Guerra

On June 11, Governor Paulo GUERRA (PSD) of Pernambuco had his Press aides issue the following statement:

"The Press Attaché of the Palace of the Government informs that the PSD of Pernambuco disassociates itself from the decision of the National Directorate and of the benches in the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies, withdrawing the Party from the majority bloc in Congress.

"This position of the Pernambuco PSD resulted from a series of consultations directly directed by Governor Paulo Guerra to the components of the Regional Directorate and the state bench of the Party.

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"Pernambuco pessedistas base this step on the examination of the national situation, in the light of revolutionary objectives. They consider, in the first place, that the attitude of the National Directorate, taken under an emotional impact, is not justified at the historic moment that the country is traversing. On the other hand, the Party should not subordinate its position to the interests of persons or groups, when such interests of a personal nature conflict with the defense of the democratic regime, which it is incumbent to preserve for the benefit of the Brazilian people.

"The Pernambuco Section of the PSD laments that the regional directorates were not previously heard on a decision of such grave responsibility for the Party as that which has been adopted, in view of the various previous pronouncements of prestigious PSD leaders, establishing a defined position on party orientation.

"Supporting the manifestations already made by Governor Paulo Guerra on various occasions, Pernambuco pessedistas remain faithful to the ideals of the Revolution, giving entire and total support to the patriotic and enlightened Government of Marshal Castello Branco."

Pernambuco State Assembly

In the State Assembly, the question offered a welcome opportunity for the non-PSD parties to get in a few digs at the state PSD, which is trying to atone, with revolutionary fervor, for its long association with the Arraes regime. Clearly, the PSD deputies would rather not have taken a position, and they preserved an eloquent silence for a day or two after the news of Kubitschek's downfall broke.

This was more than the other parties--all nominal supporters of Governor Guerra, but unhappy about patronage--could very well stand for. The PR leader, State Deputy Hugo GUIMARÃES, took the plunge and announced that in his view silence by the State Assembly would be interpreted as criticism of the cassation; he therefore announced his intention to introduce a motion of praise for the action of the National Security Council. During the session of June 11, he did so.

Following Guimarães' presentation, PDC Deputy Francisco FALCÃO (head of the Sugar Suppliers Federation and a spokesman for reaction), opposed the motion. He thought the cassation of JK was not enough--others should have been included, including Vice-President José Maria ALKMIN. Besides, he said, the PSD of this state had unanimously endorsed the candidacy of JK; it was hardly seemly that they should now be applauding his cassation.

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UDN leader Olympio MENDONÇA endorsed the motion, and got in more subtle digs at the PSD. He said he detected in Falcão's remarks an allusion to Governor Paulo GUERRA, and he wished to endorse the Governor, who had made a patriotic reformulation in accord with the ideals of the Revolution; had Guerra not demanded the withdrawal of JK's candidacy long since? (He had, see our A-151 of May 6, 1964.) But, said Mendonça, there should be correspondence between words and actions, and he could not understand the Governor being firm and the PSD indecisive in support of President Castello Branco. He regretted, sweetly, that PSD leader Osvaldo COELHO didn't seem to be around at the moment; he didn't want to interrogate him, but thought people should know whether he favored JK's cassation or not.

The other parties having had their fun, the PSD was allowed to extricate itself. It chose Deputy Fábio CORRÊA as its spokesman, and he prefaced his remarks by reminding everyone that he had opposed JK in 1955. Thus sanitized, he said that the PSD had not as yet heard the reasons for JK's cassation, and would give its views later when the explanation arrived. He pointed out that the Federal PSD, in Brasilia, had reacted to the cassation without consulting the Pernambuco PSD. He proposed, therefore, that the motion of praise be amended to praise President Castello Branco for "all security measures" taken to "consolidate the ideals of the Revolution." PSD leader Osvaldo Coelho had by this time showed up to endorse the new motion, and it was duly carried.

Comment: As indicated above, Governor Guerra had some time ago put himself firmly in opposition to Kubitschek, which could have caused him serious difficulty if JK had survived the crisis. That move, and his current actions, seem intended to bolster the revolutionary "legitimacy" of his administration. So far he has managed to preserve his position as authorized revolutionary leader for this state, and it now seems probable that he will survive, but his position is not without certain weaknesses.

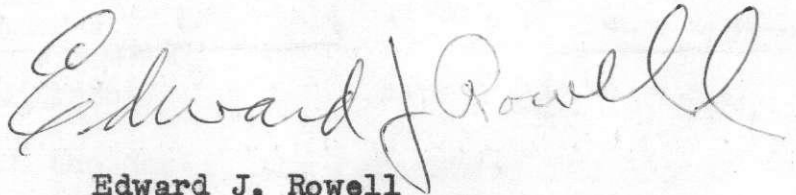
In the first place, the PSD had cooperated with the Arraes regime in Pernambuco, only withdrawing from the Cabinet last August, and not going into open opposition until mid-March of this year. Secondly, having the PSD in power in Pernambuco is anything but pleasing to the UDN, which is, however, for the moment constrained to preserve a posture of solidarity behind Guerra. The UDN is not happy at its share of the patronage under the Guerra administration, and perhaps only rivalry between its two principal leaders, Cid SAMPAIO and Joao CLEOFAS, has kept it from taking stronger action.

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Under these circumstances, Guerra certainly cannot afford to let any suspicion of his loyalty to the Revolution enter the heads of the military powers that be. Although the PSD bench seems to have been slightly less eager to abandon JK to the wolves, it is clear that the ex-President can expect little comfort in Pernambuco.



Edward J. Rowell
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