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ANALYSIS BRANCH

FROM : Amconsul SAO PAULO

DATE: January 16, 1967

SUBJECT: São Paulo's New Federal Deputies.

REF : A-190, December 19, 1966.

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The November 15, 1966 direct congressional elections resulted in a significant turnover in the 59 member Paulista representation in the Federal Chamber of Deputies. Among São Paulo's deputies there will be 25 newcomers, a change of over 40% in the state's delegation. As the Consulate General has reported (A-190), Arena lost two seats in November and will send 32 deputies to the new session of the Chamber. Five Arena incumbents did not run for reelection and eight Arena deputies who sought another term were defeated. Thus Arena will present eleven new Paulistas in the Chamber. Among MDB's contingent of 27 deputies, over half - 14 - are newly elected to Congress. Two opposition deputies retired and ten were rejected by voters on election day.

Attached are brief political biographies of São Paulo's 25 new Chamber representatives--some of whom are well-known, established São Paulo political figures and others of whom are still relatively unknown, at least in the state capital. For each new deputy the Consulate General has attempted to supply information on political attitudes and for most of them some sort of projection has been hazarded on their possible posture in the next Congress. However, as many Brazilian politicians in the past have shown extreme flexibility, it is conceivable that formerly-held sentiments and old allegiances may not necessarily be infallible indications as to future behavior. It is entirely possible, then, that in some cases the rough political evaluations offered below may be far off the mark as predictions of the conduct of new Paulista deputies in Congress.

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According to the Consulate General's present information, it appears that six of ARENA's eleven newcomers are fairly conservative in inclination (Dias Novaes, Paulo Abreu, Nogueira, Fitipaldi, Miguel and Padre Melo). Two of these (Dias Novaes, and Nogueira) will probably oppose any federal agricultural measures harmful in their opinion to vested agricultural interests. Four other ARENA first termers (Monteiro, Cardoso Alves, Almeida Barbosa and Mastrocola) have been evaluated as in the slightly conservative to center political range. Two of these (Monteiro and Cardoso Alves) may preserve considerable political independence, at times showing firm resistance to GOB initiatives. Marcos Kertzmann, the 11th ARENA neophyte, is reputed to be fairly liberal in his basic orientation, but he has a record for being erratic as a São Paulo city alderman, having thereby aroused charges of opportunism and demagoguery.

Should past performance and general reputation indicate comportment, at least seven of MDB's fourteen new deputies (Chaves Amarante, Baldacci, Lehrer, Sabia, Masci de Abreu, Navarro and Righi) are definitely Leftists and should join the opposition's more extreme and vociferous anti-Federal Government contingent in the Chamber. Two others, Santilli Sobrinho and Amaral, may also demonstrate themselves to be uncompromisingly hostile toward the Revolutionary Government, though the Consulate General has too little firm data to classify them along with known, radically anti-GOB newcomers to the Federal Chamber. An additional two MDB deputies, Campanella and Pedroso Horta, have long records for political flexibility, if not opportunism. Though they probably will remain in opposition much of the time, they may tend to avoid extreme positions in order to leave themselves room for maneuvering (Campanella because he is thought to lean toward demagoguery and Pedroso Horta because he is expected to seek the political rehabilitation of Janio QUADROS and may therefore aim at remaining on good terms with the GOB). Two further opposition deputies (Adhemar de Barros Filho and Adalberto Camargo) have been judged as fairly conservative by local observers and they may often support Federal Government initiatives in the Chamber unless MDB manages to tighten party discipline considerably. The Consulate General has been unable to learn much about the remaining new MDB Federal Deputy Emerenciano Prestes de Barros. There has been one report however, that he received Communist support in the election. In this connection, five other new MDB congressmen allegedly enjoyed Communist backing at the polls (Lehrer, Baldacci, Masci de Abreu, Navarro and Righi). This is noted

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in their attached biographies, though there is no way to be absolutely sure that the reports are correct and though it is not impossible that some, if not all, of the recipients of Communist assistance may have been unaware of it or may not have welcomed it. It must be added, however, that all of them, except Prestes de Barros, are well known in São Paulo as Leftists.

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New ARENA Federal Deputies (11)

1. Edmundo MONTEIRO is director of Diarios Associados enterprises in São Paulo and a key lieutenant of ailing press lord Assis CHATEAUBRIAND. He is also president of the influential São Paulo association of newspaper and radio and television station owners. In the November 15 elections, Monteiro led the ARENA federal deputy slate winning 107,300 votes, the highest vote total registered in the state for a Federal Chamber candidate. His extraordinary popular backing has been ascribed to the all-out publicity blitz conducted for him by Diarios papers and stations, the generous coverage he received from other newspapers and radio and TV stations across the state, and his indefatigable campaigning. Monteiro's political position is reportedly centrist to conservative with a broad, vivid nationalistic streak. In São Paulo it is assumed that he will primarily represent the views and special interests of Chateaubriand and the Diarios organization in the Federal Chamber. For example, it is expected that he will crusade with his associate, reelected Federal Deputy João CALMON, against Time-Life's alleged invasion of Brazilian press and information media. On other matters he may well assume a swing position, proving less than a completely dependable supporter of the GOB: While the Monteiro-managed Diarios outlets in São Paulo have generally approved of the Federal Government and its economic policies they have also roundly condemned Federal agricultural measures, especially those pertaining to coffee, proposed General Amaury KRUEL for Governor of São Paulo, fought application of the individual ballot (cedula individual) to the state, published serious reservations against the GOB's draft constitution and recently they have bitterly attacked the government's proposed press law. That Monteiro's political attitudes are not entirely clear was demonstrated by the fact that before ARENA invited him to run for federal deputy, a modest opposition boom was developing to nominate him MDB's São Paulo candidate for senator.

2. Roberto CARDOSO ALVES placed fourth among winning ARENA candidates for Federal deputy with an impressive 47,003 votes. At present he is First Secretary of the São Paulo State Legislative Assembly and he was last state president of the former São Paulo PDC. Cardoso Alves belonged to the PDC's more conservative wing and thus he is not overly friendly to the party's ex-national leader, Federal Deputy Franco MONTORO. He considers himself a political moderate and identifies himself as a close friend and associate of São Paulo senator-elect CARVALHO PINTO. In his campaign for the Federal Chamber, à la CP, he attacked many current GOB economic, labor and agricultural measures and recently he has severely criticized provisions of the GOB's draft constitution increasing presidential authority. Cardoso Alves has visited the United States on several occasions and says he is well disposed toward the United States.

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3. Isreal DIAS NOVAES, ex-UDN São Paulo State Deputy, is friendly toward Federal Deputy Herbert LEVY, but is generally assumed to be a cordial opponent of São Paulo's ex-UDN Governor-elect Roberto Abreu SODRE. He also boasts a long record of hostility toward former state Governor Adhemar de BARROS. Dias Novaes, whose balliwick is a São Paulo interior rural district, is conservative and pro-Revolutionary. Like Levy he has opposed federal agricultural policies and he has expressed reservations on many GOB economic measures. In the November elections Dias Novaes received 38,304 votes, placing eighth among ARENA's 32 winners.
4. Ruy de ALMEIDA BARBOSA, a lawyer from Campinas, is presently an ex-PTN State Deputy. In the elections he won a surprising 28,645 vote, mainly from Campinas and its environs. In the period of Janista ascendancy in São Paulo (1956-58), he served as President of the São Paulo State Legislative Assembly for three terms but since then he has been far less active as a state legislator. Lately he has not been very closely identified with former President QUADROS. Politically he is considered a moderate.
5. Armindo MASTROCOLA, a member of the ex-UDN from the city of Catanduva, placed 16th among ARENA Federal Chamber victors with 22,278 votes. In 1962, running for the UDN-PDC-PRT coalition for the Chamber he won 10,574 votes and ended up as first alternate (suplente) for the coalition following the 1964 revolutionary cassations of federal deputies. Political sources in São Paulo report that Mastrocola is a moderate, a man of the center.
6. Paulo ABREU is a self-made man whose success story reads like something out of Horatio Alger. He started as a laborer, later became a salesman and now is a large-scale textile manufacturer in the São Paulo town of Itatiba, as well as President of the São Paulo Banco das Nações. While not a professional politician, Abreu has previously been involved in politics. He has served previously as a Federal Deputy (1950-1954) having been elected on the PTB ticket. In 1954 he was elected as MOURA ANDRADE's Senate alternate under the ex-PTN label. In 1962 he was nominated for senator but withdrew before the elections charging electoral corruption. Somewhere along the line he made another switch of parties, to the PSD. Reportedly Abreu still has pro-labor sympathies and is noted for benevolence toward his employees. However, he is reported to be essentially conservative in his political outlook. In the November elections he received 21,572 votes, good for 20th position on the ARENA list.
7. Italo FITIPALDI is no stranger to Congress. As an alternate federal deputy for the ex-PSP contingent in the present session he has served in the Chamber almost continuously both because former Governor Adhemar de BARROS always had PSP Federal Deputies in his state cabinet and because the ex-Governor's brother, Geraldo, who was elected a PSP deputy in 1962, almost never showed up to exercise his mandate. This time Fitipaldi won a seat in his own right with 20,626 votes taking 21st place on the ARENA list. Fitipaldi has always been closely identified with Adhemar and he

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frequently acted as the ex-Governor's Brasilia spokesman. Politically he is definitely a conservative.

8. Braz de Assis NOGUEIRA is an agriculturalist from the interior São Paulo farming community of Botucatu. He is also an official of the State Coffee Institute, the São Paulo state organization for the classification, purchase and marketing of coffee. His political orientation is not clear, as he has not previously identified himself with any former party. One local member of the IBC labels him as a primarily self-interested, self-seeking opportunist. In inclination, however, he is said to be a conservative. For Federal Deputy Nogueira received 18,449 votes, placing 24th among ARENA's 32 winners.

9. Nazir MIGUEL received virtually all his 15,794 votes in the City of São Paulo, enough to elect him as ARENA's 29th ranking deputy. He is a medical doctor and is presently serving his second term as a São Paulo city alderman. Politically, he is reported to be conservative.

10. Manoel Bezerra de MELO, a Roman Catholic priest from Mogi dos Cruzes, a small industrial city near the city of São Paulo, won 15,192 votes for Federal Deputy, ranking 31st among ARENA 32 new deputies. Padre Manoel reportedly has long been immersed in local level politics in Mogi dos Cruzes but always as a power behind the throne, a kingmaker. He is alleged to be moderately conservative.

11. Marcos KERTZMANN, a São Paulo lawyer closely associated with São Paulo's Jewish community, received one vote less than Padre Melo, 15,191, and he is last on the list of winning ARENA contenders. He is currently a São Paulo city alderman, having been elected on the Janista, ex-MTR, ticket. Kertzman is considered more or less liberal in his political inclinations. However, he has also been unpredictable politically and has been denounced as a demagogue and opportunist by many observers. When Janio QUADROS was Governor of São Paulo, he was closely linked to the Janistas; recently he appears to have drawn away from them.

New MDB Federal Deputies (14)

1. Adhemar de BARROS Filho, son of former Governor Adhemar de Barros, received a large vote from São Paulo Adhemaristas, 68,575, taking third place among MDB's 27 winning Federal Chamber candidates. During the final stages of the campaign he received valuable public support from his mother, Dona Leonor, São Paulo's widely respected ex-first lady. He is much more intelligent and energetic than his brother, Antonio, an incumbent ARENA Federal Deputy who did not run for reelection in order to clear the way for Adhemar Filho. Young Adhemar has had experience both in private business and in public administration. For several years he has run and acted as straw owner of the Lacta Chocolate Company which is really the property of his father.

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strategy, he refrained from violent, wholesale attacks against the Federal Government, probably to demonstrate that Janio is on good behavior and that he and his followers are not serious threats to the security of the GOB. In the Federal Chamber, Pedrosa Motta may well assume a cautious, middle-of-the-road, though generally anti-GOB, stance at least in the beginning. He will probably push hard for the removal of Janio's cassation. Given his long intimacy with Janio, he will undoubtedly possess considerable influence on other Janista congressman.

3. Raphael BALDACCI, a São Paulo dentist and Janista, served as chief of Mayor FARIA LIMA's personal office staff (Chefe de Gabinete) until he resigned to run for federal deputy. During the 1965 mayoralty race, Baldacci was Faria Lima's campaign treasurer, and he was accused of buying Communist support for Faria Lima, an allegation which both he and the mayor have since denied. In his own campaign for the Federal Chamber, the Consulate General was told that Baldacci received backing from the Communists, as well as from the mayor and ex-President QUADROS. Whatever the source, of his appeal to Paulista voters, Baldacci piled up a large vote, 47,216 for fifth place among victorious MDB contenders. As he leans toward the Left, he will probably assume rather radical positions in Congress, unless Faria Lima influences him toward moderation.

4. José Adolfo CHAVES DE AMARANTE, a lawyer by education, has been involved in state politics since 1950, first as a militant member of the ex-PTB and since 1953 as an ardent backer of Janio Quadros. In 1954 he was a member of PTB's state directorate and was active in organizing courses on labor legislation and trade unionism. In late 1955 Governor Janio Quadros appointed him São Paulo State Secretary of Labor, Industry and Commerce, a post he held until June 1958 when he resigned to run successfully for the State Legislative Assembly on the PTN ticket. He was reelected in 1962. Chaves Amarante is currently First Vice President of the São Paulo State MDB. He is generally left-leaning and nationalistic. He has regularly criticized the present Federal Government severely and he has often expressed less than friendly views towards the United States. As a candidate for Federal Deputy he received 44,061 votes, placing sixth among MDB's 27 winning Federal Chamber contenders.

5. Anacleto CAMPANELLA has long been involved in local and state politics in São Paulo. He has served as an ex-PSD state deputy and as mayor of his home town, São Caetano do Sul, an important São Paulo industrial satellite city.

Though associated with the ex-PSD he reportedly has maintained friendly relations with Janistas, probably a necessity in the heavily Janista ABC area. Politically, he is said to be liberal and demagogic. Most of his 31,660 votes came from his ABC electoral redoubt. He placed 10th among MDB winners.

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6. David LEHRER is a young, energetic, vociferous, far-Leftist São Paulo alderman who is almost constantly in the center of controversy and headlines. He is also a practicing medical doctor who devotes much of his efforts to charity work. Lehrer was elected an alderman as a socialist and belonged to that party's more doctrinaire, Marxist, left wing. Throughout his political career he has maintained close touch with the São Paulo labor movement and at one time was a doctor for the large and influential São Paulo Metal-workers' Union. Lehrer has been a consistent, militant critic of the 1964 Revolution and the United States. The Consulate General was informed that he was supported by Communists for election to the Federal Chamber. On occasion he has been called a communist party member; however, other sources have denied this, stating that while he is close to the communist line and is in sympathy with the PCB, he has never entered the party. In the November 15 election Lehrer won 30,344 votes for 12th place among MDB deputies-elect. Most of his support came from São Paulo city working class districts.

7. José Lurtz SABIÁ is a young ex-MTR State Deputy and Janista who is usually classified as an erratic rebel. He has been extremely active in the State Legislative Assembly, occupying the microphone frequently to attack something or everything. He often sponsors far-out proposals which receive little or no serious consideration. Sabiá often orates against Federal Government policies. In the Chamber of Deputies he can be expected to be a voluble, left-leaning baiter of the GOB. In the November elections he amassed a respectable 23,268 votes, ranking 16th among MDB's winning nominees.

8. Francisco AMARAL is an ex-PTN State Deputy who presently is MDB floor leader in the São Paulo State Legislative Assembly. While he is reputedly an orthodox Janista, Amaral has demonstrated skill and tact in holding the various MDB Assembly factions together with a minimum of friction. Though he has regularly attacked GOB measures, the Consulate General has little detailed information on his political outlook. In the election he obtained 23,724 votes and placed 17th for MDB.

9. Dorival Masci de ABREU is the director and ostensible owner of a notoriously leftwing São Paulo radio station, Radio Marconi, which many Paulistas believe is really owned by former President João GOUVARA. After the 1964 Revolution Abreu was arrested several times and his station was investigated by various IPMs for its blatantly far left pre-Revolutionary propagandizing. Though Radio Marconi has toned down considerably since the Revolution, it is still very anti-GOB. Abreu ventured into politics once before, in 1958, when he ran unsuccessfully for federal deputy on the old PTB ticket. In his successful 1966 campaign he won 23,268 votes, ranking 18th among MDB's 27 deputies-elect. The Consulate General has been informed that he was elected with communist support. In the Federal Chamber he will undoubtedly follow a radical, inflexibly anti-Federal Government path.

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10. José SANTILLI Sobrinho is an alternate ex-PDC state deputy from the interior Paulista town of Assis, who has occupied an Assembly seat throughout much of the 1962-66 legislative term. By education he is an economist. Though the Consulate General has learned little about his Assembly voting record, it is known that he teamed up with a markedly Leftist ex-PDC State Deputy, Chopin TAVARES DE LIMA, for the 1966 election race (dobradinha) and distributed election propaganda with him. Thus it seems fair to assume that Santilli must also have been a member of the ex-PDC's left wing. If this is correct, he will probably oppose the GOB vigorously in the Federal Chamber.

11. Helio Henrique Pereira NAVARRO, a young São Paulo lawyer, was President of XI de Agosto, the student union of the University of São Paulo's Law School, during 1965. In this position he was in the forefront of virtually all São Paulo student agitation, invariably espousing extreme positions against the Revolution and the present Federal Government. While campaigning for federal deputy, he was censured several times by São Paulo election officials for his highly intemperate and personal criticisms of President CASTELLO BRANCO and of the policies of his government. According to reports to the Consulate General, Navarro was elected with Communist support. In the Federal Chamber he can be expected to assume a radical anti-GOB position. He won 18,330 votes in the November election, placing 22nd on MDB's Federal Chamber list.

12. Adalberto CAMARGO is a São Paulo negro businessman. He owns three reputedly prosperous São Paulo concerns, a car rental service called Auto-Drive, a fleet of volkswagen taxis called Taxi Amarelinho and a garage for automotive repairs, the Oficina Mecanova. Camargo is said to be opportunistic and generally conservative and some local pundits are doubtful that he will play a forceful part in Chamber proceedings. He is not known to have been involved previously in politics. Most of his 17,566 votes undoubtedly came from São Paulo's negro community. He placed 24th out of MDB's 27 winning candidates.

13. Emerenciano PRESTES DE BARROS, a politician from São Paulo's interior, is virtually unknown in the city of São Paulo, even to practicing politicians. The only solid fact available about him is that he ran for state deputy in 1958 on the ex-PRT slate and won only 2,694 votes placing well down in the list of alternates. This year he did comparatively very well in running for Federal Deputy, gaining 16,742 votes and 25th place among newly elected MDB deputies. A source has informed the Consulate General that he received PCB support.

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14. Gastone RIGHI Cuoghi with 16,447 votes placed 26th among S&ao Paulo's MDB's new Federal Chamber delegation of 27 deputies. Allegedly he had communist support and information has reached the Consulate General that he may actually be a member of the PCB. Righi is a 30 year old Santos lawyer and former student leader. Politically he was first associated with the Santos Liberator Party (PL) serving as its local Vice President, and later switched to the Socialist party (PSB). In his race for federal deputy he waged a bitterly anti-GOB campaign in which he identified himself with the Santos dock workers, claiming to be a defender of their rights, and advocating restoration of all their privileges, many of which the Revolutionary Federal Government has abolished. He also denounced federal economic policies and the Suplicy law regulating student organizations. In his campaign literature he proposed the nationalization of basic industries and mining, a policy of protection of Brazilian economy against foreign encroachment, direct elections and a general amnesty for all those punished by the Revolutionary Government. On his recent departure from Santos for England, former President Janio QUADROS went out of his way to associate himself with Righi, calling him his new Santos area leader, much to the outrage and fury of established Santos Janistas. Should Janio really decide after his return to empower Righi as his representative in Santos, a heavily Janista enclave, Righi would surely become an important S&ao Paulo political figure.

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