

HANDLING INDICATOR

FOREIGN SERVICE DESPATCH

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FROM : Amconsulate, Salvador, Bahia

49

NO.

TO : THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON.

June 3, 1962

DATE

REF : Salvador's Despatch # 44, dated April 2, 1962

☒ For Dept. ☐ Use Only	ACT	IN	DEPT	RM/R	REP	AF	ARA	EUR	FE	NEA	CU	INR	E	P	IO	ICA
	IN	IN	OTHER	AGR	COM	FRB	INT	LAB	TAR	TR	XMB					
	REC'D			AIR	ARMY	CIA	NAVY	OSD	OCB	USIA						

ACT: AREA-4
 IN: 2
 DEPT: 2
 RM/R: 2
 REP: 2
 AF: 2
 ARA: 2
 EUR: 2
 FE: 2
 NEA: 2
 CU: 2
 INR: 5
 E: 2
 P: 2
 IO: 2
 ICA: 2
 REC'D: 6-8
 AIR: 6
 ARMY: 10
 CIA: 10
 NAVY: 8
 OSD: 8
 OCB: 8
 USIA: 8
 INR: 3
 Belém-

SUBJECT: CAMPAIGN: I : Bahia, April 2 - June 3, 1962

Recife
Rio de Janeiro

During the period since April 2, the date of the Consulate's last report on the Bahia electoral campaign (Despatch 44), it became evident that UDN Governor Juracy Magalhães' "pacification" effort was in effect a maneuver designed to divide his opponents in the state. The successful completion of the operation has resulted in bringing the PTB from out of the PSD-PTB-PDC-PRP-PRT-PTN-PSP-PST opposition coalition into the UDN-PR-PL government coalition. The official candidate of this government coalition is Renato Medeiros Neto, a 34-year-old PTB veterinarian who is President of the Comissão do Vale de São Francisco and a member of the PTB's Bahia Diretorio estadual. Ostensibly, the UDN-PR-PL-PTB coalition, which semi-officially includes Tarcilo Vieira de Mello's faction of the PSD, still adheres to its "pacification" plank, and is awaiting with a certain sadistic pleasure the PSD's reply to the Governor's request that it join his coalition in support of Medeiros Neto, who has the backing of President Joao Goulart. The PSD is supposed to meet on June 9 to study this proposal, and is expected to refuse it.

Since the press, the Governor, and apparently even the PTB recognize that Medeiros Neto can win only if the PSD agrees to support him, the Governor told an officer of this Consulate confidentially on June 2 that his coalition will then formally nominate Vieira de Mello, a move which will evidently do as much damage to the PSD's array as possible. The Governor and Vieira de Mello believe from the results of a poll taken here in April that Vieira de Mello is the most popular politician in Bahia, more so, for instance, than Antonio Balbino, who leads the rest of the PSD. It is thus believed by the Governor, Vieira de Mello, and presumably the other members of the UDN-led coalition, that they can elect Vieira de Mello governor, defeating whomever Balbino chooses to put up.

The most likely Balbinista candidates are Minister of Education Antonio de Oliveira Brito, Balbino himself, and Francisco Waldir Pires de Souza. According to Vice Governor Orlando Moscozo Barreto de Araujo, PR,

who has

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ACTION ASSIGNED TO:	ACTION TAKEN
NAME OF OFFICER	DATE OF ACTION
OFFICE SYMBOL	DIRECTIONS TO RM/R

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with a reputation for being close to Balbino, the latter says he will not run, preferring to seek a seat as a senator. Governor Magalhaes also believes that Balbino will not run for the governorship, since he would not like to risk defeat at the hands of his long-time personal enemy, Vieira de Mello.

Oliveira Brito would be a fairly strong PSD candidate, but again, it seems unlikely that he would choose to fight a battle with the odds against him, and indeed might prefer to join Vieira de Mello.

The ~~mantle~~ mantle of the PSD may thus fall on Waldir Pires, who has been actively seeking it since January, some say with the silent support of Balbino. Pires is 35, with a reputation as a left-wing nationalist; if Balbino and Oliveira Brito judge the campaign too costly, they might find it possible to expend Pires in a rear-guard action. During his May 11 - 22 visit to the South of the country, Governor Magalhaes said on June 2, he was told by President Goulart that the latter had been approached by Communist leader Luiz Carlos Prestes, who sought his support for Pires' candidacy. Pires may thus fall into the second of the categories established by the Embassy, that of fellow-travellers or useful innocents. He is definitely something between a crypto-Communist (first category) and a non-communist reformer (fourth category). The Governor has maintained in an April 13 conversation that Pires has the support of the Communists, and the Consulate has noted for some time that he has been receiving left-wing support. Pires would probably receive in addition to PSD and PCB support, PSB backing, and possibly also that of the PTN and the PDC.

It will be recalled that at the beginning of April, four basic alliances were represented in the State; the State government coalition, consisting of the UDN, PR, PL, and dissident elements of the PSD, headed by Governor Magalhaes; the opposition coalition, headed by the PSD under Consultor geral da Republica Antonio Balbino, and including the PTB, PDC, PRP, PSP, PST, and PRT; the Janista group, under PL Secretary of Fazenda Josaphat Marinho, consisting of about two-thirds of the UDN, the PL, and the PTN; and the new PR-PTB alliance, led by PR state president Manoel Novais and PTB federal deputy Clemens Sampaio. The confusion of the Bahia scene was dramatized by certain groupings' being at once in the Government coalition (as the PR) and allied with an opposition party (the PTB), or ostensibly supporting Juracy Magalhaes and in reality supporting Janio Quadros, as the PL.

It would appear that Juracy Magalhaes succeeded through the pacification maneuver in capitalizing on the mushiness of the opposition coalition. He also exhibited superior generalship, no doubt with good advice on the PSD from Vieira de Mello, while the absentee PSD commanders, Balbino and Oliveira Brito, reacted too slowly and too clumsily to his moves. The Governor said on June 2 that Balbino's policy of withholding his main effort until late June or early July had been a mistake. It was evidently posited on Balbino's feeling that, as leader of the largest party in Bahia, and with what was said to be the solid support of the minor parties, he could afford to wait. There appears also to have been a serious misjudgment on his part as to the thinking lying behind the pacification maneuver; he probably thought that Juracy was taking this line out of weakness. He evidently also misjudged the solidity of the PSD-PTB alliance. The leader of the PSD in Bahia, Clemens Sampaio (a left-wing nationalist -- category three),

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three), is said to be "an evisceral enemy" of Balbino.

During the period under review, the strength of Janio Quadros in Bahia seems to have faded, and he is now rarely mentioned in the Bahia papers. At the same time, Josaphat Marinho continues to be a potentially strong candidate, enjoying a good reputation and no doubt gaining many points in the hinterland through the reverse taxation his secretariat has instituted; almost every week a new announcement is made of assistance funds being despatched to one or another município in the interior. The at one time shaken alliance between the UDN and the PL may have regained strength; at a meeting between the leaders of the coalition parties scheduled for May 30, PL president Luiz Viana reportedly planned to empower Governor Magalhaes as the PL representative, rather than to designate another PL politician for this.

UDN contacts across the floor of the State Assembly with the PTB go back over several years, and a particularly good opening was presented by the UDN-PTB-PR "protocol" according to which the three parties would support each other in the rotation of the Assembly offices. According to this protocol, the presidency, in PR hands from 1961 to 1962, was to rotate to the PTB, and on April 5, with firm support from Governor Magalhaes' coalition, PTB state deputy Cristovao Colombo Mala Sampaio was elected President of the State Assembly for the period April 7, 1962, to April 7, 1963. Since it was obvious that the "protocol" forces would carry the day, the other parties in the Assembly, including the PSD, went along with the election of Colombo, and in the end his election was by a vote of 51-0. Nonetheless, the PSD diverged over the other officers of the Assembly, and suffered a defeat by a vote of 32 to 26 in its attempt to have a PSD deputy, Nelson David Ribeiro, elected to the first secretaryship of the assembly, the winner being PR deputy Jose Medrado, who had the support of the "protocol" group. In the maneuvering prior to the April 5 election of the Assembly officers, it was amply demonstrated that the PSD was not happy over what was going on, and in the end the PSD won only the second secretaryship, which went to Raimundo Reis. Reis, however, won this office more or less in spite of the views of the PSD leadership, so his election was almost more a defeat than a victory.

The net impact of these negotiations and votes was to place the disgruntled PSD in opposition, at least temporarily, to the election of a PTB deputy to the presidency of the Assembly, and Governor Magalhaes thus succeeded in getting a wedge into the PSD-PTB alliance. Moreover, Magalhaes went out of his way during the preliminaries to publicize his solid support for a PTB Assembly President, announcing that he was for whomever the PTB caucus nominated, since the post belonged by right to the PTB.

The effort to split the PTB from the PSD continued with Governor Magalhaes' letter of April 26 to the PSD. It will be recalled that he formally initiated his "pacification" campaign with a letter of March 8 in which he proposed "a union around a great figure of our land", "a formula of understanding, built around a development program", suggesting that the PSD present a list of names chosen from its own ranks, those of its allies, or those of the government coalition. In a move apparently reflecting the continued dominance of Balbino in the councils of the Bahia PSD, the PSD delayed replying until after

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an April 14 strategy meeting.

The results of the Governor's maneuver were vividly described in an April 13 headline of a political column: "Pacification is turning the PSD into a sack of cats". Similarly, PSD Diretorio Nacional member Nelson Carneiro, who has been a bitter opponent of Juracy Magalhaes for 21 years, declared that pacification "must be in the interest of those who have failed Bahia, those who have converted it into a sad landscape of gambling, corruption, and hunger". Carneiro, a Bahiano who represents Guanabara in the federal Chamber of Deputies, came to Bahia to participate in the April 14 meeting of the PSD, and declared in an April 13 press conference that he was against the PSD's submitting names for Magalhaes' selection.

The conclusion of the April 14 meeting was a letter delivered to the Governor on April 17, in which the PSD's president wrote that the Diretorio Regional was in favor of pacification (in favor of virtue) and would nominate to the PSD party convention a PSD candidate "who would merit the general sympathy of the political parties disposed to ally themselves with him".

After consulting with his own allies, the Governor replied on April 26. Since the PSD had suggested that the pacification candidate should be PSD by virtue of the principle of rotation, and because the PSD was the strongest party in the State, the Governor said that he was delighted that they accepted the idea of pacification, and the principle of rotation pointed unerringly to the PR and the PTB, who have yet to hold the governorship of this state. He therefore suggested that the PSD consider Medeiros Neto or Senator Joao de Lima Teixeira of the PTB, or Manoel Novais or Orlando Moscozo of the PR. He also suggested that Vieira de Mello and Miguel Galmon, of the PSD, would be pacific, as would Josaphat Marinho or Lomanto Junior of the PL, or Alberico Fraga, Ruy Santos, or Heitor Dias of the UDN. Lest all this seem too sordidly political, he suggested also certain apolitical candidates: Clemente Mariani (the Governor's close associate), Edgard Santos (said also to be close to the Governor), Demosthenes Madureira de Pinho (completely unknown to the reporting officer), Orlando Gomes (also unknown), and Aristoteles Goes (a pleasantly mad old gentleman said to be more or less PSB). He added that it would be a good idea to submit the list for the approval of President Goulart, and subsequently did so himself, sending copies by the hands of Ruy Santos, the UDN's state president, and Manoel Novais, the PR state president.

The absence of the names of either Balbino, Oliveira Brito, or Waldir Pires made the list completely unacceptable to the PSD, but its own policy of waiting till the latter part of June to make a PSD proposal left the party voiceless. President Goulart endorsed Medeiros Netos, thus pleasing Novais, who would presumably have the naming of the next President of the Comissão do Vale de Sao Francisco, important from the standpoint of patronage. After his May 22 return from the South, Juracy formally presented the name of Medeiros Neto to the PSD, which, as has been noted above, has replied that it will consider the matter on June 9, and let the Governor know on June 10.

Both the Governor and Vieira de Mello feel that they have scored so many times during these exchanges that they are quite exultant. Vieira de Mello told officers of the Consulate on June 1 that he would get the nomination and the support of the PSD into the bargain, and on June 2, the Governor,

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...very extremely, please-... called for an hour on the subject to another Consulate officer.

It remains to be seen whether the Governor and Vieira de Mello will successfully succeed in carrying off their enterprise. Josaphat Marinho and the Janista vote will have to be dealt with, perhaps by giving Josaphat the vice governorship. The loyalty of the PTB-PR coalition, particularly that of Goulart and Novais, will have to be preserved through some device. Nevertheless, during the past two months, Juracy Magalhaes has reversed the odds, and it now appears that the outcome of the campaign will bear Juracy's chop, rather than that of Balbino.

C. Dirck Keyser
C. Dirck Keyser
American Consul

cc: Rio de Janeiro/Political Section
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