

*Subject*

CONFIDENTIAL

A-122

CONFIDENTIAL

Airgram AIR POUCH

Page 2

Brasilia Office

Department of State

1) Opposition UDN Deputies Pedro Godinho (Sao Paulo),  
Newton Carneiro (Parana) and Herbert Levy (Sao Paulo).

Deputies Godinho and Carneiro found last Friday's rally frankly subversive but thought it was a good thing because it clearly defined the position on the side of Congress and Brazil's democratic institutions. Deputy Levy thought that the benefit to be derived from the rally was on the side of subversion. All three deputies concluded that the Presidential message to Congress was further documentation of the President's intent. It plus Erixola's open recommendation that Congress be dissolved constituted a grave threat to Congress and Brazil's democratic institutions.

Amembassy BRASILIA Office March 18, 1964

Assorted Congressional Reaction to Goulart's Rio Rally and Message to Congress

SUMMARY

Congressional reaction to President Goulart's Friday meeting, related decrees and message to Congress, as expressed to Embassy officers by various Congressmen from the Government coalition as well as the Opposition, indicates great Congressional concern over the course the Administration is taking and the future of Brazil's democratic institutions. This concern translates in some quarters to do-nothing disarray, in others to a desire to give Goulart his reforms to avoid a showdown, but in most cases to a determination to rally Congressional and political support in defense of Congress and the institutions. Talk of impeachment and even of moving Congress to a more secure area such as São Paulo is frequently heard.

*POL 15-1*

£ £ £ £ £ £ £ £ £ £ £ £ £

Following are reactions to last Friday's rally, to the SUPRA and petroleum refinery expropriation decrees signed on that occasion and to the Presidential message to Congress expressed to Embassy officers by various Congressmen.

GROUP-3

Downgraded at 12-year intervals,  
not automatically declassified.

CONFIDENTIAL

POL:RWDean:HWeiner:RBBentley:sm John Keppel

CONFIDENTIAL

Airgram A-122  
Page 2  
Brasilia Office

1) Opposition UDN Deputies Padre Godinho (São Paulo),  
Newton Carneiro (Parana) and Herbert Levy (Sao Paulo).

Deputies Godinho and Carneiro found last Friday's rally frankly subversive but thought it was a good thing because it clearly defined the President's position on the side of Brizola and revolution and opposed to Congress and Brazil's democratic institutions. Deputy Levy agreed with these conclusions but felt that the benefit to be derived from the President's clear definition on the side of subversion would only accrue if Brazilian public and political reaction to it were strong and effective. All three deputies concluded that the Presidential message to Congress was further documentation of the President's subversive intent. It plus Brizola's open recommendation that Congress be closed constituted a grave threat to Congress and Brazil's institutions. Deputy Godinho summed up the situation as follows: "Cubanization or impeachment."

On April 17 Deputy Levy had escorted four leading members of the São Paulo feminine democratic league to register their protest and concern to Senate President Auro Moura Andrade and Chamber President Raniefri Mazzilli. The reporting officer got the impression that the reaction in São Paulo to these events borders on preparation for civil war.

2) Senator Catette Pinheiro (PTN-Para) and Deputy Stelio Maroja (PSP-Para).

Senator Pinheiro expressed his view that the President's message was a Presidential prerogative, and therefore neither subversive nor illegal. He said it was up to Congress to review it, ignore or discard portions that it opposed and prepare implementing legislation on these portions of the Presidential program Congress found constructive. On the question of Friday's meeting and its implications, Senator Pinheiro was less sanguine. He felt that in this meeting and the series of events and actions which preceded it the administration had unleashed an inflationary spiral and revolutionary sentiment which may now be out of hand. In this sense the Senator disagreed with Deputy Maroja who expressed his belief that a determined, honest administration could place the inflationary and revolutionary spirals under control in a matter of months.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Airgram A-122  
Page 3  
Brasilia Office

asked why 3) UDN Deputies Arnaldo Nogueira (Guanabara), José Bonifacio (Minas Gerais) and Raimundo Padilha (Rio de Janeiro).

do? José Bonifacio said that the UDN has decided to implement their reaction to Goulart by taking their case to the streets-- "to fight fire with fire." Raimundo Padilha analyzed that since the "democrats" represent 12 million voters and the "agitators" only about three million voters, the "democrats" should get four times as much popular support. (His analysis leaves out the illiterates Jango appeals to). UDN members generally recognize their minority position as a party and their lack of control over publicity media, but feel if they can reach the people, they will uncover a majority who are democratic and anti-Goulart. Arnaldo Nogueira said he has been charged by the UDN with sounding out the possibility of moving the Congress to São Paulo if it is physically threatened.

4) Ernani Sátiro (UDN-Paraíba), in a conversation with an Embassy officer March 18, characterized talk of armed reprisal against the government at this time as irresponsible. However, he said UDN "resistance" against the government was going to continue and increase in the measure that Goulart became more radical and more menacing against the Congress and democratic institutions. The purpose of this resistance is to "paralyze" Goulart in a legal framework. "Neither is Goulart strong enough to pull off a golpe against us nor are we strong enough to impeach him," he said. He thinks there is no military or parliamentary majority for or against Goulart but noted a great competition for the uncommitted center forces. He feels that Brazil will most likely survive the coming serious crisis, but like most udenistas with whom the Embassy has talked, believes war is more possible than a bloodless coup, meaning that opposition forces throughout the country would not submit to a Goulart coup but would fight to the last ditch against such an attempt.

5) PTB Deputies.

In conversations with Altino Machado (PTB-Acre), Guerreiro Ramos (PTB-Guanabara) and Teodulo Albuquerque (PTB-Bahia), Embassy officers were apprised of Congressional concern that President Goulart's offensive against the Congress would be an all-out one that could include illegal measures. Ramos said he had heretofore given no credence to the charges that Goulart's main interest is in perpetuating himself in power, but now is changing his mind. When

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Airgram A-122  
Page 4  
Brasilia Office

asked why he continued to make frequent speeches in support of the President in the Chamber of Deputies, Ramos spread his hands and replied, "After all, he is the chief of my party, what else can I do?" When asked how far the PTB would go along with Goulart, Ramos said without conviction, "Up to illegality, but I hope not beyond." Albuquerque told another Embassy officer that in a meeting between PTB deputies and Goulart on March 16, Goulart had rejected pleas that his reform demands be kept within the context of democracy. He quoted Goulart as saying he would get reforms by any means he could. When asked what tactics the PTB would adopt in the face of this, Albuquerque said the party would press for legislative enactment of the program contained in the presidential message "in order to deny the President a pretext for taking illegal action." Altino Machado expressed similar views.

6) PTB Minister of Health.

In a conversation at the opening session of Congress on March 15 with Minister of Health Wilson Fadul; a long-time Goulart apologist, Fadul said the President has no intention of staying in office beyond his normal term. When asked if there were a possibility that an attempt would be made to close the Congress if Goulart's requests were not approved, Fadul said the present "unrepresentative" Congress might conceivably be closed but that elections for "another Congress" would be held at once.

7) Deputy Pedro Manso Cabral (PTB-Bahia) who just returned from a leader grant visit to the United States said he returned to Brazil a few days earlier than planned because of the news of events in Brazil in the U.S. press. On arrival he found the climate had worsened considerably in his home state of Bahia and Brazil generally. He attended the PTB meeting with President Goulart on March 16 and reported the President exhorted the group to take to the streets to achieve reforms. Because he, Cabral, like the majority of PTB deputies, was not prone to support Goulart in a coup attempt, he was returning today to Bahia to await developments.

Cabral stated he is convinced Goulart does not want reforms but to stay in power (continuismo). Goulart is no communist, he added, but his ambition and agitation is playing into the communist hands. He said the US must be alert to keep Brazil from becoming another Cuba. This would be a disaster for both

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Airgram A-122  
Page 5  
Brasilia Office

countries. He did not know what the US could do at this time to stop the process, but stated the US must be prepared to take bold action to support the Brazilian democrats in any showdown they might have with the forces of the left.

He did not know what the Brazilian democratic forces could do either to deter the process. Although only a minority of 15% of the Brazilian body politic, the leftist forces had the force of the government behind them.

Cabral added his belief that impeachment as a Congressional arm against the President was cumbersome and ineffective. Also, the move by Congress to Rio or São Paulo would only expose Congress to Executive attack and further discredit it in the public eye.

For the Ambassador:

  
Robert W. Dean  
Counselor of Embassy

CONFIDENTIAL