

# Hart Quiz to Bare Tortures in Brazil

By Jack Anderson

The United States has pumped almost \$1.5 billion into the Brazilian military dictatorship, a regime that officially countenances the gristliest kinds of torture, sadism and slow death.

Even women and priests have been horribly, inhumanly abused. Their tormentors allegedly include Brazilian officers who have received military or police training in the U.S.

Sen. Frank Church (D-Idaho), as head of a Senate subcommittee that oversees Latin-American affairs, has been gathering evidence since January.

Appalled at what he has learned, Church is preparing questionnaires that will be delivered around Oct. 15 to Secretary of State Bill Rogers, Secretary of Defense Mel Laird and U.S. Information Chief Frank Shakespeare.

The questionnaires will demand how much U.S. aid has gone to Brazil, who in this country has received decorations from the dictatorship, and what the USIS's secret polls show the average Brazil-

ans think of American support of the regime.

Church also had a committee staff man, Pat Holt, draw up a confidential, detailed plan for hearings in January and February.

## Hearings Discouraged

He calls for six days of hearings. Nervous officials at the State Department, however, have begged Church not to give his findings a public airing. While they don't deny that torture has been permitted in Brazil, they claim the junta has become more moderate lately.

But Church, haunted by the evidence in his files, has replied that unless the hearings endanger U.S. security, he intends to shine a spotlight on the bestial practices. His purpose isn't to poke into Brazil's internal affairs but to find out whether U.S. funds help to subsidize the torturing.

Grim affidavits, accepted as reliable by Senate investigators familiar with their source attest to the torture of women like Gisela Maria Cocenza Avelar, 25, a social worker with a one-year-old child.

First, her torturers threat-

ened to starve the baby. Then the woman herself was "violently stripped (and) subjected to the wrath of . . . Capt. Jesu and Sgt. Leo . . . who alternated or combined the most diverse types of physical, psychological and sexual tortures"

## Woman's Ordeal Told

Some of the abuses were too vile to be described. The more printable included torture with a high-voltage "crank." Wires were rigged to the woman's body, and she was shocked until her body was wracked by spasms and involuntary tremors.

She was also forced to stand barefoot "on the open part of sausage cans of different heights. Within a short time, the cans began to cut into the soles of her feet. The muscles of her legs became stiff, causing tremendous pain. When she lost her balance and fell, she was beaten and put back in place."

The unfortunate Mrs. Cocenza Avelar was then hung from her knees and wrists "head down while Capt. Jesu operated the 'crank' giving her electrical shocks through the

wires attached to her toes." At the same time, Sgt. Leo beat her body and the soles of her feet, interrupting occasionally "to devote himself to sexual acts on the deponent's body."

Other signed statements tell of Army officers who poked billy clubs into the orifices of their victims' bodies, of women whose breasts were abused until they gushed blood.

## Torturers Named

Here are the officers' names most frequently mentioned in the torture statements: "Sgt. Leo Machado, Capt. Jofre Lacerda, Capt. Pedro Ivo, Maj. Vicente Teixeira, Lt. Col. Waldir Teixeira Goes, Capt. Portela, Capt. Schubert, Capt. Padua and Maj. Rubens."

Senator Church is trying to find out how many of them were trained in the U.S.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee traditionally does not hear foreign witnesses. However, the Holt memo suggests calling American clergymen, scholars, businessmen, labor leaders and government officials who have served in Brazil. The memo emphasizes that many U.S. clergymen, in particular, have a special knowledge of Brazil.



## une campagne internationale

Depuis l'annonce du procès, les protestations pleuvent sur les tables des juges de Prague. Il y eut d'abord une « Lettre Ouverte » au gouvernement tchécoslovaque, signée de Jean-Paul Sartre, Ernst Bloch, Laurent Schwartz, François Maspéro... Il y eut la protestation des députés communistes italiens du groupe « Il Manifesto », de Charles Tillon, de l'ancien dirigeant du P.C. autrichien Franz Marek. Il y eut une protestation massive de professeurs et de syndicalistes de gauche ouest-allemands. Récemment encore a été lancé un appel que nous publions ci-dessous.

En France, les militants de la Ligue Communiste ont occupé successivement le consulat et la délégation commerciale de l'ambassade à Paris; en province avec **Lutte Ouvrière**, ont eu lieu des manifestations à Rouen, Bordeaux, Marseille; à Dijon, au cours d'un meeting de l'UEC avec Cohen de la Nouvelle Critique sur « l'URSS, patrie du socialisme », nos camarades ont fait voter une motion de solidarité avec les révolutionnaires tchèques, malgré les cris de « Trotskyistes-Fascistes », « Trotskyistes-Assassins » lancés par les stalinien présents... et dépités. Nos camarades de la Ligue Marxiste Révolutionnaire (Suisse) occupèrent de même l'ambassade tchécoslovaque de Berne. Un piquet de nos camarades britanniques devant l'ambassade tchécoslovaque à Londres attira l'attention de l'opinion publique de ce pays sur le procès de sorcellerie qui se déroule à Prague. Les militants de la Jeune Garde Socialiste (Belgique) ont manifesté à Gand, Anvers, Mons, Liège, Hasselt, Louvain, Bruxelles.

A Rome, 600 militants participent à un meeting appelé par la section italienne de la IVème Internationale, le **Manifesto, Potere Operaio, Nuclei Comunisti Rivoluzionari**. Une manifestation très militante s'est ensuite dirigée vers l'ambassade et s'est heurtée à la police.

Des manifestations de protestation contre le procès et de solidarité avec les accusés se sont tenues devant l'ambassade de Tchécoslovaquie à Washington et devant le consulat correspondant à New-York. A Stockholm, des militants révolutionnaires ont reproduit avec une peinture indélébile le programme révolutionnaire du Parti Révolutionnaire Socialiste Tchécoslovaque sur les murs de l'ambassade de Tchécoslovaquie.

En Hollande une pétition de protestation de député du P.S. a été déposée. En Allemagne Fédérale, la radio a lu une lettre de protestation du député social-démocrate Matthöfer, l'un des dirigeants de l'I.G. Metall, le syndicat de la métallurgie.

Enfin en Belgique, la radio belge a informé que l'avocat de la Ligue des Droits de l'Homme a vu sa demande de visa pour aller assister au procès refusée. 15 journalistes de la Radio Télévision Belge ont fait paraître une lettre de protestation contre le procès.

Des actions de protestation ont eu lieu de même à Ottawa, à Tokyo, au Chili, à Ceylan...

Les accusateurs de Prague doivent se dire qu'ils avaient bien mal jugé la situation internationale. Et les accusés doivent se dire que les marxistes révolutionnaires ne sont plus seuls, par les temps qui règnent, où qu'ils soient de par le monde...

A Marseille, une centaine de militants ont manifesté le 12 mars en solidarité avec les accusés de Prague. La veille, un meeting s'était tenu à la Faculté avec notre camarade Hubert Krivine.

## appel

« Le procès intenté à Prague à Petr Uhl et ses camarades est clair : de la provocation policière qui a abouti à l'arrestation du groupe jusqu'au type d'accusations portées contre les inculpés, tout démontre qu'en dépit des dénégations données ici et là, c'est le stalinisme à l'état pur qui continue de sévir.

» Nous estimons fondamentalement juste la lutte des dix-neuf accusés : elle est partie intégrante de la lutte pour l'avènement d'un socialisme authentique.

» Nous protestons contre le fait que le trotskisme (comme d'autres courants révolutionnaires tels que l'anarchisme) continue à subir les calomnies staliniennes et à être présenté comme agent de l'impérialisme. Indépendamment de la position politique que chacun de nous peut avoir à l'égard de Trotsky et de ceux qui se réclament de lui, nous nous élevons contre de telles assertions qui ne peuvent que perpétuer la corruption du mouvement ouvrier entreprise par Staline.

» Il n'est pas possible de détruire une opinion par la force parce que cela bloque tout développement possible de l'intelligence ». Ces paroles de Che Guevara, nous les faisons nôtres. Le procès de Petr Uhl et de ses camarades est le signe évident de la négation du socialisme et de l'absence tragique de toute liberté en Tchécoslovaquie ».

Ce texte est signé par Robert Anterme, Jean-Christophe Bailly, Simone de Beauvoir, Claude Courtot, Marguerite Duras, Georges Goldfayn, Daniel Guérin, Jean-Edern Hallier, Gérard Legrand, Dionys Mascolo, Maurice Nadeau, José Pierre, André Puig, Claude Roy, Jean-Paul Sartre, Jean Schuster, Jean-Claude Silbermann (1).

(1) les nouvelles signatures sont reçues par Dionys Mascolo, 1 rue de l'Université, Paris 6ème.

# les trotskystes japonais au combat

Ces derniers jours ont vu se développer au Japon une lutte intense et violente qui a opposé le front révolutionnaire des paysans de la région de Sanrizuka et des militants des organisations communistes révolutionnaires japonaises (dont la Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire japonaise, la section japonaise de la IVème Internationale) aux forces de répression de l'Etat et du gouvernement japonais. L'objet de cette explosion sociale est la décision du gouvernement japonais de construire un nouvel aéroport international à une centaine de kilomètres de Tokyo, et donc d'expulser des paysans afin d'utiliser leurs terres pour la construction de cet aéroport.

## L'ORGANISATION DE LA LUTTE

La défense des terres des paysans contre la pénétration des forces de l'ordre venues appliquer par la force l'ordre d'expulsion a été prise en charge par une alliance de représentants des paysans concernés et des représentants des directions présentes.

Six tranchées furent creusées, chacune par une organisation, la No 6 étant celle des militants des organisations de jeunesse de la

# 世界革命

1971年2月26日 (金) 号 外 (1971年2月26日) 発行 世界革命委員会

section japonaise de la IVème Int., ceux de la Ligue Etudiante Communiste Internationaliste et du Comité Ouvrier Internationaliste (respectivement organisation étudiante et de jeunes travailleurs). Une autre partie de l'organisation fut déléguée directement sur les lieux où l'affrontement avec la police s'est d'abord produit : sur le « champ de bataille de Sanrizuka », c'est-à-dire en dehors des terres appartenant aux paysans et que le gouvernement entend exproprier.

## LA LUTTE

Près de 2500 policiers furent mobilisés, équipés et spécialement entraînés pour la chasse aux militants révolutionnaires. Environ 1000 étudiants et jeunes travailleurs furent mobilisés en permanence, et 2000 à 3000 autres se mobilisèrent depuis Tokyo et les villes avoisinantes, mais temporairement. Au cours de la semaine qui vient, nos camarades auront à soutenir de durs combats, dont la défense des tranchées de protection. Des arrestations se sont déjà produites, environ 150 étudiants et jeunes travailleurs ont été arrêtés, dont 13 des nôtres. C'est 70 à 80 autres de nos camarades qui risquent des arrestations et des peines de prison dans la semaine qui vient. Nous en appelons à la solidarité internationale. Nous avons hissé le drapeau du FNL vietnamiens aux côtés du nôtre frappé de la faucille et du marteau sur les tranchées.

La sixième tranchée



## répression en mauritanie

Depuis plusieurs mois la situation en MAURITANIE est caractérisée par une offensive du régime DADDAH contre le mouvement démocratique, offensive d'autant plus violente et aveugle que le régime voit se dresser contre lui, malgré sa démagogie et ses tentatives d'intimidation, l'immense majorité du peuple mauritanien, excédé par des années d'oppression et d'exploitation, par des années de misère et de domination étrangère.

Cette crise ne cesse de s'aggraver et de s'étendre en raison de l'entêtement du régime Daddah, de son refus obstiné de répondre, autrement que par des arrestations, les tortures, les licenciements, aux revendications des travailleurs qui s'articulent essentiellement autour de deux axes :

1) Augmentation du pouvoir d'achat ; revendication d'autant plus justifiée — qu'on se rappelle que les salaires sont bloqués DEPUIS DIX ANS, que le SMIG EST FIXE A 6300 F CFA (120 FF) PAR MOIS.

2) Libertés démocratiques et libertés syndicales notamment, exigence de tous les travailleurs décidés à s'organiser librement pour se défendre et à choisir eux-mêmes leurs directions. Ce droit fondamental (reconnu par les déclarations de l'ONU et de l'OIT auxquelles le régime mauritanien prétend adhérer) n'a jamais été respecté en Mauritanie et seule la vigilance et la mobilisation des travailleurs ont empêché le régime de parvenir à son rêve : domestiquer les organisations des travailleurs.

Le 10 janvier un meeting organisé par les syndicats pour protester contre les licenciements abusifs des dockers et des ouvrières de l'Office Mauritanien du Tapis et pour exiger le respect des libertés démocratiques et syndicales (tenue des congrès) est violemment dispersé par la police, qui arrête le lendemain 40 syndicalistes (dont les membres du Comité Directeur). Les prisonniers sont sauvagement torturés (électricité, strangulation et autres châtiments corporels). Plus de 300 fonctionnaires sont licenciés ou suspendus. Presque tous les établissements secondaires sont fermés, ce qui, il est vrai, est devenu habituel en Mauritanie, et plus encore les enfants sont souvent torturés,

comme c'est le cas des élèves de l'école de TIDJIKJA.

Près de 2 mois après, la situation n'est toujours pas « calmée » comme l'espérait le régime. La répression n'a entamé en rien la combativité des travailleurs. Les syndicalistes arrêtés, maintenus en prison depuis un mois en détention préventive, ont repris leur grève de la faim, et sont décidés à la poursuivre (bien que l'un d'eux, le camarade DIOUF, ait été hospitalisé après les premières 48 heures de grève de la faim).

Les grèves se multiplient dans tous les secteurs et dans toutes les localités du pays. Cette lutte contre l'arbitraire et la misère a trouvé sa plus tragique expression dans le SUICIDE PAR LE FEU le jeudi 2 février du jeune MOHAMED MALIK O.HAMATT à NOUAKCHOTT. Dans une lettre qu'il a laissée, le jeune homme explique que par cet acte il entend protester contre la situation actuelle en Mauritanie, qui réduit des milliers de citoyens comme lui au chômage et à la misère.

Le lendemain une importante manifestation a eu lieu à Nouakchott comprenant en grande partie des chômeurs (et ils y sont nombreux dans la capitale) qui ont exprimé avec force leur volonté de lutter contre la situation actuelle et leur haine contre un régime dont l'irresponsabilité pousse à des actes de désespoir comme le suicide de Mohamed Malik.

EN VOUS INFORMANT DE CES EVENEMENTS LES ETUDIANTS MAURITANIENS EN FRANCE FONT APPEL A TOUS LES DEMOCRATES AFIN QUE L'ARBITRAIRE ERIGÉ EN SYSTEME DE GOUVERNEMENT PAR O.DADDAH SOIT DENONCÉ, AFIN QUE SOIENT FLETRIS TOUTES LES VIOLATIONS AUX LIBERTES DEMOCRATIQUES EN MAURITANIE.

— Union Nationale des Etudiants Mauritaniens en France  
— Association des Etudiants et Stagiaires Mauritaniens en France.

Paris le 5 mars 1971

JMUDW, DHDH, 18



## brésil



brésilien, avec l'introduction et l'intensification de distorsions de plus en plus importantes.

En effet, cette expansion du capitalisme au Brésil accroît la dépendance et l'intégration de l'économie brésilienne dans le système impérialiste international au lieu de la diminuer, car ce sont les secteurs les plus monopolisés (c'est-à-dire les plus intégrés au capital impérialiste) qui ont été les moteurs de ce cycle d'expansion.

D'autre part, cette expansion exclut ouvertement les masses laborieuses urbaines et rurales de la répartition de ses bénéfices. Cela contrairement à la période précédente d'expansion économique, entre 1956 et 1961, période du gouvernement du président Juscelino Kubitschek, qui en répartit des miettes aux masses de salariés urbains. Aujourd'hui le blocage des salaires des travailleurs institué pendant la phase de récession économique à partir de 1964 est maintenu. Maintenir cette politique de blocage des salaires pendant la phase d'expansion signifie que les déformations du capitalisme sous-développé font un pas de plus : le marché de consommation populaire n'est plus essentiel à cette étape d'expansion. Le marché qui intéresse les capitalistes est celui des commandes gouvernementales (matériel électrique, pétro-chimie, télécommunications, etc) et celui des biens de consommation durables, l'industrie automobile en particulier. C'est ce qui explique le déclin rapide, même pendant cette période d'expansion, de l'industrie textile, de chaussures, alimentaires, etc.

Voilà comment s'explique donc cette situation apparemment paradoxale où la classe ouvrière subit un processus de paupérisation absolue, de perte nette de son pouvoir d'achat, alors même qu'il y a une croissance de la production industrielle (2). C'est ce que le gorille en chef Médici a reconnu lui-même quand il a déclaré que l'économie se portait bien, que c'était le peuple qui allait mal.



manifestation en 1968 à rio

### 7ans de dictature militaire

# la torture instrument de l'expansion économique

L'opinion publique internationale a été fortement secouée ces derniers temps par les révélations sur l'ampleur et la férocité de la répression au Brésil. Les nombreux militants révolutionnaires arrachés des gâches de la dictature militaire par l'action décidée de la gauche révolutionnaire ont témoigné sur les méthodes atroces utilisées pour obtenir aveux et renseignements. Ce degré de violence aveugle n'avait jamais été atteint auparavant dans le pays.

La presse dite libérale s'est émue de ces méthodes. Pourtant récemment, cette même presse a découvert un véritable « miracle économique » au Brésil. Du Monde au New York Times, tous ces messieurs se sont mis à louer la politique économique du gouvernement, tout en regrettant ces fâcheuses méthodes dictatoriales.

Pour nous, ce qui importe c'est de montrer la relation qui s'établit entre la torture et l'« expansion » économique, et non pas de les considérer froidement comme le « bon côté » et le « mauvais côté » d'un quelconque gouvernement.

### quelle expansion ?

La caractéristique principale de la dictature militaire brésilienne est d'avoir refondu complètement tout l'appareil répressif de l'Etat. La dictature a créé de nouveaux organes de répression, elle en a remodelé d'autres, elle les a centralisés tous sous l'assistance attentive des services américains.

La militarisation de l'Etat et de la vie politique brésilienne est étroitement liée au type de solution nécessaire à la survivance de l'exploitation capitaliste et de la domination impérialiste du pays. La prise en charge par les forces armées des principaux leviers de l'Etat et des centres de décision marque la faillite des partis traditionnels de la bourgeoisie. Aussi bien la droite que les populistes formés à l'école de Vargas (1) ne sont plus capables d'assurer la stabilité nécessaire pour perpétuer le régime. L'armée, gardienne de l'« ordre » des classes dominantes, se présente comme la seule structure fournissant les nouveaux cadres dirigeants qui permettent de remplacer des politiciens désormais incapables de faire face à la mobilisation croissante des masses. L'armée se présente comme le seul parti national échappant à l'usure des formations politiques bourgeoises : elle les remplacera donc. La répression sera désormais un trait essentiel de la politique gouvernementale.

Le coup d'Etat militaire du 31 mars 1964 dotait ainsi les classes dominantes de nouveaux instruments politiques. Cela allait leur permettre de faire passer l'économie par une période de transition qui signifiait, du point de vue économique et politique, une nouvelle distribution du pouvoir au sein du bloc des classes dominantes : l'hégémonie des secteurs monopolistes, industriels et financiers.

Globalement, il y a eu croissance : 8,3% en 1968, 9% en 1969 et autour de 9% en 1970, selon les sources gouvernementales. Ces données reflètent un nouveau cycle d'expansion, par rapport à la période de crise qui va de 1961 à 1967. Cette nouvelle phase d'expansion reflète déjà les transformations opérées après 1964. Il ne s'agit donc pas d'une reprise de la période précédente d'expansion, mais d'une nouvelle étape du « développement du sous-développement »



Bacuri, militant révolutionnaire, une des dernières victimes de la dictature, sauvagement assassiné.

### pourquoi la torture ?

C'est sur la base de ce type de « solution » économique que la dictature militaire a été poussée à faire de la torture une pratique permanente, essayant d'empêcher que la gauche révolutionnaire puisse capitaliser l'énorme potentiel explosif des masses ouvrières et paysannes. Un système qui, même quand il proclame son « miracle économique », maintient le blocage des salaires de la masse de la population, a besoin de faire de la répression systématique un élément de sa survivance. C'est comme ça qu'on comprend que l'organisation patronale de Sao Paulo ait payé 20.000 dollars au tortionnaire et dirigeant de l'Escadron de la Mort, Fleury, pour l'assassinat de Carlos MARIGHELLA.

La dictature militaire a recouru à tout un personnel spécialisé pour sa basse besogne. Elle a mis en place une pègre digne des tribunaux de criminels de guerre : le leader de la majorité gouvernementale au Sénat, Filinto Müller, est l'ancien chef de police de la dictature de Vargas, qui livra Olga BENARIO PRESTES (la femme du dirigeant du PCB) à la Gestapo pour être assassinée ; qui martyrisa le communiste allemand Harry BERGER, et qu'un journaliste pourtant pas exactement progressiste appela le « rescapé de Nuremberg ». Comble de la farce, il est aujourd'hui membre du comité brésilien des droits de l'homme ! Celui-ci est dirigé par le ministre de la justice (!) Buzaid, un ancien nazi. Une des figures de proue gouvernementales, également ancien membre du parti nazi, Raimundo Padilla, fut inculpé pendant la seconde guerre mondiale de trahison et collaboration avec l'ennemi allemand. L'un des promoteurs du coup d'Etat de 1964, le général Mourao Filho, était l'ancien capitaine qui forgea le « plan Cohen » (dont l'anti-sémitisme est évident), prétexte utilisé par Vargas pour implanter sa dictature. On comprend pourquoi Plinio Salgado, le leader du nazisme brésilien, avoue voir ses rêves de toujours enfin réalisés ! Le général président Médici, aux prétentions de Bonaparte, essaie de se présenter au-dessus de la mêlée : pourtant, ancien chef des polices secrètes de l'armée, il est l'exemple même du type de fonctionnaire dressé à la répression anti-populaire, mis en place par la dictature militaire.

### solidarité avec les révolutionnaires

Au-delà des problèmes politiques auxquels elle doit faire face, le premier problème pour la gauche révolutionnaire brésilienne se pose en termes de survivance physique. Toutes les organisations sont très faibles (3). La dictature militaire utilise des moyens répressifs dignes des tortionnaires nazis. Un nombre élevé de militants ont été déjà assassinés. Beaucoup se trouvent en prison, soumis aux pires sévices. Dans une telle situation, la solidarité active avec les révolutionnaires brésiliens en butte à la répression de style fasciste est une tâche prioritaire pour les militants internationalistes de tous les pays. Elle ne doit pas rester l'exclusivité des libéraux et humanistes de tout poil. Seuls les révolutionnaires peuvent dénoncer la nature de classe du terrorisme des militaires brésiliens. C'est leur devoir de le faire.

Eduardo PINHEIRO  
J.MATTOS

(1) Getulio Vargas, dictateur du Brésil de 1934 à 1945, réélu président en 1950

(2) Le salaire minimum réel de la classe ouvrière brésilienne est tombé de l'indice 100 en 1963 à l'indice 56 à la fin de 1969 le budget familial minimum pour une famille de 5 personnes était calculé par des organismes officiels en octobre 1969 autour de 130 dollars (environ 700 F) tandis que le salaire minimum, à la même époque, oscillait autour de 30 dollars (environ 160 F)

(3) Nous devons rappeler à cette occasion qu'il n'y a aucune organisation au Brésil appartenant à la IVème Internationale ou entretenant avec elle des rapports privilégiés. Nous avons avec plusieurs organisations des relations fraternelles, faites de discussions politiques et de solidarité active, selon la conception de l'internationalisme qui est la nôtre. Jusqu'à présent, seuls quelques fieffés sectaires ont refusé de discuter avec nous, à l'aide d'arguments d'un autre âge (nous serions des agents de la CIA, etc.)



Carlos Lamarca pour la dictature c'est l'ennemi numéro 1



Observer  
8.4.73

# Torture in Brazil claim

by TIMOTHY ROSS

THE death of a student leader, Lincoln Bicalho Roque, 'while resisting arrest' in Rio de Janeiro, has been announced by the Brazilian military authorities.

According to the Communist Party of Brazil, he had been captured three months earlier and tortured to death. At least 17 other alleged subversives have died in similar circumstances this year, two political prisoners are claimed to have committed suicide, and four others were killed while trying to escape. The Communist spokesman says they have been eliminated as part of the 'final solution to the leftist problem in Brazil.'

Many other deaths reported by the police as due to natural causes were, it is suspected, the deliberate results of torture. In the case of journalist Rui Oswaldo Pflutzenreuter, whose parents were told a month after his arrest last year that he had died of 'acute traumatic anaemia,' a request for an investigation has been made to Minister of Justice, Alfredo Buzaid, by the International Federation of Journalists and Amnesty International. The Minister has not replied.

## Machine-gun raid

It is also feared that many more are yet to die in the prisons and on the streets of Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Recife. In particular, fears have been expressed for the lives of a number of students, intellectuals and trade unionists now imprisoned.

Luiz Basilio Rossi, head of the Department of Social Sciences and Professor of Economics at Penapolis University, was at home with a friend on the evening of 13 February. The house was surrounded by soldiers and police with machine-guns. They forced their way in and removed various books and documents from the library. Professor Rossi was arrested and despite a writ of *habeas corpus* and the intervention of the Bishop of the region has been held.

SMVDW, DH, DHI 22



the intervention of the Bishop of Lios, nothing has been heard of him since.

In the State of Maranhão, the president, secretary and several members of the Pindaré Valley Agricultural Workers' Union were arrested at the beginning of last year. The president, Manuel da Conceição Santos, smuggled out a letter describing his treatment and saying that he did not expect to survive.

For four months I was severely tortured by the Army and then in the Navy Intelligence Centre, he writes. My body turned into a single enormous bruise. They pulled out all my finger nails. They pierced my sexual organ with a needle. They dragged me into the yard by the testicles and hung me upside down.

Then they suspended me from a bar between my handcuffed wrists, pulled off my artificial leg [his leg was amputated after he had been shot in a previous arrest] and tied my penis up to prevent me from urinating. They left me there three days on my one leg without food or water. They have given me so many drugs that I have lost my hearing and am feeble.

### 'Tied up like a pig'

They threw me into a trough, tied up like a pig, and I nearly drowned. They put me into a pitch-black cell for 30 days, then into a rubber box fitted with a loudspeaker, where I could not eat or sleep for three days and nearly went mad. They threatened to drag confessions out through the anus by a stick with three rows of teeth like a saw.

They deny that I am Manuel da Conceição, as I have no document to prove it, and after 12 months in prison, the people having forgotten me, they promise to throw me into the sea from a helicopter.

Also at risk is the life of César de Queiroz Benjamin. According to Brazilian law, criminal responsibility begins at the age of 18, but César was 17 when arrested in late 1971. He is accused of participating in urban guerrilla actions from the age of 15. Although by law he should have been released for trial by a juvenile court, the question of his legal status has been debated in a series of military court hearings that have kept him in prison without trial for the last 18 months.

The authorities' decision was based on the thesis that the National Security Law is independent of general principles and must override them. The verdict of the Supreme Military Tribunal quotes as the theoretical authority for its decision, in the original Italian, Mussolini's *Fascist Doctrine*.

removed from the library. Professor Rossi was arrested and despite a writ of *habeas corpus* and the intervention of the Bishop of Lios, nothing has been heard



brésil

31

Manifestation gare Saint-Lazare, à Paris, le 31 mars dernier.

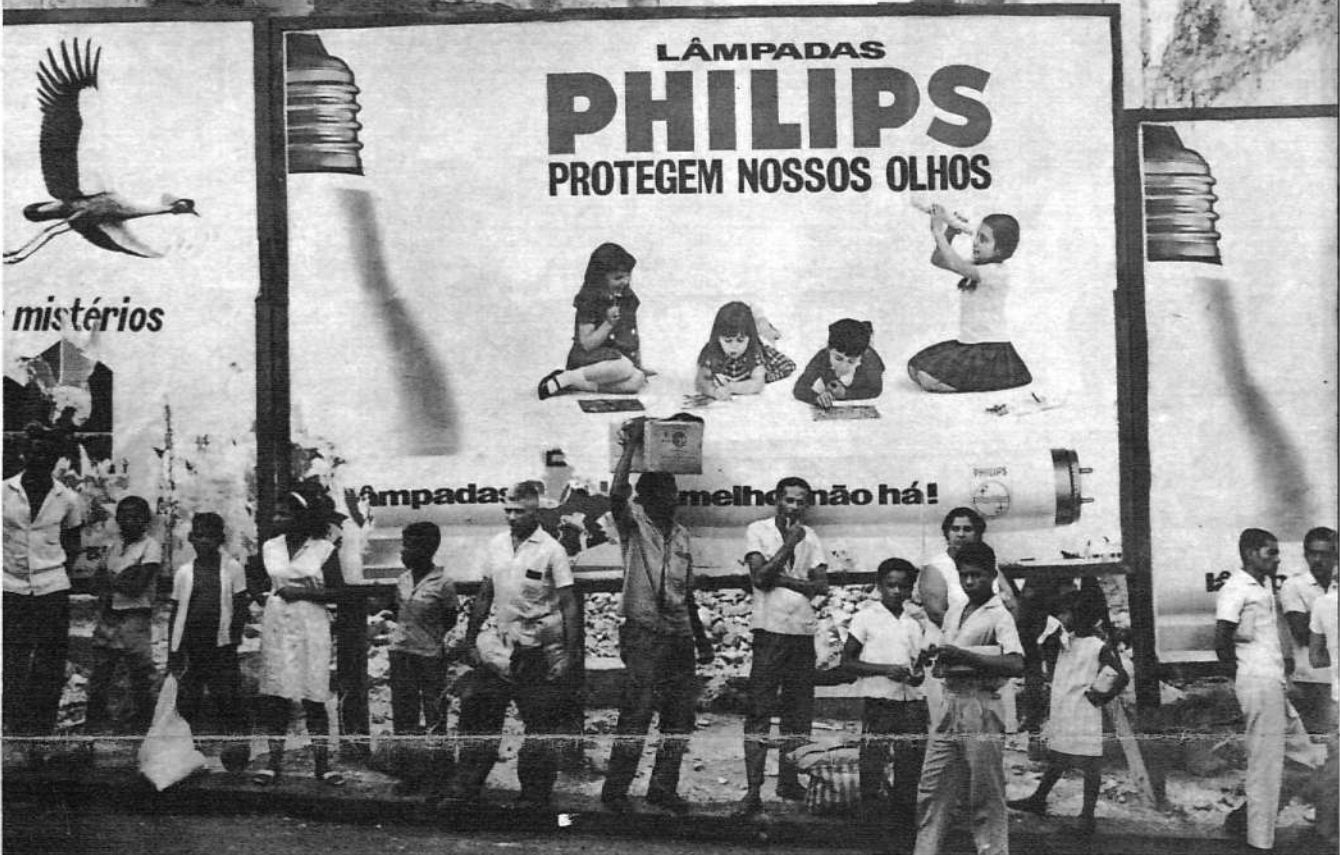


Simonet

# LA TORTURE

# AU SERVICE DU MIRACLE ECONOMIQUE

Comment on obtient un développement économique « spectaculaire » par l'exploitation forcée des travailleurs, l'institutionnalisation de la torture, le renforcement constant de la dictature.



Barbey-Magnum

A un arrêt d'autobus, à Bahia.

**L**es dirigeants militaires brésiliens ont commémoré, le 31 mars, le septième anniversaire d'une dictature qui, affirmes-ils, leur a permis de « rétablir l'ordre » dans le pays et de lui assurer ainsi un taux d'expansion économique spectaculaire, sans augmentation incontrôlée de l'inflation et sans troubles sociaux. Mais cette euphorie est quelque peu tempérée par la campagne internationale de protestation contre la répression sauvage dont est victime le peuple brésilien. Pour la première fois, le Brésil vient d'être dénoncé à l'ONU par trois organisations non gouvernementales — la commission internationale des juristes, la Fédération syndicale mondiale, le Conseil œcuménique des Eglises — appuyés par les délégations gouvernementales de l'Autriche, du Pakistan, de la Hollande, de l'Inde et du Chili. Ces mouvements s'indignent des multiples violations des droits de la personne humaine au Brésil et notamment de l'institutionnalisation de la torture, aujourd'hui systématiquement utilisée comme moyen d'intimidation par les autorités de Rio de Janeiro. En octobre dernier la délégation brésilienne à la réunion interparlementaire de La Haye avait déjà essuyé un cuisant camouflet : les délégués hollandais et français avaient réclamé l'envoi d'une commission de la Ligue internationale des Droits de l'homme pour enquêter sur la situation au Brésil.

Les chefs militaires du plus grand Etat d'Amérique latine (1) ont quel-

que peine à justifier une répression qui s'est sans cesse durcie depuis le coup d'Etat de 1964. On sait qu'en période de récession, le capitalisme bloque les salaires et répond aux contestations par la violence. Mais pourquoi, au Brésil, la torture, les exécutions sommaires, les condamnations à mort, la multiplication des polices parallèles, la délation, alors que, depuis trois ans, le pays connaît un développement économique rapide ? Pourquoi le ministre de l'Economie déclare-t-il qu'en dépit de la « prospérité » actuelle, les salaires continueront à être bloqués pendant trois ans, tandis que le président Garrastazu Medici refuse de lever l'état de siège institué de fait par l'Acte Institutionnel numéro cinq, en décembre 1968 ? Pour comprendre comment peuvent coexister, au Brésil, une poussée industrielle sans précédent et un chômage croissant, il est nécessaire de revenir sur les dix dernières années de l'histoire du pays, qui est, en fait, celle des mutations d'un « capitalisme de sous-développement ».

## l'hégémonie des monopoles

Les militaires qui ont chassé le président progressiste Joao Goulart, porte-parole des intérêts de la bourgeoisie nationale, pour le remplacer par le maréchal Castelo Branco, pensaient qu'il suffirait « d'assainir la scène politique » par une vague

de répression contre les éléments de gauche, et que l'on pourrait ensuite reconstruire facilement le décor d'une démocratie parlementaire dirigée par un gouvernement civil. Ils n'avaient pas encore compris l'ampleur de la crise du capitalisme brésilien, en pleine récession depuis 1961, du fait, notamment, de l'étroitesse du marché intérieur.

Les impératifs de la reconversion économique ont entraîné peu à peu les généraux beaucoup plus loin qu'ils ne l'avaient prévu. Joao Goulart avait été éliminé pour avoir voulu sortir son pays de l'ornière en proposant des réformes de structures, notamment au sujet de la propriété agraire et du statut des investissements étrangers. Le régime militaire allait choisir une toute autre politique, inspirée par le Fonds Monétaire International, c'est-à-dire par Washington : celle de l'hégémonie des monopoles industriels.

Le ministre du Plan, Roberto Campos, s'est fait l'artisan de la liquidation des petites et moyennes entreprises de manière à accélérer le processus de concentration et d'accumulation de capitaux dans le pays. Dans l'année qui a suivi le coup d'état, on a dénombré cinq mille faillites dans la seule ville de Sao Paulo. Roberto Campos s'est aussi efforcé d'adapter la répartition des revenus à la production du secteur industriel monopolistique et, pour ce faire, il a cherché à augmenter le pouvoir d'achat des couches sociales les plus consommatrices pour développer rapidement les branches des

industries considérées comme fondamentales : chimie, pétrochimie, caoutchouc, métallurgie, verrerie, construction électrique et mécanique.

## un régime sans base sociale

Comme la concentration des revenus au profit des classes moyennes des grandes villes et aux dépens de la classe ouvrière — la paysannerie n'a jamais obtenu, quant à elle, les avantages économiques minimum — n'a pas été suffisante pour résoudre le problème des débouchés de l'industrie privée sur le marché intérieur, l'Etat s'est lancé dans une politique de commandes publiques (chantiers navals et de grands travaux, télécommunications, route transamazonique). Pour couvrir les frais de ces opérations, il a, d'autre part, brutalement augmenté les impôts.

Les résultats tangibles de cette politique ont commencé à apparaître, à partir de 1967, avec le développement de l'activité des secteurs de pointe. Mais le prix payé était lourd. Les capitaux étrangers pénétraient en masse dans l'économie brésilienne, qu'ils contrôlaient de plus en plus étroitement, et, sur le plan politique la répression s'intensifiait. Aussi le gouvernement militaire s'est-il très rapidement trouvé assez isolé. Ecrasée par la politique économique et fiscale du gouvernement,





L'écrasante majorité du pays est exclue des bénéfices de l'expansion.



effrayée par le climat répressif irrespirable, la petite bourgeoisie urbaine ne cachait pas, en effet, ses sympathies pour les manifestations des étudiants contre le régime (qui devaient atteindre leur point culminant entre mars et juillet 1968.)

Succédant, en mars 1967, au maréchal Castelo Branco, le général Costa E Silva croyait un peu naïvement que la reprise de l'expansion allait lui permettre de donner une véritable base sociale au régime militaire. Il ne voyait pas que le modèle de développement imposé par les Etats-Unis à son prédécesseur ne laissait aucune miette pour la classe ouvrière, aussi totalement écrasée que l'avait été la paysannerie de 1956 à 1961. L'approvisionnement du marché populaire ne jouait plus qu'un rôle marginal dans le développement du capitalisme brésilien, peu intéressé à investir dans les industries de consommation courante (textile, alimentaire, vêtement), peu rentables, du point de vue de l'accumulation des capitaux, si on les compare avec l'industrie lourde ou celle des biens de consommation durable. Mais ces distorsions ont entraîné l'augmentation du coût de la vie et l'accroissement du chômage, les « activités de pointe » offrant beaucoup moins d'emplois que les activités traditionnelles. Aussi les années 1967-68 ont-elles été marquées par une forte remontée de la lutte des masses et par le développement des avant-gardes révolutionnaires. Devant le danger menaçant, le général Costa e Silva a instauré une véritable dictature en proclamant, en décembre 1968, l'Acte Institutionnel numéro cinq.

Arrivé au pouvoir le 29 octobre 1969, après la mort de Costa e Silva, le général Garrastazu Medici n'a fait que tirer les conséquences d'une évidence : si le capitalisme, pour se développer au Brésil, n'a pas besoin d'élever le niveau de vie, mais au contraire, d'exploiter au maximum le prolétariat urbain et rural, la dictature militaire est une nécessité permanente pour perpétuer ce système. Partant de ce principe, le gouvernement a restructuré l'appareil bureaucratique et répressif de l'Etat pour l'adapter aux nécessités d'une nouvelle étape d'installation du capitalisme au Brésil : celle du « non-retour ». La dictature militaire devient ainsi la forme de gouvernement la mieux adaptée aux besoins du « capitalisme de sous-développement » dans sa phase supérieure : celle de l'hégémonie absolue des monopoles.

### qui profite de l'expansion ?

C'est dans ce cadre que s'est développée l'économie brésilienne au cours des trois dernières années. Le ministre Delfim Neto a dressé en ces termes le bilan de 1970 : « Notre produit national brut a augmenté, ce qui signifie que le niveau de consommation et de bien-être des Brésiliens s'est accru ». C'est oublier un peu vite que le capitalisme fait progresser les forces productives de manière désordonnée et inégale et que chaque pays, chaque branche industrielle, chaque région se développent aux dépens d'un autre.

Il faut, en réalité, se demander : « Qui profite de l'expansion au Brésil » ? La classe ouvrière étant la principale victime du système, on peut répondre que c'est surtout la moyenne bourgeoisie des grandes villes, dont le niveau de consommation se rapproche le plus de celui de la grande bourgeoisie. C'est d'ailleurs sur cette partie de la population, surtout celle de Rio et de Sao Paulo, que compte le régime militaire pour briser son isolement politique.

La croissance globale de l'économie brésilienne a, d'un autre côté, renforcé les disparités régionales, déjà fortement marquées au Brésil. (On connaît l'incroyable dénuement de l'immense Nord-Est, ravagé chaque année par la sécheresse et la famine). Le renforcement de la suprématie des secteurs industriels les plus modernes, les plus dynamiques fait aujourd'hui de Sao Paulo le véritable centre de rayonnement du pays, au détriment de Rio de Janeiro, Belo Horizonte et Rio Grande do Sul.

Pour toutes ces raisons, l'écrasante majorité du pays est exclue des bénéfices de l'expansion. L'intervention directe de l'appareil répressif de l'Etat est devenue, de ce fait, une nécessité inhérente au développement du capitalisme monopolistique, et la répression massive (y compris la torture institutionnalisée) apparaît comme la condition préalable de ce sinistre « miracle économique » dont se félicitent, en toute occasion, les dirigeants militaires brésiliens et le Département d'Etat.

### « l'année de l'exportation »

Il reste que le marché solvable qu'offrent la moyenne et la grande bourgeoisie n'est pas illimité, et ne peut, à terme, suffire à absorber la production massive d'industries technologiquement très avancées. Le ministre de l'Economie déclarait récemment, à ce sujet, que « 1971 devrait être l'année de l'industrie, mais surtout celle de l'exportation ». Jouer à fond la carte du marché extérieur est la « solution magique » pour tous les pays capitalistes, qui cherchent à exploiter au maximum leur force de travail et qui provoquent, par là-même, le rétrécissement du marché intérieur : c'est la solution que voudrait adopter la dictature brésilienne.

Dans cette voie, le régime militaire rencontre cependant des obstacles. Le Département d'Etat américain ne lui ménage pas son appui, mais, entre Brasilia et Washington, les rapports ne sont pas toujours simples. La récession aux U.S.A. et les tendances de plus en plus protectionnistes de l'économie américaine ont quelque peu détérioré les rapports des Etats-Unis avec le Brésil. Chaque mois, en effet, des restrictions d'importation viennent frapper les produits brésiliens : café en grain, café soluble, cuir, textile.

Brasilia tente actuellement une offensive diplomatique en direction de l'Europe afin de trouver de nouveaux débouchés. Il lui faut, pour cela, effacer la mauvaise impression créée sur le vieux continent,

par l'image de « l'Etat-policier brésilien ». Le régime militaire a, en 1970, envoyé en mission officielle plusieurs fonctionnaires chargés de faire échec à la campagne internationale de protestation contre la torture. Rentrant bredouille, l'année dernière, d'une de ces missions, le ministre de l'Education, le colonel Jarbas Passarinho, « idéologue » officiel de la dictature militaire déclarait avec amertume : « Ce sont nos meilleurs amis, la France, l'Angleterre, les Etats-Unis, l'Allemagne qui ont monté cette campagne, peut-être par manque d'information, peut-être aussi parce qu'ils veulent empêcher l'ascension d'un nouveau géant à l'échelle mondiale ». Et il ajoutait : « Pourtant la presse des pays de l'Est, elle, ne nous attaque pas ».

### offensive diplomatique en france

Au Brésil, la dictature compte beaucoup sur la France pour briser son isolement. Elle sait que le patronat français s'intéresse vivement aux possibilités d'investissements « de haute rentabilité » dans ce pays. L'industrie française d'armement trouve, par ailleurs, au Brésil, des débouchés intéressants : dans les premiers mois de 1972, le gouvernement brésilien recevra ses premiers avions supersoniques *Mirage*. Les pourparlers qui se sont déroulés à Paris, il y a une dizaine de jours et qui se poursuivent à Rio, entre la firme Bréguet-Dassault et les autorités de Brasilia, pour la vente de six avions lourds de lutte anti-sous-marine Bréguet Atlantic, permettent de penser qu'un contrat sera signé dans les prochaines semaines. On comprend mieux, dans ces conditions, pourquoi la dictature brésilienne a choisi la France pour lancer une formidable opération de prestige à l'occasion de son septième anniversaire : envoi du « roi Pelé », orchestré par une tapageuse campagne de publicité, et publication d'un cahier spécial de photos à la gloire du Brésil dans « Paris-Match ».

Est-ce suffisant pour faire oublier les douze mille prisonniers politiques, les tortures, les assassinats secrets, la liquidation des syndicats, l'impossibilité de toute liberté d'expression ? Une logique implacable empêche la dictature de changer de masque. « On ne peut pas à la fois garder le gâteau et le manger », dit un dicton en usage aussi au Brésil. Aussi, au moment même où ils veulent montrer, à l'extérieur, patte de velours, les généraux brésiliens, ont-ils, pour la première fois, condamné à mort un jeune homme de dix-neuf ans (3) Teodomiro dos Santos, accusé d'avoir participé à des actions révolutionnaires...

■ Luis Vargas

(1) Le Brésil représente 42 % de la superficie de l'Amérique latine.

(2) En mars 1968, le ministre de la Justice déclarait lui-même à la Chambre des Députés que le 1/5<sup>e</sup> du territoire brésilien avaient en fait été vendus à des étrangers.

(3) La loi sur la peine de mort a été décrétée en septembre 1969, au moment de l'enlèvement de l'ambassadeur américain Burke Elbrick. C'était alors l'actuel ambassadeur du Brésil à Paris, le général Lyra Tavares, qui était président de la Junta.



Ilmo. Sr.  
Luiz Reque  
Comissão Interamericana de Direitos <sup>do Homem</sup> ~~Humanos~~  
Organização dos Estados Americanos  
Washington, D.C. - USA

Prezado Senhor:

Estamos enviando a V.S. esta carta com o objetivo de responder aos argumentos apresentados pelo governo brasileiro ante as denúncias e a documentação a êle apresentadas pela Comissão Interamericana de Direitos ~~Humanos~~ <sup>do Homem</sup>, ~~da OEA~~, relativas a torturas sistemáticas de presos políticos nos cárceres brasileiros.

Após estudarmos detalhadamente as partes do documento do Governo Brasileiro que nos foram enviadas, chegamos a algumas conclusões que acreditamos serão de interesse de V.S. e da distinta Comissão.

No Capítulo II, o documento apresenta uma explanação do processo de prisão e julgamento de "subversivos" no Brasil, tentando provar que "lá não há presos políticos". No Capítulo V, delinea uma suposta campanha internacional de calúnias para difamar o Brasil no exterior, e, nega pura e simplesmente, a existência de torturas. A seguir, discorre sobre alguns dos inúmeros casos citados na documentação enviada pela CIDH, argumentando que as denúncias de torturas são tôdas falsas e as testemunhas suspeitas.

Consideramos insuficiente e insatisfatória a resposta do Governo Brasileiro às denúncias e à documentação sobre torturas apresentadas pela CIDH. A primeira coisa que chama a atenção é a facilidade com que o documento apresenta afirmações sem prova, algumas delas caluniosas contra pessoas eminentes e respeitadas. A frase constante no fim do Capítulo V, de que "o Brasil poderia encerrar aqui a sua informação, acrescentando que não admite que a palavra oficial do Governo seja impugnada por terroristas, assaltantes, homicidas e piratas", implica que todos os que levantam denúncias e protestos contra as torturas no Brasil, e assim impugnam a "palavra oficial do Governo" de que "as denúncias de tortura são tôdas falsas", são conseqüentemente "terroristas, assaltantes, homicidas e piratas". Ora, bem sabemos que, após milhares de denúncias, detalhando nomes, datas e lugares coerentes, de casos de torturas e mortes em cárceres brasileiros, não somente "testemunhas suspeitas" tomaram uma atitude ativa de protesto contra tais violências mas também personalidades e organizações imparciais e de renome internacional. Também chama a atenção a forma como o documento omite qualquer comentário sobre inúmeros casos mais significativos e que envolvem pessoas que reconhecidamente não são "terroristas, assaltantes, homicidas nem piratas", como é o caso do Pe. Anto-

JM VDW, DH, AHC 88

nio Soligo e do Frei Tito de Alencar Lima. Seus contundentes ~~testemunhos~~ testemunhos tiveram como resposta o silêncio.

O governo Brasileiro afirma que "não há presos políticos", "as denúncias de tortura são todas falsas", "não há tribunais de exceção", "não há restrições ao direito de defesa", "no Brasil ninguém é processado por crime de opinião", "nos estabelecimentos penais (os prisioneiros) ~~xxx~~ recebem tratamento humano"; por outro lado, nega permissão a uma comissão internacional para verificar "in loco" a veracidade das acusações de violação dos direitos humanos. Ora, se as afirmações constantes no documento são verdadeiras, porque iria o governo brasileiro temer a inspeção ~~xx~~ por uma comissão internacional, que tenha a liberdade de conversar com quem queira e ir onde afige necessário, recolhendo assim os elementos que permitirão um desmentido internacional das acusações de torturas sistemáticas no Brasil, que hoje correm mundo preocupando tanto as autoridades brasileiras ao ponto de estarem fazendo um esforço ingente para "melhorar a imagem do Brasil <sup>em</sup> o exterior"? É de notar que, quando se tratou da acusação de genocídio de índios brasileiros, o governo aceitou uma inspeção internacional, sem alegar "ameaça à soberania nacional", como em relação à comissão proposta pela CIDH, que iria investigar as denúncias de torturas e violações dos direitos humanos contra presos políticos em território brasileiro.

Outro fator que nos convence da necessidade de voltar a questionar o Governo Brasileiro é o fato de que novas denúncias sobre repressão, ~~storturas~~ torturas e mortes continuam sendo divulgadas no Brasil e no mundo todo, o que levanta a possibilidade ~~xxxx~~ não apenas de serem verdadeiros os casos já denunciados e insuficientemente respondidos pelo Governo Brasileiro, mas também de a situação de terror e repressão, e os desrespeitos aos mais essenciais direitos da pessoa humana continuarem fazendo vítimas no Brasil. Aos inúmeros casos já conhecidos pela CIDH, acrescentam-se muitos outros que têm ocorrido desde então, e que são efetivamente convincentes pela riqueza de detalhes, testemunhas e documentação que apresentam.

É de se esperar que, ao se perguntar ao torturador se ele torturou, sua resposta seja não; mas muito mais difícil para ele será negar com o mesmo simplismo as denúncias feitas por milhares de pessoas, diversas efetivamente insuspeitas, e mesmo por organizações reconhecidas no mundo todo e que assumem a responsabilidade pelo que dizem. Inúmeras vítimas e testemunhas de atos de violação dos direitos humanos praticados nos cárceres <sup>em</sup> brasileiros, assumindo os riscos de possíveis represálias ainda mais violentas, ~~xxxx~~ <sup>em</sup> a luz fatos gravíssimos, fornecendo relatos detalhados, com datas, locais e nomes de responsáveis e de testemunhas presentes. Diversas organizações respeitadas ~~stanto~~ dentro como fora do Brasil levantaram vozes de protesto e pediram que comissões internacionais pudessem investigar "in loco" as acusações de torturas sistemáticas contra presos políticos no Brasil. Em resposta, o Governo Brasileiro nega que existam ~~xxx~~ presos políticos e ~~xx~~ torturas no Brasil, afirma que tais denúncias pertencem a um plano perverso de calúnias promovido pelo comunismo internacional para difamar o Governo Brasileiro, e ainda negam a permissão para a ida ao Brasil de uma comissão imparcial que realizassem as investigações requeridas.

W



Enquanto isso, prosseguem as denúncias de torturas e mortes de pessoas que discordam do governo do Brasil, ao mesmo tempo em que o quadro político geral de supressão dos direitos políticos de cidadãos, de restrição da participação do povo na vida política, de repressão a movimentos de protesto, de censura dos meios de comunicação servem apenas para ~~as~~ que ainda mais se duvide e questione a omissa e esquiva resposta do governo Brasileiro às denúncias levantadas pela CIDH.

1.

COMENTARIOS SOBRE O CAPITULO "NAO HA PRESOS POLITICOS NO BRASIL"

I - "O Governo do Brasil Adota medidas preventivas ... mas tambem repressivas contra os agentes da subversao e as organizacoes internacionais".

"Nao ha tribunais de execucao no Brasil."

Nao vamos analisar aqui a maneira como o Governo Brasileiro, atraves de atos institucionais e da Lei de Seguranca Nacional, alguns dos quais, pelo seu carater anti-democratico e repressivo, mereceram censuras ate do ex-embaixador dos Estados Unidos no Brasil, Lincoln Gordon\*, tornou institucionais as medidas que antes eram consideradas de execucao, suspendendo o direito de "habeas corpus" de presos politicos, ampliando a area dos crimes previstos na Lei de Seguranca Nacional e agravando as penas nela previstas, sujeitando ao foro militar casos que antes estavam sujeitos a Justica Civil, concentrando na mao do Presidente da Republica os poderes que antes eram compartilhados com o Poder Legislativo e Judiciario, e assim por diante. Basta que se leia com atencao a serie de leis e atos institucionais posteriores ao golpe militar de 1964, especialmente os Atos Institucionais n. 5 e 6, o Ato Complementar n. 12 e a Nova Lei de Seguranca Nacional. Comentaremos apenas que, em vista disso, muito do que antes podia ser considerado execucao atualmente foi tornado institucional, o que confirma o carater repressivo do Governo Brasileiro, que e denunciado nos documentos a ele enviados pela Comissao Inter-Americana de Direitos Humanos, e ainda despe de sentido o argumento de que "nao ha tribunais de execucao no Brasil".

II - "Nao ha presos politicos no Brasil".

A) Na exposicao de motivos do decreto-lei n. 314 de 13 de marco de 1967, que modifica a Lei de Seguranca Nacional, o Ministro da Justica Gama e Silva diz que o projeto define "os crimes contra a seguranca nacional e a ordem politica e social, a fim de qualificar como delitos dessa natureza certos atos que, como tais, devem ser considerados, atendendo a natureza e gravidade dos mesmos".

B) Cabe a Justica Militar o processamento e julgamento de tais casos.

C) As prisoes brasileiras estao/<sup>atualmente</sup>cheias de cidadaos acusados de crimes de diversos graus contra a seguranca nacionais; a Justica Militar ~~publica diariamente os casos de crimes de natureza politica~~ publica sistematicamente um sem-numero de casos que ~~passam~~ desta natureza que passam diariamente por suas maos.

D) Nos ultimos anos o numero de pessoas que ~~passam~~ tem passado pelas prisoes e pelos tribunais militares brasileiros ~~atinge~~ acusadas de crimes de natureza politica atingem a casa dos milhares.

E) ~~Atualmente~~ O Governo Brasileiro argumenta que os casos de "terrorismo" nao podem ser includidos na classificacao de "crimes politicos", ignorando o principio de Nuremberg, segundo o qual todos os membros de um corpo social, e nao simplesmente os que constituem a autoridade, sao obrigados a resistir ativamente as acoes imorais do Estado.

\* "Commonweal", agosto de 1970. Carta.



F) Conforme se pode ver analisando diversos dos documentos apresentados pela Comissao InterAmericana de Direitos Humanos ao Governo Brasileiro, e em inumeros casos subsequentes que constarao ~~nesta~~ do presente documento, nem todas ~~as~~ as vitimas citadas nas denuncias estao presas e processadas ~~por~~ porque "assaltam bancos, depredam edificios publicos e privados, furtam automoveis e joias, desviam aeronaves de suas rotas normais e interrompem ~~maios~~ meios de comunicacao". E o caso de Pe. Antonio Soligo, Pe. Jan H. Talpe, advogado Antonio Expedito Pereira, advogado Marcilio Krigger, Frei Tito de Alencar Lima, Jean Marc Van der Weid, Marijane Vieira Lisboa, Marcia Savaget Fiani, Marta Klagsbaum e muitos outros citados nos documentos. Essas pessoas, mesmo dentro dos criterios discutiveis e internacionalmente nao reconhecidos <sup>do Governo Brasileiro,</sup> ~~se~~ podem ser classificados de prisioneiros politicos.

### III - "Nao ha julgamento secreto".

Ha uma enorme quantidade de casos de pessoas que estao ou estiveram presas durante meses sem uma denuncia formal contra elas junto a qualquer Auditoria, e conseqentemente sem estarem sujeitas a qualquer decreto de "prisao preventiva". Ha outros que, depois de decretada a prisao preventiva, passam um numero indeterminado de meses esperando julgamento, contra os ditames <sup>sem direito de defesa e sem julgamento</sup> das proprias leis do Governo Militar brasileiro. Ha ainda outros que ~~tem sido~~ ~~assassinados~~, ~~sem~~ ~~direito~~ ~~de~~ ~~defesa~~ ~~e~~ ~~sem~~ ~~julgamento~~ pelos orgaos militares repressivos do Governo Brasileiro (como veremos abaixo) ou pela organizacao para-militar Esquadrao da Morte, composta de policiais alguns dos quais comecam ~~some~~ agora, depois de anos de atividade impune, a ser processados.

### IV - "Nao ha restricao ao direito de defesa".

A) A restricao ao direito de defesa comeca na propria Lei de Seguranca Nacional, modificada em 21 de marco de 1969, que no Artigo 53 da a denuncia o direito de "arrolar ate tres testemunhas e, no caso de mais de um denunciado, podera ser ouvida mais uma acerca da responsabilidade daquela a respeito da qual nao houverem deposto as testemunhas inquiridas"; por outro lado, no Artigo 54, limita a defesa a indicar apenas "duas testemunhas para cada acusado, as quais deverao ser apresentadas, independentemente de intimacao, no dia e hora fixados para a inquiricao." E acrescenta, so para as testemunhas de defesa, mais uma restricao, em paragrafo unico: "as testemunhas de defesa que deixarem de comparecer a audiencia marcada, sem motivo de forza maior comprovado pelo Conselho, nao mais serao ouvidas, entendendo-se como desistencia o seu nao comparecimento."

B) Diversas presas tem permanecido durante longos periodos em total incomunicabilidade (conforme veremos abaixo), sem direito de ver nem advogado nem familiares, em desobediencia a lei.

C) Diversos tem permanecido presos durante longos periodos sem que as autoridades policiais apresentem qualquer denuncia a orgao judicial competente,

conforme a lei; assim, não podem ser oficialmente considerados presos, mas sim sequestrados, e permanecem sem direito de defesa e injustamente privados da liberdade que a lei garante;

D) Em diversas ocasiões, quando os presos políticos recebem a palavra durante seu processo de denúncia ou de defesa, e iniciam a exposição dos métodos violentos de interrogatório a que foram submetidos, do dilatado período de incomunicabilidade em que foram conservados, durante o qual não puderam legalmente defender-se por meio de seus advogados, a palavra lhes é cortada, suas declarações são ~~excluídas~~ excluídas dos autos e, em diversas ocasiões, a sala é evacuada do público presente.

E) Devemos observar que as torturas denunciadas por prisioneiros e advogados ocorrem não durante o período de julgamento, mas sim durante os interrogatórios, tempo em que os presos são conservados na incomunicabilidade, muitas vezes por ~~um~~ período indeterminado.

F) As autoridades militares têm utilizado métodos de intimidação contra os advogados que se dispõem a defender prisioneiros políticos. Em novembro de 1970, segundo a Ordem dos Advogados do Rio de Janeiro, três advogados eminentes - inclusive o Dr. Heleno Fragoso, membro do Conselho da Ordem, - foram sequestrados em suas casas pela polícia. A mãe de Teodomiro Romeiro dos Santos, de 19 anos, condenado a morte em Salvador, Bahia, em 18 de março de 1971, afirmou que não conseguiu achar um advogado disposto a defender seu filho naquela cidade. Sua defesa foi entregue a um advogado do tribunal, que é um funcionário civil cujos vencimentos procedem do próprio tribunal militar.

G) O Ato Institucional n. 5, de 13 de dezembro de 1968, suspendeu um dos básicos direitos do homem acusado de crimes políticos, o direito de "habeas corpus". (Artigo 10).

Como podemos ver, pouco sobra do que se possa chamar direito de defesa para os presos políticos. Perde o sentido, portanto, a afirmação de que "não há restrição ao direito de defesa".

V - "No Brasil ninguém é preso ou processado por crime de opinião; escritores, jornalistas, advogados, religiosos, artistas ou estudantes desempenham com independência as suas atividades, pois o Governo respeita os princípios constitucionais da liberdade de trabalho, da liberdade de culto e da liberdade de convicções políticas e filosóficas ..."

A) O prof. Caio Prado Jr. foi condenado em São Paulo a 4 anos e meio de prisão por ter dado uma entrevista "subversiva" a um jornal estudantil. Esta sentença foi diminuída para 18 meses pelo Supremo Tribunal Militar, em 2 de setembro de 1970. O estudante que fez a entrevista, Antonio Mendes de Almeida Jr., também foi condenado no mesmo processo. Ambos estão até hoje na prisão.



B) Pedro Marcos Viana, 22 anos, economista e professor universitario, asilou-se na embaixada do Chile, depois de ter sido preso juntamente com sua mae, uma de suas irmas com o marido, e sua sogra. Viana dirigiu uma carta (anexa) ao diretor do Instituto de Matematica da Universidade do Rio de Janeiro, contando suas tristes experiencias e as razoes que o levaram a sair do pais. (#1)

C) A Livraria Leonardo da Vinci, no Rio de Janeiro, que vende livros de procedencia fancesa e e frequentada por intelectuais e estudantes, e obrigada a apresentar a policia politica a relacao das pessoas que solicitaram a importacao de livros assim como os titulos requeridos. Assim, a liberdade elementar de aquisicao de um livro pode converterese num crime politico e ser sancionada pelos tribunais militares.

D) A Ordem dos Advogados do Brasil, Secao do Distrito Federal, dirigiu no dia 26 de fevereiro de 1970 um longo officio ao Ministro da Justica, Alfredo Buzaid, relatando e pedindo providencias contra o "tratamento odioso e ilegal dispensado ao advogado Jose Oscar Pelucio Pereira, pelos policiais do Departamento de Policia Federal, depois que foi preso, no dia 2 de fevereiro de 1970". Queriam que confessasse haver participado de certa reuniao do Partido Comunista Brasileiro, juntamente com outras pessoas. Segue a carta "Tomamos conhecimento, com satisfacao, mas sem qualquer surpresa, de declaracoes prestadas a imprensa por V. Excia., nas quais ficou claro que nao seriam toleradas violencias, e que os torturadores seriam punidos. Mais um advogado acaba de ser preso e de ter valentado seu direito de ir e vir. Preso e torturado para ~~confessar~~ confessar fato que nao praticou e pelo qual esta ja denunciado em processo regular..." (#2)

E) ANTONIO CARLOS CALLADO, jornalista e escritor, teve seus direitos politicos suspensos e foi impedido de trabalhar em qualquer jornal, radio, TV ou organizacao educativa. Fii correspondente em Londres, um dos primeiros correspondentes a ir a Franca depois da invasao da Normandia. Editor-chefe do Correio da Manha, de 50 a 60, depois pertenceu ao corpo editorial do Jornal do Brasil. Escreveu extensivamente sobre as condicoes sociais do Nordeste do Brasil, sobre os trabalhadores de cana e as ligas camponesas. Foi preso em 1965, e outra vez em janeiro de 1969.

F) A Policia Politica prendeu o jornalista Helio Fernandes, em Zins de agosto de 1971, e suspendeu a publicacao do jornal que ele dirigia, Tribuna da Imprensa, por 48 horas. Tais medidas tiveram como causa a publicacao de um editorial assinado na primeira pagina da edicao de 24 de agosto, acusando os militares de apoiarem um Governo impopular em vez de tomar a iniciativa de libertar o Brasil da opressao economica estrangeira. (#3)

G) Em 12 de agosto de 1971, o Superior Tribunal Militar relaxou a prisao preventiva dos sociologos Artur Jader da Cunha Neves e sua mulher Angela Maria da Cunha Neves, que ficaram presos um ano e meio por terem enviado para o exterior noticias sobre ~~os maus tratos~~ os maus tratos a presos politicos no Brasil. Estamam implicados na denuncia tambem o diplomata Miguel Darci de Oliveira e a funcionaria do Itamarati e jornalista Maria

Porciuncula de Moraes, que foram demitidos de suas funcoes e tiveram prisao preventiva decretada, (#4)

*(e ainda o Prof. Mario Pedrosa, que asilou-se na Embaixada do Chile e atualmente vive neste pais.)*

H) Em Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul, o Tribunal Militar esta processando o Pe. Oscar Albino Fuhr por ter permitido que seis pessoas realizassem uma peca teatral "o Patrao e o Operario" no salao de sua parouquia, Igreja Sao Paulo Apostolo, em Canoas. Os seis atores foram presos, inclusive Leonilde Boscaini, uma ex-freira.

I) Em 6 de agosto de 1971, o Supremo Tribunal Federal absolveu por unanimidade o estudante Jose Wilson Lopes Pereira, que havia sido condenado a um ano e dois meses de prisao, por ter escrito carta com criticas desfavoraveis as autoridades educacionais ao renunciar ao cargo de presidente do Centro de Historia da Universidade de Sao Paulo. (#5)

J) Em carta escrita pelo Bispo de Barra do Pirai e Volta Redonda, D. Waldir Calheiros, dos Bispos brasileiros, ele afirma:

"Acredito estar seguindo os desejos dos meus colegas de Episcopado ao levar aos seu conhecimento o processo militar movido contra mim e mais 15 sacerdotes desta Diocese... Durante o inquerito, 25 padres foram chamados para testemunhar no Quartel do I Batalhao de Infantaria Blindade de Barra Mansa, pelo Coronel Moacyr Pereira, e isto criou um clima de ansiedade ... Mais tarde, durante a reuniao geral e o retiro do clero, um dos padres me disse que o coronel fez saber aos padres que "se se fizesse um pedido de intervencao (da Santa Se na Diocese), os mesmos nao seriam sujeitos a inquerito e, se o pedido fosse aceito e o Bispo tranferido, ele suspenderia o processo" ... A imprensa local esta a servico das autoridades militares, e so publica o que e ofensivo, prejudicial e desrespeitoso para com o Bispo, os padres e a Igreja. O Cel Pereira afirma pelo radio que eu sou comunista. A imprensa brasileira nunca ouviu o meu lado, so o fez a imprensa estrangeira..." (#6)

L) Em 7 de outubro de 1970, " a sede nacional da Juventude Operaria Catolica e do Instituto Brasileiro para o Desenvolvimento (IBRADES) foi invadida pela policia, e presos membros das duas organizacoes, somados aos muitos casos de padres e leigos que tem sido encarcerados em desrespeito aberto as condicoes claramente estabelecidas pelas leis da nacao, que exigem a comunicacao de qualquer detencao ao tribunal competente e impoem limitacoes ao periodo de incomunicabilidade de uma pessoa," disse em comunicado a Comissao Eclesiastica da Conferencia Nacional dos Bispos do Brasil.. Esta Comissao procedeu a investigacoes sobre a prisao de padres e leigos da JOC e IBRADES, ouvindo testemunhos do bispo ~~Alex~~ Aloisio Lorscheider, entao secretario geral da CNBB, Pe. Fernando Avila SJ, diretor do IBRADES e ~~Provincial dos Jesuitas no Brasil~~ Pe. Pedro Velloso, Provincial Gesuita no Brasil. Os tres estiveram detidos na sede do IBRADES durante quatro horas, apos sua invasao por policiais. Os resultados da investigacao, conforme relatados pelo Cardeal Vicente Scherer, foram:

Os decretos publicados em setembro de 1969 pelo governo com relacao a prisao e detencao em regime de incomunicabilidade foram violados



pelos policiais que invadiram e prenderam membros da JOC e IIRADES.

As prisoes de setembro e outubro de quatro padres e diversos leigos associados com a JOC levantaram alarme em amplos setores da populacao, devido a "maneira abrupta" da Policia do Exercito, ao lapso de diversas semanas ate que os prisioneiros pudessem ser localizados e ao fato de que, ate o momento da investigacao, um mes depois, nenhuma acusacao formal havia sido feita.

Os quatro padres visitados pelo Cardeal foram encontrados em boas condicoes fisicas mas insistiram em que se quebre o seu regime de incomunicabilidade.

M) Um juiz militar de Juiz de Fora, Minas Gerais, disse no inicio de agosto de 1971 que comecara o interrogatorio de 33 padres e religiosos que assinaram ha tres anos um documento protestando contra a morte do estudante Edson Luis pela Policia Militar do Rio de Janeiro, durante uma manifestacao de rua em marco de 1968. (# 7)

N) O Jornal "O Sao Paulo", da Arquidiocese de Sao Paulo, publicou em 6 de fevereiro de 1971 uma nota (anexa) do Arcebispo metropolitano, D. Evaristo Arns, respondendo aos artigos da imprensa da Capital que anunciavam sob o titulo "Dois subversivos presos na favela" e "Preso Padre subversivo", afirmando que tal noticia foi dada pelo Delegado Alcides Cintra Bueno do Departamento Estadual de Ordem Politica e Social, em entrevista coletiva a Imprensa. Afirma o Arcebispo que o Pe. Giulio Vicini e a assistente social Yara Spadini "foram torturados, de maneira ignominiosa, no DEOPS de nossa Capital" e que "o Vigario Episcopal da Regiao Sul e nos pudemos verificar pessoalmente". Diz tambem que "nem o Pe. Giulio nem D. Yara podem ser taxados de subversivos sem que sejam julgados em tribunal competente e com direito de ampla defesa". Esta nota recebeu o apoio unanime do Conselho de Presbiteros, "que e por definicao o Senado da Arquidiocese", e foi afixada nas portas de todas as igrejas paroquiais e oratorios publicos da Arquidiocese de Sao Paulo. Pe. Giulio e D. Yara estao presos ate hoje.

O) Julien Beck, Judith Malina e 13 outros membros do grupo teatral norte-americano "Living Theatre", que estavam representando suas pecas para o publico nas ruas, e recusando-se a fazer delas um instrumento de lucro, foram presos no dia 1 de julho de 1971, acusados de trafico e consumo de maconha e depois tambem como suspeitos de atividades subversivas. ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Um dos membros mais antigos do "Living Theatre", Steven Ben Israel, ~~que escapou da prisao por se esconder durante muitos dias e~~ depois conseguiu sair secretamente do pais, declarou que "um australiano, um canadense, um alemao, um austriaco e um portugues, todos membros do grupo, foram esbofeteados, e dois brasileiros e um peruano foram torturados. Entre outras irregularidades apontadas pelo advogado Ariosvaldo Campos Pires no pedido de Habeas Corpus em favor de Julien Beck e de 14 dos integrantes do "Living Theatre" esta o fato de nao ter sido encontrada maconha com os moradores da comunidade de Julien Beck, i.e., ate hoje nao ha prova nem flagrante que sustente as acusacoes contra o grupo e mesmo que justificasse sua

prisao. Diversas personalidades internacionais ja se manifestaram em protesto pela prisao arbitraria do grupo, entre os quais Marshall Mac Luhan e Arthur Miller, e Jean-Paul Sartre. Pressionado pela publicidade e protestos em todo o mundo, o Gen-Presidente Carrastazu Medici decretou dia 27 de agosto de 1971 a expulsao de treze membros do "Living Theatre" do Brasil, inclusive Julien Beck e Judith Malina. (Anexo 8)

P) O Pe. Geraldo de Oliveira Lima, da Equipe Paroquial de Cra-teus, foi preso a 9 de julho de 1971, com a alegacao de que carregava material impresso subversivo. Ficou 11 dias incomunicavel. Sua prisao preventiva foi decretada em 21 de julho de 1971, e ele ate hoje se encontra preso. A policia Federal invadiu o escritorio regional da CNBB, segundo informacao divulgada pelo Boletim "Noticias", dos bispos brasileiros, em busca de "material subversivo". O Pe. Carmil Vieira tambem foi preso, e solto no dia seguinte. (Anexo 9)

Q) O engenheiro e ex-deputado Rubens Beyrodt Paiva foi preso dia 20 de janeiro de 1971, sem apresentacao de mandato judicial ou de determinacao de qualquer autoridade militar; sua casa foi invadida por homens armados pertencentes ao I Exercito, no Rio de Janeiro. No dia seguinte, foram levadas prisioneiras sua mulher e sua filha de 15 anos, Eliana, permanecendo em casa apenas tres menores com idades inferiores a 12 anos. Depois de uma noite de interrogatorio, Eliana foi deixada, as 9 horas da manha do dia 22 (Declaracoes do Advogado do Dr. Rubens, Dr. Lino Machado, publicadas no Jornal do Brasil de 27 de janeiro de 1971). Ate hoje ~~o~~ o engenheiro continua desaparecido. Sua esposa esteve presa incomunicavel durante 12 dias. No dia 18 de junho de 1971, o deputado Nina Ribeiro, em nome da ARENA, ~~fa~~ partido do governo, falou na Camara, alegando que o I Exercito expediu um documento explicando que o ex-deputado teria sido sequestrado por terroristas, no Alto da Boa Vista. Ja o deputado Pedrosa Horta, do MDB, partido oficial de oposicao, solicitou serias providencias, uma vez que, desde que foi preso Rubens Paiva, "as autoridades daquele I Exercito respondiam por sua incolumidade e por sua vida". Segundo testemunho de Maria Eunice Paiva, esposa do Dr. Rubens, em carta dirigida ao Conselho de Defesa da Pessoa Humana do Brasil (cujo presidente e o mesmo Ministro da Justica Alfredo Buzaid), Rubens Paiva, ela e a filha Eliana estiveram presos no Quartel da Policia do Exercito, na rua Barao de Mesquita, Rio de Janeiro. Ali ela viu num livro de registro de prisioneiros que lhe mostraram, sua propria foto, a de Eliana e a de Rubens. Disseram-lhe, durante as longas horas de interrogatorio, que seu marido se encontrava ali tambem. Sua carta (anexa) revela claramente a serie de contradicoes em que caem as autoridades militares para tentar encobrir sua responsabilidade num dentre ~~uma~~ centenas de casos de desaparecimentos de cidadaes que caem nas maos dos orgaos de repressao do governo brasileiro. Sabe-se que, um mes depois da prisao do Dr. Rubens, o Ministro Alfredo Buzaid disse a D. Maria Eurine Paiva e seu sogro que Rubens Paiva estava nas maos do Exercito e sua vida estava sendo investigada por subversao, mas que ele estava bem e seria logo libertado. Na reuniao de 12 de agosto de 1971 do Conselho para a Defesa dos Direitos Humanos, o seu presidente Ministro Buzaid aceitou a explicacao do Exercito publicada no mes anterior, de que o Dr. Paiva fora sequestrado dos agentes policiais por terroristas desconhecidos na manha de 22 de janeiro, um mes antes de o Ministro ter dado pessoalmente a familia Paiva noticias de seu marido e filho. Tudo isso esta em to-



tal contradicao com as palavras de mais uma autoridade, o ex-comandante do I Exercito, General Sizen Sarmento, que afirmou ao Supremo Tribunal Federal, ~~gruex~~ pouco apos a prisao de Rubens Paiva, que o I Exercito nada tinha a ver com o desaparecimento do ex-deputado. De tudo isso, resta que o Dr. Rubens continua desaparecido, e ja se arquivou o seu caso no Conselho de Defesa dos Direitos da Pessoa Humana.!!! (Anexo #10)

Poderiamos acrescentar muitos outros casos aos acima mencionados, que tratam tambem da prisao e torturas contra pessoas que nunca "assaltaram bancos, sequestraram diplomatas, assassinaram indefesos funcionarios, depredaram edificios publicos e privados, furtaram automoveis e joias, desviaram aeronaves de suas rotas normais ou interromperam meios de comunicacao", e portanto, segundo os criterios das proprias autoridades brasileiras, nao podem ser considerados delinquentes comuns.

Cai por terra tambem o argumento inveridico de que "no Brasil ninguem e preso ou processado por crime de opiniao; escritores, jornalistas, advogados, religiosos, artistas ou estudantes desempenham com independencia as suas atividades, pois o governo, ... etc. etc."

VI) - "O Estado... se move em observancia dos principios juridicos, prende ~~os~~ ~~carcerarios~~ na conformidade da lei..."

Pelos casos acima apresentados pode-se ja ver que:

- 1) "os principios juridicos atualmente vigentes" nao sao aqueles de um regime democratico, mas uma modificacao do Direito Brasileiro para servir aos objetivos repressivos do Estado atual;
- 2) mesmo esses principios nao tem sido respeitados em uma enorme quantidade de casos.

Apresentamos aqui (em anexo) um artigo da advogada Anina Alcantara de Carvalho, que desde 1965 ja defendeu mais de mil prisioneiros politicos diante dos tribunais militares brasileiros. Ela manteve contato pessoal com presos politicos que defendeu em Sao Paulo. Jurista, sem ligacao com os partidos politicos ou as organizacoes revolucionarias brasileiras, ela saiu legalmente do Brasil em fins de fevereiro de 1971, ~~por nao poder mais~~ como diz ela propria, por nao poder mais defender seus clientes, uma vez que, "para um advogado, o trabalho legal e atualmente quase inutil no Brasil. Alem de mencionar as inumeras pessoas a que os advogados sao submetidos, ao tentarem defender presos politicos, ela destaca diversos casos de violacao da lei pelas autoridades. (Anexo #11)

Em suas proprias palavras, "a mais grave violacao da lei e o desrespeito pelas autoridades policiais e judiciais dos prazos prescrites pe-

la lei. Ha no Brasil prisioneiros que esperam mais de dois anos para serem julgados, enquanto o Codigo Penal da Justica Militar determina um prazo nao superior a 70 dias entre a abertura do processo e seu julgamento". Este e, entre outros, o caso de Frei Carlos Alberto Libanio Christo, que esta preso desde novembro de 1969, esperando que se forme um processo contra ele e que, enfim, venha a ser julgado.

Continua a advogada dizendo que "apesar das determinacoes bem claras do Estatuto da Ordem dos Advogados, que preve que estes 'podem comunicar-se pessoalmente e em segredo com seus clientes, mesmo quando estes sao considerados incommunicaveis e estao detidos em locais da policia civil ou militar' (Artigo 89, III da Lei 4.215/27.4.63), as autoridades recusam-se nao somente a conceder-lhes esta autorizacao (enquanto isso seus clientes sao torturados) mas negam a propria existencia do prisioneiro". Destacamos aqui, do meio de inumeros casos de prolongados periodos de incommunicabilidade, o do geologo Marcos Penna Sattamini de Arruda, que permaneceu 5 meses e meio incommunicavel, e, (segundo o documento anexo) so encontrou seu advogado pela primeira vez quando foi libertado, ~~aproximadamente~~ aproximadamente nove meses depois de sua prisao. Sao inumeros tambem os casos em que a policia simplesmente nega a propria existencia do prisioneiro, como o ex-deputado Rubens Paiva, ja citado, o jovem Stuart Jones e o Engenheiro Jorge Leal, todos do Estado da Guanabara. (Anexo 12)

Aquele que ler o texto completo do artigo da Dra. Anina, e compara-lo com os documentos ja apresentados e mais os que vao anexos a esta carta, podera facilmente ver a coerencia dos fatos apresentados, com as palavras da respeitada advogada. E podera mais uma vez concluir que a afirmacao inicial do documento oficial brasileiro nao corresponde a realidade.

VII - "...e os recolhe a estabelecimentos penais, onde recebem tratamento humano. Haja visto o Presidio Tiradentes, em Sao Paulo, o Presidio Ilha das Flores, na Guanabara, a Penitenciaria de Linhares, em Juiz de Fora, e o Presidio das Pedras Brancas, no Rio Grande do Sul, que sao organizacoes modelares."

Os prisioneiros politicos tem diversos direitos que sao reconhecidos nao apenas pela lei brasileira, mas tambem pelo Direito Internacional; mas a violacao destes direitos tem sido denunciada sistematicamente por um sem numero de presos politicos que passaram ou ainda estao nos carceres brasileiros, e tambem por diversos advogados.

Apresentamos abaixo a relacao de documentos sobre as condicoes de vida nos presidios mais conhecidos do Brasil, que serao por si sos mais eloquentes que qualquer argumentacao:

3MVAW, DHDHII 38

- 1) Carta do Presidio Ilha Grande, transcrita no Registro da Camara de Representantes dos Estados Unidos, no dia 3 de agosto de 1971, a pedido do congressista Dellums.
- 2) Carta dos prisioneiros do DOPS de Recife, de 2 de marco de 1971. (#13)
- 3) Prisao Ilha das Cobras, de 19 de fevereiro de 1971. (#14)
- 4) "O mais recente campo de concentracao da ditadura fascista do Brasil", sobre o Presidio Ilha Grande.
- 5) Carta de Frei Giorgio Callegari ao Nuncio Apostolico do Brasil e a outras autoridades Religiosas, civis e militares, em 13 de setembro de 1970. (#15)
- 6) "O Regime Penitenciario na Prisao Carandiru, Sao Paulo", documento ~~XXXXXXXX~~ escrito por 33 presos politicos em 13 de marco de 1971. (#16)

Diante de tais testemunhos, resta-nos perguntar se sao apenas as autoridades brasileiras os responsaveis por tantos horrores, ou se tambem nos outros, que tomamos conhecimento de todos estes fatos e guardamos um cumplice silencio.

Voltamos a repetir que, enquanto uma comissao internacional enviada pela Comissao Interamericana dos Direitos do Homem, ou por alguma outra organizacao internacional, como a Cruz Vermelha, nao tiver a oportunidade de verificar pessoalmente a veracidade dos fatos descritos e apresentados abundantemente à Comissao Interamericana, é provavel que se mantenha um "dialogo de surdos" entre esta Comissao e o Governo Brasileiro, a primeira trazendo a luz as mais graves denuncias de violacao dos direitos humanos pelas autoridades brasileiras, e estas simplesmente negando tais denuncias, sem que haja qualquer mudanca substancial na triste situacao dos que ~~XXXX~~ tem a infelicidade de cair nas malhas da repressao oficial do Brasil.

~~XXXXXX~~



COMENTARIOS SOBRE O CAPITULO "A QUESTAO DAS TORTURAS".

O documento do Governo Brasileiro, seguindo a linha de fazer afirmacoes sem comprovacao convincente, prossegue:

"A campanha difamatoria contra o Brasil atinge aqui o seu ponto culminante, como parte da guerra psicologica tecnicamente planejada pelo Movimento Comunista Internacional."

"O exame dos documentos...mostra... que... utilizam as mesmas fontes;... provam a parcialidade de organizacoes internacionais que proporcionam apoio irrestrito a campanha montada pelo Movimento Comunista Internacional..,"

Em primeiro lugar, e de se esperar que, no caso de serem praticadas torturas contra presos politicos, nao apenas organizacoes e partidos esquerdistas se manifestem, mas tambem outros orgaos e instituicoes que nao tem cunho politico ou ideologico e que se opoem a tao graves violacoes dos direitos do homem. Assim, o fato de o Partido Comunista Brasileiro (citado no documento do Governo Brasileiro como principal responsavel) ~~nas suas~~ ~~denuncias de torturas~~ fazer denuncias de torturas que teriam ocorrido em presidios brasileiros nao significa que a priori elas sao falsas, nem muito menos que todas elas procedem da mesma fonte. Como bem disse D. Helder Camara numa entrevista a Oriana Fallaci, publicada pela revista "Siete Dias Ilustrados" (Buenos Aires) em 5 de outubro de 1970: "Nos poderiamos ser justificados por ter duvidas sobre as torturas, no inicio; ainda nao havia provas. Mas duvidar delas hoje e grotesco: ha tantas provas que ate o relato-rio da Comissao Internacional de Juristas estava repleto delas, com nomes e datas. Espero que o escandalo na imprensa estrangeira e a reacao da Igreja mundial ajudem a melhorar as coisas."

Como se as palavras do Arcebispo brasileiro nao bastassem, apresentamos em anexo os seguintes documentos de organizacoes e personalidades de respeito no Brasil e em todo o mundo, cujas palavras nao podem ser contestadas por uma simples negativa, ou muito menos por acusacoes infundadas de "inspiracao pelo Movimento Comunista Internacional":

- 1) "Um protesto ao Governo Brasileiro", assinado em 23 de fevereiro de 1970 por um grande numero de intelectuais norte-americanos. (#17)
- 2) Carta de protesto contra a repressao e tortura no Brasil, enviada ao Secretario Geral da Organizacao das Nacoes Unidas, U-Thant, em 16 de junho de 1970, por um grande numero de autoridades universitarias, dirigentes sindicais e estudantis, intelectuais e artistas, senadores, deputados e dirigentes politicos do Chile. (#18)
- 3) "Documento sobre a repressao politica e o terror no Brasil", publicado em 5 de junho de 1970 pelo Conselho Nacional das Igrejas de Cristo dos Estados Unidos. (#19)
- 4) Carta da Conferencia dos Bispos Catolicos Canadenses, de 4 de setembro de 1970, contra a repressao e torturas no Brasil e em solidariedade aos

bispos brasileiros que fizeram a mesma denuncia em 27 de maio de 1970. (#20)

5) "Relatorio sobre a repressao policial e as torturas inflingidas aos oponentes e presos politicos no Brasil", publicado pela Comissao Internacional de Juristas em 22 de julho de 1970. (#21)

6) "Mensagem da Comissao Episcopal da Conferencia Nacional dos Bispos do Brasil, Nordeste I", denunciando o terror e torturas contra padres presos pelas autoridades militares brasileiras por atividades politicas. Esta mensagem foi assinada em 25 de agosto de 1970 por 15 bispos dos estados do Ceara, Maranhao e Piaui. (#22)

7) Carta de Dom Antonio Batista Fragoso, Bispo de Crateus, ao Presidente General Garrastazu Medici, em 10 de novembro de 1970, denunciando a repressao contra membros da hierarquia e da Juventude Operaria Catolica, torturas contra padres presos, e pedindo a soltura dos prisioneiros e o fim das violencias policiais. (#23)

8) "Documento da Igreja Evangelica de Confissao Luterana do Brasil sobre a relacao entre a igreja e o estado", adotado unanimemente pelo Setimo Sinodo Geral desta Igreja de 750.000 membros, no encontro de Curitiba de 22 a 25 de outubro de 1970, e apresentado ao Presidente General Garrastazu Medici. Neste documento os luteranos adotam uma firme posicao contraria a violacao dos direitos humanos por meio da tortura de presos politicos e suspeitos de atividades subversivas. (#24)

9) "Depoimento de Solidariedade das Irmas de Notre, Maranhao", tornado publico em fins de janeiro de 1971, e assinado por treze irmas missionarias norte-americanas. Neste documento as irmas denunciam nao somente a repressao e tortura pelas autoridades militares brasileiras contra presos politicos mas tambem o governo norte-americano que "silenciosamente apoia este tipo de governo continuando a negociar com ele." (#25)

10) Comunicado Oficial da Arquidiocese de Sao Paulo sobre a prisao e torturas do Pe. Giulio Vicini e da Assistente social Yara Spadini, tornado publico em 4 de fevereiro de 1971 e colocado nas portas das igrejas paroquiais e dos oratorios publicos da Arquidiocese. (#26)

11) Carta de D. Waldyr Calheiros, Bispo de Volta Redonda, a Conferencia Nacional dos Bispos do Brasil, de janeiro de 1971, denunciando diversos casos de tortura de padres e membros da Juventude Operaria Catolica.

12) Dois documentos apresentados a Comissao de Direitos Humanos das Nacoes Unidas, em 23 de marco de 1971, ~~por diversos~~ assinado por inumeras organizacoes internacionais. Contem denuncias da sistematica violacao dos direitos humanos pelas autoridades brasileiras. (#27)

13) Intervencao do Senador William Proxmire em 16 de marco de 1971, numa das sessoes do Senado Norte-Americano, na qual denuncia as torturas pela policia militar e federal do Brasil, e a ajuda dada pelo Governo Norte-Americano para o treinamento e equipamento das forcas repressivas brasileiras. (#28)

14) Intervencao do congressista Dellums, em 3 de agosto de 1971, numa das sessoes da Camara de Representantes Norte-Americana, na qual propoe uma emenda a um projeto anterior, segundo a qual nenhuma assistencia sera dada e nenhuma venda sera feita ao Brasil ate que o Presidente da Republica anuncie ao Congresso que a Comissao Interamericana de Direitos Humanos determinou que o Governo do Brasil nao esta torturando prisioneiros politicos. (#29)

O documento do Governo Brasileiro tenta explicar todas as denúncias de torturas e violências por parte das autoridades militares como fruto de uma espetacular montagem de uma rede de propaganda transoceanica pelo "Movimento Comunista Internacional", com a finalidade unica de "explorar as calunias e denunciar o regime brasileiro". Acusa indiscriminadamente de comunistas, sem apresentar qualquer prova, personalidades internacionais como o teologo jesuita Michel Certeau, Pierre Jales, o Pe. Georges Casalis, Jean Jacques de Felice e outros. Deixa de mencionar as inumeras denúncias de bispos brasileiros individualmente, e da Conferencia Nacional dos Bispos do Brasil, contra as torturas, e faz ouvidos moucos ao depoimento do Coronel Jarbas Passarinho, Ministro da Educacao, reconhecendo publicamente que "as torturas, infelizmente, existem em nosso país."

Depois de afirmar gratuitamente que "todos os protagonistas sao comunistas, uns nacionais, outros estrangeiros, unidos pelo proposito de combater a Revolucao Democratica de 31 de março de 1964", o capitulo termina com a seguinte generalizacao:

"Os denunciantes nao poderao jamais provar a acusacao, nao so porque e falso o seu objeto, como tambem por serem suspeitas as testemunhas. O Brasil poderia encerrar aqui a sua informacao, acrescentando que nao admite que a palavra oficial do Governo seja impugnada por terroristas, assaltantes, homicidas e piratas. Todavia, em consideracao a Comissao Interamericana dos Direitos do Homem, vai proceder a analise de varios casos apontados nas denúncias, demonstrando a falsidade das acusacoes. Considera este criterio legitimo e valida para a compreensao dos casos restantes que, por identidade de razao, tambem nao sao verdadeiros. Por isso nao se ocupara com todos os casos. O rol e so de mentiras, infamias e calunias. Verificando-se que alguns fatos sao falsos, cai por terra tudo o mais, porque a fonte e sempre a mesma."

Atualmente, as denúncias de torturas e mortes pelas maos dos orgaos repressivos brasileiros somam milhares de casos. Bem sabemos que, apesar de as torturas serem executadas nos quartéis e centrais policiais a que so tem acesso os proprios elementos das Forças Armadas e da Policia, as provas de sua execucao procedem nao apenas dos testemunhos das vítimas ou de pessoas que tenham assistido aos torturados nas prisoes e hospitais e decidem correr o risco de denuncia-las publicamente, mas tambem das marcas de tais violências que muitos ex-prisioneiros vao carregar em seus corpos e em suas mentes para o resto da vida; e ainda dos testemunhos de cidadao e mesmo de autoridades religiosas que viram em pessoas torturadas as irrefutaveis chagas provocadas pela violencia por que passaram enquanto presas. A tudo isso o Governo Brasileiro nao tem resposta, e prefere ignorar casos contundentes como o

da.

SMVDW, DA, DHEB 9



o do Pe. Antonio Soligo, Frei Tito de Alencar, Pe. Antonio Monteiro, Pe. Natanael Campos, Pe. Giulio Vicini e sra. Yaza Spadini; antes, rejeita as denuncias como um todo, classificando-as de falsas e acusando as testemunhas de suspeitas.

Em vista destes fatos, e mais de que "a palavra oficial do Governo Brasileiro" nao esta sendo impugnada apenas "por terroristas, assaltantes, homicidas e piratas", mas por muitas personalidades de responsabilidade e respeito internacional e internacional;

uma vez que os casos de torturas que sao trazidos a publico ja estao na casa dos milhares, procedendo as denuncias das mais diversas fontes, e de diversas partes do territorio nacional, com nomes, datas e locais descritos com precisao e uma indiscutivel coerencia entre os numerosos depoimentos;

uma vez que autoridades de respeito internacional, como as que ate agora citamos, e mais o proprio Santo Padre e o Cardeal Alfrink, da Holanda, ja se pronunciaram contra as torturas, mencionando direta e indiretamente o Brasil como o palco dessas violacoes aos direitos humanos; (# 30)

uma vez que os argumentos do Governo Brasileiro implicam que todas as personalidades, organizacoes nacionais e internacionais, institucionais e religiosas, todos os meios de comunicacao que de alguma maneira levaram a publico sob a forma de denuncia ou protesto os casos de torturas pelas autoridades militares brasileiras, sao irresponsaveis, indignos de credito e mesmo comprometidos ou influenciados pela mao onipotente e invisivel do "Movimento Comunista Internacional";

uma vez que os argumentos apresentados pelo Governo Brasileiro no documento em questao sao parciais, muitas vezes despidos de logica, muitas vezes baseados em afirmacoes sem fundamento, indevidamente generalizantes, muitas vezes caluniosas, e no seu conjunto inconvincentes;

uma vez que diversos dos mais contundentes e irrefutaveis testemunhos apresentados pela Comissao Interamericana de Direitos Humanos ao Governo Brasileiro foram por este confortavelmente ignorados;

uma vez que, para evitar uma "probatio in loco", o Governo Brasileiro respondeu negativamente ao pedido da referida Comissao de enviar ao Brasil uma comissao internacional que averiguasse a veracidade das denuncias,

concluimos que o documento do Governo Brasileiro e inconvincente e insatisfatorio, e sugerimos a Comissao que apresente ao mesmo um novo pedido de esclarecimentos sobre as denuncias cada vez mais proliferadas de violencias contra os mais basicos direitos do homem nos carcerees brasileiros, juntamente com um novo pedido de permissao para a ida de uma comissao investigadora internacional, que possa averiguar "in loco" a verdade das denuncias.

Em vista de tudo que foi dito acima, focalizaremos apenas o caso do assassinato do Pe. Henrique, e em seguida apresentaremos a documentacao que pode ser util para um novo questionamento do Governo Brasileiro pela Comissao Interamericana dos Direitos do Homem.

90

COMENTARIO SOBRE O CAPITULO "ASSASSINIO DO PADRE  
ANTONIO HENRIQUE PEREIRA NETO

Algumas conclusoes interessantes podem ser tiradas das afirmacoes contidas neste capitulo.

Apos o crime que tirou a vida ao Pe. Henrique, diz o documento que a policia dedicou-se a investigar o caso, buscando os autores e as causas; o ponto maximo a que chegaram estas investigacoes levaram os autos a indicar "a possibilidade de serem os criminosos alguns jovens viciados em entorpecentes e traficantes de maconha que se vingaram do Padre..." (grifo nosso). Na verdade, nada ficou esclarecida, nem sobre o crime, nem sobre seus autores, nem sobre suas causas. Nenhuma prova concreta foi apresentada pela policia para fundamentar qualquer conclusao. Tudo ficou no campo das possibilidades. Entretanto, a Comissao Especial do Ministerio da Justica, nomeada pelo Governo Brasileiro para examinar o caso e apurar as denuncias de possiveis implicacoes da Policia na sua execucao, apesar de nao conseguir explicar satisfatoriamente o crime, "concluiu nao existir qualquer implicacao da Policia ou qualquer origem politica no crime".

Uma serie de fatos que circunscrevem o barbaro trucidamento do jovem sacerdote dao uma ideia clara de que ele nao e um acontecimento isolado, mas se enquadra logicamente no quadro da repressao reinante no pais:

- um mes antes da morte do Pe. Henrique, entre 27 e 28 de abril de 1969, o estudante Candido Pinto, presidente de uma organizacao estudantil em Recife, foi ferido por ocupantes de uma rural verde e branca, igual a que sequestrou Pe. Henrique no dia 27 de maio, e levou-o para a morte. Candido estava sendo procurado pela policia como subversivo. Candido foi atingido na espinha, e ate hoje esta parcialmente imobilizado;

- no mesmo dia, logo apos o atentado contra Candido, a mesma rural passou defronte da sede do Carcebispo de Olinda e Recife, e seus ocupantes metralharam a sala onde o Pe. Henrique trabalhava, gritando "Viva o C.C.C.!" (Comando de Caca aos Comunistas);

- no dia da morte do Pe. Henrique, D. Helder Camara recebeu dos assassinos uma lista das pessoas que deviam morrer. O primeiro da lista era Candido (que ja sofrera o atentado), o segundo era o Pe. Henrique (que acabava de morrer) e seguiam outros nomes;

- o Pe. Henrique, antes de morrer, recebeu dois telefonemas e uma carta assinada com a sigla Comando de Caca aos Comunistas, onde diziam que se ele continuasse a falar publicamente sobre o atentado contra o estudante Candido Pinto, eles (os assassinos) nao garantiriam pela sua integridade fisica e moral;

o investigador de policia Raimundo Ferreira, que havia prendido o suspeito toxicomano Rogerio Matos do Nascimento, e comecou a trabalhar seriamente para descobrir os outros participantes do crime, foi afastado de sua funcao;

- na noite do crime, Rogerio foi visto por um guarda de transito e pelo enfermeiro Ives Jose de Siqueira Maia, dentro de uma rural verde e branca, no abrigo do Parnamirim, local onde Pe. Henrique foi sequestrado. Rogerio tinha um revolver no colo e junto dele havia um homem de barba crescida. O enfermeiro e o guarda de transito deram esta declaracao ao delegado Bartolomeu Gibson e ao investigador Rivel Rocha, a qual foi gravada. Os referidos policiais guardaram essa declaracao, que so foi tornada publica pela insistencia dos declarantes, muito tempo depois. O enfermeiro e o guarda de transito, ameaçados de morte, tiveram de deixar Recife, tomando destino ignorado. Um policial, que conservava ha muito tempo a barba crescida, resolveu corta-la logo apos o crime, quando se comecou a falar na existencia de um barbado junto de Rogerio dentro da rural;

- a casa em que vive D. Helder Camara, na noite do crime que tirou a vida ao Pe. Henrique, foi metralhada.

(Estes dados foram extraídos de um documento estritamente confidencial, por medida de seguranca em favor do autor que se encontra no Brasil e correria risco de represalia).

O documento do Governo Brasileiro, alem de nao entrar em nenhum pormenor, como os acima citados, que formam uma cadeia de fatos muito eloquentes, segue a mesma linha ja adotada de tentar destruir argumentos acusando gratuitamente seus autores de comunistas. Entretanto, levantaram a voz em protesto contra o barbaro trucidamento, entre outros, 40 intelectuais franceses que assinaram o "Apelo em favor do Brasil"; 60 intelectuais e religiosos europeus, que enviaram ao Papa o "Livro Noir - Terreur et Torture au Bresil"; os intelectuais italianos que participaram da confeccao do "Libro Blanco - Tortura in Brasile"; 34 intelectuais, congressistas e professores norte-americanos que assinaram o dossier "Terror in Brazil". O Governo Brasileiro explica isso com as seguintes palavras: "Varias mensagens de orgaos e pessoas estrangeiras reconhecidas como comunistas chegaram a Arquidiocese e foram publicadas pela imprensa diaria, insinuando 'torturas' e 'represalias' do Governo contra D. ~~Max~~ Helder na pessoa do sacerdote assasinado".

Os barbaros assassinatos executados pelo Esquadrao da Morte em diversos estados do Brasil, com requintes de maldade, e cujos autores sao policiais que hoje comecam a enfrentar a opiniao publica e mesmo a justica, nao constituem fatos isolados, pois repetem-se diariamente, e impunemente, ha varios anos. Seria o caso do Pe. Henrique, que e semelhante ao de tantas outras victimas destas organizacoes para-militares criminosas, um caso isolado? Ainda mais com tantas implicacoes politicas que envolvem seu assassinato, como o fato de o Pe. Henrique ter sido ajudante direto de D. Helder (que e vitima constante de calunias e invectivas oficiais e semi-oficiais por ter-se posto desde alguns anos ao lado do povo brasileiro), ou tambem o fato de estar



o Pe. Henrique denunciando na sua area de trabalho o atentado contra Candido Pinto, na ocasio em que foi assassinado.

"Dom Helder se apresentou varias vezes no exterior como perseguido e ameaçado de morte, sem que os fatos anteriores e subsequentes tenham apresentado qualquer fundamento a essas denuncias".

Os ataques e calunias publicas feitas contra D. Helder; a proibicao oficial de os meios de informacao divulgarem qualquer declaracao do mesmo sem licenca expressa, impossibilitando-o assim de defender-se diante do publico; os metralhamentos contra sua residencia; as invasoes a sede do Arcebispo e a outros locais de religiosos em sua Arquidiocese, a lista de pessoas a serem executadas enviada a ele pelo C.C.C., tudo isso sao fatos que clamam mais alto e com mais forca do que as palavras ocas do documento do Governo Brasileiro. Como podemos ver, este nao apenas omite questoes essenciais as quais nao teria resposta, como tambem se dedica a distorcer os fatos, de maneira tal que se comeca a duvidar da sinceridade de toda a sua argumentacao.

"A maior repercussao do crime foi dada pelas fontes da calunia, recebendo da imprensa de alguns paises relevo especial, apesar de constituir noticia infundada, cheia de meias inverdades e distorcoes"(grifo nosso).

Supoe-se que, se as noticias sao cheias de "meias inverdades", serao tambem cheias de meias verdades, o que sempre significa que o Governo Brasileiro esta reconhecendo pelo menos parte das denuncias como verdadeiras...

A Comissao Especial do Governo Brasileiro nunca trouxe a publico qualquer esclarecimento convincente sobre o assassinato do Pe. Henrique. E que se pode esperar quando quem investiga acusacoes de tamanha gravidade e o proprio acusado?

JMVDW, SA, 1/1/38 11

ALGUMAS QUESTOES RELATIVAS AOS OUTROS CASOS

## 1) Documento de Angelo Pezzuti e outros.

Apesar do longo relato de torturas e mortes, com nomes, locais, datas e testemunhas, o Governo Brasileiro se limita a negar tudo dizendo que "a denuncia de ter sido vítima de torturas é falsa". Por outro lado, não faz qualquer comentário sobre o tempo de incomunicabilidade em que foram mantidos os presos, nem o tempo de inquerito inicial. Entre outros fatos ~~que~~ que ficaram sem resposta e que servem para reforçar as graves denúncias do documento está o tempo de internamento de Angelo no hospital militar da Vila Militar.

## 2) Sobre os quarenta banidos para a Argélia.

A carta (anexa) de D. Janaluldine, M.D., medico do Centro Familiar de Casoral, Ben-Aknoun, que examinou os 40 em 15 de junho de 1970, contradiz os resultados dos exames de corpo de delito feitos em seis dos 40 presos politicos pela Secretaria de Seguranca do Estado de Sao Paulo, antes de partirem para a Argélia. (#31)

## 3) As mocas de Belo Horizonte.

Todas as testemunhas citadas no relatoria existem de fato, o que comprova os locais e datas mencionados. Quanto aos fatos, sua veracidade talvez só possa ser comprovada definitivamente por uma comissão internacional imparcial. É muito fácil exigir de simples funcionarios, que dependem do emprego para sobreviver, que neguem formalmente as horriveis conseqüencias de torturas que tenham visto nas presas citadas.

O Governo Brasileiro não responde a inumeros fatos mencionados no documento, como a prisao de familiares de Loreta K. Valadares. Igualmente, omite qualquer comentário sobre o tempo de incomunicabilidade das presas, detalhado na pag. 5 do documento. E não faz menção ao testemunho de Loreta sobre outros presos e torturados, como seu marido, Carlos Antonio Melgaco Valadares, e os operários Enio Seabra, Jose Afonso, Mario Bento e Ricardo Angelim.

## 4) Carlos Antonio Melgaco Valadares.

A resposta do Governo Brasileiro é omissa e insuficiente; ignora, entre outras coisas, o estado em que se encontrava Carlos em 1 de agosto de 1969, depois de torturado diante de Loreta e internado no Pronto Socorro com um tornozelo e seis costelas quebradas, xx e várias outras lesões, e depois transferido para o Hospital Militar, onde ficou dois meses.

JMVDW. 0064133 12

CONCLUSAO

Tanto as observacoes que estamos trazendo a Comissao Interamericana dos Direitos do Homem, atraves desta carta, como os documentos anexos, poderiam ser estendidos quase interminavelmente. Cremos, entretanto, que o fato de nos limitarmos a responder aos capitulos do documento brasileiro que nos foram ~~xxxxx~~ enviados, e a apresentar a documentacao pertinente, trazem a luz suficientes elementos para que a Comissao Interamericana dos Direitos do Homem volte a questionar o Governo Brasileiro sobre as numerosissimas denuncias de violacao dos direitos humanos pelas autoridades brasileiras, e volte a pedir licenca para enviar uma comissao investigadora ~~xxxxx~~ internacional, para verificar "in loco" a veracidade destas denuncias.

Nos, membros de diversas organizacoes religiosas dos Estados Unidos, queremos mais uma vez trazer a V.S. o mais veemente protesto contra a situacao de violencia e terror criada e mantida pelo Governo Militar Brasileiro contra o povo desse pais, e de modo especial contra aqueles que tem a ousadia e a coragem de discordar, sejam eles militantes revolucionarios, sejam intelectuais, religiosos, operarios ou camponeses. Deste modo, o Governo Brasileiro criou e mantem viva a unica instituicao verdadeiramente democratica do pais: a tortura.

Esperamos que V.S. e os membros da Comissao Interamericana dos Direitos do Homem tomem as medidas possiveis dentro de suas atribuicoes para investigar a fundo os inumeros casos aqui apresentados, e contribuir de forma concreta para o fim da violencia oficial existente no Brasil, senao para o restabelecimento de um regime democratico neste grande pais.

Respeitosamente,



## Behind the Stock Market Boom



One of the reforms consistently advocated by foreign financial interests in Latin America is the creation of local capital markets. The existence of local stock markets holds several advantages for foreign investors -- among them the following:

1. it gives them access to a pool of hitherto untapped funds (the savings of the elites);
2. it creates a local stake in capitalism and in the various local foreign-controlled companies which trade their securities;
3. it opens up an entire new field of lucrative investment opportunities such as underwriting new stock issues, trading stocks and managing stocks portfolios (as in mutual funds);
4. it opens up locally-owned firms which trade their stock to foreign investors.

Brazil is currently the scene of the hottest stock craze in Latin America. In 1970, for example,

the National Stock Exchange Index of 22 stocks rose 155%. As in all stock crazes, however, there is a gimmick. The gimmick in Brazil is recent state subsidization of the stock market through generous incentives: a) no capital gains tax; b) a 12% tax credit for those willing to invest that amount in stocks; and c) companies which publicly list shares qualify for lower tax rates than privately held firms.

Of the 200,000 companies in Brazil, 140 are now actively traded; 43 of these 140 account for 90% of the trading; and of these 43, about half are companies in which foreign corporations are the principal shareholder (such as Ford, General Foods). Most of the trading (the fruits of which are large commissions) is done through bank-held investment funds. And the principal investment funds are managed by foreign bankers, particularly First National City Bank (N.Y.) and First National Bank of Boston (ADELA plans to enter the field soon).

In addition to all these benefits and incentives, foreign companies need not worry about losing control of their Brazilian affiliates by selling their stock on the Rio and Sao Paulo exchanges. A recent Central Bank decree (Resolution 176) allows them to issue shares which have no voting rights (non voting preferential shares). Thus they can tap local Brazilian capital without giving Brazilian investors any actual say in the management decisions of the company.

One of the direct effects of the stock craze has been a siphoning of funds from other savings sources with a consequent rise in the cost of credit (interest) to 35%-40% annually. This hits the small local Brazilian borrower the hardest since foreign giants can tap the stock market itself for funds or can draw on their other ample foreign sources of credit. It seems, once again, that the main beneficiaries of a Brazilian "reform" are the big foreign interests.

### Sources:

*The Washington Post*, June 1, 1971; *The Miami Herald*, May 23, 1971; *The Christian Science Monitor*, June 26, 1971; *Business Latin America*, April 15, 1971 and May 6, 1971, p.143; *Yanqui Dollar* (pamphlet), NACLA, 1971, pp. 40-41.

See *Business Latin America*, December 2, 1971 for a case study in how one giant U.S. firm, Anderson Clayton, benefitted from issuing stocks in Brazil.

### GERMAN INVESTMENTS IN BRAZIL

The Third World Information Center in Freiburg, Germany has just released a highly informative 14-page study of German businesses with investments in Brazil. It gives detailed information (in German) on the operations, plans, products, etc. of such giants as Volkswagen, BASF, Daimler-Benz, Knorr, Siemens, Bayer, and others.

For a copy of "German Businesses in Brazil", write to the Third World Information Center, Lorettostrasse 20, 78 Freiburg, West Germany.

# Rap Brazilian torture in letter to general

Special to the National Catholic Reporter

WASHINGTON — Some 33 prominent church-related persons sent a letter to General Emilio Garrastazu Medici, president of Brazil, protesting "the high incidence of arrest, imprisonment and most inhuman torture . . . in the great nation of Brazil."

General Medici was in Washington last week on an official visit.

Signers of the document included Auxiliary Bishop John J. Dougherty of Newark, chairman of the committee of International Affairs of the U.S. Catholic Conference (USCC), and Msgr. Marvin Bordelon, director of the USCC department of International Affairs.

The letter said the signers were "deeply and increasingly troubled by what we

have heard and read about the suppression of human rights, the campaign of defamation against certain of our fellow Christians and the high incidence of arrest, imprisonment and most inhuman torture perpetrated against supposed political offenders, all occurring in the great nation of Brazil."

The signers called for "an impartial, international team of observers . . . to investigate *in loco* this matter that weighs so heavily on the conscience of the world."

Other signers include Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Father Frank Bonnike, president of the National Federation of Priests' Councils; Brother Joseph Davis, executive secre-

tary of the National Office for Black Catholics; Rev. and Mrs. Romeo Di Benedetto, national executive secretaries of the Society of Priests for a Free Ministry;

R.H. Edwin Espy, general secretary of the National Council of Churches; Father Robert Hovda, editor for the Liturgical Conference; James Jennings, associate director of the USCC division for World Justice and Peace; Sister Ethne Kennedy, coordinator of the National Association of Women Religious; Father Frederick McGuire, director of USCC division for Latin America; Thomas Quigley and Mary Lou Suhor, also of the Latin America division, and Rev. Andrew Young, chairman of the Martin Luther King Institute for Non-Violent Study.

National Catholic Reporter, December 17, 1971

## Incident at Bahia Mathematics Conference

This is a letter from Michael Shub, a faculty member of the Mathematics Department at the University of California in Santa Cruz. He attended a conference of mathematicians in Bahia this past summer and inadvertently opened a hornet's nest when he circulated a petition amongst his colleagues. (Reprint from *The New York Review of Books*, December 30, 1971).

### BEAUTIFUL RIO

To the Editors:

Rio is still a beautiful city, even though the streets are filling up with cars and gasoline fumes. The warm sun and spectacular beaches give the illusion that life is easy. If you ask most Brazilian intellectuals they would probably tell you that there isn't much more torture here than in the rest of the world. The censored newspapers, of course, hardly ever publish a word about it. Most estimates would put the number of political prisoners at no more than about twenty-five hundred, most of whom people would guess were connected with the urban guerrillas. But even though most people would not admit it, there is a climate of fear here: one senses that no institution, family, or individual is exempt from arbitrary destruction by administrative act, the military police, or even the *esquadron do morte*. So people are consciously or unconsciously cautious and cooperative in their politics. To give just a few examples:

1. Just the other week the press reported that one of the government deputies in the Brazilian congress reminded the opposition that under the Fifth Institutional Act the government still has the right to deprive representatives of their political rights.

2. On August 28, 1971, the *Estado de Sao Paulo*, one of Brazil's leading newspapers, reported that the Order of Brazilian Lawyers had requested information about the death of Raul Amaro Nin Ferreira, who died after being arrested by DOPS, one of the government's organizations dealing with political repression. The newspaper didn't say much more. Ferreira, however, had been a student of engineering some years ago at the Catholic University in Rio where he got his degree, and I learned the following through students there.

Ferreira had worked in the Ministry of Planning and was the son of a family of

big steel industrialists, with connections in high government circles. One night in the beginning of August he drove home from a party with two friends. His friends had recently visited Sao Paulo and didn't know the streets there and they had a map of the city with them in the car. They were stopped by the police and arrested on suspicion of being terrorists when the police saw the map.

Ferreira's friends were released, but he himself died several days later in the military hospital. The police claim that he had sheltered terrorists. All that his family was able to do was to recover his body, which was covered with burns from electrical shocks.

3. I first came to Brazil with other foreign mathematicians at the beginning of summer, 1971. We then learned about Dulce Chaves Pandolfi, the wife of a Brazilian mathematician, who had been arrested almost a year before and had been physically and psychologically tortured. She had received electrical shocks all over her body and had been stripped naked, beaten, and had a live alligator thrown on top of her. She was still in jail awaiting a trial whose date has still not been set. Her imprisonment was much longer than Brazilian law permits.

Brazilian mathematicians had never intervened officially in this affair; in fact they had idly watched as, two weeks after the arrest, Sra. Pandolfi's husband's fellowship was taken away.

As foreigners, we thought that we might be freer than the Brazilian mathematicians to help her and her husband, and some of us thought about circulating a letter to the court among foreign mathematicians in Brazil. The letter was to have said something to the effect that we had heard about Sra. Pandolfi's treatment and that she had been in jail without trial for a period exceeding the maximum allowed in Brazilian law. We intended to request that

after all that had happened to her she be released at least pending trial.

We thought of the letter at first as a mild letter of a personal nature, with few political implications. After all, in citing one case of injustice or torture one points out what could be an isolated rectifiable wrong and not a government policy. But as some Brazilian mathematicians heard about this possible letter they told us that circulating and sending such a letter would probably constitute a subversive political act in the eyes of the government and would likely lead to the destruction of Brazil's leading mathematics institution.

One day a prominent Brazilian mathematician officially announced at a mathematics meeting that certain unspecified types of meetings between Brazilians and foreigners would not be tolerated. We were shocked that the prospect of sending a letter could produce such fear. I was also amazed by the commitment of this group to the progress of Brazilian mathematics in such a setting. Because of fears and threats the letter became a serious political action, and so in the end it was not sent.

In such an atmosphere it seemed to be dangerous for Sra. Pandolfi, instead of helpful. I think many Brazilian mathematicians were upset at having suppressed a simple humanitarian act, and after it was all over some of them even admitted that their hysteria was unwarranted. But that reveals the nature of the country they live in right now; and I pity them.

When I first went to Brazil for the summer I considered going back for a longer period. In view of the atmosphere this is impossible.

Mike Shub

University of California  
Santa Cruz, California

*The New York Review*

# Opening Brazil's Mineral Resources

Brazil's rich mineral deposits have long been eyed as a prize by foreign investors. Until the 1964 coup, however, they were blocked from fully exploiting these minerals by Brazil's nationalistic 1954 Mineral Code. All this was changed by the new military rulers who 1) revised the Mineral Code; 2) gave the go-ahead for a full mapping (aerophotogrametric) survey to be carried out by the U.S. Air Force; 3) allowed foreign interests more generous profit remittances and tax relief and signed an investment guarantee treaty with the U.S. government;<sup>1</sup> 4) set up a special company to help private corporations find and develop new mineral deposits; and 5) began construction of the Trans Amazon highway which would open up vast unexplored areas rich in minerals.<sup>2</sup> The main beneficiaries of all these moves are the foreign -- particularly U.S. -- mining interests.

Among the resources which have been discovered in Brazil to date are the world's largest iron and tin reserves and large deposits of manganese, bauxite, and gold.<sup>3</sup> In addition, Brazil is the largest producer of beryllium and the second largest western producer of chrome. Soon the country will be the world's largest exporter of magnesium. And the list goes on, with most of the deposits being located in the untapped interior.

The Mineral Code prevailing at the time of the 1964 coup, like most nationalistic-inspired Latin American mining codes, classified subsoil rights as public domain. In addition, it specified that exploration and mining rights could be granted only to Brazilians. Though there were several loopholes and varying interpretations of the Code, which gave foreign interests some leeway, at the time immediately preceding the coup, nationalist sentiment around the mining issue was running high -- particularly around two issues. The first was the effort by the Hanna Mining Co., the third largest U.S. iron ore producer, to gain access to the richest known iron ore deposits in Brazil.<sup>4</sup> The second was the government's proposed agreement with the U.S. Air Force to carry out an aerial mapping survey of Brazil.<sup>5</sup>

At the time of the coup, both these efforts by foreign interests had been blocked by nationalist elements. But this was all changed by the coup. As *Fortune* magazine reported in April, 1965 to its business constituency, "For Hanna, the revolt that overthrew Goulart last spring arrived like a last minute rescue by the First Cavalry." On December 24, 1964, Marshal Castello Branco promulgated a presidential decree which reversed the Goulart administration trend toward a government mineral monopoly by endorsing private development of Brazil's iron ore reserves.<sup>6</sup>

This decree was supplemented on February 28, 1967 by the new Mining Code, which contained among its provisions the stipulation that the Brazilian government shall restrict itself to the development of already existing state mining companies and shall undertake new mining ventures only when private companies are not interested in developing them.<sup>7</sup>

## USAF Study

Ever since the Getulio Vargas administration in 1954, U.S. interests had been pressuring the Brazilian government to allow the U.S. Air Force to make a full aerial photographic mapping survey of Brazil.<sup>8</sup> These pressures had been resisted consistently by nationalist elements within Brazil. But within weeks of the coup,

all this changed. In July, 1964, after receiving a go-ahead from Castello Branco, the U.S.A.F. started low level photographic flights over the state of Rio Grande do Sul. The National Congress did not get around to approving the mapping project until two years later (July 7, 1966) and agreed to it only after U.S. Ambassador Lincoln Gordon agreed to an amendment to the mapping contract providing for the return of the negatives of the photographs to Brazil (Originally not only the developing and processing of the photos was done in the U.S., but also the negatives were kept on file there!).<sup>9</sup>

According to the original contract between the Brazilian government and the USAF, the maps and photos were to be kept secret and out of the hands of the public. But soon reports began to circulate of U.S. investors having access to the maps and using them to select choice concessions. In December, 1966, Rio's *Jornal do Brasil* published statements by an Army colonel claiming that North Americans used the survey in getting exploration concessions in Minas Gerais and that the government agencies involved in the scandal refused to talk.

As a result of this and similar charges, the Brazilian Congress launched an investigation into foreign take-over of Brazilian resources and industries. During these hearings, General Albuquerque Lima, the Minister of the Interior, representing moderate nationalist sectors of the Army, gave copious testimony and facts regarding the selling of Brazil's land to foreigners, bribery of Brazilian officials, and extraction of contraband ores. But this inquiry, combined with mounting popular mobilizations and demonstrations around the issues of political freedom and social welfare, proved too much for the dictatorship.<sup>10</sup> In December, 1968, Marshal Costa e Silva promulgated Institutional Act No. 5 and dissolved Congress.<sup>11</sup> In February, 1969, Gen. Albuquerque Lima was discharged from his post as Minister of the Interior.



### The CPRM

The next major step in opening Brazil's mineral resources to foreign capital was Decree 764 of August, 1969, authorizing the creation of the Companhia de Pesquisas de Recursos Minerais -- CPRM (Mineral Resources Survey Co.)<sup>12</sup> The CPRM was charged with encouraging and cooperating with the private sector in the basic geological research and exploration of new mineral deposits. It posed no threat to private mining companies, since it was prohibited from exploiting any new mineral resources it might discover. In addition, the CPRM established a fund from which mining companies can borrow money at low rates for investment in their various projects.

The following ad, which appeared in The Wall Street Journal on June 15, 1971, is an example of the CPRM's efforts to attract U.S. investors to exploit Brazil's mineral wealth.

## BID FOR Mining Rights in Brazil

Companhia de Pesquisa de Recursos Minerais--CPRM, a corporation controlled by the Brazilian Government, is inviting bidders for the mining rights of important deposits of potassium and magnesium salts in the State of Sergipe.

The exploration revealed the existence of 450 million tons of silvinites, 6000 million tons of carnalite, 4,000 million tons of tachydrate, 525 million tons of halite and 10 million tons of bromine in the tachydrate.

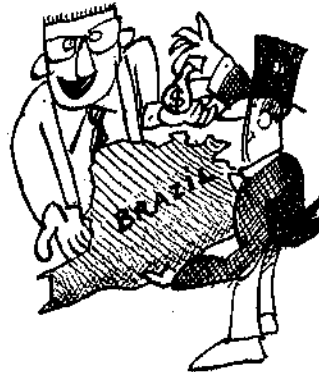
Data for prequalification must be submitted until August 2, 1971. Further information can be obtained at Itabira International Co. Ltd., 640 Fifth Avenue, 18th floor, New York, N.Y. 10019.

### U.S. Investors Flock In

The response to all these moves favoring foreign mining companies has been an influx of mining interests, among them the following:<sup>13</sup>

1. U.S. Steel formed a joint venture (Amazonia Mineração) with the government-owned Cia. Vale do Rio Doce, the largest iron ore exporter in Brazil, to exploit iron ore deposits in the state of Para.
2. Hanna Mining Co. formed a joint venture (Minerações Brasileiras Reunidas -- MBR) with the powerful Antunes group to develop the country's richest known iron ore deposits in the state of Minas Gerais.
3. Bethlehem Steel mines manganese in the state of Amapa in a joint venture (Industria e Comercio de Mineiros -- ICOMI) with the Antunes group.
4. ALCOA and Hanna formed Cia. Mineira de Alumínio (Alcominas) to mine bauxite and refine it into aluminum. Alcominas acquired land containing one fourth of Brazil's known bauxite reserves.
5. Royal Dutch Shell has invested over \$3 million in developing rich tin deposits in the territory of Rondonia. It is now the largest private employer in Rondonia.

Thus, in mining, as in others sectors of the Brazilian economy, the penetration of foreign interests continues. The interests of foreign investors are placed against those of the majority of the Brazilian people. This reflects the reality of the power base of the current dictatorship and is one of the main reasons it will not last. For the interests of the foreign investors are in direct conflict with those of the Brazilian people as a whole.



### FOOTNOTES

1. For a quick summary of the Brazilian actions benefiting U.S. investors after the 1964 coup, see Eduardo Galeano, "The Denationalization of Brazilian Industry" Monthly Review, December, 1969, pp. 11-30.
2. For the story of the Trans-Amazon, see Brazilian Information Bulletin no. 1, February, 1971, pp. 4-5. For a longer discussion, see Osny Duarte Pereira, A Transamazonica: Pros e Contrás, Civilização Brasileira, 1971, 430 pp.
3. The data for this paragraph were taken from Sinopse Estatística do Brasil, 1971, Ministério do Planejamento e Coordenação Geral, Fundação IBGE, Instituto Brasileiro de Estatística, 1971, pp. 139; and from "Brazil", a fact sheet prepared by the Brazilian Embassy in Washington, January 18, 1972, p. 5.
4. For the full story of the Hanna Mining Co. see: Edie Black and Fred Goff, "The Hanna Industrial Complex", NACLA, 1969. This pamphlet is available from NACLA, Box 57, Cathedral Station, New York, N.Y. 10025 or Box 226, Berkeley, Calif. 94701.
5. For the USAF mapping project story, see Osny Duarte Pereira, op cit., pp. 46-57.
6. Black and Goff, op cit. p. 3.
7. See chapter III, Paragraph 37, item II of the New Mineral Code, Decree no. 227, February 28, 1967.
8. The documentation for this section of the USAF mapping project is from Osny Duarte Pereira, op cit., pp. 46-57. Earth Satellite Corp. (Earthsat) of Washington, D.C. is also participating in a mapping project of the Amazon "Project Radam" (for radar and Amazon). For more on Earthsat see The Washington Post, December 19, 1970.
9. Osny Duarte Pereira, op cit., p. 48.
10. A portion of the findings of this inquiry are contained in "Report of the Parliamentary Commission on Investigations about Transactions between National and Foreign Firms" (Chamber of Deputies, Brasilia, September 6, 1968).



11. The text of Institutional Act No. 5 is available in Terror in Brazil, the American Committee for Information on Brazil, April, 1970, p. 16. Copies of this 18-page pamphlet available from Latin America Bureau, U.S. Catholic Conference, 1312 Massachusetts Ave., NW, Washington, D.C. 20005.
12. For an explanation of the goals of the CPRM, see the text (and accompanying charts) of a speech delivered by its president, Ronaldo Moreira da Rocha, to the Escola Superior de Guerra on July 12, 1970, in Segu-

rança e Desenvolvimento (Revista da Associação dos Diplomados da Escola Superior de Guerra) Ano XIX, no. 138, 1970, pp. 7-43. Page 43 has a summary of all decrees since the 1964 coup relating to mining.

13. The examples cited, save one, are from Brazil: New Business Power in Latin America, Business International Corp. N.Y., May, 1971, 94 pp. The exception, Royal Dutch Shell, is from The Los Angeles Times, October 12, 1970.

# YANKIEES COME HERE.

Para maiores informações,  
recorte e envie o cupão abaixo:

O Pará não discrimina.  
Aqui a luz nasce para todos.  
Luz e força.  
Energia à vontade.

Venha e traga a sua indústria.  
Quem faz força é a CELPA.  
**CENTRAIS ELÉTRICAS DO PARÁ S.A.**



*The State of Para does not discriminate.  
Here there is light for everyone.  
Light and Power.  
All the energy you want.*

*Come and bring your industry.  
CELPA will do the work.  
ELECTRICAL HEADQUARTERS OF PARA, S.A.*

**À  
CELPA**  
Av. Governador José Malcher n.º 1870 - Belém, Pa.

Solicite informações sobre incentivos concedidos às novas indústrias que se instalam na Amazônia, e das garantias que dá a Celpa do fornecimento de energia àqueles que optam pelo Pará.

Nome \_\_\_\_\_  
 Firma \_\_\_\_\_  
 Endereço \_\_\_\_\_  
 Cidade \_\_\_\_\_ Estado \_\_\_\_\_

(Advertisement which appeared in the Brazilian magazine Visão of February 14, 1970.)

# B.I.B. SPONSORS

The following individuals are sponsors of the BRAZILIAN INFORMATION BULLETIN. Their affiliations are included for information purposes only. Additional names will appear in future issues of this BULLETIN.

- Richard Barnet  
Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D.C.
- Susanne Bodenheimer  
Fellow, Latin American Studies Center,  
University of California, Berkeley
- Frank Bonilla  
Professor of Political Science  
Stanford University
- Warren Dean  
Professor of History, New York University
- Ralph Della Cava  
Professor of History,  
Queens College, City University of New York
- Richard R. Fernandez  
Co-director, Clergy and Laymen Concerned
- John Gerassi  
Writer
- James E. Goff  
Fraternal Worker, United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.
- Margaret P. Goff  
Fraternal Worker, United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.

- Timothy Harding  
Professor of History  
California State College, Los Angeles
- David Horowitz  
Editor, Ramparts Magazine
- Irving Louis Horowitz  
Chairman, Department of Sociology  
Livingston College, New Brunswick, New Jersey
- Saul Landau  
Writer and Film-maker
- Gertrude Pax  
North American Anti-Imperialist Coalition (NAAIC)
- James Petras  
Associate Professor of Political Science  
Pennsylvania State University
- Caroline Pezzulo  
Human Designs Corporation,  
formerly Young Christian Workers
- Thomas Quigley  
Latin America Bureau, U.S. Catholic Conference
- Darrel Rupiper, O.M.I.  
Priest, Oblates of Mary Immaculate
- Phillippe C. Schmitter  
University of Chicago
- John M. Swomley, Jr.  
Professor of Social Ethics  
St. Paul's School of Theology, Kansas City, Missouri
- Brady Tyson  
Professor of Latin American Studies  
American University, Washington, D.C.
- Maurice Zeitlin  
Professor of Sociology, University of Wisconsin

CJM  
Part 13  
D.M. 2-2

## DEAR FRIENDS OF BRAZIL

The BRAZILIAN INFORMATION BULLETIN is now one year old. Since our first publication in February, 1971, we have received hundreds of letters giving us moral and financial support. The BULLETIN now has a circulation of over 2500. It reaches a wide constituency in the U.S. in addition to circulating in over 25 foreign countries. These have all been encouraging developments, since they demonstrate widespread support for the struggle for freedom and liberation in Brazil.

At the start of a new year we are asking your continued cooperation: please continue sending us newspaper and magazine clippings, sharing your copy of the BULLETIN with others, and continuing your financial support.

We would appreciate that each reader send us at least \$5 a year. Since we are aware that some of the people receiving this BULLETIN cannot afford this price, while others can give much more, we ask that each contribute according to his or her capacities.

\*\*\*\*\*

.... I want to contribute regularly to the BULLETIN. I will send \$..... monthly or \$..... annually.

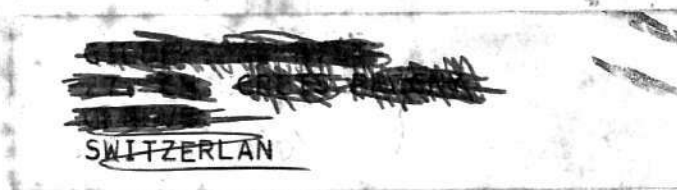
.... I want to help distribute the BULLETIN. Please send me ..... copies of every issue.

Name.....

Address..... Zip.....

Please return this to: American Friends of Brazil, Box 2279, Stn. A, Berkeley, CA. 94702

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF BRAZIL  
BOX 2279, STATION A  
BERKELEY CALIF., 94702



**PRINTED MATTER**

**AIR MAIL**

*1218 J. J. Sauer*



via and when it assembled contingency plans -- "Operation Thirty Hours" -- for a military occupation of Uruguay in the event the leftist Broad Front won the November elections.<sup>7</sup>

Latin American military officers now receive anti-guerrilla training not only at U.S. facilities but also at Brazil's tough Centro de Instrucao de Guerra na Selva (Jungle Warfare Training Center) in the heart of the Amazon.<sup>8</sup> Further, Brazil has even taken on the role of supplying military hardware: in December 1971 Bolivia announced it would purchase 18 Brazilian-built Xavante jet aircraft to modernize her air force. The jets, built by the Brazilian state aircraft company, will replace U.S.-built World War II vintage P-51 fighters.<sup>9</sup>

The storm of foreign criticism that broke after Nixon publicly indicated that Brazil was the natural leader of Latin America was so great that Medici was forced to publicly decline the role. Within two days after Nixon's remarks Venezuela's President Rafael Caldera had protested against any U.S.-approved hegemony among Latin American nations. The governments of Peru and Argentina registered similar action soon after.<sup>10</sup>

Medici responded to these criticisms shortly after his return to Brazil in the first public presidential disclaimer of any continental ambitions. The General's speech, read in his name by his son to a graduating class of engineering students, spoke of a general desire that "our progress be won without harming other peoples, without any pretension to hegemony, without leadership or imperialism...."

But to many South Americans the picture was quite clear: Brazil, which has almost half the continent's land mass and population, which has the largest standing army in Latin America, and which borders on all but two of the other countries on the continent, has been appointed sub-imperial gendarme and watchdog over its neighbors by the

world's major imperial power. Thus, it was symbolic, and perhaps no coincidence, that Medici, after a year of procrastinating and postponing the visit, flew to Washington only three days after Fidel Castro terminated his 25 day tour of Chile (with brief stopovers in Peru and Ecuador on his return to Cuba).

It appears that the long awaited Nixon policy on Latin America is finally emerging: support for those governments which welcome and provide incentives for U.S. investment, no matter how repressive their domestic policies may be -- the model being Brazil.

REFERENCES

1. The New York Times, December 5, 1971.
2. The New York Times, December 11, 1971.
3. The Washington Post, December 8, 1971.
4. The Washington Post, December 13, 1971.
5. Latin America (London), December 17, 1971.
6. Le Monde, May 18, 1971; Latin America, October 22, 1971; The Miami Herald, December 5, 1971.
7. Manchester Guardian/Le Monde Weekly, August 7, 1971.
8. See the Brazilian Information Bulletin #2, March 1971, p.11 for more details.
9. The New York Times, December 8, 1971.
10. The New York Times, December 31, 1971.

**For More Information on Brazil**

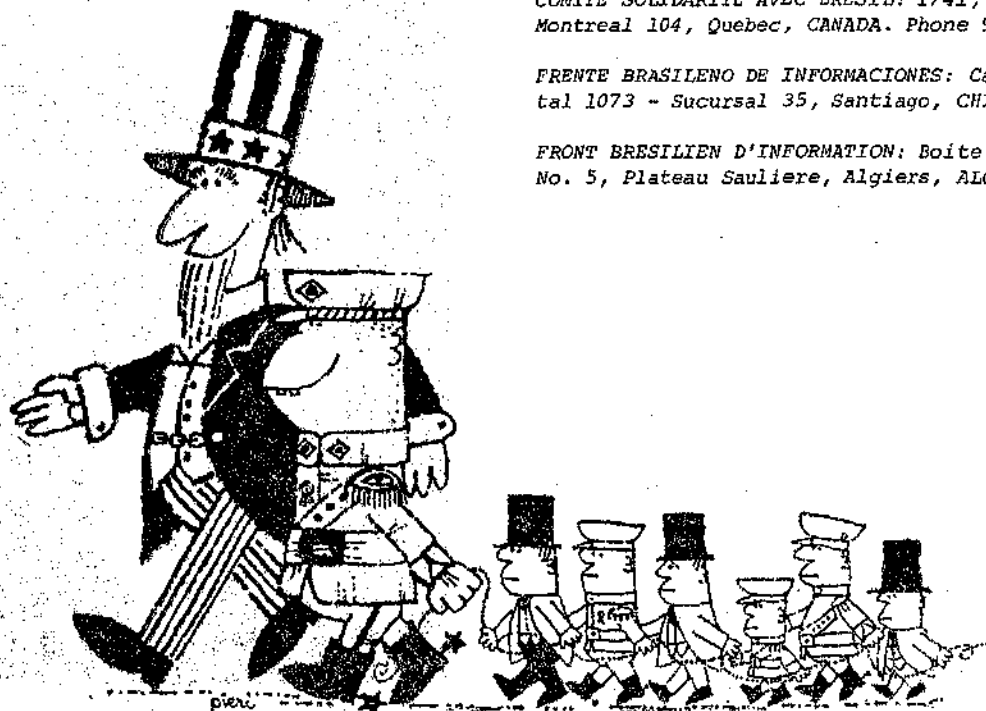
INFORMATION BRAZIL: P.O.Box 2066, Station A, Berkeley, CA 94702

COMMITTEE AGAINST REPRESSION IN BRAZIL: P.O. Box 426, Hyattsville, Maryland 20782

COMITE SOLIDARITE AVEC BRESIL: 1741, Rue Centre, Montreal 104, Quebec, CANADA. Phone 931-8181

FRENTE BRASILENO DE INFORMACIONES: Casilla Postal 1073 - Sucursal 35, Santiago, CHILE.

FRONT BRESILIEN D'INFORMATION: Boite Postale No. 5, Plateau Sauliere, Algiers, ALGERIA.



JU



# Protesters Leave No Sanctuary for Medici

CJM  
Box 13  
D.C. 20002

During his brief visit, Brazilian military dictator, General Medici and his U.S. hosts took special pains to avoid any unpleasant contact with protests over the repressive regime in Brazil and the U.S. support for this military dictatorship. First of all, the general's visit was shortened from the originally planned ten days in Washington and New York to five days, and then at the last minute to two and a half days in Washington, with no time in New York. The idea of addressing Congress was also dropped -- quite likely, said The Washington Post, "to avoid the possibility of a hostile demonstration."<sup>1</sup>



In addition, Medici refused to attend any open press conferences where he would be forced to answer questions not on his agenda.<sup>2</sup> The visit, in fact, was pared down to the bare bones of two sessions with President Nixon and, according to the Post, "the ceremonies that the occasion demanded": a state dinner at the White House, a reception at the Brazilian Embassy, a rather pro forma speech at the headquarters of the Organization of American States (OAS), a visit to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and a White House luncheon hosted by Vice President Spiro Agnew.<sup>3</sup>

The voices of criticism and protest raised over the General's visit came from many different sectors. Thirty-three prominent U.S. clergy and laymen sent a letter to the dictator at his Blair House residence in Washington, calling for an impartial international team of observers to be permitted to investigate the innumerable reports of torture and repression coming from Brazil (see box).

In addition, the Bertrand Russell Tribunal announced the opening of preliminary investigations into the Brazilian dictatorship's crimes of torture against political prisoners (see text of announcement elsewhere in this Bulletin). As background to Medici's arrival, New York's local educational public television station (Channel 13), showed Saul Landau and Haskell Wexler's film of interviews with victims of torture in Brazil. After the film, a panel of Latin American scholars discussed the current situation in Brazil for the TV audience.

The day before Medici's arrival, The Washington Post published an article by staff writer Dan Griffin posing three "awkward points that will probably not be asked of Medici" (see box).<sup>4</sup> Evidently stung by such bad press in the U.S. capital's leading daily, the Brazilian government and ruling elite arranged for a full page \$2,400 ad in the Post three days later. The ad was a reprint of a December 8th editorial in Rio's Jornal do Brasil which purported to rebut the Post's critique, but mainly sidestepped the issues. (The ad was supposedly sponsored by the Jornal do Brasil).

Wherever Medici appeared, he was met by protesters: at the White House, at the OAS, at the Brazilian Embassy, and at his Blair House residence. Customarily, a foreign head of state receives a Presidential welcome in an elaborate ceremony at the secluded south lawn of the White House, sheltered from any protest demonstrations. But since December 7th was a rainy day, the dictator received a soggy short-order welcome on the White House north porch, in direct view of a 10 foot by 30 foot banner erected across the street in Lafayette Park. The banner, which read "Stop U.S. Dollar Complicity With Brazilian Torture" was erected by a group of Brazilian and American citizens called

The Committee Against Repression in Brazil (CARIB). Though they were directly facing it, neither Medici nor Nixon gave any indication that they saw the banner. However, after the Brazilian and U.S. national anthems were played, they both were ushered into the White House and U.S. Secret Service officials promptly erected several large green room dividers on the White House porch in front of both the doors and the windows, thus blocking any view that either Nixon or Medici had of the demonstrations across the street. Immediately afterwards, a Secret Service agent approached the demonstrators and told them to move their banner and poster display, or else his men would do it for them. Rather than have the agents destroy the banner, they took it down and moved it back 500 feet. As they were disassembling the display, the agent radioed the police on the White House porch who then removed the green blinders.<sup>5</sup>

On both days of Medici's visit, along with the banner, CARIB strung 30 posters between trees in Lafayette Park -- a display of the "dirty wash" of the U.S.-Brazilian relationship. It included statistical data of American commercial activities in Brazil, U.S. government-aided police programs in Brazil, distribution of Brazil's income, political cartoons from Latin America, and photos of re-enactments of actual tortures suffered in Brazilian jails accompanied by case histories of Brazilian political prisoners. Over 1,500 fact sheets on Brazilian repression were distributed to passers-by during the two day demonstration.

On the afternoon of December 8th, a local group called the Earth Onion, put on a guerrilla theater performance depicting the Medici government's puppet relationship to Nixon and U.S. business interests and the tortures suffered by political prisoners in Brazilian jails. The conclusion of the performance portrayed the various sectors of the Brazilian people struggling, organizing and uniting to overthrow their brutal oppressors.

One protest Medici could not pretend to ignore occurred as he ended his address to 300 dignitaries and officials at the OAS. Peter Kami, a Brazilian citizen studying at the University of Tennessee, rose and shouted "Viva o Brasil livre" and then in Portuguese and English, "Down with torture in Brazil."<sup>6</sup> Kami was quickly taken into custody by two Secret Service agents. But his words were broadcast

J M V D W , DICI , DICI VI , 6 , 2

live to Brazil over an international satellite hookup, and, according to reports from Brazil, they proved to be the highlight of the program for many viewers there who do not see anti-government protests on the heavily censored local networks. Kami was later released without charges, a fate which reportedly prompted one of Medici's aides to remark that the U.S. regime was too indulgent with Kami and that if the incident had happened in the Embassy, Brazilian territory, the student would not have gotten out alive.<sup>7</sup>

Shortly after the OAS outburst, while addressing the White House luncheon hosted by Spiro Agnew, Medici made his first public, though veiled, acknowledgement of criticism of his regime's repressive "security" measures:

The measures undertaken by Brazil...for the defense of its survival, laid us open to incomprehension and misunderstandings, which we regret, but which cannot make us swerve from the course we, in our sovereignty, have chosen.

Medici, in words reminiscent of past dictators, said that Brazil had adopted

security measures in order to defend ourselves from the schemes and intrigues of those who, resorting to violent methods of outside inspiration, have tried unsuccessfully to disturb our peace and tranquility and to destroy the foundations of a free society, which is striving to achieve social progress and economic development. Such is the society we are building...

Aside from creating a broader public awareness of repression in Brazil and the U.S. complicity in this repression, the protests and demonstrations around the Medici visit brought together a broad coalition of Brazilians and Americans who laid plans to build on this experience and expand their activities over the coming months.



The New York Times/George Tames  
BRAZILIAN CHIEF BEGINS VISIT: President Emílio G. Médici with President Nixon at the White House.

The New York Times, December 8, 1971

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The Washington Post, December 7, 1971
2. "EPICA Analysis: Medici's visit to Washington", Ecumenical Program for Inter-American Communication and Action (EPICA), 1500 Farragut St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20011
3. The Washington Post, December 7, 1971
4. Ibid
5. L. Miguel Colonnese, "U.S. Press Criticized for Weak Coverage of Medici's Visit", LP News Service, December 24, 1971. See also "Grass-Root Response to the Medici-Nixon State Visit" by Harry Strharsky, Co-Coordinator of CARIB
6. The New York Times and The Washington Post, December 9, 1971
7. Front Brasilien d'Information, January 1972, p. 5
8. The Washington Post, December 9, 1971

### Three Awkward Questions for Medici

The following three points were raised in a Washington Post article on December 6, 1971, the day before General Garrastazu Medici arrived in Washington to begin his state visit with President Nixon. Staff writer Dan Griffin identified them as "... some awkward points that will probably not be asked of Medici...". Apparently stung by this criticism in the U.S. capital's leading newspaper, the Brazilian government and elite responded three days later with a full page \$2,400 ad in the Post -- a reprint of a Jornal do Brasil editorial attacking, but not refuting, the Post's "awkward points".

- Isn't Brazil's "economic miracle," which is on its way to producing a third straight year of 9 per cent growth in the GNP, really a case of the poor helping the rich? Recent figures suggest that the poorest 80 per cent of Brazilians got only about 27.5 per cent of the GNP in 1970, compared to 35 per cent in 1960; while the richest 5 per cent of Brazilians increased their share of the GNP from 44 to 50 per cent in the same period. Moreover, major Brazilian manufacturers expect exports, rather than expansion of Brazil's internal market, to produce their major sales growth, adding to the suspicion that Brazil's poor are being crossed off.

- When and how does Medici plan to restore democratic rule to Brazil? Shortly after being named

president, he said he intended to return the country to democracy by the end of his term, scheduled to expire on Mar. 15, 1974. Later he explained that he'd been setting out a goal, not making a promise. About a month after Medici's term ends, many of the thousand-odd politicians, labor leaders, social scientists, teachers and others who lost their political rights for 10 years are scheduled, theoretically, to get them back. What will be the political system then? Will they be allowed to enter it?

- Since his inauguration, Gen. Medici has held, in essence, the powers of Brazil's legislative and judicial branches as well as those of the executive. Why, then, did he need to take to himself, on Nov. 11, the power to decree secret laws on matters of national security?

C5M  
03/13  
27-02-72

General Vernon Walters:

# CIA Nominee: Grey Eminence Attending Medici

According to The New York Times, the only person accompanying President Nixon and the Brazilian dictator, General Garrastazu Medici, as they conferred before a roaring fire in Nixon's Oval Office on the 7th of December of last year, was Lieut. Gen. Vernon Walters.<sup>1</sup> The Times identified Walters simply as "an Army officer who speaks Portuguese and who served as a liaison officer with the Brazilian troops fighting in the Allied armies in Italy in World War II".

What the Times failed to mention was that Walters was the chief U.S. military advisor in Brazil at the time of the 1964 military coup and in this position served as one of the key links between the U.S. Embassy and the conspiring Brazilian generals.

Four years after the coup, the Washington Post writer, John Goshko, reported that

In Brazil... political circles still whisper about how he (Walters) allegedly prodded his World War II comrade, the late Marshal Humberto Castello Branco, into leading the 1964 coup that brought Brazil under military rule.<sup>2</sup>

In the same article he adds,

... U.S. officials admit that Walters did drop around to have breakfast with Castello Branco the morning after the coup and urged him to assume the presidency. During the ensuing three years, Walters, with his links to the Brazilian military dictatorship, was known to be one of the most important behind-the-scenes figures in the Embassy.

What makes Walters all the more interesting is that three weeks after Medici's visit, the Times reported that Nixon was considering him for appointment as number two man (Deputy Director) of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).<sup>3</sup> In its brief report, the Times identified Walters merely as "defense attache at the Embassy in Paris". What all this means for Brazil remains to be seen.

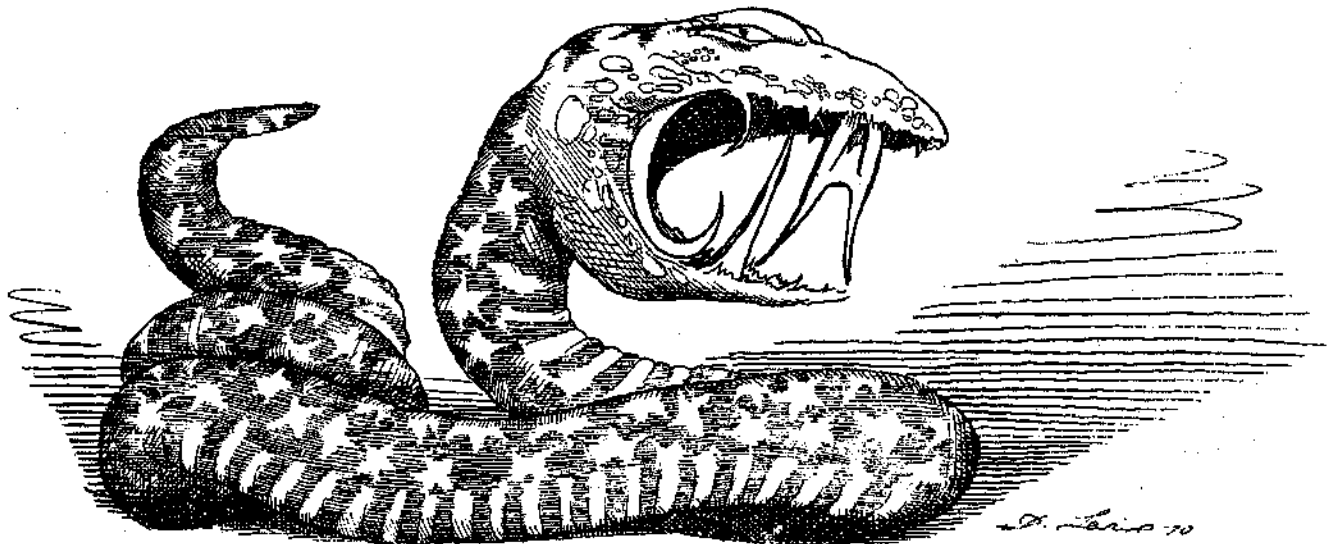
## FOOTNOTES

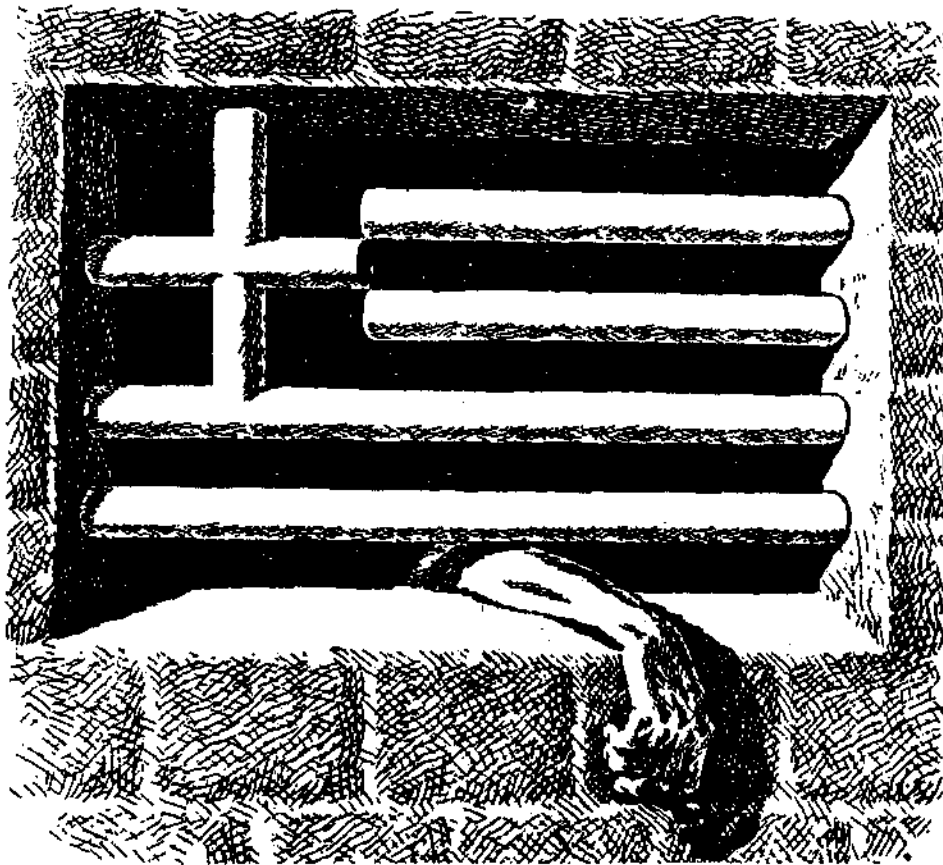
1. The New York Times, December 8, 1971
2. The Washington Post, February 5, 1968. Goshko adds, "Brig. Gen. Vernon D. Walters is an affable, urbane man whose many talents include a remarkable facility with languages. At one time, he was well-known in Washington as President Eisenhower's favorite interpreter."
3. The New York Times, December 30, 1971. At the CIA, Walters would be replacing Lieut. Gen. Robert Cushman, Jr., who has been named commandant of the Marine Corps.

## Secret Decree

The latest news in Brazilian legislation is the "secret decree". The Constitution gives the Chief Executive the power to issue decrees which are enforceable as though they were formally enacted laws. Early in November, President Medici signed a decree authorizing himself to make secret decrees pertaining to national security. The tightly-controlled Congress was taken by surprise, but "opposition" leader Pedroso Horta recovered enough to say, "Decree No. 69534 is, in my opinion, a unique case in Brazilian law. How can a law, a decree, or a regulation be obeyed if it is to remain unknown?" And added, "I don't even know if, by making these comments, I may be violating the law."

(VEJA, Nov.24, 1971, pp 27-28)





### Times Reports that Tortures Are Ending

Much to the delight of the Brazilian military dictatorship, The New York Times has chosen to make its first major article on torture in Brazil give the impression that, in the words of its headline on January 31, 1972, "Torture Charges Dropping Steadily in Brazil". There are two major misleading features about this article by Times correspondent Joseph Novitski.

First, it gives the impression that The New York Times has been consistently reporting incidents of torture. "The charges of physical torture of political prisoners in Brazil, numerous from late 1969 through 1970 and well into 1971, have declined in the last three or four months", reads the lead paragraph. This is a rather ironical paragraph, since during the last twelve months the Times has greatly reduced its coverage of torture in Brazil, both in comparison with its own coverage during 1970 and in comparison with other major dailies such as The Washington Post.

The second misleading feature of the article is that it gives the impression that: a) charges of torture have dropped; and that b) torture itself have subsided. If charges of torture have dropped, it is not because the cases of torture have dropped, but rather because the Brazilian military dictatorship's ruthless repression campaign against its critics and opposition has taken so heavy a toll that there few people left capable or willing to take the risk of denouncing the tortures.

The Times notwithstanding, reports of torture continue to come out of Brazil. Following its major campaigns against the armed guerrilla groups, the most recent "roundup" operations of the military government appear to be directed against the Açao Popular (AP). AP is a broad-based mass organizing movement founded in 1962 by a group of Catholic students and intellectuals concerned about social injustice in Brazil. Since then, the movement has broadened its base to include many other sectors of the Brazilian people.

Reprinted below are a few of the more recent cases of torture which have reached us.

## Brazil Regime Rounding Up 'Subversives'

### Rio de Janeiro

The military government in Brazil arrested more so-called "subversives" yesterday. At least four Rio newspaper reporters were in custody.

A government source said more than 200 persons had been rounded up since last weekend.

Most of those in jail are students, including the son of Brazil's ambassador to Paraguay. Lawyers said authorities even arrested a 77-year-old woman, accusing her of giving money to a student suspected of "subversive" activities.

Three newsmen from Ultima Hora and one from O Jornal were confined at political police headquarters in Rio. No specific reason for the arrests was known.

Under Brazil's military regime, civil rights do not exist. The armed forces and police can arrest anyone on suspicion of "endangering national security" and hold him as long as they want.

There were mass roundups of this nature in 1969 and 1970. One was to avoid agitation during New York Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller's state visit. Another, called Operation Birdcage, was to get possible "troublemakers" off the streets during congressional elections.

Others followed the kidnappings of foreign diplomats by political terrorists.

The current wave of arrests is the biggest operation of its kind in Brazil in more than a year.

A military source said earlier this week there was a terrorist plot to kill several armed forces officers.

*Associated Press*

**San Francisco Chronicle**  
Feb. 4, 1972



# Continuing Tortures in Brazil

BJM  
Pasta 13  
Dec. 10, 1971

On Sunday, November 21, 1971 at 4:00 PM, Aziel da Silva Pereira Filho, an "ajustador mecanico", was arrested in Sao Paulo's "Largo do Paissandu" district, together with Clair Flora Martins, a lawyer. The arrest was carried out by policemen related to the "Equipe de Busca do DOPS", led by the notorious "Delegado" Sergio Fleury, member of the Death Squad, and who was wearing a false beard at the moment of the arrests. The worker Aziel, without resisting arrest, was handcuffed and publicly beaten by several policemen, among them Joao Carlos Tralli, who uses the false name of Celso Gimenez, and is also a member of the Death Squad. During the attack, Aziel's only reaction was to yell to the people around him: "I'm Aziel Ferreira da Silva, I'm a worker...". This infuriated the police, who advanced upon the crowd brandishing their revolvers and telling the people to break it up.

Aziel, with his wrists already deeply cut, was taken to the third floor of DOPS, where the torture rooms are located, but where, officially, an infirmary is located. Aziel finally left there at 3:00 AM. The tortures were directed by Fleury himself. Initially, Aziel suffered a "treino de box", where he was punched by everyone. After this, Fleury took him to the "pau de arara", where Aziel was submitted to humiliating electrical shocks. Fleury pointed to Aziel's bloodied wrists and mockingly said to the torturers: "You should not do this again to one of my prisoners, for the next time you will all be fired...". Fleury then left the room and went into another one where Clair Flora Martins was being tortured on a "pau de arara".

The torture of Aziel was continued by Joao Carlos Tralli, Barretti, Perrone, Miller, Barreira, and Bene, who took him to the "Crucifix" (where the prisoner is tied to a cross). They said of Aziel: "He looks just like Christ...". On the crucifix, Aziel was tortured to the tune of the Independence Hymn, reinforced by the chorus of torturers on the repeated lines: "Ou ficar a patria livre, ou morrer pelo Brasil" (Either our country becomes free or we die for Brazil). The torturers added that Aziel, like his friend Raimundo (a worker assassinated some months before), would not get out of there alive, for he was in the hands of the Death Squad.

Aziel was finally taken to his cell at 3 in the morning, ten to eleven hours after he was arrested. His arms were broken, he had a deep cut on his scalp, and other deep cuts on one of his eyebrows, on his wrists, and on his feet (the latter produced by the ropes on the crucifix), and also bloody stains on his eyes. The help received by Aziel was given him by a DOPS employee, in the early hours of Monday morning: a piece of cotton soaked in alcohol, a cup of coffee, and a piece of bread. The only medical attention he received was given to him by a male nurse on Monday afternoon.

During the week that followed, Aziel was submitted to beatings on the palms of the hands and on the kidneys. When taken to the infirmary, the DOPS doctor requested that Aziel not be subjected to any further torture, for he might not resist any more.

Aziel's father, a veteran of World War II, (having fought in Italy), was not advised about his son's arrest.

Clair Flora Martins, a lawyer born in the State of Santa Catarina, was tortured immediately upon arrival at Sao Paulo's DOPS. She went in through the basement in order to "avoid things which are not of the concern of the Public", in the words of the policemen themselves. She was taken to the "pau-de-arara" and was tortured in turn by the various policemen. Her suffering lasted several hours, during which the torturers' main preoccupation was to insult: "We are the Death Squad boys, you prostitute. Robbers and subversives are the same thing." She received electrical shocks in her sexual organs, and in her ears. The shocks were produced by a machine called "manivelinha", which generates intermittent electric current at each turn of the handle. The tortures continued throughout the week, during which she was accused of being a leader of A.P. ("Acao Popular"). The tortures increased Friday and Saturday night with the arrival of a policeman from Parana (inspector Arco-Verde) whose mission was finding out the names of people connected with A.P. in the State of Parana (Clair's family lives in Parana). On Saturday night they tortured her to the tune of Roberto Carlos' "Jesus Cristo", with the volume up to the maximum in order to cover up the cries of agony. Even so her cries were heard by prisoners, three floors below. She was then taken to a solitary cell. A few days later she was visited by the general director of DOPS (Lucio), who told her: "You're going to stay in there alone because you refused to talk". She replied: "If the price of staying in a cell with other people is bringing other people to this hell, I would rather remain alone".

Nov. 20 - Dec. 10, 1971

During this period, two political prisoners were tortured, Romeu and Mauricio. As a result of the violent tortures which he received, Romeu was not able to be treated in the DOPS infirmary and was instead taken to an unknown hospital. Fleury, during one of the torture sessions, sat comfortably in a chair and ostentatiously leafed through the confiscated magazine Veja whose cover carried the title: "O PRESIDENTE NAO ADMITE TORTURAS" (The President Does Not Admit That Torture Exists).

Antonio Tadeu Afonso, a journalist for O Estado de Sao Paulo, was arrested in the newspaper's office,



J M V D W, DICI, DICI II, 6, 4

accused of belonging to a cell of journalists. He suffered a number of humiliating tortures, such as putting all the weight of the body upon the index finger. This is called "Tirar Petroleo". The index finger is placed on the floor and the person is obliged to rotate in both directions. He suffered beatings on the palms of his hands, on his kidneys, and on his back. While he was being subjected to this, the policemen would mock: "This is so that you guys will quit writing that we belong to the Death Squad. Tell these ordinary people to sign their name to what they write. Not even Bicudo ( the deposed prosecutor of the Death Squad ) was able to finish us."

Luiz Paulo is a nephew of Italo Bustamante, president of a commission that exonerates members of the Death Squad, and a person directly involved in the application of Institutional Act No. 5 in Sao Paulo. Luiz Paulo was tortured by Joao Carlos Tralli (accused of being a member of the Death Squad) who uses the alias of Celso Gimenez.

Also arrested, tortured and jailed in the DOPS crackdown on AP was Jaime Zapparolli. Zapparolli was arrested at home in Sao Paulo on November 25, 1971. He was arrested by mistake, simply because his wife's name is the same as the name of another woman who was being sought by the police. His wife Geny panicked when the police threatened to take away her baby and raised the suspicion of the police against her husband. Zapparolli was taken to DOPS, was beaten by several men, then placed on the "pau de arara", given electric shocks, and interrogated by Fleury. This torture session was mercifully abbreviated, since his innocence became obvious. The next morning he was asked to sign his statement, which he did only after insisting they remove any reference to his alleged relationship with the AP. But he was still held incommunicado for 25 days before he was released.

A total of about 60 persons were arrested in the DOPS roundup of AP members in mid-November in Sao Paulo (doctors, students, workers, engineers, bank employees, journalists, lawyers etc.).

## BERTRAND RUSSELL TRIBUNAL - INVESTIGATION ON TORTURE

The Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal for the Investigation of the American War Crimes in Vietnam has opened the preliminary investigation of the crimes of torture against political prisoners in Brazil, as shown by a letter to Jean Paul Sartre, the Executive President of the Bertrand Russell Tribunal, from Vladimir Dedijer, the President of Sessions of the Bertrand Russell Tribunal.

The contents of the letter which has been released to the public in connection with the visit of Brazil's dictator Medici to the United States read as follows:

"Dear Sartre,

The news from Brazil confirm that tortures of political prisoners go on there at an ever increasing scale.

It seems to me that you are in the complete agreement that our Tribunal should intervene

urgently and judge the crimes of the Brazilian dictatorship and its protectors.

Prima facie documentation points out that Brazil has been transformed into the key basis for the most aggressive U.S. imperialistic venture in South America and Caribbean and is already threatening the whole area.

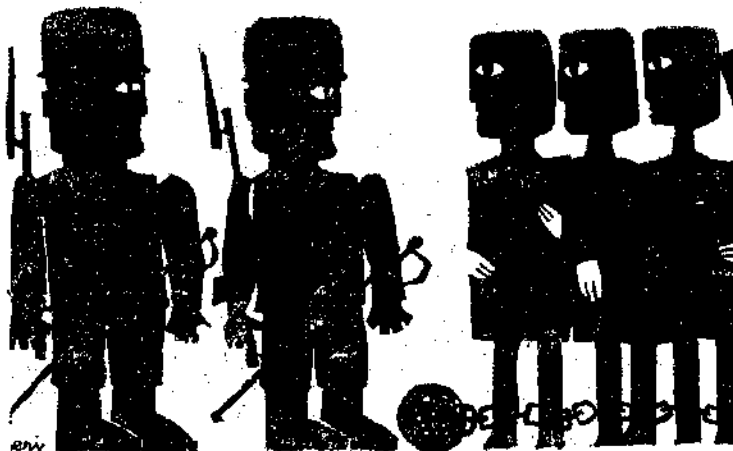
The rapporteur and member of our Tribunal, Professor Lelio Basso, during his last visit to Latin America, has already opened preliminary investigation, gathering many proofs of the criminal behavior of the Brazilian dictatorship.

With comradely greetings,

/sgn Vladimir Dedijer  
Tyr Revolucije 1  
61000 Ljubljana  
Yugoslavia

December 4, 1971."

## NEW PAMPHLET ON BRAZIL



BRAZIL: WHO PULLS THE STRINGS? is an 84 page pamphlet composed mainly of reprints of key articles on Brazil which have appeared since 1964. Included are: a short "mini-history"; reports on torture and repression; articles on U.S. police aid; two pieces by Andre Gunder Frank and one by Eduardo Galeano on foreign economic exploitation of Brazil; an analysis of the MEC-USAID education contracts; a report on the role of the Church; and two pieces on organized resistance to the current military dictatorship. Available for \$1. From: Chicago Anti-Imperialist Collective (CAIC) 2546 N. Halstead, Chicago, Illinois 60614; or Chicago Area Group on Latin America (CAGLA), 800 West Belden, Chicago, Illinois 60614.

# Superfarm in the Amazon

One of the world's richest men, multi-billionaire, shipping, finance, and hotel magnate Daniel K. Ludwig, is one of the growing number of foreign investors speculating on large tracts of land in the Amazon jungle. It is he and others like him who will be the main beneficiaries of the ambitious Trans-Amazon road building project now under way.<sup>1</sup> Some of the major investments in the region were described in a recent special issue on the Amazon of Brazil's *Realidade* magazine (October, 1971). *Realidade* pointed out that U.S. Steel already has an 80,000 hectare iron ore concession (1 hectare equals 2.47 acres), Alcan Aluminum has a 100,000 hectare bauxite mining concession, Bruynzeel, a large Dutch lumber firm has 200,000 hectares, and Georgia Pacific has 500,000 hectares. All these tracts, however, are small fry compared to Ludwig's 1.5 million hectares -- larger than the entire state of Connecticut -- which he plans to turn into the biggest artificial forest on earth.

Ludwig is already known as a major shipping and hotel investor. His holdings include the world's six largest tankers (his entire shipping fleet has a capacity of 5 million tons, twice that of Brazil's merchant marine) and a string of luxury hotels (including the St. Francis Hotel in San Francisco and the Princess hotels in Bermuda and Acapulco). He became interested in Brazil in the early 1960's after talking with Roberto Campos, then Brazilian ambassador to Washington. Ludwig later obtained approval for the Amazon project from President Castello Branco with the help of Roberto Campos after the latter became Minister of Planning with the 1964 coup.<sup>2</sup>

Ludwig figures that man is outstripping the world's pulp and wood supplies and cannot continue to rely solely on the Northern spruce forests. He is betting that the new source will be equatorial forests, but the secret of success will be to raise uniform trees. The tree he chose is the Asian *Gmelina arborea*, a fast-growing (15-18 feet in 18 months) medium density hardwood. Within ten years he plans to have 100 million trees feeding a mill which will produce 1,000 tons a day of wood pulp -- mainly for export (on Ludwig's ships) to Europe and the U.S.

The superfarm is located 250 miles from Belem in the state of Para and the territory of Amapa, on the Jari river, an Amazon tributary. In addition to the wood pulp venture, Ludwig plans a 12,000 hectare rice plantation (an experimental plot has already produced

Camera-shy Ludwig in a rare portrait (1963).



BUSINESS WEEK July 31 1971

8 tons of rice per hectare compared to an average of 4.5 tons in the U.S.) and a large herd of cattle located much closer to the U.S. and European markets than existing Argentine, Uruguayan and southern Brazilian herds).

Ludwig claims to have already invested over \$30 million in this project and before it is over he plans to have invested at least \$60 million, making him, in the words of *Business Week*, "the biggest investor in one of the world's last frontiers".<sup>3</sup> To protect his Brazilian holdings from nationalist sentiments and to facilitate his dealings with the military government, Ludwig has hired an impressive lineup of local front men as officers of his Brazilian operations. Major Hector Ferreira, formerly with the National Information Service (roughly equivalent to the FBI) heads his Belem office; General Joao Batista Tubino is president of his Brazilian company; former mayor of Boa Vista, Colonel Jorge Aragao, is head of the city he is building in the middle of the jungle; and Admiral Jose Luiz da Silva heads his local ship line, Navegacao Sion.

## FOOTNOTES

1. See *Brazilian Information Bulletin* #1, February, 1971 pp.4-5 for more on the Trans-Amazon highway.
2. *Business Week*, July 31, 1971, p.34.
3. *Ibid.*

## Were the British More Efficient Imperialists than the U.S.?

At the press conference called by Senator Frank Church on July 24 to release the "sanitized version" of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's closed hearings on Brazil, the senator compared the U.S. presence in Brazil with the British rule in colonial India:

The United States, he said, has twice as many officials there in proportion to the host-country's population, as the British had in India "when they were providing the government for that entire country."

Administration of U.S. programs in Brazil required 588 official Americans, or "approximately one per 150,000 Brazilians" the testimony showed. The British had approximately one civil servant per 300,000 Indians. The American figure, he added, did not include the more than 800 Brazilians working for U.S. agencies in Brazil or the more than 300 Peace Corps volunteers there.

*The Washington Post*, July 25, 1971.

CJM  
Pasta 13  
Doc. 02.2

CTM  
Part 13  
Doc. 02.2

## MEDICI'S VISIT

### Nixon Christens Brazil a Sub-Imperial Power

The two day visit by General Medici to Washington December 7-9 marked the first time the chief of a Latin American military government has been invited to the U.S. by President Nixon. In the words of The New York Times, the occasion "marked a break with an American policy tradition, at least a decade old, of keeping relations with military governments at the formal diplomatic level."<sup>1</sup>

The salient significance of Medici's visit was the warm reception and recognition the Brazilian dictator received from Nixon and the official U.S. endorsement of Brazil as a model for and a leader of the rest of Latin America. The New York Times editorialized,

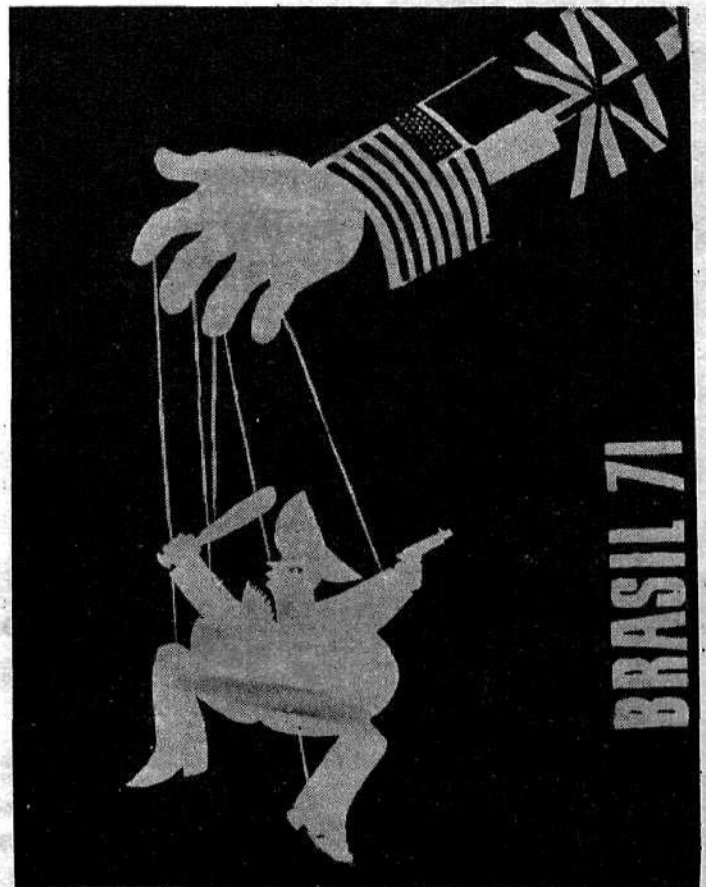
"President Nixon put his talks with President Medici of Brazil in the context of the 'vitaly important' consultations he is conducting with this country's 'closest friends' prior to his visit next year to China and Russia. It was the kind of recognition and association Brazil has long sought from Washington."<sup>2</sup>

This placed Brazil in the major league of world powers -- alongside the other nations Nixon was "consulting" before his trip: France, Great Britain, West Germany, Japan and Canada. The important point was not Nixon's conferring with Brazil about China-- Medici's advisors told newsmen relations between China and Brazil (which does not recognize Peking) were not even discussed<sup>3</sup> -- rather, that he bestowed upon Brazil the mantle of U.S. sub-imperial power in the Southern Hemisphere. In his toast welcoming the dictator, Nixon proclaimed, "We know that as Brazil goes so will go the rest of that Latin American continent."<sup>4</sup>

A further indicator of the Washington-Brasilia axis was the announcement by a White House spokesman that the two chiefs of state "have resolved to work together to give economic aid to other countries of the hemisphere."<sup>5</sup> Brazil, which has received over \$2 billion worth of U.S. economic aid since the military coup of 1964 and which last year became the largest recipient of World Bank loans, is evidently slated to act as an aid and trade financing subcontractor. Brazil has already extended credits to other members of the Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA) to finance the import of Brazilian products: \$10 million each to Peru and Ecuador, \$15 million to

Uruguay, \$6 million to Chile, \$10 million to Bolivia and \$1 million each to five Central American countries.<sup>6</sup>

The outline of Brazil's sub-imperial role began to emerge in 1965 when it was the only Latin American country to provide a considerable contingent of troops to help "inter-Americanize" the U.S. invasion and occupation of Santo Domingo. This role was further solidified last year when it aided in the overthrow of the left-leaning Torres government in Boli-



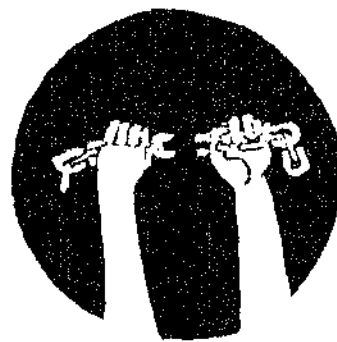
Anti-regime poster shows Brazil as puppet of foreign powers.

The Washington Post, September 19, 1971

JM UDW, DICI, DICI VI, 6,



# BRAZILIAN INFORMATION BULLETIN



Published by

Winter 1974 No. 12



Chile

Indians

Deltec

## NETO AND THE DEAD SIDE OF THE MIRACLE

JMVDW, DICI, DICI, 14,

# Brazil

# Tripping in Africa



Since 1971 Brazil has been following a dangerous policy in Africa—supporting the Portuguese in their futile efforts at holding the overseas colonies and, at the same time, trying to increase trade with the independent Black African nations.<sup>1</sup> Politics with such a contradictory and precarious balance seems to be the norm for the “developed” nations. What are Brazilian intentions in trying to carry out such a risky gamble?

Part of the answer to this question can be found in a study which Captain Raymond A. Komorowski did for the U.S. Navy, *Latin America—An Assessment of U.S. Strategic Interests*.<sup>2</sup> Komorowski attributes this Brazilian policy in Africa to the simple fact that most of the oil today is produced in the Middle East, shipped around the Cape of Good Hope and up the Atlantic to the importing nations of Europe. Control of the South Atlantic is control of that shipping. Brazil, aligned with the West African nations, so the theory goes, would be in an ideal position to exercise some “control” in that area. For sub-imperial operations in which it works with the United States, and for its own interest in acquiring foreign oil and trade, Brazil is considering such possibilities.<sup>3</sup>

Brazil has neither the experience nor the naval hardware necessary for such patrolling and control of the South Atlantic. One of the first necessities, then, is beefing up its Navy—a process which is rapidly being completed. \$250 million is being spent on re-equipping the Brazilian fleet, increasing the present 65 ships to a modern strike force of 137 ships supplied with missiles from England, France, and

Australia.<sup>4</sup> Such spending is part of an overall, whopping one billion dollar budget for the new Brazilian Navy, Army, and Air Force. Such expenditures represent \$11 per capita for Brazil (while \$3 per capita and \$2 per capita is spent on education and public health respectively). With such naval stature Brazil can suggest formal alliances with the South African government, alliances against some fictitious enemy, such as “the Soviet air and naval threats.”<sup>5</sup>

After establishing control of the shipping lanes, Brazil would be ready to exploit trade possibilities. All African countries are potential buyers for Brazilian manufactured goods, but Brazil has shown particular interest in West Africa. During 1972 Brazil initiated a widespread diplomatic and commercial offensive to gain African markets. The “assault” was officially announced on January 5, 1972, when Chancellor Gibson Barbosa revealed he would tour Atlantic Africa—Senegal, the Ivory Coast, Ghana, Togo, Dahomey, the Cameroon, and Zaire. Launching “Operation Africa,” Gibson announced that “the countries of the African West Coast offer one of the biggest potential markets for the exportation of Brazilian products, from the most simple to the most sophisticated ones.”<sup>6</sup> It is clear that what Gibson has in mind is the sale of such items as cars and appliances to the native elites.

Given Brazil’s desire for a presence in the South Atlantic and the traditional relationship between Brazil and Portugal, Brazil has concurred with Portuguese colonial policy. Already we find private Brazilian and Portuguese capitalists integrating their investments so as to be able to play a more

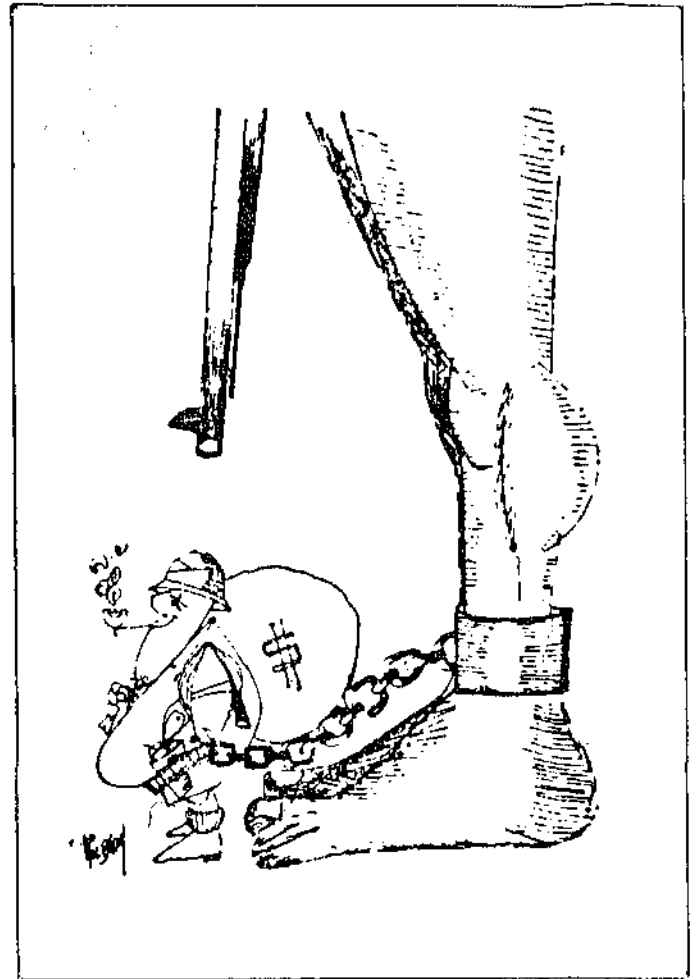
aggressive role in the international financial market—mostly with regards to Africa. Even the government-owned Bank of Brazil (Brazil's largest bank), and several Portuguese banks are creating an investment bank for Angola and Mozambique.<sup>7</sup> The Brazilian government oil company, Petrobras, has been buying oil from Angola and is now considering setting up drilling operations there.<sup>8</sup> Brazilian capital is also found in Angola's sugar refining business.<sup>9</sup>

But Brazil's greatest immediate interest in Angola is coffee. As the *Tricontinental News Service* stated,

... the intention of cornering the world market in coffee plays a large part in Brazil's interest in Africa. According to reports from international coffee officials, Brazil is investigating the possibility of buying coffee in Angola at less than half the world price. (Angola, due to its colonial situation, grows the cheapest coffee in the world.) A Portugal-Brazil-Angola axis would run the show over Colombia, Brazil's major competitor.<sup>10</sup>

This seems to be just what Brazil has in mind. The Brazilian and Portuguese governments have already reduced maritime shipping costs, set up special warehouses in Lisbon, Luanda (Angola), and Lourenco Marques (Mozambique).<sup>11</sup>

Brazil seems to feel that Portugal can hold her colonies and that Brazil—through close ties to the Portuguese—can enjoy some of the benefits of colonialism. Can Brazil, at the same time, significantly increase trade with the Black African nations? It is an open question, but there are reasons to doubt that Brazil can play both games. A choice may be necessary. And it is not at all clear that playing with the Portuguese is Brazil's best option. In any event, the game would be terminated if any Brazilian troops ever set foot in Africa. Meanwhile Brazil will play dying colonialism against the struggling liberation armies of Africa.



#### FOOTNOTES

1. Prior to the 1964 military coup Brazil had formal ties with the independent African nations. After the coup Brazil reduced these ties and supported the Portuguese without acceding to Portuguese appeals for military support. Brazil also increased trade with South Africa. For a short history of Brazil's shift in foreign policy towards Africa see Bill Minter, "Brazil: A New Afro-Asian Policy and its Reversal," *NACLA Newsletter*, Vol. IV, No. 5 (September 1970). Available from North American Congress on Latin America, P.O. Box 226, Berkeley, California 94701.
2. Raymond Komorowski, "Latin America—An Assessment of U.S. Strategic Interests," *Proceeding of the U.S. Navy* (March 1973).
3. See *Business Week*, July 7, 1973 for Petrobras's drive to gain oil from abroad independent of the foreign giants. For the sub-imperial role played by Brazil see *Newsweek* August 20, 1973 and the articles in *Bulletins* no. 10 and no. 11.
4. "Brazil, White Africa Plan to Control South Atlantic," *Tricontinental News Service*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (January 1973).
5. "Brazil, White Africa Plan . . ."
6. "Brasil Iniciara em 72 Investida Diplomatic na Africa Atlantica," *Journal do Brasil*, January 6, 1972.
7. "New Ties Between Portugal and Brazil," *Russell Tribunal—Brazil*, No. 2 (Rome).
8. "Petrobras convidada a operar em Angola," *Estado de Sao Paulo*, September 11, 1971.
9. "As possibilidades de comercio com Angola," *Estado de Sao Paulo*, January 23, 1972.
10. "Brazil, White African Plan . . ."
11. Ali Benigazan, "Brazil: the Gendarme Sets its Sights on Africa," *Direct from Cuba* ES-219-72.
12. See the evaluation given by *Aportes de Hora Cero*. Archivo de Economia, I (Santiago, Chile), December 1972, reprinted in *Russell Tribunal—Brazil* No. 1 (Rome), February 1973 and "Brazil: territorios ultramarinos" *Latin America* (London), June 29, 1973.

## Bertrand Russell Tribunal II

The Bertrand Russell Tribunal II to investigate the repression carried out by the military regimes in Brazil and Chile was inaugurated on November 6, 1973 in Brussels and its first sessions are scheduled for March 3-13 in Rome.

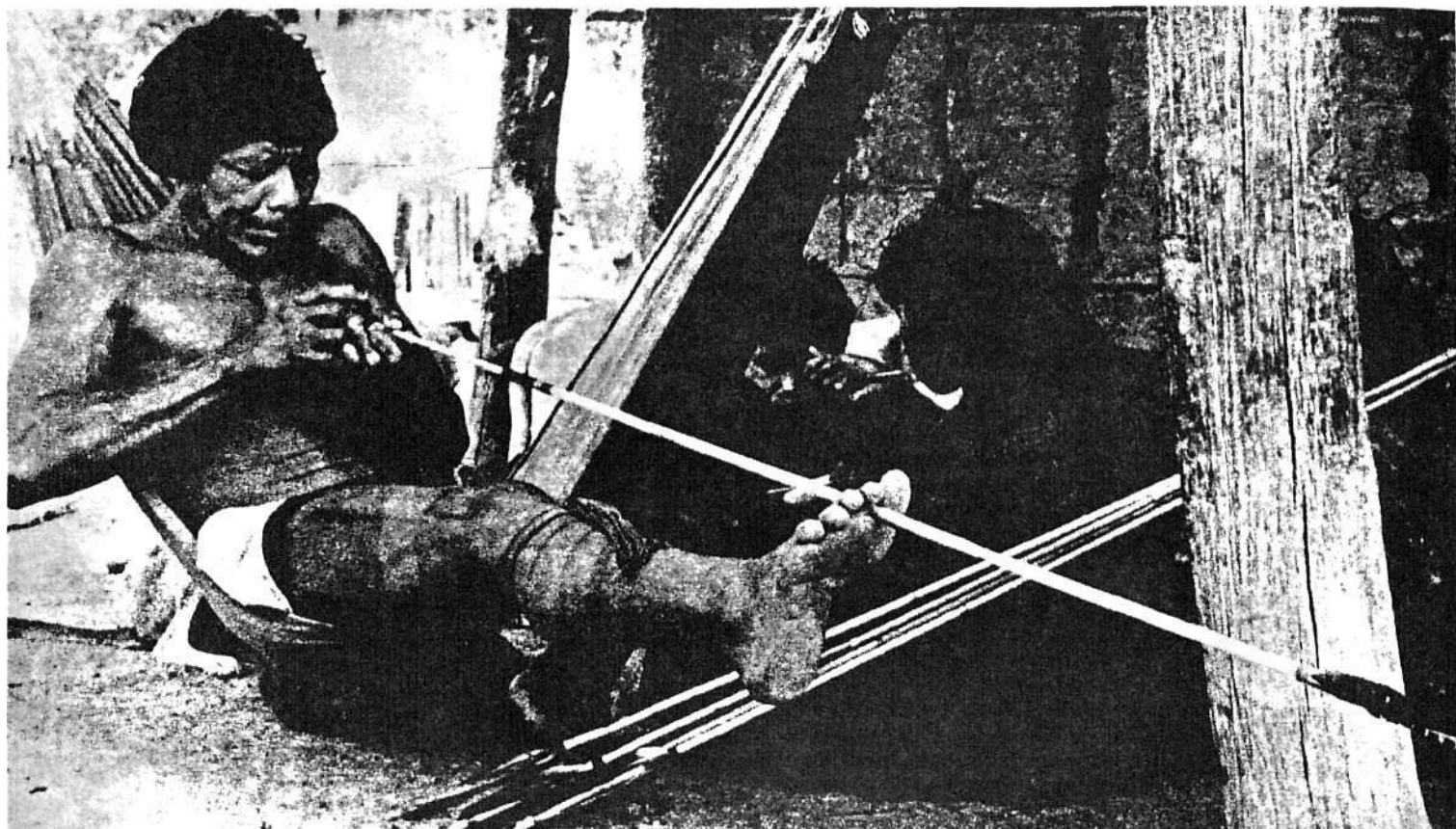
Coinciding with the Tribunal's inauguration, a coalition of groups in Belgium organized a counter-information week in Brussels to protest "Brazil-Export," a trade fair through which Brazil was hoping to expand its markets in the European Common Market. The week was highlighted by a demonstration of 10,000 people on November 10—the largest protest demonstration there in two years. The demonstration sought to make the point that Brazil's "Economic Miracle" is made possible only by exploiting the Brazilian people.<sup>1</sup>

Prominence was given to the Tribunal in Italy by Cardinal Conrado Ursi, Archbishop of Naples, when he joined thirty other Italian Bishops in a public statement urging all the Catholics of the world to support the Tribunal in its investigation.<sup>2</sup>

For more information about the Tribunal and how you can participate in its activities, write to COFLA/CARIB (P.O. Box 426, Hyattsville, Maryland 20782) which is coordinating support for the Tribunal in the United States.

1. Associated Press wire as reported in the *Dallas Times World*, November 11, 1973.
2. *Excelsior* (Mexico), November 14, 1973.

JMVDW, DIC I, DIC II, 14, 6



## Indigena Report

# Riding Over the Indians

With the coming of the dry season last July, large earth moving machines began work on the first section of yet another Amazonian highway, this one 2,500 miles long. As mapped, the highway will run from Macapa on the Amapa Coast to Boa Vista in Roraima, on to the town of Içana, then south to Benjamin Constant in Amazonas and thence to the town of Cruzeiro do Sul, where it will link up with the southwestern part of the Trans-Amazonic Highway proper, and finally with the town of Taumaturgo on the Peruvian border (see accompanying map). Along with a number of feeder roads, the northern highway (called the Perimetral Norte) will form a transportation bridge between Brazil and the neighboring countries of French Guiana, Surinam, Guyana, Venezuela, Colombia, and Peru. When finished it will be the last episode in the now famous Brazilian "March to the West."<sup>1</sup>

Estimated costs for road building alone are \$10 million per year, and the first 1,300 mile section from Macapá to a point near the Colombian border is to be completed by 1976. Contracted to build the highway are some of the largest construction firms in Brazil: Construtora Mendes Jr., Andrade Gutierrez, Rabelo, Camargo Correa, Empresa Industrial e Technica, and Construtora Queiros Galvão. Senhor Sebastião Camargo Penteadó, owner of the largest Brazilian construction company (fifth largest in the world in terms of capital), is ecstatic about the new highway. "The Amazon region," he claimed to a reporter from *The Economist*, "is a blank space in the world. What is happening there now reveals completely unforeseen possibilities . . ."<sup>2</sup>

One element totally forgotten by Sr. Camargo is that the Amazon region, and especially that part planned for the Northern Highway, is the aboriginal homeland of hundreds of independent Indian nations. This nasty fact, glossed over

### Camargo Builds and Kills

When he was building the road that opened up Rondonia, Camargo deliberately exposed an Indian chief to the "madhouse" of São Paulo. "He was a big chief, powerful, august, and they thought they could stop us building the road. So we took him first to Cuiaba and he started to get worried, though he was still arrogant. Then we flew him to São Paulo. It wasn't the buildings, or the cars, I think it was just the pressure of people. He's only had 300 people in his tribe, on earth, and he was the chief. Then seven million all milling round him. He started urinating in his trousers.

"He was totally demoralized, broken. Now? He's either back with his tribe or he's died of shock," Camargo laughed.

Source: Brian Moynahan, "Brazil: The Big Carve-Up," *The Sunday Times Magazine* (London) October 7, 1973.



by the bureaucrats and the businessmen alike, is the human factor which lies behind the Brazilian "National Integration Plan" as it penetrates the vast jungle areas of the Amazon interior. Why does Camargo ignore the Indians' existence? The answer can be found in the other interests that Camargo has. Already he has one cattle ranch along the first Trans-Amazon road, and he and his associates have plans for other such projects along the new Amazon road.<sup>3</sup> Tax rebates and loans for setting up these cattle ranches are only given if the land is classified as "cleared" of Indians.<sup>4</sup> So, Camargo publicly ignores the reality of the Indians' existence—and kills them off privately by either direct methods or the spread of disease.

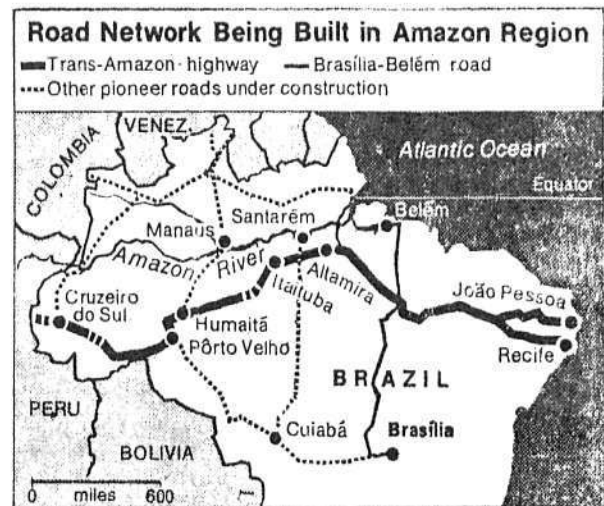
The government goes along with this process as it is seen as necessary and is equated with progress.<sup>5</sup> A sick joke now circulating among journalists in Brazil is that FUNAI, the national Indian agency established in 1968 to "pacify" the Indian tribes along the new highway system, is totally ignorant of even the number of indigenous peoples and tribes who inhabit this immense area. According to the *Estado do São Paulo*, FUNAI has taken up the "number game" as a means of resolving the "Indian question" in Brazil. In most cases the higher ranking FUNAI officials, noted for their anti-Indian attitudes, have estimated the total number of Indians in the Amazon way below the reality.<sup>6</sup> This is their way of saying that the Indian is not important and that when destruction comes it will not be many people. "Just a handful of poor 'savages' lost out there in the wilderness."

On May 27th of last year, for example, the coordinator of FUNAI in Amazonas, General Ismarth Oliveira, said that there were 20,000 Indians along the proposed new highway. On the 15th of July, after numerous contradictory FUNAI reports, a FUNAI anthropologist argued that there were no less than 160,000 Indians living between Amazonas and the Territory of Roraima in only three of the five sections of the Northern Perimeter Highway.<sup>7</sup> It is a known fact that there are closer to 270 tribal groups in this area of the Amazon, rather than 52 tribes as claimed by FUNAI. According to the Brazilian anthropologist, Eduardo Galvao, these groups are distributed in two major culture areas composing the most densely populated Indian region of Brazil.<sup>8</sup> What will be the fate of these peoples as the new northern highway chops across their aboriginal territories and lands?

The effects of road building projects in other areas of the Amazon provide a tragic premonition of what will inevitably happen with the construction of the new northern highway. In 1971, the Paracana tribe was "pacified"

along one stretch of the Trans-Amazonic Highway by FUNAI workers, and claimed to be a model case of "integration" into rural Brazilian society. When 40 people were immediately stricken with gripe and tuberculosis, the Paracana painted their bodies in black urucum paint as a sign of mourning for the entire tribe. Then, highway workers invaded the village, gave presents to the men, and raped a number of Indian women. Thirty-five people came down with venereal disease, and eight Paracana children were born blind.<sup>9</sup>

Similar conditions are also reported to exist among the Txucarramae Tribe, at one time safe within the protected confines of the Xingu Indian Park, but recently left homeless by the invasion of one section of the Santarem-Cuiaba highway. At the time of this highway invasion, Orlando and Claudio Villas Boas, the directors of the Xingu Park, predicted that within a year we would hear reports of the death and extermination of the Txucarramae Tribe. Now this prediction is a reality. An Associated Press release of November 16, 1973 states that "Four Txucarramae Indians have died this month from the disease (measles), 20 others are in 'danger of losing their lives,' and 70 more are interned in a filthy government-run Indian hospital." A photograph accompanying the report showed several Txucarramae Indians lying on mattresses on the hospital floor, covered only with sheets.<sup>10</sup>



The New York Times, Jan. 26, 1974

## Secret "Integration" Camp

The name of the place is Crenaque. Like a modern horror story, the secret existence of a concentration camp for Indians in Brazil was confirmed only a little more than a year ago by an ex-FUNAI agent, who resigned in protest, Antonio Contrim Neto, and a follow-up investigation by a reporter for *Jornal do Brasil*, a leading Brazilian newspaper. It still operates today. Secretly built in 1971 by FUNAI (The National Foundation for the Indian) it has become a central detention center for Indian tribal leaders, their warriors, and others who have resisted national "integration."

The commander of the camp, Captain Manuel dos Santos Pinheiro, of the federal military police, stated:

Yes, the Indians can be a threat to the national security, since when they rebel they create disorder and subversion; in such cases, after being taken prisoner by the Indigenous Guards, they are sent to Crenaque, to reeducate them and transform them into good Indians. Also placed in the camp are Indians who have "disintegrated psychologically" in the "integration process" and are hence useless to the national economy.

Source: *Jornal do Brasil*, August 27, 1972

Perhaps the best account of what will happen to the hundreds of Indian tribes who find themselves in the path of the new northern highway was provided by the independent Brazilian weekly *Opinião*, before its censorship and closure last March. "If FUNAI has other plans for the Indians of the Perimetral," the journal states, "no one knows about them. What is known for certain is that within a short while, in Macapá and other points, the tractors will begin to roll. Thousands of men will swarm along the road. It will surely be the last caravan. And will this ultimate caravan be any different from the others?"<sup>11</sup>

1. "2,500 Mile North Rim Road Is Planned," *Brazilian Bulletin*, November 1972, p. 8.
2. "Brazil Survey," *The Economist*, September 2, 1972, p. 56.
3. See the excellent article in the *Sunday Times Magazine* (London), October 7, 1973.
4. See *Guia de Incentivos Fiscais* (Editora Abril, São Paulo, March 1972) for the tax deductions allowed for investing in the Amazon. American businessmen are also confident about financial prospects in the Amazon, not the least of which is Caterpillar Brasil. In the last two years Caterpillar Brasil has sold 770 pieces of machinery worth \$47 million to the Brazilian army's engineer corps and the seven private construction companies that are building the Trans-Amazonic road. According to *Business Week*, Caterpillar refuses to divulge its sales, but informed sources figure that the company may control more than 70 percent of the \$125 million earth-moving market in Brazil.
5. "Cats Slice Out a Highway in the Jungle," *Business Week*, January 8, 1972, p. 34.
6. For the corruption of FUNAI officials see "Development Against the Indians," *Brazilian Information Bulletin*, no. 9.
7. "Funai Pede Verba para a Perimetral," *Estado de Sao Paulo*, August 17, 1973.
8. "Os Indios e a Ultima Caravana," *Opinio*, March 5, 1973.
9. *Ibid.*
10. "Measles Is Killing Tribe," *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 16, 1973.
11. *Opinião*, *Ibid.*

*This report was written by Indigena, an organization described in the accompanying box.*

*Photographs by Emil Schulthess*



INDIGENA grows out of our solidarity with the Indian Peoples affected by policies which seek to destroy not only the integrity of Native Nations and individuals throughout the Americas, but also threatens the existence of all forms of life around the world.

Until now there has existed no organization in the United States specifically concerned with making known these issues and trying to devise some actions to circumvent the exploitation of our brothers and sisters which has its point of departure—and often also its financial rewards—in this country. It is of primary importance that Indian People and other concerned people in North America be involved in preventing a repetition of the intolerable policies that continue to be implemented, and in supporting the struggles of resistance of Native Peoples, which generally receive little or no coverage in the regular media.

Our office in Berkeley, California acts as an information resource and distribution center of recent books, articles, documents, photographs and films on the social conditions of Indian Peoples in the Americas. A 39-page package of articles on the condition of Indians in the Americas is available by writing to us. At present we are working on two major projects: (1) an investigation of North American corporations (e.g., Swift/Armour, King Ranch, Texaco, Georgia-Pacific, etc.) who are on Indian lands of the Amazon region, and (2) a study of the scope and nature of American Missionary activities throughout Latin America.

We need help in finding source materials and clippings from local publications regarding these issues. We need people to do translations. Individuals or organizations can contribute in the particular way that is most suitable and effective for them.

INDIGENA  
Information on the Native Peoples of the Americas  
P.O. Box 4073  
Berkeley, California 94704 USA

**INDIGENA**



# The Dead Side of the Miracle

CJM  
P&S 2/13  
Dec. 052

The national infant mortality rate is one of the best indicators of income distribution and/or the priorities of a country.<sup>1</sup> How does Brazil rate compared with other countries under this test? Not at all where it likes to fancy itself—as the most developed nation of Latin America and as the Third World development leader.

A recent field study by the World Health Organization found the city of Sao Paulo (the most “developed” area of Brazil) to have a higher infant mortality rate than Kingston (Jamaica), Santiago (Chile), and La Paz (Bolivia). Recife, the capital city of the Northeast, had the highest infant mortality rate of all twelve cities surveyed in Latin America.<sup>2</sup> The investigators did not venture into the interior of Northeastern Brazil, where government statistics show infant mortality rates in some cities reaching around 250 per 1,000 births.<sup>3</sup> The Northeastern average is 176 deaths per 1,000—the seventh highest rate in the world.<sup>4</sup> Overall, the Brazilian rate is 105 children of every 1,000 births die in their first year of life.<sup>5</sup>

Everyone agrees that the greatest cause of infant mortality in Brazil is an inadequate diet. One study, begun in 1967 in Recife, has led the investigator to conclude that “91 percent of the children who die before 5 years of age do so simply because of hunger.”<sup>6</sup> In a situation of general undernourishment disease spreads easily. Even those who escape death or sickness in their first years of life are marked forever by the first years of malnutrition. A report by Dra. Dalva Sagey, for the Ministry of Education and Culture, stated that “of the 20,855,800 children up to six years of age in Brazil, 8,234,350 (40%) have food shortages. And it is these deficiencies that cause brain damage, that will later be transformed into mental retardation.”<sup>7</sup> Of course, the greatest food deficiency is among the poor.

Even in such areas of supposed development as the city of Sao Paulo the infant mortality rate is high and increasing. In 1960 there were 77.17 deaths per 1,000 children born in the city; in 1970 the rate increased to 83.64.<sup>8</sup> Reasons for this increase are not hard to find. The earning power of the workers has radically decreased over the decade, thanks to government control of wages but not inflation.<sup>9</sup> Poor people simply cannot afford to buy sufficient amounts of protein rich food to eat a minimumly adequate diet. Mothers can hardly feed their babies if they themselves do not eat well. The present lack of milk in Sao Paulo (which is in part a consequence of last year's slaughtering of dairy cows for the meat export market) is just the latest example of how the poor suffer so Brazil can increase her exports.<sup>10</sup>

The cost of living in Sao Paulo increased 11% between January and September 1973. During this same period the cost of food increased 14% and the price of some food products increased as much as 360%. According to official government statistics, the highest price increases were reported for staples in the diet of poor Brazilians. For example, the price of eggs increased 74%; beans 157% and potatoes 360%. These increases forewarn further increases in the infant mortality rate in the “most industrialized” city of Latin America.

Source: *Jornal do Brasil*, November 8, 1973.

Public Health is apparently not considered a basic necessity in the dictatorship's model for Brazilian “development.” This callous conclusion is revealed in many ways, but nowhere more clearly than in the Federal Budget. The biggest chunk of the 1974 budget is slated for the armed forces. The Army, Navy and Air Force Ministries will receive a total of \$1.3 billion, nearly 14 percent. The Education Ministry gets five percent and the Health Ministry one percent.<sup>11</sup> Prior to the 1964 military coup 4.69 percent of the Federal Budget went to the Health Ministry. The Health Ministry's share of the Budget has been systematically reduced each year since the coup—first to 3 percent of the budget, then to 2 percent and now to 1 percent.<sup>12</sup>

Part of the explanation for the low level of public health expenditure may lie in the fact that health ministers are on a low rung of the power ladder, compared with finance ministers, military security chiefs, or even captains of industry and other vociferous capital consumers. Nor are there any channels through which public opinion can exert itself to force higher government health spending. And, since the elites do not seem to care about the inhumane conditions that a majority have to bear, the poor simply starve in silence. But their silence is quite horrifying—nearly 1,500 children buried everyday.<sup>13</sup>

1. “Infancia morta, uma tragedia brasileira,” *Jornal do Brasil*, August 15, 1971.
2. “Desnutricao eleva a mortalidade,” *Estado de Sao Paulo*, May 29, 1971.
3. As in Patos (the State of Paraiba) between the years 1968 and 1970 the rate was 267 children die in the first year of life for every 1,000 born. “Mortalidade de criancas cresce,” *Estado de Sao Paulo*, July 4, 1972.
4. “Infancia morta . . .”
5. *Ibid.*
6. “Fome explica a mortalidade,” *Estado de Sao Paulo*, July 3, 1971.
7. “Medica diz que fome cause a doencas mentais em 40% das criancas brasileiras,” *Jornal do Brasil*, August 25, 1971.
8. “Mortalidade infantil em Sao Paulo aumentou na decada,” *Jornal do Brasil*, July 7, 1973.
9. “Laboring under the Dictatorship,” *Bulletin*, no. 10.
10. “Abastecimento—Á escassez de solucoes,” *Visao*, October 15, 1973.
11. “Budget Sent to Brazil Congress,” *Miami Herald*, September 2, 1973.
12. “Meio seculo de atraso em saúde,” *Estado de Sao Paulo*, April 18, 1973.
13. “Infancia morta, uma tragedia brasileira,” *Jornal do Brasil*, August 15, 1971.



JMVDWI, DICI, DICI VI, 14, 8

San Francisco Chronicle  
Sat., Feb. 16, 1974

## New Wave Of Arrests In Brazil

### Sao Paulo, Brazil

The latest wave of arrests by Brazilian security forces seems aimed at controlling labor at a time of growing industrial unrest and unprecedented shortage of unskilled workers.

The crackdown has been toughest in Sao Paulo, the biggest and fastest growing industrial center in South America. At least 39 persons have been arrested here, and informed sources say some have been brutally treated.

The repressive moves at first appeared to be aimed against the Roman Catholic Church. But, subsequently, church and labor sources have said it was much more significant that those arrest-

ed were trade union members or members of church lay organizations devoted to helping workers.

Eleven of those arrested were women. Informed sources said that in addition to the electric shocks inflicted on men, some of the women have been subjected to humiliation and sexual abuse.

The total seized in Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro exceeded 50, though some have been released. News of the arrests has been censored from Brazil's press, but reports indicate the security action may be nationwide.

Seven are members of the metal workers union, which recently halted work at Villares Elevators, a plant of more than 5000 employees. It was the first real strike in Brazil since the government gave itself dictatorial powers in December, 1968.

The union also caused slowdowns at Brazil's giant Volkswagen plant, the biggest car producer in the country, whose fast-growing exports bring in urgently needed foreign currency.

Some others arrested belong to the Pastoral Operaria, a church group which discusses the rights of workers according to the Brazilian constitution, the church's social doctrine and the U.N. charter on human rights.

Still others are from the federation of organizations for social and educational systems, a community action group which trains people in sociology, health care and religion. It was founded ten years ago by an American priest, the Rev. Edward Leising.

Reference to labor troubles is prohibited in the Brazilian press and this makes it difficult to accurately gauge their extent.

Any hint of labor insubordination in Brazil is regarded by authorities as a threat to national security. This country's five year economic boom has rested heavily on exports, which rose last year by 53 percent to an all-time high of \$6.1 billion.

Exports have to keep going up if Brazil's economic miracle is to continue, and labor is a key factor in

this battle for sales.

The big advantages that Brazil has are abundant supplies of many basic raw materials and a large pool of cheap labor.

It is not only the low cost of labor which is attractive but the control the government has over it.

This control is imposed by ruthless suppression of free trade - union activities. Strikes have been outlawed since December, 1968, and uncooperative union leaders are forced out of office, arrested and sometimes tortured.

Last year, however, there was a dramatic change in the power of the workers that no amount of repression can completely overcome. The supply of unskilled labor began to dry up.

The shortages began to hit employers about May, 1973, but for obvious reasons neither they nor the government wanted to advertise them. Only months later when "labor wanted" notices began appearing on construction sites all over Sao Paulo did the shortages become public knowledge.

# A Program of Latin American Political Films

## **tricontinental film center**

a non-profit educational organization

244 west 27th street, new york, n.y. 10001  
(212) 989-3330

p.o. box 4430, berkeley, california 94704  
(415) 548-3204

### Brazil

NO TIME FOR TEARS

### Argentina

THE TRAITORS

### Bolivia

CRY OF THE PEOPLE

BLOOD OF THE CONDOR

### Uruguay

TUPAMAROS

### Chile

INTRODUCTION TO CHILE

WHEN THE PEOPLE AWAKE

EL CHACAL DE NAHUELTORO

CAMPAMENTO

### Mexico

THE FROZEN REVOLUTION

### Cuba

MEMORIES OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT

LUCIA

and many others



# Deltec

*The following article on the Brazilian operations of Deltec International is part of an ongoing series of articles in this Bulletin on U.S. investments in Brazil. Past issues have included articles on Ludwig's Amazon investments, Brascan, foreign investment trends, and the opening of the Amazon to foreign investment. These studies are in no way exhaustive, but rather aim to call attention to major investment developments which have a profound impact on the economic, political and social conditions in Brazil. We intend to continue research on Deltec and would appreciate any suggestions, criticisms and additional information readers may have.*

As foreign investors strategize to develop new ways to deal with rising nationalism in Latin America, one of the frequently cited models is a private investment bank called Deltec International. A key part of Deltec's investment strategy, perfected over a period of nearly thirty years, consists of creating alliances between the wealthy of Europe and North America on the one hand, and the emerging bourgeoisie in Latin America on the other hand. Deltec and its allies invest in and control enterprises in Latin America through nationals representing their interests. This "low profile" limits exposure to nationalist policies designed to reduce foreign financial control of Latin America. Deltec functions as both middleman (between foreign investors and local interest), and as an investor itself.

During an interview in 1969, Clarence Dauphinot, the founder of and main force behind Deltec, expanded on his strategy for dealing with different and changing political situations:

The particular kind of government in power does not matter; nor does it really concern us who is head of the government—as long as the basic institutions of the nation's political and economic life are not disturbed. We could not function in Brazil under Goulart, nor in Venezuela under Perez Jimenez. But once these gentlemen departed and the disrupted institutions were revived, we were back in business.<sup>1</sup>

In other words, as long as the government is open to foreign capital, Deltec can find a way to turn a profit, no matter what the form of government.

This all started for Deltec in 1946, when Clarence Dauphinot was working as a bond trader in Latin America for the U.S. investment bank of Kidder, Peabody and Co. He realized that Latin America was going to become a very lucrative place to invest after World War II, and was able to convince his employers to help him start.<sup>2</sup> He chose to start in Brazil, and Brazil has remained the site of Deltec's most extensive operations. These range from cattle ranching and meat packing to investment banking, real estate, flour mills, sugar mills, and chemical plants. In addition, Deltec has loaned money in Brazil to hundreds of medium and large-sized companies, many of which are foreign-owned or foreign-controlled. These include major department stores, textile manufacturers, construction companies, paper plants, electronic plants, state public utilities companies and banks.

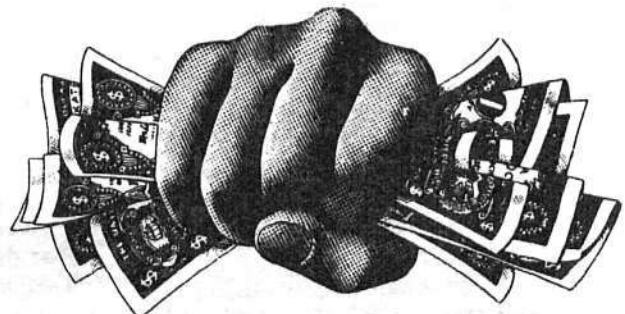
## DOMINIUM

Deltec is a master at quick "in and out" buying and selling of companies. One of the most notorious examples of this involves Dominion, a Brazilian coffee company, and a group of flour mills called Moinho Ingles.<sup>3</sup> In 1966 Deltec bought the Moinho Ingles complex from S. G. Warburg, an English investment bank (which, in turn, is a big owner of Deltec stock). Deltec paid \$2.3 million for five flour mills, a textile mill, and a biscuit factory. Shortly after the purchase, in 1967, Deltec started reselling Moinho Ingles piece by piece, mostly to Dominion. Since Dominion did not have enough money for the two flour mills, textile mill and biscuit factory it wanted, Deltec loaned it the \$2.7 million purchase price. In return, Deltec received the mortgage for this property. Soon after, Dominion encountered severe problems exporting instant coffee due to U.S. tariff restrictions, and when its desperate attempts to obtain enough money to keep operating failed, in May of 1968 it was forced to close down both its coffee and flour operations. In the meantime, Deltec, which still held the mortgage for Moinho Ingles, foreclosed on its mortgage and, even though Dominion had already paid Deltec 21% of the \$2.7 million sale price. In the final accounting, Deltec, which had originally bought the Moinho Ingles complex for \$2.3 million, had resold bits and pieces of it for \$6.9 million, and then got part of it back.

## MEAT PACKING

Deltec attempted a similar financial sleight of hand with its interests in the Swift-Armour meat packing operations. In 1969 Deltec Panamerica diversified its banking business through a merger with International Packers Ltd. (IPL), the holding company for the Swift and Armour overseas cattle and meat packing operations. Deltec figured it could put its marketing experience gained through its international investment banking business to profitable use acting as an intermediary between meat packers and international markets.

One of the assets Deltec acquired through its 1969 merger with IPL was Swift de la Plata, Argentina's largest meat packing plant. One year later, in September of 1970, it closed down this plant, declaring it bankrupt because of rising cattle prices. Deltec asked the Argentine government to pay off this plant's debts. The Argentines refused, claiming that they would assume the debts only of meat packing companies which were at least 51% owned by national capital. Then, on September 22, 1971, an Argentine judge declared the Swift plant bankrupt. Deltec appealed this decision, but in September, 1973, another Argentine judge declared Deltec responsible for all Swift de la Plata debts, and started bankruptcy proceedings on 13 other Deltec affiliates in Argentina to cover the debts.<sup>4</sup>



At the same time that Deltec was declaring Swift de la Plata bankrupt, it was planning to build the largest meat processing plant in the world in Ilha De Marajo in the mouth of the Amazon River in Brazil.<sup>5</sup> Labor was cheaper and less organized and under repressive government control in Brazil, and Brazil was five shipping days closer to European markets. Some observers also interpreted Deltec's move as an effort to help Brazil become the world's largest meat exporter, thus reducing Argentina's power in the world meat market. In 1971 Deltec described the Amazon cattle prospects to its shareholders as follows:

The long-term thrust of Deltec's ranching activities will center around the exciting potential of the Amazon valley. Deltec and King Ranch own 176,000 acres of virgin land in the state of Para. It is our belief that this area will, in the future, become one of the most important producers of animal protein in the world. The accessibility of this region is rapidly improving with Brazil's ambitious Amazonian highway development... Financial and investment incentives being granted by the Brazilian government have rapidly accelerated the development to the region and Deltec with its project is in the forefront of a large number of investors who are entering this region. . . .<sup>6</sup>

Deltec was also involved in additional cattle ranching ventures in Brazil mainly through partnerships with the King Ranch of Texas.<sup>7</sup> In early 1971, Deltec, through its subsidiary, Swift do Brasil, purchased a ranch in north-central Brazil (State of Maranhao), most of whose land was located in the area set aside as a reservation for the Kaapor (Urubu) and Tembe Indian tribes. Deltec was able to complete the purchase only after Costa Cavalcanti, the Brazilian Minister of Interior, overruled the objections of the National Foundation for Assistance to the Indian (FUNAI), circumvented national laws and transferred the jurisdiction of the disputed territory to the state of Maranhao. He then got the state officials to approve the deal for Swift and King Ranch.<sup>8</sup> Cavalcanti's excuse for his executive actions was that Brazil needed such ranches in order to become the largest cattle-exporter in the world.

In implementing a recently initiated program to divest itself of all its manufacturing operations, Deltec has now sold its controlling interests in the Brazilian Swift and Armour meat packing operations as well as most of its ranches. These were bought mainly by close business associates, such as Brascan and the Brazilian mining magnate Augusto Antunes. They have agreed to supply Deltec with meat for its food distribution business, which Deltec has retained and is expanding.<sup>9</sup> This side of the meat business has the least risks, the least likelihood of being nationalized, makes the highest profits, and leaves Deltec in a much less exposed investment position. In this move Deltec joined the growing list of Latin American enterprises (such as the United Fruit Co. and Patino Mining Co.) which are being forced out of or are giving up ownership of local production and moving to secure monopoly positions of control in foreign marketing.<sup>10</sup>

One of the bitter ironies of Deltec's meat operations in Brazil is that while millions of the country's people suffer from malnutrition (see article on infant mortality in this issue) Deltec produces and markets mainly for foreigners. Deltec is the leading exporter of Brazilian beef and at the end of 1971 was originating about 30 percent of all export beef shipments. In 1971, 69 percent of Deltec's beef was exported (versus 40 percent in 1970, 20 percent in 1969 and 7 percent in 1968).<sup>11</sup>

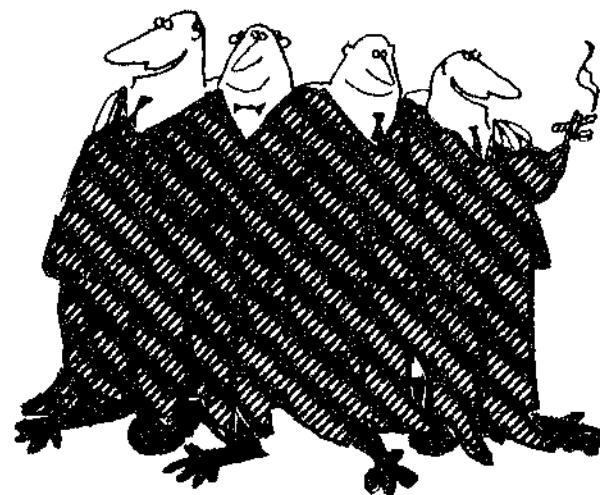
## REAL ESTATE

One of the areas of the Brazilian economy in which Deltec has been most successful is real estate. In 1967, Deltec acquired a controlling interest in Companhia City de Desenvolvimento, a real estate company founded in 1911 by British businessmen. Cia. City is now the leading land development company in the world's fastest growing city, Sao Paulo. The British owners developed 3,000 acres of what has become Sao Paulo's most exclusive housing development — the famous Jardim sections. Cia. City now owns about 1,600 acres in Anastacio, the last undeveloped zone within the city limits of Sao Paulo. In the nearby university town of Piracicaba, Cia. City owns 600 acres, about 15% of the town's land area. In Sao Paulo, Cia. City also owns a ten-story downtown office building, a 420,000 square foot shopping center on the Marginal Highway and a proposed 700,000 square foot office complex, also on the Highway.<sup>12</sup> Deltec thus has developed a complete real estate unit, which not only builds and sells, but also provides a network of financial, design, sales and other real estate services.

## INVESTMENT BANKING

Deltec's main interest in Brazil remains in the financial field. Deltec Banking Corporation, Deltec's largest and most important subsidiary, arranges loans for Brazilians (through its ties in the international financial market. In Brazil from 1967 until 1972, this was done through an investment bank called Banco de Investimento do Brasil (BIB). Deltec established BIB in partnership with the Rockefellers' International Basic Economy Corp. (IBEC), and Uniao de Bancos Brasileiros (UBB), each of which owned 20% of BIB's capital. The remaining BIB shares were owned by Brascan, Commerzbank of Germany, Credit Suisse, Augusto Antunes, Refinaria Uniao and Deutsche Bank of Germany.

As the largest private non-commercial bank and financial institution in South America, the BIB has played a major role in the development of the Brazilian capital market. It manages and owns a number of mutual funds, including Fundo Crescinco, South America's largest mutual fund; Fundo de Investimento BIB-CRESCINCO, the country's largest tax incentive fund; and Condominio Deltec, which has enjoyed the highest return of all Brazilian mutual funds.<sup>13</sup> As was one of the first companies to be involved in the Brazilian capital market, Deltec was in a good position to work with foreign investors when investment opportunities were opened up after the military coup in 1964.



In 1972, Deltec and IBEC sold their shares of BIB, claiming that this was done at the request of the Brazilian shareholder — Walter Moreira Salles, one of the Rockefellers' principal partners in Brazil — and his bank, UBB. Later that year, Deltec announced it had acquired a 21% interest in Banco Finasa de Investimento, another Sao Paulo-based investment bank, and one of BIB's major competitors. Finasa, which is not as large as BIB, is mostly owned by Brazilian capital, with an impressive list of international banks making up the balance, thus providing Deltec additional contacts in Brazilian and international financial circles.<sup>14</sup>

Deltec's main objective, according to its founder and president, Clarence Dauphinot, is to create local capital markets in developing areas.<sup>15</sup> Creating capital markets (as described in Bulletin #6, page 10) is one of the crucial steps in opening the savings and family-held corporations of developing areas, such as Brazil, to foreign investors.<sup>16</sup> It also helps "stabilize" capitalism by giving the middle class a "stake" in the system (shares in a company or mutual fund). Thus, it is no surprise that Deltec's principal owners are leading international bankers who share Deltec's objectives and who participate in many of the loans and investments Deltec arranges in Latin America. They include Goldman Sachs, a powerful Wall Street investment bank; the Bank of London and South America (BOLSA); Deutsche Bank, Germany's largest commercial bank; the Banco de A. Edwards (the Edwards family being one of the most powerful forces opposing the Allende government); S. G. Warburg and the J. Henry Schroeder Banking Corp., two influential international banking houses; and Nikko Securities, a large Japanese securities corporation.

#### TIES THAT BIND

Deltec's effectiveness in Brazil (as elsewhere) depends on its close ties to influential local businessmen and financiers. One example, mentioned above is Augusto Antunes, the mining magnate who operates joint ventures with giants such as U.S. Steel, and Hanna Mining Co., and who last year joined Brascan in buying Swift-Armour do Brasil from Deltec.<sup>17</sup> Another person who at least until recently was closely associated with Deltec, as well as with Antunes and the Rockefellers, is Walter Moriera Salles. Until 1972, he was a member of Deltec's board of directors, as well as being the president of UBB and BIB. Moreira Salles is a leading Brazilian banker and has served as a former ambassador to Washington and Finance Minister.

#### BEYOND BRAZIL

Aside from Brazil and Argentina, Deltec is involved in almost every other country in Latin America, as well as in Western Europe, Eastern Europe, Australia, New Zealand, Greece, Turkey, and most recently, Japan and Hong Kong. It has underwritten over a billion dollars worth of loans to governments and for such projects as a Mercedes-Benz plant in Venezuela, a steel mill in Argentina and a project to improve first class hotel service in Latin America. In 1969, it started making loans to Eastern European countries, with the goal of being the first Western financial corporation to make loans in the Soviet Union. In 1972, Deltec formed an alliance with Nikko Securities, a large Japanese securities corporation.<sup>18</sup> This alliance will help Deltec enter the investment banking business in Asia, and also will help Nikko further Japanese involvement in Latin America. Having developed the Deltec strategy in Latin America, its

backers now want to use it to help penetrate the rich potential markets of Eastern Europe and Asia.<sup>19</sup>



#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Entrepreneur, Middleman, Builder in the World of Investment: An Interview with Clarence Dauphinot, Jr.," *Columbia Journal of World Business*, January-February 1969.
2. *Ibid.*
3. The major sources for this section on Dominion and Moinho Ingles were: *Sunday Times* (London), October 27, 1968; *Christian Science Monitor*, June 27 and 28, 1968.
4. For a list of the Deltec affiliates see *The New York Times*, September 8, 1973. See also *The Wall Street Journal*, September 6, 1973 for a summary of the case.
5. *Frente Brasileiro de Informaciones*, December 1970/January 1971.
6. *Deltec Country/Area Reports - 1971*, p. 24.
7. For the IPL/Deltec/King Ranch relationship see the three-part article on the King Ranch in *Fortune*, June, July and August, 1969. According to its 1971 *Country/Area Reports*, Deltec at the end of 1971 operated, as a joint venture with the King Ranch, five ranches in the state of Sao Paulo with a total of 145,000 acres and 30,000 head of cattle. Deltec also wholly owned four ranches in the state of Sao Paulo and Minas Gerais comprising 106,000 acres with 18,000 head of cattle (p. 24).
8. The source for this episode is a typed memo from the World Council of Churches' Program to Combat Racism (Geneva).
9. *The Wall Street Journal*, December 18, 1972. Deltec's relationship with Brascan dates back to 1947 when, in one of its first big moves, Deltec issued stock for Brazilian Traction, a predecessor of what is now Brascan (*The New York Times*, February 4, 1968). Until recently, Deltec and Brascan both participated in the ownership of Brazil's largest investment bank, Banco de Investimento de Brasil (BIB) and in Refinaria Uniao, an oil concern now controlled by Petrobras. Deltec has also loaned money to Brascan subsidiaries. See *Bulletin #11* for article on Brascan.
10. See "United Fruit is not Chiquita," NACLA NEWSLETTER, October 1971 and "Empire Reborn," *Forbes*, August 1, 1970 (Patiño).
11. *Deltec Country/Area Reports - 1971*, p. 21. *Latin America* (London), of February 8, 1974 reports that meat exports for 1973 are believed to have been around \$400 million, the fourth largest agricultural export (after coffee, soybeans and sugar). These four commodities accounted for nearly half of Brazil's record exports in 1973.
12. *American Banker*, November 28, 1973.
13. See *Country/Area Reports - 1971*, pp. 34-35.
14. These banks include: Banco Mercantil de Sao Paulo, Banco Nacional do Comercio de Sao Paulo, Banco Nordeste de Sao Paulo, Banco Novo Mundo, Morgan Guaranty Trust, International Finance Corp. (World Bank affiliate), Baring Brothers, Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, Deutsche Sudamerikanische Bank, Stockholms Enskilda Bank, and the Industrial Bank of Japan.
15. See "Entrepreneur . . ." op. cit.
16. See *Bulletin #6*, p. 10.
17. For the story of Antunes see "Brazil's Chief Miner," *Fortune*, April 1966.
18. Nikko bought 2.7% of Deltec Panamerica, which in turn owns 34% of Deltec International. This made Nikko the eighth largest shareholder in Deltec Panamerica. See *Business Latin America*, August 10, 1972, p. 250 and the *Journal of Commerce*, June 29, 1972.
19. According to *The Wall Street Journal*, January 1, 1974, a recent Deltec joint venture with a Yugoslavian food company represents the first joint venture between a Yugoslavian enterprise and a foreign company. The venture will process and sell \$15 million of beef products, mainly for export markets in Western Europe.

# What Happens Now?

No one can predict what changes Brazil's new dictator, Ernesto Geisel, will make when he takes over the government this March. Geisel's electoral "campaign" has been limited to traveling to different parts of the country and to conversations with politicians and ministers of the present government. The content of these conversations has been kept secret. In his only public political speech to now, Geisel avoided making any definition of how his government will conduct business.

There are at least two reasons for this silence. One is obvious. Since the Brazilian people are denied any participation in the election of their President, there is no need for the "candidate" to campaign openly. The main reason, however, is to keep the public ignorant of the fact that Geisel's appointment was the result of an intense struggle within the Armed Forces, won by his faction at the expense of Medici's, the present dictator. Any public statement showing his differences with Medici would destroy the image of unity within the Armed Forces, an image which the military has sought to preserve since seizing power in 1964.<sup>1</sup> Hence, one can only speculate about his intentions, drawing inferences from facts or from statements by people who are known to be close to him.

## POLITICAL RELAXATION

The influential newspaper *O Estado de Sao Paulo*, which represents important sectors of the Brazilian elite and which has been one of the main victims of censorship in the past two years, recently shed some light on the matter when it announced that "the institutionalization of the regime" will take place in 1975.<sup>2</sup> The newspaper went on to say that the institutionalization would begin in March 1975, through a new Constitution that would be sent to the Congress.

It is significant, however, that instead of talking about re-democratization, it used the word "institutionalization." What is meant by the word "institutionalization"? Generally speaking, it is used to mean the drawing up of a new Constitution; the revocation of Institutional Act No. 5; the return of the writ of habeas corpus; more autonomy for the judiciary and legislative powers; the end or softening of censorship; and more limitations on the repressive apparatus. It also means, however, that a significant number of the authoritarian measures adopted by the dictatorship during the last ten years are to be incorporated into the new Constitution. In other words, political relaxation would mean the institutionalization of authoritarian power. Instead of having a President with unlimited power, as is the case now, the new Constitution will try to specify some limitations. In all this speculation about what is institutionalization nothing is said about freedom for labor unions or the right to organize political meetings or political movements independent of government control.

The most surprising pre-inauguration rumor concerns the return of ex-President Joao Goulart to Brazil. The British weekly *Latin America* reports that:

... reliable sources claim that last August a group of army officers visited ex-President Joao Goulart -- who was deposed by the military in 1964 -- at his place of



exile in Montevideo. The message they bore was that not only General Ernesto Geisel, but also his brother, Army Minister Orlando Geisel, and the commanders of Brazil's four Army groups, wanted Goulart back in Brazil.<sup>3</sup>

Tancredo Neves, Goulart's Prime Minister, also went to see him after talks with military officials, including Ernesto Geisel. As a preliminary condition for his return, Goulart insisted that the right of habeas corpus be restored. According to Tancredo Neves, the main reason for this political move by the military is that the new President will face serious problems, both in the economic and political fields. Geisel's team is believed to have concluded that the external debt has reached crisis proportions and that this alone will demand some sort of government of national unity.<sup>4</sup> In that case, Goulart could play an important role in obtaining the support of the working class and trade unions for the government's policies.

## ECONOMIC POLICY

It is almost certain that Delfim Neto, Medici's Minister of Finance, will not continue in the new government. If this happens, Geisel will simply be responding to the interests of important industrial and financial groups within Brazil which have been complaining about Neto's policy since the beginning of 1973.<sup>5</sup> Neto is responsible for manipulating the capital market to attract foreign investors to Brazil. Under his tenure, the state and federal development agencies granted enormous incentives to foreign corporations, such as free land, the right to import machinery without taxes and in some cases provided up to 90 percent of the capital for the investments. Meanwhile, many Brazilian companies went bankrupt and others had to sell out to foreigners, as few loans or inducements were given to them.



# BRAZILIAN INFORMATION BULLETIN SPONSORS

**Richard Barnett**

Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D.C.

**Julian Beck**

The Living Theatre

**Susanne Bodenheimer**

Fellow, Latin American Studies Center,  
University of California, Berkeley

**Frank Bonilla**

Professor of Political Science  
Stanford University

**Robert S. Byars**

Assistant Professor of Political Science  
University of Illinois

**Warren Dean**

Professor of History, New York University

**Ralph Della Cava**

Professor of History, Queens College  
City University of New York

**Richard R. Fernandez**

Co-director, Clergy and Laymen Concerned

**John Gerassi**

Writer

**James & Margaret Goff**

Fraternal Workers  
United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.

**Timothy Harding**

Professor of History  
California State College, Los Angeles

**David Horowitz**

Editor, Ramparts Magazine

**Irving Louis Horowitz**

Chairman, Department of Sociology  
Livingston College, New Brunswick, New Jersey

**Saul Landau**

Writer and Film-maker

**Joseph L. Love**

Associate Professor of History  
University of Illinois, Urbana

**Judith Malina**

The Living Theatre

**Gertrude Pax**

North American Anti-Imperialist Coalition

**James Petras**

Associate Professor of Political Science  
Pennsylvania State University

**Caroline Pezzulo**

Human Design Corporation  
formerly Young Christian Workers

**Thomas Quigley**

Latin American Bureau, U.S. Catholic Conference

**Darrel Ruper, O.M.I.**

Priest, Oblates of Mary Immaculate

**Phillippe C. Schmitter**

University of Chicago

**Carl Solberg**

Associate Professor of History  
University of Washington  
Seattle, Washington

**John M. Swomley, Jr.**

Professor of Social Ethics  
St. Paul's School of Theology, Kansas City, Missouri

**Terence Turner**

Associate Professor of Anthropology  
University of Chicago

**Brady Tyson**

Professor of Latin American Studies  
American University, Washington, D.C.

**Maurice Zeitlin**

Professor of Sociology  
University of Wisconsin

American Friends of Brazil is an independent, non-profit organization whose main activity is to publish the *Brazilian Information Bulletin* four times a year. The Bulletin's main thrust is to document and disseminate information on: (1) repression in Brazil; (2) the U.S. role in supporting that repression; (3) the struggle in and outside Brazil against the repression; (4) Brazil's role in Latin America as a sub-imperial power; (5) the so-called Brazilian "economic miracle."

In addition to income from subscriptions, our financial survival depends on contributions from our supporters. We charge \$3.00 a year for individual subscriptions to the Bulletin; \$5.00 for institutions. For air mail subscriptions add \$1.00 (Canada and Mexico); \$2.00 (Europe and Latin America); \$3.00 (all other foreign countries). Bulk orders of 10 or more are sold at 40% discount.

American Friends of Brazil  
P.O. Box 2279 Station A  
Berkeley, Ca. 94702

BULK RATE  
U. S. POSTAGE  
PAID  
BERKELEY, CA.  
PERMIT NO. 975

In the past, Neto got sizeable support from the Brazilian middle class by increasing the amount of institutional credit available to them so they could buy luxury goods (cars, color televisions, appliances). The interest paid by the middle class went to the Brazilian and foreign financiers. Thus the prosperity of the upper class was closely linked with the consumption patterns of the middle class. The fundamental problem with this formula is that it feeds the inflationary process, rapidly increasing the amount of money in circulation -- thereby increasing demand and then increasing prices. Neto has not been able to control inflation as he said he could and would. In fact, in a recent editorial, the *Los Angeles Times* reported that some experts predict inflation "may rise to 40% during 1974."<sup>6</sup> This has become another sore point among the Geisel faction in the military.<sup>7</sup>

#### DEMOCRATIZATION?

Whether or not economic policies will actually change is unclear. Names may change but policy (and poverty for the many) probably will remain. Nevertheless, there are individuals who see in the changing of the guard a new beginning. In a speech before the Senate during the celebration of the 30th Anniversary of the "Manifesto dos Mineiros," Senator Magalhães Pinto read parts of that Manifesto, especially those demanding the return of Constitutional guarantees.<sup>8</sup> Upon finishing his speech, Magalhães Pinto pointed out that the Manifesto was still relevant for the present situation, and said that in making the speech he was symbolically signing it again.<sup>9</sup> Several people in Brazil have interpreted that speech as the beginning of a campaign expected to have the same political effects the Manifesto had in 1943.

These rumors and speculations about future changes in the political life of Brazil may be based on concrete

information gathered from Geisel's circles, as claimed by *O Estado de Sao Paulo*, or simply on the illusions of liberal sectors of the ruling class, which see the possibility for improvement every time there is a change in government. Whether Geisel will make any change at all is still unclear. One fact is clear: all the generals who have become Presidents since 1964 have promised to restore democracy, but none of them have kept their word.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. For more on Geisel's appointment see *Bulletin* No. 11.
2. *O Estado de Sao Paulo*, October 14, 1973.
3. *Latin America*, September 11, 1973.
4. From 1971 to 1972 the foreign debt, private and public, rose from \$6.6 billion to over \$10 billion. The servicing of this debt in 1972 cost Brazil about 22 percent of the value of its exports. (*Opinio* No. 1, November 6-13, 1972) *Latin America* of October 19, 1973, reported that the foreign debt increased to \$15 billion during 1973. One of the factors behind Neto's drive to increase Brazilian exports is a desperate attempt to keep Brazil solvent enough to service this growing foreign debt.
5. *Visao*, November 12, 1973.
6. "Brazil - Economic Growth Isn't Enough," editorial, *Los Angeles Times*, January 20, 1974.
7. Inflation is seemingly the issue that upsets the military the most. Neto knows this and has acted accordingly to suppress information about his mishandling of inflation. See *Latin America*, December 7, 1973.
8. The "Manifesto dos Mineiros" was issued on October 24, 1943. It was the first major open opposition to the Getulio Vargas dictatorship calling for a return to constitutional government. The Manifesto opened the way for the creation of a political climate that led to the forced resignation of Vargas two years later. It was signed by prominent liberal lawyers from the state of Minas Gerais who later became the main leaders of the right-wing National Democratic Union Party (UDN). The UDN played an important role in the overthrow of Goulart in 1964.
9. Significantly, Magalhães Pinto was governor of the state of Minas Gerais in 1964 and he started the military move that led to the overthrow of Goulart.



## Amnesty Launches New Campaign to Free Brazilian Political Prisoners

On January 15, 1974, Amnesty International appealed for a general amnesty for all political prisoners in Brazil and for an end to the torture and killing of dissenters.

The appeal came at the start of a new campaign to draw world attention to the plight of Brazilians suspected of opposing the regime. It coincided with the meeting of Brazil's electoral college to choose the country's next president.

Amnesty International, which published a major report in September 1972 on torture in Brazil, said the torture of political prisoners was still going on, according to reports it has received since then.

A new and worrying trend was the disappearance of more and more people without trace. Also growing was the number of persons whom police claimed were "killed trying to escape." Amnesty International is compiling a list of persons who have died in custody in Brazil. The list will be presented to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights when it holds hearings on Brazil early next month.

Amnesty said it was seeking support from churches, trade unions, professional organizations and similar bodies throughout the world for its campaign to persuade the Brazilian government to release political prisoners. Focal points for the campaign are the inauguration of the president on March 15 and the 10th anniversary of the present military regime on April 1.

"A great deal of publicity has been given to the 'economic miracle' which the Brazilian government says it has achieved," an Amnesty spokesman said. "We believe the government would demonstrate its confidence in this achievement by freeing all political prisoners now and taking steps to end the torture and killing of real or suspected political dissidents."

For more information contact Mark Grantham, Amnesty International, 53 Theobald's Rd., London WC1X 8SP, England.

# Fleury Free to Kill and Torture

Sao Paulo Police Commissioner Sergio Fleury, the notorious torturer of political prisoners and the reported leader of the Brazilian Death Squads, was set free in January.<sup>1</sup> This marks the eleventh time Fleury has been accused of homicide by civilians only to be exonerated by the courts.<sup>2</sup> The Judge based his decision on the defendant's "good record." Although Fleury had been accused of directing a ring of drug pushers, and had been indicted on several counts of murder in Sao Paulo, the Attorney General — who supported the motion for release — based his decision on the opinion of "eminent figures from Brazilian judicial, political and social circles" who recognized Fleury as an "individual of irreproachable conduct, both in his professional and private life."<sup>3</sup>

Who are the eminent figures who attest to Fleury's good character? The list of defense witnesses selected by Fleury at his 1970 trial (for the murder of Nego Sete) were: General Airoso Da Silva, Commander-in-chief of the Second Army of Brazil (stationed in Sao Paulo); Colonel Luis Mariel Junior of the Air Force and President of the General Investigations Committee in Sao Paulo; Colonel Jose de Souza Leal, Head of Public Relations Section of the Second Army; Roncel Carneiro, former State Prosecutor; Paulo Pestana, Secretary for Tourism; Celso Telles, Director of State Department for Investigating Crimes (DEIC); and Virgilio Lopes da Silva, Secretary of Labor.<sup>4</sup> In essence, Fleury is defended by the military regime of Brazil.

Fleury "is considered an exceptional element in the maintenance of the military regime," as one of his defenders in the 1974 trial argued. The prosecutor sarcastically interpreted this to mean "the survival of the regime depends on one police officer, because he killed a few subversives." He went on to note that:

... while the police wallow in the mud of corruption they mask their criminal and immoral conduct with combatting subversion. The combatting of subversion for them is a way of projecting a positive image in the eyes of an unwary nation that is preoccupied with the wave of national subversion. All this leads to an error of perspective, that a group of police officers can guarantee the regime.<sup>5</sup>

Whatever the action of Fleury in combatting subversion the prosecutor did not "see this undoing his other negative facet, a sinister figure who commands the Death Squad, and is also involved in the traffic and use of hard drugs."

Considering the extent of United States involvement in the Brazilian police apparatus since 1959, it is safe to assume that officials from the USAID's office of Public Safety (OPS) knew of and supported Fleury. The United States government's Public Safety Program has assisted in training locally over 100,000 of Brazil's approximate 217,000 police officers.<sup>6</sup> In addition over 600 high-ranking Brazilian officers received training at the International Police Academy and at other schools in the United States. The United States also takes credit for setting up and equipping Brazil's National Police Academy, National Telecommunications Center and National Institutes of Criminalistics and Identification.<sup>7</sup> While USAID's Office of Public Safety's sinister operations in Uruguay have been unveiled by Costa-Gavras' film *State of Siege*, the OPS Brazilian operations are relatively unknown.

U.S. police advisors arrived in Brazil in 1959, shortly after the Cuban revolution. Their strategy was simple: to get the Brazilian police to isolate and destroy all radical political movements at an early stage in their development — long before they had an opportunity to mobilize significant popular support among workers, students or peasants — and thus eradicate the insurgent threat before it could seize the country. This "preventive" strategy required the development of strong, reliable police organizations in Brazil. Special units (tac squads and political police) were necessary to arrest, detain and "neutralize" key radical organizers. Such measures are relatively inexpensive, largely invisible, and — in the view of post-Cuban strategists — more effective than military counterinsurgency operations. Over the next decade the United States OPS program poured in over \$7 million to implement this strategy.

As Senator Proxmire noted in 1972: "The biggest [Public Safety] program we had was in Brazil, a program which went on for more than 10 years — at the end of a 10-year period we have an account of a death squad in which 15 police have been arrested."<sup>9</sup> What Proxmire did not know is that none of the Death Squad personnel (police



"Lady, we came to congratulate you on the sad loss of your son."

Rino in Stempore, Mexico City

officers) have ever been convicted, sentenced or jailed for their more than 1,500 murders. Due to the severe criticism from the public and from elected representatives such as Senators Proxmire and Church, the Office of Public Safety agreed to phase out the Brazilian program by June 1972. Congress was seemingly aware that there was no way to control the Brazilian police (or the U.S. advisors) and that it was therefore better to disassociate U.S. funds as much as possible from them.

The OPS program was dealt a further blow in 1973 when, after defeating a more decisive measure (the "Abourezk Amendment" calling for complete termination of all police aid programs), Congress voted, in the Foreign Assistance Authorization Bill (Senate No. 1443) to require an orderly phase-out of the existing police training programs abroad and a ban on any new programs. The State Department, which supervises AID and its OPS program, was more than willing to go along with the phase-out. It knew that the Brazilian police were well trained and were ready to take over from their American advisors. In fact, the Brazilian police, in line with the new "low-profile" Nixon Doctrine, have already begun training other Third World police. Evidence is now emerging on how the Brazilian police officers have been spreading their Death Squad techniques and torturing abroad.

The relationship between the Uruguayan and Brazilian police forces is apparently quite close, with one Brazilian diplomat even offering to install equipment for direct radio communications between Brasilia and Montevideo.<sup>10</sup> At least two Uruguayan intelligence officials received Death Squad-type training in Brazil.<sup>11</sup> *Visao* reports that "Fleury has had permission to extend his range of activities as far away as Paris, where he went to investigate the actions of Brazilian exiles abroad."<sup>12</sup> There is now evidence that the Brazilian police gave a course in Santiago on torturing political prisoners and have themselves been torturing individuals in Chilean jails.<sup>13</sup> No doubt we will see Fleury traveling to other countries in the future, spreading what he knows best — how to torture and kill.

## Sources:

1. For Fleury's torture of political prisoners see *Bulletin* No. 5, For Fleury's release see "Le chef de l'Escadron de la mort de Sao Paulo est mis en liberté," *Le Monde*, January 23, 1974.
  2. *Latin America*, November 2, 1973.
  3. *Le Monde*, January 23, 1974.
  4. *O Estado de Sao Paulo*, October 22, 1970, as quoted in Amnesty International *Report on Allegations of Torture in Brazil* (available for 50 cents from Amnesty International, P. O. Box 1182, Palo Alto, Ca. 94307).
  5. *Visao*, November 12, 1973. The Brazilian police involvement in the Death Squads is well covered by the international press. See, for example, Charles Antoine, "Indicting the Death Squad and the Regime," *Le Monde* (English edition), May 6-17, 1971; Jeff Redford, "The Brazilian Death Squads," *Nation*, July 30, 1973; and Amnesty's *Report on Torture*, op. cit.
  6. Hearings, Committee of Foreign Relations (Senate), *United States Policies and Programs in Brazil* (May 4, 5 and 11, 1971), testimony of Theodore Brown, Chief Public Safety Advisor, USAID, Brazil.
  7. Michael Klare and Nancy Stein of NACLA have written extensively on the U.S. Public Safety Programs; see their article "Police Terrorism in Latin America" in *NACLA's Latin America and Empire Report* (January 1974) and the NACLA pamphlet *The U.S. Military Apparatus* (\$1.50). Both are available from North American Congress on Latin America, P. O. Box 57, Cathedral Station, New York, N.Y. 10025 or P. O. Box 226, Berkeley, Ca. 94701. The latter part of this article is based largely on these studies. See also "U.S. Trains Brazilian Police," *Bulletin* No. 1.
  8. Hearings, Brown testimony, op. cit.
  9. Hearings, Committee on Appropriations (Senate), *Foreign Assistance and Related Programs Appropriations for Fiscal Year 1972* (1971), p. 748.
  10. See Klare and Stein, *NACLA Report*, January 1974, op. cit., pp. 22-23.
  11. *Ibid.*
  12. *Visao*, November 12, 1973.
  13. Amnesty International, *Report of Mission to Santiago, Chile*. (1st-8th November, 1973) written by Frank Newman, Bruce Sumner and Roger Plant.
- Amnesty International is a non-partisan, world-wide organization concerned with the preservation of human rights internationally.





## Missionaries' Son Missing in Jail

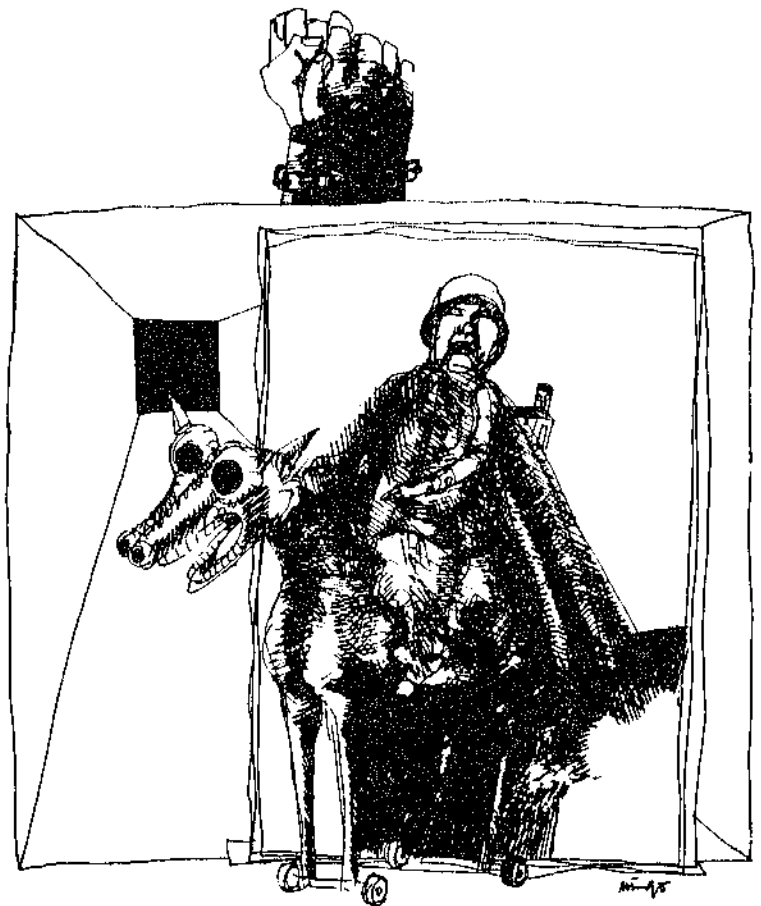
Paulo Stuart Wright, 40 years old and father of two children, was one of 12 persons arrested in São Paulo during the first days of September, 1973. He was not tortured for about two weeks until his identity was discovered by the military. From that moment on he was brutally tortured, according to a reliable witness who saw him in the Operation Center of Internal Defense (CODI) in São Paulo.<sup>1</sup> In addition to Paulo Wright at least two of the 12 persons arrested in early September in São Paulo have also been tortured. Osvaldo Rocha had his legs broken, and Beatrice Valle, an architect, suffered a heart attack when she was tortured. Subsequently, on November 17, four persons charged with being subversives were killed by the police in Rio de Janeiro.<sup>2</sup> As usual the Brazilian press was allowed to publish only an official statement by the intelligence service saying that they were killed trying to escape.

What was Paulo Wright's crime? His only crime was to be in opposition to the Brazilian dictatorship. Paulo's parents were Presbyterian missionaries in Brazil and worked for several years in the southern state of Santa Catarina, where Paulo was born. During the 1950s he was active in the Student Christian Movement. After studying sociology in the United States, he returned to Brazil. In 1957 he went to live in a São Paulo slum as a factory worker, and while there he helped to organize labor unions. In the beginning of the 1960s he led a movement to create cooperatives among poor fishermen on the coast of Santa Catarina who had been exploited for decades by big corporations. Respect for him grew among the people and he was later elected congressman from the State of Santa Catarina. In 1964, following the military coup, his political rights were suspended and he sought asylum in Mexico. Later he returned to Brazil and as a result of constant persecution was forced to live clandestinely for about eight years.

All efforts are being made to save Paulo Wright's life. Two requests to the courts for *habeas corpus* have brought no results. Since the suspension of civil rights in 1968, the courts cannot effect the release of a prisoner, but the proceedings usually at least succeed in establishing if a person is actually in jail, and where he or she is being held. On the 4th of October, Aldo Fagundes, leader of the opposition party, appealed to the President of Brazil to protect Paulo from torture and to have him brought to trial. Both this appeal and similar ones by Cardinal Arns of São Paulo and the Catholic Bishops' Conference of Brazil

have gone unanswered. We urge you to join in this effort to safeguard Paulo's life by writing to Gen. Emilio Garrastazu Medici, President of Brazil, c/o Ambassador Joao Augusto de Araujo Castro, 3000 Massachusetts Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20008.

1. "Missionaries' Son Missing in Brazil," *New York Times*, November 29, 1973.
2. *Excelsior* (Mexico City), November 13, 1973.



## What Happens in Jail

A little more than a month after Paulo Wright was arrested the secret police of São Paulo arrested Jose Carlos da Mata Machado, a former student leader and son of a prominent lawyer and former Secretary of Justice of the State of Minas Gerais. For ten days his father tried in vain to find out where he was being kept. It was not until October 29 when, by reading the newspapers, he learned that his son had been killed the previous night. The official version was that Mata Machado had been shot in Recife by one of his friends who believed Mata Machado had betrayed him by leading the police to his residence. Having no reasons to believe in the official version, his father filed a suit against the intelligence services in an attempt to obtain a full disclosure of what actually happened. Mata Machado, like many others, was either summarily executed by the police or died under violent torture.

"Brazil Denounced in Prisoner's Death," *New York Times*, November 13, 1974

# Whose Coup?



Photography: OPEN EYES/A. Stuart

By Marlise Simons

The writer, based in Mexico, reports frequently from Latin America for *The Washington Post*.

**R**IO DE JANEIRO — Dr. Gleyson de Paiva describes himself as “a mining engineer with a number of other interests.” One of his recent interests, as a leading figure in a private anti-Communist think tank here, was advising Chilean businessmen how to “prepare the ground” for the military overthrow of President Salvador Allende last fall.

Aristoteles Drummond, a founding member of a Brazilian paramilitary group, says he made two trips to Chile as a courier, taking money “for political actions” to a right-wing anti-Allende organization.

De Paiva and Drummond are two of a number of Brazilians who acknowledge helping Chilean foes of Allende. Other private and business interests in this country gave money, arms and advice on political tactics.

There is no evidence that the Brazilian government played any role in this anti-Allende effort, although its sophisticated military intelligence network must have been aware of it. Brazil was never publicly hostile to Allende. Trade between the two countries increased sharply after Allende's election in 1970, and the Bank of Brazil's branch in Santiago was the only foreign financial institution there to escape Chilean government control.

A week before the Sept. 11 coup, however, Brazil's minister of war, Gen. Orlando Geisel, told the Paraguayan

ambassador to Brasilia that Chile was “already in military hands.”

And within two days of the coup, Brazil surprised even its own diplomats by becoming the first country to recognize the new Chilean junta.

Brasilia also immediately sent food and medicine and dispatched secret agents to Santiago to identify and interrogate Brazilians detained there. It was reliably learned here that two plane-loads of Brazilian “extremist” prisoners arrived from Chile after the coup, one plane landing at Viracopos airport near Sao Paulo and the other, with 22 prisoners, at Rio's Galeao airport.

## The Brazilian Model

**T**HE COUP that brought Brazil's armed forces to power in March, 1964, appears to have been used as a model for the Chilean military coup. The private sector played a crucial role in the preparation of both interventions, and the Brazilian businessmen who plotted the overthrow of the left-leaning administration of President Joao Goulart in 1964 were the same people who advised the Chilean right on how to deal with Marxist President Allende.

Soon after Allende's election, thousands of Chilean businessmen took their families and fortunes abroad, settling principally in Ecuador, Argentina, Venezuela and Brazil.

In Brazil, the well-to-do Chileans quickly found work in multinational corporations or invested their capital in new companies or on the stock exchange. And in their dealings with Brazil's private sector, they quickly established contact with the architects of the 1964 Brazilian coup.

For example, they met Gilberto Huber, the wealthy owner of Brazil's largest printing concern, AGGS. In 1961, Huber and several powerful business associates had founded the Institute of Research and Social Studies (IPES), a political think tank with the specific object of preparing to overthrow Brazil's “Communist-infiltrated” civilian government. Between 1961 and 1964, IPES organized, financed and coordinated anti-government activities and served as the bridge between private enterprise and the armed forces before the coup. The executive secretary of IPES was Gen. Goulbery Couto e Silva, who founded Brazil's political intelligence agency in 1964.

One year ago, Chilean Luis Fuenzalida, who had joined Huber's company, told friends proudly: “We are going to throw out Allende, and I am learning from Huber what they did in 1964.”

Another key member of IPES and one of its founders was Dr. De Paiva. A leading conservative economist, ardent anti-Communist and an admirer of the United States, which he has visited frequently, De Paiva, who also acts as a consultant to a number of U.S. and multinational companies in Brazil, believes the Allende government was a “threat to the entire continent, but it was clear he would not be allowed to stay.”

De Paiva was prepared to play a part. “After Allende took over, Chilean businessmen came here and asked for advice. I explained how they, the civilians, had to prepare the ground for the military to move,” De Paiva recalls.

“The recipe exists, and you can bake the cake any time. We saw how it worked in Brazil, and now again in Chile.”

Dr. De Paiva's “recipe” involves creating political and economic chaos, fomenting discontent and deep fear of communism among employers and employees, blocking legislative efforts of the left, organizing mass demonstrations and rallies, even acts of terrorism if necessary.

His recipe, Dr. De Paiva recognizes, requires a great deal of fund-raising. “A lot of money was put out to topple Allende,” he said, “but the money businessmen spend against the left is not just an investment, it is an insurance policy.”

Based on his experience in IPES, Dr. De Paiva recommended to his Chilean visitors, whom he declined to identify, that first they create an intelligence

## More Coups Coming

"Bolivia will be the first country invaded by Brazil," according to the Venezuelan newspaper *El Mundo*, upon insisting for the second consecutive day that there is a Brazilian plan to occupy neighboring territories by force.

*El Mundo* reiterated that photocopies of the document from the Brazilian army are in the hands of a member of the Venezuelan parliament, and said that the plans were outlined in February of 1973, and that they would begin with Bolivia, later extending into other bordering nations, under the pretext of saving the continent from communism. The paper also cites information from the daily, *El Diario*, of La Paz (Bolivia), which confirms this revelation.

*El Mundo* explains that the member of parliament gave them a copy of the plan, in which explanation is given as to how Brazil is training its troops for the invasion of Bolivia. The paper intends to publish a resume of the plan soon, and states: "The pamphlet adds that it is not a question of a war of conquest, but rather that the training being undertaken is to prepare Brazilian soldiers militarily and psychologically for the temporary occupation of the enemy countries so as to initiate democratization which is demanded by the majority of the people." The plan also notes that "the civilian population of the country to be occupied deserves full consideration, and therefore should not be treated as enemies, but rather as friends to be regained."

According to information from Paraguay, which is now in the hands of Brazilian capitalists, it is estimated that at least one-fifth of the population of Paraguay is Brazilian. Meanwhile, there is a gradual penetration into Uruguay, where Brazilians have come to "buy land." The Uruguayan opposition has presented the matter to the government so that it can be dealt with as a "problem of national security."

Nonetheless, the immediate goal is Bolivia. According to the plan, Brazilian theoreticians who support territorial expansion have reactivated their intent to annex the rich Bolivian territory of Santa Cruz to the Brazilian state of Mato Grosso.

Quoted from a LATIN press service cable from Caracas, published in *Excelsior* (Mexico City), January 10, 1974 and translated by People's Translation Service, Berkeley.

system to study the actions of all key people and movements. "At IPES, for example, we had files on 45,000 people. Only after you have established the central information banks, anti-government actions can be properly prepared and coordinated."

Like other veterans of the "businessmen's revolt" which set the stage for Brazil's '64 military takeover, De Paiva readily admits that Chile's pre-coup political panorama was vastly different from Brazil's. For example, Chile's long democratic tradition had created tightly knit political and professional organizations, which, unlike Brazil's, encompassed a large proportion of its population.

The counter-revolution in Chile could therefore make use of many opposition channels already in existence. In Brazil, the cooperation of the military was also more easily ensured since they had had much more recent taste of political power than their Chilean counterparts. Yet Brazilian observers insist that in style and techniques their coup and Chile's are "cousins in the first degree."

After Chile's coup, a prominent Brazilian historian, who asked not to be named, said: "The first two days I felt I was living a Xerox copy of Brazil 1964. The language of Chile's military communiques justifying the coup, and their allegations that the "Communists" had been preparing a massacre and a military take-over was so scandalously identical to ours, one almost presumes they had the same author."

Following in the footsteps of IPES and using its "recipe", Chile's *gremios*, or middle class professional brotherhoods, with business and landowners' associations, created the Center for Public Opinion Studies. In the days before the coup, I visited one of the center's meeting places, a villa in Providencia, a residential district of Santiago. On the ground floor, notices encouraged people to take karate and first aid lessons. The upstairs meeting rooms were covered with maps of the capital, divided into action zones, and filing systems reached to the ceiling.

Public Opinion Studies was one of the principal laboratories for strategies such as the crippling anti-government strikes, the press campaigns, the spreading of rumors and the use of shock troops during street demonstrations. The Providencia villa also served as headquarters for the women's movement which was so effectively used against the Marxist president.

Similarly, Chile's main opposition party, the Christian Democrats, founded the Corporation for Social, Economic and Cultural Studies (CODESEC) to design anti-Allende campaigns. It was financed by local contributions and made use of funds from the German and Italian Christian Democratic parties.

There have been reliable reports that CODESEC, with the help of psychologists and sociologists, planned "Operation Charlie," the hate campaign designed to bring about the fall

of the army's commander in chief, Gen. Carlos Prats. In late August, wives of high-ranking army officers (including the wife of Gen. Oscar Bonilla, the junta's present interior minister) gathered in front of Prats' home with militant women of the Christian Democratic Party and the neo-Fascist "Fatherland and Freedom" movement. For hours they shouted insults and demanded Prats' resignation.

And it was Prats' resignation, two days later, that opened the door to the coup. As the general later explained, the hate campaign had been an important factor in his decision to leave his post.

### Mobilizing the Women

GLYCON de PAIVA takes particular pride in the way "we taught the Chileans how to use their women against the Marxists. We ourselves created a large and successful women's movement, the Campaign of Women for Democracy, and Chile copied it."

In Chile, the opposition to Allende created Poder Femenino, ("Feminine Power") an organization of conservative housewives, professional and businesswomen who became famous for their "marches of the empty pots." Poder Femenino took its cues, its finances and its meeting rooms from the *gremios*, the professional brotherhoods. Despite the directives from the male-dominated leadership, Dr. De Paiva explains that "the women must be made to feel they are organizing themselves, that they play a very im-



J.M.  
Pastor  
Dec 05 2

portant role. They are very cooperative, and don't question the way men do."

"Women are the most effective weapon you have in politics," De Paiva continues. "They have time and they have a great capacity to display emotion and to mobilize quickly. For example, if you want to spread a rumor like 'The President has a drinking problem,' or 'he had a slight heart attack,' you use women. The next day it is around the country."

Both in Chile and Brazil, De Paiva points out, women were the most directly affected by leftist economic policies which create shortages in the shops. "Women complain at home, and they can poison the atmosphere. And of course, they are the wives and the mothers of the military and the politicians."

Yet the women's most crucial role, according to De Paiva, is "to prove to the military that they have wide civilian support." To De Paiva, therefore, it is no coincidence that 10 days before the 1964 Brazilian coup, thousands of women marched through the streets of Sao Paulo—and that five days before Poder Femenino in Santiago held its largest rally ever.

### Arms and Men

AS PREPARATIONS for the coup began in earnest last spring, Allende's foes feared there could be armed confrontations with leftist groups, which reportedly were arming themselves to defend the government. The activists on the right needed weapons, particularly for the paramilitary Fatherland and Freedom movement and for Pro-teco, the right wing neighborhood committees. One of the places they turned to was Brazil.

Sen. Pedro Ibanez of Chile's conservative National Party reportedly offered to help. The senator, who owns two supermarket chains and Chile's largest instant coffee company, is a frequent trader with Brazil. In June, dockworkers in the Brazilian coffee port of Santos charged that crates of "agricultural equipment" being shipped to Ibanez companies contained machine guns.

There also was fear on the right that

a division within the military might result in a civil war. This concern was reportedly expressed to Brazilian friends, who suggested contact with Brazil's Anti-Communist Movement (MAC), a paramilitary body founded in 1961 and rather similar to "Fatherland and Freedom."

Last spring, Aristoteles Drummond, one of MAC's founding members, announced to his friends in Rio de Janeiro: "They are going to get rid of Allende, and we have put 500 men at their disposal."

Later, during the first week of June, the Brazilian offer of "500 men" was repeated at a meeting in Antofagasta, a town in the north of Chile. Present at the meeting were Pablo Rodriguez, founder of Fatherland and Freedom, and Roberto Marshall, a former Chilean army major who was expelled in 1969 for "subversion of the armed forces," and since then has lived in Bolivia.

Secret service sources in the Allende government claimed that at this meeting Fatherland and Freedom was offered \$8 million by Marshall, who said he was acting on behalf of "Brazilian friends."

### Funds From Brazil

THERE APPEARED to be no shortage of financial offers. In Rio de Janeiro, MAC members Drummond and Faustino Porto both disclosed that they had acted as couriers for money going from Brazil to Chile.

Drummond said he had traveled to Chile twice, "to take money for political actions to high officials of Fatherland and Freedom." Porto claimed the money destined for Chile came "from Sao Paulo and there was a lot of it." But he refused to identify the source.

The inflow of dollars from abroad was no secret to Allende. By early August it had become public knowledge that the organizers of the transportation strike preceding the coup were paying close to 35,000 drivers and owners of trucks, buses and taxis to keep their vehicles off the road. Two taxi drivers told me they were each receiving 6,000 escudos (the equivalent of \$3 at the black market rate) for every day they were not working, and a group of

truck drivers said they received a per diem of \$5, paid in dollar bills. On the basis of this, Allende aides calculated that the 45-day strike cost close to \$7 million in pay-offs alone.

It was also an accepted fact that the thousands of Chileans abroad were raising funds and sending in contributions. Jovino Novoa, a conservative lawyer and a member of the Chilean exile community in Buenos Aires, said in an interview: "Of course money was sent to Chile. We all did what we could, each according to his capacity."

The most successful fund-raiser among Chilean conservatives was Orlando Saenz, at the time president of Chile's Association of Manufacturers (SOFOFA) and now economic adviser to the foreign ministry in Santiago. On his fund-raising campaigns, Saenz traveled frequently to Brazil, Argentina and the United States.

Last July, he called on Gen. Juan Peron and Argentina's interim president Raul Lastari. Saenz reportedly received no offer of financial help from the Argentine government, but, according to a memorandum President Lastari sent to Argentina's secret service, Saenz informed him that a military coup was being prepared.

In addition, Saenz urged the Argentine government to interrupt its crucial shipments of low-priced wheat, meat and corn to Chile because its humanitarian attitude was "saving" the Marxist government.

Although high-ranking members of the Allende government repeatedly alleged that large amounts of dollars were entering Chile to pay for strikes and anti-Allende campaigns, they never substantiated their claims in public.

Three weeks before the coup, I raised the question of "foreign financing" in separate interviews with a senior member of the secret service and with a close aide of Allende. Both men declined to disclose any details "for policy reasons."

"We are presently negotiating our debt with Washington," Allende's aide said. "These negotiations are vital to us, and we cannot afford a scandal now."

JAN 7 1974



JMVDW, Dici, Dici VII, 14,

5





NOVEMBRE 77 N° 14

# Bulletin d'information Brésilien

du comité de solidarité avec le peuple

## Brésil: «l'escadron de la mort» à nouveau en cause

Rio de Janeiro, 1 (AFP). - Les corps criblés de balles de cinq personnes victimes de l'«escadron de la mort» ont été découverts lundi, dans les faubourgs de Rio de Janeiro, annonce-t-on mardi. Ils présentaient des signes de tortures.

Malgré de nombreux démentis officiels, la presse brésilienne accuse des policiers de composer l'«escadron de la mort», créé pour faire disparaître des malfaiteurs ou jugés comme tels.

Journal de Genève 2.11.77



Journal de Genève

BRÉSIL

28.10.77

## tortures contre prisonniers politiques

São Paulo, 27. - (Reuter) Onze prisonniers politiques brésiliens ont affirmé mercredi avoir été battus et soumis à la torture des électrodes lors de leur détention aux mains de la police de sécurité de l'armée.

# LA

# CAMPAGNE

# CONTINUE

# NOUVELLES BREVES

Le P.Romano remercie de l'appui qu'il a reçu :

"Je viens remercier nos amis pour la solidarité qu'ils m'ont manifestée alors que j'étais menacé d'expulsion.

Je les remercie d'avoir assumé, au nom de la Justice et de l'Evangile, un engagement de fidélité à la classe ouvrière.." dit le P.Romano Zufferey, qui il y a encore peu de temps, craignait d'être expulsé par suite d'un procès intenté contre lui par le Ministère de la Justice.

Je ne veux ni offenser, ni accuser personne, mais dire ma joie de rester au Brésil, au milieu du peuple que j'aime et qui a prouvé qu'il ne me considérait pas comme un étranger, malgré ce qu'on a voulu dire.

Le P.Romano ajouta que "personne, en fait, n'a perdu la force dans cette affaire parce que ce n'est pas en premier lieu, une affaire personnelle, mais celle de la défense des valeurs auxquelles nous croyons : le développement pour tous comme une justice, l'homme reconnu dans sa dignité, la classe ouvrière valorisée dans son rôle actuel et son histoire, le droit de tous de lutter pour construire un Brésil et un monde nouveau". (Folha de Sao Paulo 1/10/77.

La Commission pastorale de la Terre de la CNBB, pour la 3ème région du Nordest-Salvador-Bahia a manifesté dans un communiqué officiel, sa révolte devant l'assassinat de l'avocat EUGENIO LIRA, de la Fédération des travailleurs de l'agriculture de l'Etat de BAHIA,

affirmant que ce climat de violence est le résultat d'une situation, qui a été déjà sou-

vent dénoncée, sans que les autorités n'aient pris des mesures pour la résoudre.

La note dit encore : à notre tristesse devant la tragique disparition d'Eugénio s'ajoute notre révolte. Nous constatons que loin d'être un fait isolé, ceci est un assassinat de plus : c'est la même violence qui a tué les travailleurs Easilia, Joaquim et Marcionila, le P.Bournier et Rodolfo et tant qui sont tombés partout dans le pays.

Le communiqué ajoute encore... ces faits s'inscrivent dans la continuité de la lutte".

Journal do Brasil.30.9.77

## Trois jours pour l'homme

Dans le bulletin précédent, nous vous avons annoncé le festival "Trois jours pour l'homme" auquel nous avons participé.

Nous avons présenté la situation du Brésil au travers de panneaux et d'un audiovisuel suivi d'un témoignage de Manoel da Conceição.

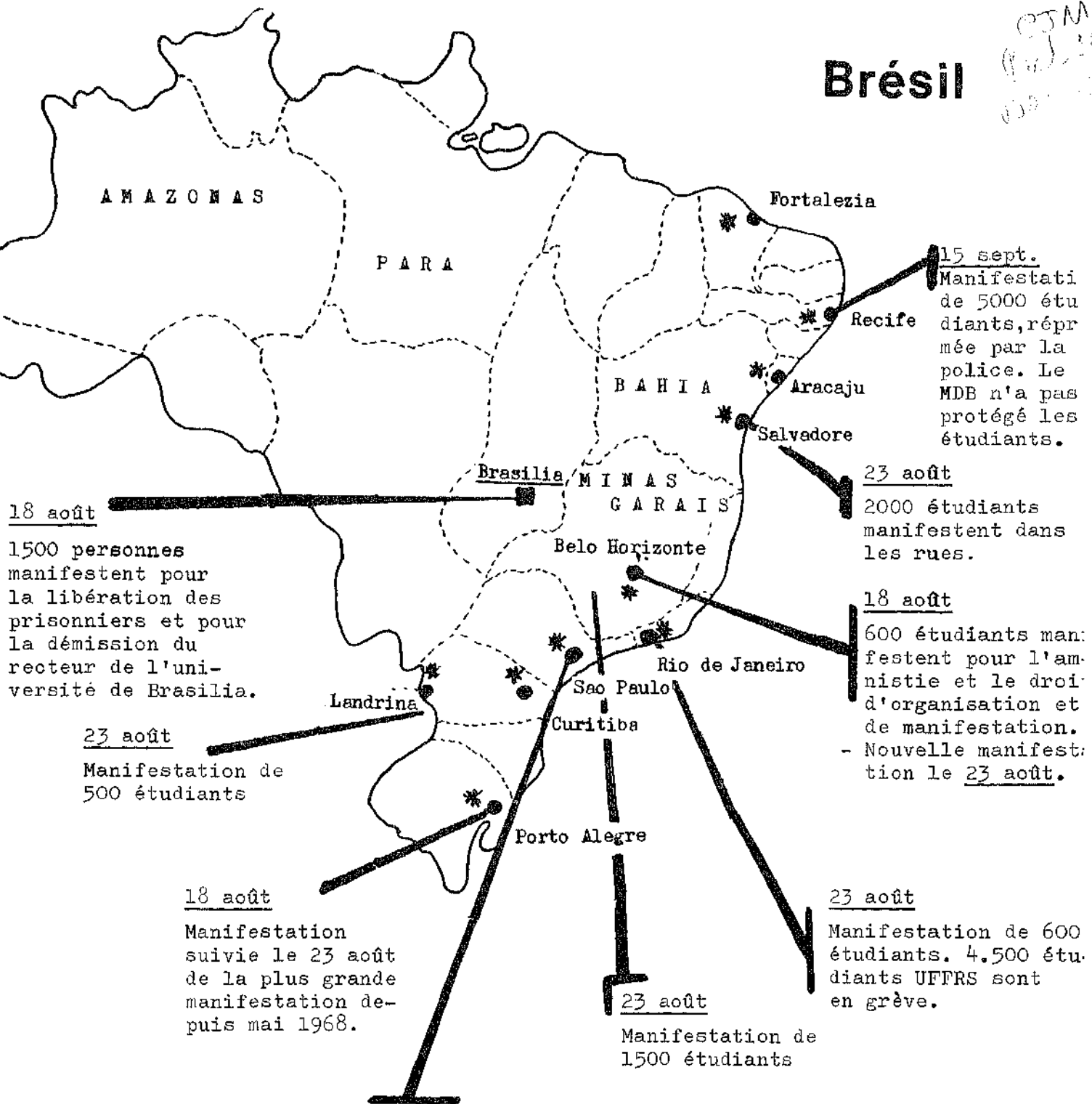
De nombreuses personnes ont témoigné un très grand intérêt pour les informations concernant cette situation de même que pour l'action menée par notre comité.

Il faut souligner que cette manifestation globale soulevant les problèmes de l'écologie, des droits de l'homme et du tiers monde, a été marquée par une très grande amitié et solidarité manifestées, soit par les personnes intéressées soit par les organisateurs.

De plus, ce festival nous a prouvé qu'il était possible de s'unir dans l'action, et qu'en s'unissant la face de nos informations et de nos luttes était beaucoup plus grande.

# Brésil

CSM  
(10)  
100



23 septembre

Réalisation du III ENE (Rencontre Nationale des Etudiants)  
Création de la Commission Provisoire de l'Union Nationale des Etudiants (UNE), pour coordonner les luttes à nivel nacional, faire de la propagande historique de l'UNE, promouvoir le débat pour sa réorganisation; publier un journal national et promouvoir le IV ENE.

A l'occasion de l'acte public réalisé dans le campus l'Université Catholique Pontificale où 1.500 étudiants étaient présents, la police, sous le commandement du colonel ERASMO DIAS, a envahi le campus faisant usage des bombes d'effet moral et gaz lacrimogène, des coups de matraque et en barrant toutes les issues de l'Université. Pendant que les participants de cet acte public étaient obligés de s'asseoir par terre, dans la rue, les policiers ont envahi les locaux de la PUC et ont arrêté quelques centaines d'étudiants.

(Jornal do Brasil 23.9.77) (suite dernière page)





# EDITORIAL

## EVOLUTION DE LA POLITIQUE AU B R E S I L

=====

La crise politique et économique du régime militaire s'aggrave chaque jour et chaque fois que le gouvernement essaye d'enrayer les mouvements démocratiques et populaires. Son isolement augmente tant à l'intérieur qu'à l'extérieur du pays.

- Les relations gouvernementales avec certains secteurs de la bourgeoisie ne sont pas des meilleurs ces derniers temps, ce qui ne signifie pas que ces contradictions au sein même de la bourgeoisie soient inconciliables.

- La crise politique du régime s'est développée à partir des défaites de la politique d'agression que les Etats-Unis ont mené au Vietnam, au Cambodge, au Laos et après les violents coups du Moyen Orient. Cette crise a déjà commencé en 1973 alors que Garrastazu Medici était encore au gouvernement. Après l'arrivée au pouvoir du Général Ernesto Geisel, on tenta de résoudre cette crise au moyen d'un pragmatisme responsable et d'une politique de détente, lente et graduelle. Cette politique a ouvert des brèches, laissant un espace étroit aux luttes démocratiques et populaires.

- En août 1975, au moment d'une légère avance des luttes démocratiques, Geisel abandonne ce type de politique, montrant là clairement son image réelle de dictateur, promettant de ne pas se passer des actes d'exception, mais au contraire de les employer en cas de nécessité.

- Dès lors commence l'escalade des "cassations" de mandats visant les conseillers municipaux jusqu'aux députés fédéraux. Une répression sans limite s'installe, où de nombreux brésiliens ont été soit tués, soit portés disparus.

- Par ce recul et les mesures qu'il prit, son isolement interne augmenta encore. Les prises de position de l'Eglise en faveur des indiens, des travailleurs et des paysans a grandement contribué à augmenter cet isolement du régime. De même les travailleurs, les étudiants, les intellectuels et jusqu'à certains secteurs de la classe dominante ne laissant passer aucune occasion pour critiquer à un degré plus ou moins fort le régime.

- Après l'arrivée de Jimmy Carter, qui donna une nouvelle orientation à la politique externe des Etats-Unis, les relations entre les deux gouvernements se détériorent. Tout cela contribue à ouvrir un espace politique au Brésil, ce qui amène la bourgeoisie à se diviser en trois grandes tendances:

Un premier groupe qui lutte pour maintenir le régime et son terrorisme "légal" contre révolutionnaire;

Un second groupe, défend l'état de droit actuel, institutionnalisant le régime, incluant dans la constitution des actes d'exception ou faisant des amendements dans la constitution.

Ceci est la tendance du général Geisel depuis la programmation de la prétendue détente lente et graduelle.

Cette position est assez dangereuse, car elle peut réunir autour d'elle le premier groupe de la bourgeoisie réactionnaire d'extrême droite, la grande majorité du parti gouvernemental (ARENA) les adhérents au MDB, secteurs réactionnaires et vacillantes de l'Eglise et de la petite bourgeoisie. Ainsi, nous courrons le risque d'une prochaine (?) institutionnalisation du régime

faciste au Brésil, ou mieux, d'une institutionalisation du terrorisme blanc, puisque une telle bourgeoisie refuse une quelconque participation populaire à la vie politique du pays.

Le troisième groupe de la bourgeoisie brésilienne est composé de moyens et petits capitalistes ainsi que de certains secteurs de l'église catholique. Ceux-ci firent la proposition d'une convocation pour une assemblée constituante, comme forme plus avancée des luttes démocratiques-bourgeoises.

- Cette proposition fut faite par des députés authentiques du MDB en 1971. Aujourd'hui, cette idée peut compter sur l'appui d'une grande partie de la petite bourgeoisie, composée d'intellectuels, d'artistes, de juristes, de religieux, d'étudiants progressistes et de quelques groupes politiques de gauche. C'est l'alternative la plus avancée que les moyens et petits capitalistes ainsi qu'une grande part de la petite bourgeoisie proposent comme issue à la crise politique et économique du régime. Mais la grande bourgeoisie n'a pas encore adhéré à cette proposition de convocation, dans la mesure où celle-ci prévoit l'abolition de l'état d'exception, d'élections directes, l'amnistie générale, le droit à l'organisation et l'expression populaire.

En résumé, on peut donner trois débouchés à cette alternative :

- l'institutionnalisation du fascisme
- Une assemblée constituante, en prévision des élections directes
- des amendements à la constitution avec quelques réformes

- Ni la première, ni la troisième de ces propositions ne prévoient une participation populaire.

10 octobre 1977

## S O M M A I R E

- Editorial
- Situation des travailleurs au Brésil
- Réarticulation de la campagne de solidarité
- Nouvelles brèves

### APPEL! du Comité!

Nous vous rappelons que notre bulletin ne peut paraître qu'avec votre contribution financière si minime soit-elle.  
Merci d'avance.



Bandeiras: fabricação em massa

SITUATION DES TRAVAILLEURS

- Parmi les 8,7 millions de travailleurs inscrits au Plan d'intégration sociale (PIS) jusqu'en 1975, 56% ne recevaient qu'un salaire minimum et souvent moins. Le salaire minimum réel a souffert entre 1958 et 1973 d'une réduction de 50% à Rio de Janeiro et de 58% à Sao Paulo, entre 1958 et 1976.

Selon le DIEESE, les frais d'alimentation d'une famille ouvrière (2 adultes et 2 enfants) au début de cette année se montaient à 1'247 cruzeiros (critères établis par le décret-loi 399 de 1938, afin de définir la nourriture de base du travailleur).

- En 1976 on voit apparaître déjà un décalage considérable par rapport au salaire minimum en vigueur qui est de 768 cruzeiros. En effet, la famille devrait dépenser pour la nourriture, l'habillement, le loyer, l'hygiène et le transport une somme de 3741 cruzeiros par mois.

Le salaire minimum en 1977 ne correspond même pas à la moitié de 3'000 cruzeiros. Que fait le travailleur dans une telle situation ?

La même étude réalisée par le DIEESE donne quelques réponses:

par exemple :

- le travailleur fait des heures supplémentaires
- il fait davantage d'enfants afin qu'ils entrent dans le marché du travail.

| ANNEE | SALAIRE MINIMUM<br>LEGAL (REEL) | SALAIRE MINIMUM<br>NECESSAIRE | DIFFERENCE      |
|-------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1964  | 42.00                           | 54.00                         | - 12.00(23%)    |
| 1976  | 768.00                          | 1'855.00                      | - 1'087.00(60%) |
| 1977  | 1'106.00                        | 2'542.00                      | - 1'436.00(57%) |

(en cruzeiros) DIEESE, 29.8.77 MOVIMENTO

En réalité, très souvent le travailleur reçoit moins que le salaire réel légal, bien qu'obligé de signer une feuille de paye indiquant le montant de ce salaire minimum !

L'industrie de voitures FORD a annoncé qu'elle veut diminuer sa semaine de travail d'un jour pendant 90 jours, afin de réduire les frais et la production, car les voitures sorties de montage encombrant les parcs où elles sont "stockées". La Wolswagen a accordé des vacances collectives jusqu'au 22 avril et la Général Motors du 22 avril au 2 mai 1977.

Les entreprises sont en pourparler afin d'obtenir un "dissidio" collectif plus bas que le cout de la vie car celui accordé en avril dans la région de l'ABC ( Zone industrielle de Sao Paulo: Sao Andre, Sao Bernardo, Sao Caetano.) fut d'à peine 40%, c'est-à-dire 8% plus bas que l'inflation.

En parlant de licenciements:

- Ford en a annoncé 600
- la Générale Motors a déjà licencié 700 travailleurs et 300 autres sont en voie de l'être. Cependant elle ne dit rien quant aux nouveaux embauchés avec des salaires plus bas.

REFERENCE: (Luta Sindical No 6 - ano 2, maio)

- Cure miraculeuse chez BROWN BOVERI  
Un ouvrier de chez Brown Boveri souffrait d'un ulcère. Le médecin lui ordonne de faire un régime et de boire du lait. Etant donné les mauvais services du restaurant de l'entreprise, l'ouvrier dut faire la diète et se contenter de deux litres de lait par

jour. Il a été autorisé à boire son lait au restaurant tous les matins avant de commencer son travail. Pour cette raison, il avait un retard de 3 à 5 minutes. Son supérieur immédiat alla voir le médecin, et juste après, l'ouvrier rappelé par celui-ci fut surpris de s'entendre dire qu'il était rétabli et qu'en conséquence n'avait plus besoin de lait.

Référence : (O MARRETAO No 2 opposition syndicale dans la métallurgie d'Osasco-Sao-Paulo)

- La Volkswagen a réalisé pendant le mois de janvier 1977, un total d'heures supplémentaires équivalent à 3'300 nouveaux emplois. Les conséquences de ces heures supplémentaires sont:

- des problèmes de santé et de fatigue.
- du profit pour l'entreprise
- peu de temps pour que les travailleurs puissent se consacrer à la famille, aux loisirs et moins encore pour étudier, apprendre un métier, réfléchir ou lutter pour leurs droits à travers une participation dans leurs organisations de classe.
- chômage pour d'autres camarades (Bulletin du Front National du Travail, avril 1977)

- Pour protester contre le retard de leur paye, depuis 4 mois, une centaine de manoeuvres environ, travaillant pour la Préfecture de Dracena, dans la Alta Paulista, ont arrêté le travail pendant 2 heures à la fin du mois de février et ont exigé du préfet M. Paulo Tahara qu'il fasse le nécessaire. Pendant sa campagne électorale de 1976 M. Paulo Tahara avait promis au cas où il serait élu de normaliser très vite la situation. Ayant été élu les travailleurs attendaient ce qu'il leur avait promis. Comme la solution du problème n'est pas arrivée les travailleurs ont pris parti pour l'arrêt du travail.

Le préfet paya le salaire et promit que la situation se normaliserait d'ici la fin du semestre. (Nova Luta, julho 1977)

- A la fin du mois de mars 77 cinq mille mineurs des mines de charbon (du Sud) de Santa Catarina ont développé une opération tortue en réduisant la production jusqu'à 75%. La cause de cette protestation était le refus des patrons de payer les 41% d'augmentation du coût de la vie, augmentation approuvée en janvier par le Tribunal Régional du Travail. Les patrons prétendaient payer seulement 30% d'augmentation prétextant que les prix du charbon restaient trop bas. Ils augmenteront les salaires à condition que le gouvernement autorise la hausse des prix de 40%.

(Nova Luta, julho 77)

- Le revenu national est très mal réparti.

En 1970, 1% de la population détenait une parcelle de revenu plus grand que celle touchée par 50% de la population, laquelle contribue en grande majorité à la formation de ce revenu. Cette injuste distribution du revenu national est due en partie aux inégalités salariales. Il y a une distance significative et persistante entre les salaires les plus hauts et les plus bas. En voici un exemple: En 1969, un gérant recevait un salaire 65 fois supérieur à celui d'un travailleur.

En 1975 son salaire est 90 fois supérieur à celui de ce travailleur.

(Movimento 5.9.77)

- Le syndicat des Metallos de Sao Bernardo do Campo a déclaré, après la réunion de la direction, que "les indices nationaux égalisent les salaires par le bas ce qui ne permet pas aux travailleurs de participer à la productivité salariale et moins encore aux profits salariaux." Il a ajouté ceci : "C'est une injustice de plus et qui appelle une modification." Selon les calculs du syndicat, le réajustement salarial (des salaires) en 1973 devrait être de l'ordre de 31% et celui de 1974 de 42,5%. Toutefois pendant ces 2 années-là il n'a été que de 18%.

(Jornal do Brasil, 9/9/1977)



- Les ministres des finances de la planification et du Travail ont distribué une note officielle au sujet des réajustements de salaire.

Le voici:

"Le gouvernement ne pense pas faire une quelconque révision des réajustements de salaires déterminés par la législation en vigueur; se basant sur une acceptation supposée concernant la révision des indices du coût de la vie en 1973.

- Les indices adoptés pour le calcul des réajustements ne sont pas ceux de la Fondation Getulio Vargas (FGV) ni de l'Université de Sao Paulo (USP) ni du Dieese, mais ceux du Ministère du Travail, lequel a son propre système de statistiques et de calcul basé sur 15 capitales du pays.

Il n'y a donc aucun principe de justice qui puisse justifier le rappel du sujet. Ce qui doit intéresser le travailleur c'est avant tout le maintien de ces chiffres dans le combat contre l'inflation, car c'est lui le plus exposé au préjudice de l'accélération du processus inflationniste !! Pour cette raison, dans une note officielle, ils nient un quelconque principe de justice dans la revendication des métallos qui réclament 34,1% de remise salariale.

(Jornal do Brasil 9.9.77)

- Lors d'une réunion de trois heures et demie avec 4 ministres, les leaders métallurgistes n'ont pas spécifiquement discuté de la compensation des pertes subies par les travailleurs pertes dues aux erreurs de calcul des indices d'inflation en 1973.

Ils ont apporté à la réunion, au nom de 850'000 ouvriers de SP, une vaste documentation déjà envoyée au président de la République, dans laquelle est discutée et critiquée toute la politique salariale officielle et où ils revendiquent la liberté syndicale complète de même que le rétablissement de négociations bilatérales entre le patron et l'employé afin de résoudre les divergences salariales et le droit de grève.

(Veja 14.9.1977)

Les résultats de cette rencontre avec les ministres seront transmis aux métallurgistes dans l'assemblée générale et par le journal "Tribuna Metalurgica". Avant cela le syndicat avait demandé une table ronde avec les patrons dans les 15 jours, au siège de la Délégation Régionale du Travail. Suivant la réponse des patrons et la résolution prise dans cette assemblée, la direction du syndicat pourra, juste après faire publier un éditorial d'appel à la grève, en interprétant la loi 4330 qui règle le droit de grève. Celle-ci serait organisée par le Syndicat des Métallurgistes de Sao Bernardo et Diadema et par 33 syndicats de l'intérieur de l'Etat de Sao Paulo lesquels ont revendiqué les 34%. (Isto é, 14/9/1977).

Dom Aloisio Lorscheider, cardinal archevêque de Fortaleza et président de la Conférence Nationale des Evêques Brésiliens (CNBB) a annoncé la dissolution de la Commission de la Terre de l'Etat du Ceara, laquelle, sera remplacée par des commissions qui étudieront le problème du niveau de chacun des onze diocèses existents dans cet Etat. Les évêques prétendent qu'avec la création de commission dans les diocèses, l'église agira avec davantage de rigueur dans les régions où les problèmes se sont accentués, en dénonçant les injustices et en développant un travail d'orientation auprès des colons, afin que "tous puissent conquérir leurs droits" auprès des autorités responsables". (O Estado de Sao Paulo, 6.9.77)

Le ministre du Travail et la Secrétariat du Travail de Sao Paulo ont patroné une recherche dans la région d'Ourinhos sur les conditions de vie du "Travailleur rural temporaire" (bureaucratiquement nommé), aussi connu dans la société civile comme "boia-fria" (bouffe-froide).

La recherche informe que:  
- l'âge des "boias-frias"

- varie entre 11 et 20 ans.
  - un "travailleur rural temporaire" sur deux ne possède aucun papier.
  - un travailleur rural temporaire sur deux, âgés de moins de 18 ans, est illettré et ne fréquente pas d'école.
  - d'après le type de culture auquel ils se livraient on confirme qu'ils travaillaient avant dans l'agriculture de subsistance.
  - le "boia-fria" reçoit 33,28 cruzeiros (5,5f) par journée de travail.
- (Foto-Copia n. 10 do J.B. 5.8.77).

Les premiers "posseiros" ayant témoigné à la Commission Parlementaire d'Enquête (CPI) du système Foncier, dès son entrée en fonction il y a quatre mois à la Chambre Fédérale, ont dénoncé les menaces et les intimidations constantes venus de la part des "jaguncos" (chasseurs à prime) engagé par le fermier Alair.

Rosa Ribeiro qui s'est approprié de leurs possessions à Goiás. La délégation de l'ARENA du CPI a empêché ceux-ci de poursuivre leur témoignage en obligeant la suspension des travaux, juste après avoir entendu le principal accusé. (Jornal do Brasil - 23.8.77).

Lors de sa déposition au CPI sur l'indien le Père Antonio IASI, secrétaire général du Conseil Missionnaire Indianiste (CMI), a comparé la Fondation Nationale de l'Indien (FUNAI) à l'Escadron de la Mort distinguant entre ces deux organisations une unique différence: "Pendant que l'Escadron de la Mort séquestre les prisonniers des prisons pour les tuer au bord des routes, la FUNAI attire à elle les indiens retire en laissant crever au bord des routes dont elle-même a rendu la construction possible. (Jornal do Brasil 14.9.77).

Le gouverneur de Bahia, M. Roberto Santos a reçu le week-end dernier, des mains de l'évêque Dom Jose Gross

du diocèse de Bom Jesus da Lapa, un document revendiquant de la population de la Vallée de Sao Francisco demandant, outre, des améliorations de leurs conditions de santé et d'éducation, des mesures contre les suites d'actions des "grileiros" de la région. Le document signé par plusieurs autres religieux de la région énumère de nombreux cas de violence contre "les posseiros". (O Estado de Sao Paulo 6.9.77).

Le MDE (Mouvement démocratique brésilien) unique parti d'opposition légale a proposé une Assemblée Nationale Constituante.

En réunion, la Convention Nationale, qui a duré 3 heures, les 223 délégués du MDB ont approuvé par acclamation un document affirmant que "pour le Brésil et les brésiliens la démocratis est le nom politique de la paix et que l'Assemblée Nationale Constituante est l'unique forum capable de l'écrire". (Jornal do Brasil 15.9.77).

Le mouvement Justice et Libération a été créé sous l'initiative de la Commission Justice et Paix (Sao Paulo). Ce mouvement se propose de rendre conscient le peuple opprimé de la nécessité de se manifester pour la défense de ses propres droits". (O Estado de Sao Paulo 10.9.77).

Lorsque s'est terminé l'Acte de Solidarité aux Opprimés et sans justice, près de six mille personnes ont manifesté à travers les principales rues de la banlieue de Penha (S. Paulo). Après avoir parcouru 1 kilomètre, la manifestation a été dispersée par la police au moyen de bombes lacrimogènes et de coups de matraques. De nombreuses arrestations ont été effectuées ensuite. (Diario da Noite 19.9.77).

Un document intitulé "Pour la justice et pour la Libération" signé par 20 organisations ayant à leur tête la Commission Pontificale de Justice et Paix de Sao Pau-

lo, a été lu et distribué dans le Sanctuaire de Penha pendant l'acte de solidarité aux Opprimés et Sans Justice: révèle l'oppression (dans la vie) de millions de brésiliens qui sont en marge de la vie économique, sociale et politique du pays. Ceux qui arrivent dans les villes à la recherche du mirage industriel ceux qui sont expulsés de la campagne, représentent les marginaux urbains et les "boias-frias" (porte-gamelle)....

En vérité, pour que la richesse reste concentrée dans les mains de quelques-uns, il ne suffit pas seulement baisser les salaires. Il faut en plus maintenir en disponibilité une grande partie de la population prête à prendre un emploi à n'importe quel prix. Si elle n'arrive pas à s'engager elle constitue une réserve (de main-d'oeuvre) dont se servent les patrons pour fomenter des disputes entre les travailleurs face à une possibilité d'emploi. (...) il existe une énorme partie de la population des grandes villes qui ne prendra jamais d'emploi ou

seulement temporairement en tant que vendeurs ambulants, "surveillants" de voitures, petites ventes, sans garantie aucune.

(...) à ces "catégories" s'ajoutent les femmes doublement exploitées: elles gagnent des salaires plus bas alors qu'elles accomplissent le même travail que les hommes et doivent en plus s'occuper du foyer".

"Il y a aussi ceux qui ayant atteint l'âge limite se trouvent précocement chômeurs parce que leurs patrons savent qu'une "armée" de jeunes sont à la recherche d'emploi et qu'ils produisent davantage avec des salaires inférieurs .

(Jornal de Brasil 18.9.77)

Pour célébrer le 150ème anniversaire des Cours Juridiques du Brésil un acte solennel a été réalisé à la Faculté de Droit du Largo Sao Francisco (Sao Paulo) avec la présence de 2 mille personnes. Pendant l'acte un document a été lu par le professeur Godofredo Telles Junior dont il est l'auteur. Ce document s'appelle "Lettre aux Brésiliens".

#### Missidio Collective \*

Décision collective entre syndicat et patronat de la branche d'une industrie, au sujet d'une augmentation de salaire faite en dehors de l'indexation annuelle réalisée par le gouvernement.

#### Suisse

- UN MILLIER DE PERSONNES ont manifesté, dimanche 23 octobre, à Montreux, contre la tenue dans cette ville d'un symposium sur la coopération économique entre l'Europe et l'Amérique latine. Les manifestants, qui avaient répondu à l'appel du parti socialiste et de plusieurs organisations de gauche de Suisse romande, estimaient que cette réunion constituait une caution aux dictatures d'Amérique latine, et entendaient en particulier protester contre la venue sur les bords du Léman du ministre chilien des finances, de deux ministres brésiliens et du ministre argentin de l'économie. Rappelant que 48 % du total des investissements suisses dans le tiers-monde se trouvent en Argentine, au Brésil et au Mexique, les adversaires du symposium ont reproché à de hautes personnalités politiques et économiques helvétiques de participer à une telle réunion. (Corresp.)

"Le Monde" 25.10.'77.

Le Comité a participé à cette manifestation. Notre pays, en effet, est le 4e investisseur au Brésil et se trouve, dans une certaine mesure responsable de la situation que nous venons d'exposer. Les entreprises suisses emploient quelques Brésiliens qui ne touchent que le salairé minimum (les cadres sont en général suisses), alors qu'elles rapatrient des bénéfices énormes. De ce fait, les investissements de tous les pays européens ne profitent, une fois de plus et en aucune manière au peuple brésilien.

# REARTICULATION

## DE LA CAMPAGNE

### La solidarité est payante

Après les succès obtenus, grâce à votre appui, lors des trois campagnes de solidarité ( Manuel da Conceição - Waldemar Rossi - et dernièrement José Duarte ), le Comité de Solidarité avec le Peuple Brésilien lance un nouvel appel pour continuer et relancer la campagne pour les prisonniers politiques de l'Institut Pénal Paulo Sarazate ( Fortaleza - Céara ).

En février dernier, un procès a eu lieu à Fortaleza dans lequel José Duarte a comparu avec 38 co-accusés. Certains ont été condamnés à des peines qu'ils avaient déjà purgées (dont José Duarte) d'autres ont été acquittés; 2 personnes ont été condamnées à 2 ans de prison et 1 est portée disparue.

Après la libération de José DUARTE et de ses co-accusés, nous devons continuer la lutte pour la libération de tous les autres prisonniers restant encore enfermés dans ce pénitencier. Ils sont encore une vingtaine à attendre que l'opinion publique fasse pression sur le gouvernement et les instances judiciaires afin d'obtenir la révision de leur procès et leur libération.

A cet effet, nous avons écrit une lettre-pétition que nous vous demandons de signer et faire signer puis de nous la retourner afin que nous puissions envoyer ( en envoi avec accusé de réception ) un nombre important de signatures au Président du S.T.M. Une photocopie de ces lettres-pétitions sera également envoyée, toujours de la même façon, au Président Geisel, à l'Ordre des Avocats du Brésil ainsi qu'à la Xème Circonscription Judiciaire.

Cette campagne de signatures a eu un bon début lors du Festival "Trois Jours pour l'Homme" à Lausanne. En

effet, nombreuses ont été les personnes qui ont demandé des explications et des détails sur cette campagne et qui ont également signé ces pétitions. A vous tous, maintenant de continuer la solidarité envers ceux pour qui nous avons pris l'engagement de les soutenir sans relâche jusqu'à leur libération.

En effet, ce n'est pas seulement des hommes que nous voulons, tous ensemble, arracher à la torture et à l'emprisonnement, mais au travers de cette action c'est une brèche que nous voulons ouvrir et agrandir avec d'autres organisations pour permettre au PEUPLE BRÉSILIEN de se libérer de l'oppression à laquelle il est soumis.

Nous vous proposons de bien vouloir, soit écrire ou photocopier la lettre-pétition que vous aurez reçue dans ce bulletin et la transmettre à vos amis afin qu'un grand nombre de personnes puisse également agir. Vous pouvez aussi nous demander d'autres exemplaires.

Veuillez envoyer vos lettres-pétitions à l'adresse suivante:

COMITE DE SOLIDARITE AVEC LE PEUPLE  
BRÉSILIEN

Case Postale 98

1212 GRAND-LANCY I

D'autre part, le C.S.P.B. va publier une brochure signée par plusieurs organisations brésiliennes dénonçant les violences, la répression et la torture ainsi que deux témoignages récents de personnes ayant été incarcérées en début d'année. Vous pouvez les commander pour le prix de Fr. 3,- à l'adresse du Comité.