SECRETARIA DE ESTADO DAS RELAÇÕES EXTERIORES

TELEGRAMA

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SUBSTITUIÇÃO

14/7/70

E DEVOLVER AO AROUNO

CONCESSÃO DE VISTO TEMPORÁRIO. PROFESSOR THOMAS SKIDMORE.

562-SEGUNDA- FEIRA-16HS30- ADITAMENTO AO MEU TELEGRAMA 545. COMPARECEU ESTA MANHAN AA EMBALXADA O PROFESSOR THOMAS SKIDMORE A FIM DE FORMALIZAR SEU PEDIDO DE VISTO TEMPORÁRIO PARA ENTRAR NO BRASIL. SEGUINDO AS INSTRUÇÕES DO DESPACHO TELEGRÁFICO 507, O CHEFE DO SETOR CONSULAR COMUNICOU AO PROFESSOR SKIDMORE HAVER SIDO NEGADA A CONCESSÃO DO REFERIDO VISTO. O INTERESSADO MOSTROU-SE SURPRESO E IRRITADO, E DECLAROU QUE IRIA AO DEPARTAMENTO DE ESTADO EN TREVISTAR-SE COM O SENHOR ROBERT DEAN, A FIM DE RELATAR-LHE O SUCE -DIDO ET APRESENTAR SUA RECLAMAÇÃO CONTRA A DECISÃO DO GOVÊRNO BRA-SILEIRO. DECLAROU, AINDA, QUE ENDEREÇARIA CIRCULAR A TODAS AS UNIVER-SIDADES AMERICANAS RELATANDO O SUCEDIDO. DISSE QUE PEDIRIA AOS PROFESSORES RICHARD MORSE, STANLEY STEIN ET CHARLES WAGLEY, CONSIGNA-TÁRIOS DA CARTA DIRIGIDA EM 23 DE FEVEREIRO DO CORRENTE ANO AO "NEW YORK TIMES", A PROPÓSITO DA PRISÃO DO PROFESSOR CAIO PRADO JUNIOR, OBJETO DE MEUS OFICIOS 374 ET 551! DESTE ANO. QUE SOLICITAS-SEM AA EMBALXADA O MESMO TIPO DE VISTO, A FIM DE, SE NEGADA A CON-CESSÃO, CARACTERIZAR A POSIÇÃO DO GOVÊRNO BRASILEIRO "CONTRA OS PROFESSORES LIBERAIS AMERICANOS'. FEZ, NA OCASIÃO, ENTREGA DE CARTA - CUJO TEXTO TRANSCREVO: ''I GATHERED FROM OUR CONVERSATION IN YOUR OFFICE AT THE EMBASSY ON JUNE 30 THAT MY APPLICATION FOR A VISA TO BRAZIL IS UNLIKEY TO BE TREATED AS A SIMPLE ROUTINE MATTER. I AM, THEREFORE, APPENDING THIS LETTER WITH MY APPLICATION SO THAT MY POSITION WILL UNAMBIGUOUS. AS INDICATED IN THE ENCLOSED CORRESPONDENCE, I HAVE BEEN INVITED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMPINAS (SAO PAULO) TO COME THERE FOR THE MONTH OF AUGUST AS A VISITING PROFESSOR. MY PROGRAM INCLUDES A COURSE ON THE HISTORY OF SOCIAL THOUGHT IN BRAZIL BETWEEN 1870 AND 1930, AND ALSO A SEMINAR. THESE

DU ENI 132 p 2/121



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DA EMBAIXADA EM WASHINGTON/EM/6/7/VII/70/CONFIDENCIAL-URGENTISSIMO/TEL. 562/PAG. 2.

COURSES ARE PART OF A LONG- PLANNED PROGRAM TO DEVELOP GRADUATE STUDY IN HISTORY AT CAMPINAS. I HAVE ALSO ACCEPTED AN INVITATION TO LECTURE ON JULY 20 AT THE RIO SUMMER SCHOOL SPONSORED BY INSTITUTO BRASIL- ESTADOS UNIDOS (AFFILIATED WITH THE FULBRIGHT COMMISSION). THE PURPOSE OF MY VISIT IS TO CARRY OUT THESE ACADEMIC COMMITMENTS. I SHALL ALSO BE RENEWING FRIENDSHIPS WITH BRAZILIAN SCHLARS WHOM I HAVE BEEN SEEING TEHRE SINCE MY FIRST VISIT IN 1961. I AM PRESENTLY PLANNING TO FLY TO BRAZIL ON JULY 15, THEREFORE IT WOULD BE MOST DISTRESSING IF I DID NOT HAVE MY VISA IN HAND BY THAT DATE. THESE PLANS WERE MADE BEFORE I HAD REASON TO BELIEVE THAT MY VISA APPLICATION MIGHT NOT BE TREATED ROUTINELY. BECAUSE OF MY INVITATIONS TO LECTURE, WHICH REQUIRE MY PARTICIPATION IN PROGRAMS INVOLVING MANY OTHER PERSONS. 1 MUST ARRIVE IN RIO NO LATER THAN JULY 19- MEANING THAT I MUST LEAVE NEW YORK 'NO LATER THAN THE EVENING OF JULY 18.' IF I HAVE NOT BEEN ISSUED A VISA BEFORE JULY 18, I WILL HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO REGARD THIS FACT AS A CLEAR INDICATION THAT THE BRAZILIAN GOVERNMENT IS FOLLOWING A POLICY OF REFUSING ENTREY TO AMERICAN SCHOLARS WHO HAVE ''BONA FIDE'' PROFESSIONAL REASONS FOR WISHING TO ENTER BRAZIL. IN THAT CASE, I SHALL FEEL OBLIGATED TO MAKE KNOWN THIS POLICY TO PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, THE LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION, AND THE HISPANIC FOUNDATION INHTHE LIBRARY OF CON-GRESS, AS WELL AS THE U. S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, MY REPRESENTA-TIVES AND THE APPROPRIAT COMMITTEES IN THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS. I SINCERELY HOPE THAT NO SUCH ACTION WILL BE NECESSARY. I AM VERY MUCH LOOKING FORWARD TO VISITING BRAZIL AGAIN, AS I HAVE NOT BEEN THERE SINCE SEPTEMBER 1968. IT WILL BE A GRAVE DISAPPOINTMENT BOTH PERSONALLY AND PROFESSIONALLY IF I AM NOT ABLE TO RENEW FIRST- HAND KNOWLEDGE OF A COUNTRY I HAVE GROWN TO ADMIRE AND RESPECT. YOURS SINCERELY, A) THOMAS E.SKIDMORE PROFESSOR OF HISTORY .- TES: BAS: CC: MR. ROBERT DEAN, LATIN AMERICAN BUREAU, DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, D. C. SR. GUILHERME FIGUEIREDO, EXCEUTIVE SECRETARY, FULBRIGHT COMMISSION.

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RIO DE JANEIRO. DR. RICHARD J. SPOCK, COORDINATOR, RIO SUMMER SCHOOL, INSTITUTO BRASIL - ESTADOS UNIDOS, RIO DE JANEIRO. SR. FAUSTO CASTILHO, INSTITUO DE FILOSOFIA ET CIENCIAS HUMANAS, UNIVERSIDADE ESTADUAL DECAMPINAS''.DISSE, AINDA, O PROFESSOR SIDMORE QUE IRAH ESCREVER AO CHEFE DO SETOR CONSULAR CARTA PEDINDO UMA RESPOSTA, POR ESCRITO, AA SUA SOLICITAÇÃO DE VISTO TEMPORARIO. PECO VENIA PARA LEMBRAR A VOSSA EXCELENCIA QUE OS PROFESSORES MORSE, STEIN ÉT WAGLEY SOH PODERAO SOLICITAR VISTO TEMPORARIO CASO APRESENTEM DOCUMENTO DE ENTIDADE EDUCACIONAL ERASILEIRA, CONTRATANDO-OS PARA LECIONAR, REALIZAR SEMINARIO OU FAZER CONFERENCIAS. OS NOMES DESSES TRES ULTIMOS PROFESSORES FIGURAM TAMBEM NO DOCUMENTO INTITULADO 'TERROR IN BRAZIL'', ANEXO AO MEU OFICIO 555, DE 17 DE ADRIL DO CORRENTE MOZART GURGEL VALENTE

NOTA DA DCo: Substituição para corrigir o texto, a pedido do expedidor. Em/7/VII/70.

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DIVISÃO DE ARQUEVO

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CORRESPONDÊNCIA ESPECIAL

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2a: VIA

PARA: Secretaria de Estado

INDICE: II Congresso da LASA

Com referência à correspondência telegráfica sobre o assunto, remeto, anexa, cópia do programa do II Congresso da LASA, realizado em Washington, em abril do corrente ano, bem como a lista dos membros daquela Associação.

Com grato

MOZART GURGEL VALENTE Embaixador

ANEXOS: 2

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LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION SECRETARIAT PUBLICATION

LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION

Membership List
December 31, 1968

Washington, D.C.

1968



At the request of the Executive Council of the Latin American Studies Association, the Secretariat has compiled a membership list, which appears in the following pages. Persons and institutions in it are asked to provide corrections if inadvertent errors in listings have occurred. Such materials should be sent to LASA Secretariat, Hispanic Foundation, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540.

The present listing is alphabetical, for all classes of membership. Each entry contains the name as it appears in our records, preferred mailing address, field or discipline, and category of membership. The latter has been recommended by the Committee on Membership and approved by the Executive Council.

Only Members vote for officers, serve on LASA committees, and carry on the professional concerns of the Association. They receive all publications, as do the various classes of Associates. All LASA members in good standing will receive the Latin American Research Review as part of dues payments.

Persons and institutions wishing to affiliate with LASA should apply to Dr. Robert A. Potash, Chairman, Membership Committee, Thompson Hall, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Massachusetts 01003.

F. Taylor Peck, Executive Secretary

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PROGRAM

Thursday, April 16, 8:00 P.M.

Statler Hilton Hotel

Ecological Aspects of Development in Latin America

Ohio Room

Chairman:

John Milton, Conservation Foundation

Panelists:

Helmut Lieth, University of North Carolina F. Raymond Fosberg, Smithsonian Institution Arthur Heyman, Pan American Union William C. Paddock, Washington, D. C. Howard Daugherty, University of Georgia

Friday, April 17, 9:00 A.M. to Noon

Statler Hilton Hotel

1. The Rockefeller Report on the Americas

Presidential Ballroom

Chairman:

Eldon Kenworthy, Cornell University

Speakers:

James Petras, Pennsylvania State University

.John Plank, Brookings Institution

Discussants:

Colonel John Q. Deaver, U.S. Army, special assistant to General Robert Porter during the latter's participation

in the Rockefeller Mission

Representative of the North American Congress on Latin

America

2. Approaches to Economic Development

Congressional Room

Chairman:

Albert Hirschman, Harvard University

Speakers:

David Barkin, New York University Clark Reynolds, Stanford University

Discussant:

Sidney Schmuckler, Inter-American Development Bank

Friday Afternoon, April 17, 2:00 P.M. to 5:00 P.M. Statler Hilton Hotel

3. A Present View of Past Literature by Future Latin Americanists:

 $\left(\frac{568}{508} \times 500\right) \text{ XNAA} =$

Presidential Ballroom

Chairman:

Daniel Levine, University of Michigan

Speakers:

Charles W. Bergquist, Stanford University Morris Blachman, New York University Jay Edwards, Tulane University Jorge Giusti, Washington University, St. Louis Ernesto Hernandez-Cata, Yale University

4. Moral Versus Economic Incentives in Contemporary Cuba

Congressional Room

Chairman:

Anthony Maingot, Yale University

Speakers:

C. Mesa-Lago, University of Pittsburgh Bertram Silverman, Hofstra University

Discussant:

Joseph Kahl, Cornell University

Friday Evening, April 17, 8:30 P.M.

George Washington University University Centre Ballroom

Plenary Meeting

21st and H Streets, Northwest

Saturday, April 18, 9:00 to 11:30 A.M.

Statler Hilton Hotel

5. The Alliance for Progress: The View from 1970

Congressional Room

Chairman:

Richard R. Fagen, Stanford University

Speaker:

R. Harrison Wagner, University of Texas

Discussants:

David Bronheim, Center for Inter-American Relations,

New York

Enrique Iglesias, Inter-American Development Bank

Maurice Zeitlin, University of Wisconsin

6. Current Status of Area Studies Programs

Senate Room

Chairman:

William Carter, University of Florida

Speaker:

Martin Needler, University of New Mexico

Discussants:

Norman Sacks, University of Wisconsin

Richard Lambert, University of Pennsylvania

Luncheon: Statler Hilton Hotel, Presidential Ballroom (West) Noon to 2:00 P.M.

Speaker: Richard Goodwin, author, former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, and former Special Assistant to the President of the United States

DPN EWI 137 p32/101

Saturday, April 18, 2:30 to 5:00 P.M.

7. Corrientes Actuales de las Artes en la América Latina Seuate Room-

José Guillermo Castillo, Center for Inter-American Relations, New York

Homero Aridjis, Escritor, México Luis Cannitzer, Grabador, Uruguay

Robert M. Wool, Escritor, EE.UU. Commentator:

8. Radical Perspectives on Latin America Congressional Room

Chairman: Karen Spalding, Rutgers University

Miles Wolpin, Marlboro College, Vermont

Panelists: Joel Edelstein, University of California, Berkeley

Ramon Arbona, Movimiento Pro-Independencia

Puerto Rico

Donald Solar, C.W. Post College

Saturday Evening, April 18, 8:00 to 10:30 P.M. Open Forums

I. Radical Scholarship Clearing House

Massachusetts Room

Donald W. Bray, California State College at Los Angeles Coordinator:

Open Forum on Problems of Latin American Programs in Small and Medium-sized Institutions

Chairman:

Speakers:

Joan Ciruti, Mount Holyoke College

Panelists:

Lee Hamilton, University of Arizona

Chester Christian, University of Texas at El Paso Kurt L. Levy, University of Toronto

III. Open Forum on LARR

New York Room

Chairman:

Robert E. Quirk, Indiana University

Panelists:

Tom E. Davis, Cornell University

Roberto Esquenazi-Mayo, University of Nebraska John D. Martz, University of North Carolina Thomas F. McGann, University of Texas, Austin Richard P. Schaedel, University of Texas, Austin

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Pelegrama No.

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a expedir

Ostensivo Reservado Confidencial

Indice: IIº Congresso da

LASA.

M

E DEVOLVER NO ARQUIVO

EX

Rogo enviar diretamente à DSI mais um exemplar do programa e da lista de membros do IIº Congrest so da LASA de que trata seu ofício nº 586.

EXTERIORES

1º/6/70 LPM/st

R.E.

Expedido em 1 de 6 de 1970 via Celes e

DPN ON1 137.

COPIA.

586 EM 24/4/70

(2ª VIA)

EMBAIXADA DO BRASIL EM WASHINGTON

CONFIDENCIAL

SECRETARIA DE ESTADO Visto PARA:

INDICE: Segundo Congresso

LASA.

642 (22)

Aditamento ao oficio reservado nº 555, de 17 do corrente. Realizou-se, nesta cidade, (entre os días 16 e 18 de abril em curso, o Segundo Congresso Nacional da "Latin American Studies Association" (LASA), entidade que congrega professores e estudantes . de nível universitário, interessados em assuntos latino-americanos.

- O Congresso constou de uma reunião plenária e de no-2. ve grupos de discussão sobre temas específicos, que abrangeram desde aspectos ecológicos até perspectivas de tomada do poder por grupos radicais, em países da América Latina. Foi, também, realizada sessão plenária em que se debateram tópicos do interêsse da Associação, do ângulo seja de sua organização, seja de sua atitude em face de problemas políticos.
- Quanto a esse último aspecto, registre-se a aprova -3. vão quase unânime de uma resolução de protesto contra o Governo bra sileiro, que originalmente estava redigida nos seguintes termos:

"Como membros da LASA protestamos vigorosamente contra as violações da liberdade acadêmica e dos direitos civis de professores, alunos e intelectuais no Brasil.

Estamos ainda mais abalados ("disturbed") em face das frequentes notizias de que estar-se-iam praticando torturas sistemáticas em intelectuais e outros individuos, que as autoridades mantem

ANEXOS:

RMS/ew.

prêsos. Sessenta e um eminentes intelectuais e lideres religiosos europeus recentemente submeteram ao Papa Paulo VI relatório documentado de tal compor tamento desumano. Brasileiros corajosos têm denunciado expurgos, repressao e torturas. Os amigos norte-americans do Brasil não podem fazer por menos.

Rogamos, portanto, que findem os expurgos academicos, as prisões e torturas arbitrárias e que se retorne ao respeito dos direitos fundamentaia e da dignidade humana de todos os cidadaos brasileiros, sem o que não poderão flo rescer as instituições universitárias.

À luz desta Resolução, conclamamos o Comitê de Relações Governamentais (da LASA) à preparação de um relatório aos membros da Associação dando contade outros pormenores das condições acima descritas. Ademais, o Comitê esta autorizado a enviar, se necessário, uma missão ao Brasil para preparar o referido relatório".

- Durante o curto debate sobre a resolução acima, foi acrescentada ao texto uma emenda condenando a assistência prestada pelos Estados Unidos da América, por intermédio da AID, ao Brasil, especialmente no que se refere ao treinamento de policiais brasileiros.
- A resolução foi apresentada pelo Professor

 Thomas Skidmore, em nome do Comitê de Relações Governamentais,
 e não mereceu por parte do plenário qualquer objeção. A propé
 sito, mote-se que nos demais temas em discussão houve polariza
 ção de posições entre as correntes conservadora e radical, sen
 do que esta última pareceu ligeiramente majoritária entre os
 146 votantes. Ao todo, compareceram ao Congresso umas 300 pes
 soas.
- A importância da LASA advem do fato de que reune os mais renomados especialistas norte-americanos sôbre a
 América Latina, conforme se pode verificar na sua lista de mem
 bros, que inclui entre outros os professôres Robert J. Alexander
 Richard N. Adams, John J. Johnson, David Apter, Werner Baer,
 John W. F. Dulles, Joseph A. Ellis, John Gerassi, Albert O.

COPIA.

-3-

Hirshman, Preston E. James, Oscar Lewis, Edwin Lieuwen, Covey T. Oliver, John Planck, Stefan H. Robock, Riordan Roett, Kalman H. Silvert, Stanley J. Stein, Charles Wagley.

- 7. Conforme informei a Vossa Excelência, no telegrama confidencial SEBRA 143, de 18 do corrente, acompanhou os trabalhos da LASA o ex-deputado Márcio Moreira Alves.
- 7. Remeto anexo um exemplar do programa do Congres so e da lista de membros da Associação.

MOZART GURGEL VALENTE

(89)

SECOND NATIONAL MEETING.

The second National Meeting is scheduled for the spring of 1970. Details of location and program will be announced to the membership.

OFFICERS.

President, John P. Augelli (U. of Kansas); Vice-President and President-Elect, 1970, John J. Johnson (Stanford U.); Treasurer, John N. Plank (Brookings Institution); Executive Secretary, F. Taylor Peck.

Executive Council: President, Vice-President, Past President (Richard N. Adams), ex-officio. For term ending December 31, 1969: Federico Gil (U. of North Carolina), Kenneth Karst (UCLA). For term ending December 31, 1970: Joseph Grunwald (Brookings Institution); Thomas Skidmore (U. of Wisconsin). For term tending December 31, 1971: Ralph Beals (UCLA); Robert Freeman Smith (U. of Connecticut). Alternate members for 1969: Joseph Casagrande (U. of Illinois); Fred P. Ellison (U. of Texas).

OTHER INFORMATION.

Further information about the Latin American Studies Association will gladly be provided by Dr. F. Taylor Peck, Executive Secretary, The Executive Secretariat, Hispanic Foundation, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540. Telephone: 202/967-8312.

THE LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION



LASA FACT SHEET 21N.ON1. 137 1 37/121

COPIA.

MINISTÉRIO DAS RELAÇÕES EXTERIORES

Divisão de Segurança e Informações

CONFIDENCIAL

Nº - DSI661

Em30 de maio

de 190

Divisão de

Índice: [1º Congresso da "Latin American Studies Association" (LASA).

Distribuição SNI/AC.

Realizou-se, em Washington, D.C. (E.U.A.), entre os dias 16 e 18 de abril p.passado, o Segundo Congresso Nacional da "Latin American Studies Association" (LASA), entidade que congrega professôres e estudantes, de nível universitário, interessaos em assuntos latino-americanos.

- 2. O Congresso constou de uma reunião plenária e de nove grupos de discussão sôbre temas específicos, que abrangeram desde aspectos ecológicos até perspectivas de tomada do poder por grupos radicais, em países da A mérica Latina. Soi, também, realizada sessão plenária em que se demateram tópicos do interêsse da Associação, do ângulo seja de sua organização, seja de sua atitude em face de problemas políticos.
- Quanto a êsse último aspecto, registre-se a aprovação quase unânime de uma resolução de protesto contra o Govêrno brasileiro, que originalmente estava redigida nos se guintes têrmos:

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MINISTÉRIO DAS RELAÇÕES EXTERIORES

Divisão de Segurança e Informações

CONFIDENCIAL

Nº - DSI/661/2

Em30 de maio

Divicão de Segurança e Informações

de 190

Indice:

Distribuição:

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- A resolução foi apresentada pelo Professor THOMAS SKIDMORE, em nome do Comitê de Relações Governamentais não e/mereceu por parte do plenário qualquer objeção. Note-se que nos demais temas em discussão houve polarização de posições en tre as correntes conservadora e radical, pendo que esta última pareceu ligeiramente magioritária entre os 146 votantes. Ao to do, compareceram ao Congresso umas 300 pessoas.
- A importância da LASA advém do fato de que reune os mais renomados especialistas norte-americanos sôbre a América Latina, conforme se pode verificar na sua lista de mem bros, que inclui entre outros os professôres ROBERT J.ALEXANDER,



MINISTÉRIO DAS RELAÇÕES EXTERIORES

Divisão de Segurança e Informações

CONFIDENCIAL

Nº - DSI/661/3

Em30 de maio de 190

Indice:

Distribuição:

ALEXANDER, RICHARD N.ADAMS, JOHN J.JOHNSON, DAVID APTER, WERNER BAER, JOHN W.F.DULLES, JOSEPH A. ELLIS, JOHN GERASSI, ALBERT O. HISSHWAN, PRESTON E. JAMES, OSCAR LEWIS, EDWUN LIEWEN, COVEY T. OLIVER, JOHN PLANCK, STEFAN H.ROBOCK, RIORDAN ROETT, KALMAN H. SILVERT, STANLEY J.STEIN, CHARLES WAGLEY.

7. Acompanhou os trabalhos da LASA, oex-deputado MARCIO MOREIRA ALVES.

8. Anexo um exemplar do programa do Congresso e da lista de membros da Associação.



DPN EN1 132 p 41/129

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No. 555 EM 17/4/70

EMBAIXADA DO BRASIL EM WASHINGTON

RESERVADO

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PARA: SECRETARIA DE ESTADO

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INDICE: 2a. Reunião Macional da LASA ("Latin American Studies Associaton")-

Em aditamento ao telegrama SEBRA 136, desta data, remeto, in clusa, a documentação que está sendo vendida ou distribuída na 2a. Reunião Nacional da LASA ("Latin American Studies Association"),

MOZART GURGEL VALENTE Embaixador

adst

ANEXOS: 9

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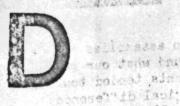


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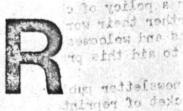
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National Information Network on Latin America (NINOLA) Box 548, Cathedral Station, New York, New York 10025



o voilog a The DIRECTORY is a listing of organizations, collectives, community and movements groups whose activities relate to the smooled has a struggle of Latin Americans for self-determination. It is to eight his of meant to inform people about what is going on across the country in response to U.S. penetration and domination of Latin den gotte lawer peoples at home and abroad.



a modito and alarmot and As a general policy, listings published in the DIRECTORY will and joel. bus ered that not be repeated in subsequent issues. That is, once a group per jarge of (educational, research, film-making, project-oriented, community-based, etc.) has been described in the DIRECTORY, that wearst the court same information will not appear in other issues. Corrections or re-writings for any descriptions (and addresses) which are incomplete or inaccurate may appear, as well as any new informean a reduce metion pertaining to those same groups (ie. current research d spends or project). In addition, each issue may include descriptions of new groups not previously listed, listings of radio stations and programs that cover news on Latin America, information on and antiqueth conferences on Latin American affairs and other appropriate antique and a detail news about conferences may be repeated in consecutive issues. of stee study up-dated and reprinted in a master edition.



The relevance of the DIRECTORY will depend on the amount of feedback we receive each month - - feedback in terms of new delight groups which should be listed, corrections of previous descripand the tions and current information about what groups are doing or and avin of are planning to do in the near future. Such would allow for to secon and of error continuous cooperation among various groups and individuals sharing the same ideas and activities.



Promises last month that this issue would include descriptions web of and addresses of several groups (especially Puerto Rican) that niminal were omitted in the last issue cannot be honored. Those omissions will hopefully be remedied next m nth.



10 issues yearly, minimum contribution 1 yr. subscription \$3.00 (U.S.) \$3.25 (Canada and Latin America)

- 2 -



NEWS ABOUT NINOLA *

BACKGROUND NINOLA grew out of various conferences and Latin American assamblies in the first half of 1969, all of which focused discussions around what our response should be to U.S. imperialism in Latin America. While some participants tended toward national organization, for the most part there were too many ideological differences to bring people together in a coordinated movement. As an alternative, all were interested in better means of communication and information exchange. NINOLA was formed to become that alternative. In other words, NINOLA is in the process of a) providing information concerning Latin America that will promote "education for action" among the North American public, and of b) encouraging better communication among those groups whose activities already respond to the urgencies of Latin American people. With a policy of channeling active interest to those groups already in existence so as to further their work and avoid duplication, NINCLA is open to creative influences, improvements and welcomes contributions in terms of funds, resources and staff personnel who want to aid this process.

tion, is taking on the dimensions of a packet of reprinted materials taken from international and donestic newspapers, periodicals, journals and other available sources. At this stage the intent is to select a monthly theme and collect materials that will present a balanced treatment of the topic. The packet would allow the reader to follow the original articles and, challenged by the questions we would pose, come to a fuller understanding of Latin American reality through his own act of discovery. These primers would be suitable for use in discussion groups, seminars and other educational programs at both the high school and college level. With that description as our orientation, we are now but beginning to put together a sample packet in order to understand the difficulties involved in such a project, without having dealt with the practical considerations of funding, circulation, etc. Watch for it...

SPEAKERS! SUREAU We invite everyone whose discipline has taken him into the field of Latin American studies, or whose travels have afforded him insights into contemporary Latin America to share that understanding and those experiences by adding his name to a list of twenty-five persons who have already expressed interest in being listed in a future catalogue.

DATA-BANK We request copies of theses and other research papers related to Latin America, curriculum outlines for Latin American Studies at both the high school and college level, suggested reading lists for individual countries, bibliographical guidelines for researching particular topics, etc. Such would allow us to give appropriate response to inquiries related to the same areas. It will also enable us to develop a sense of what still needs to be done, and thus occassionally suggest these questions, help orient topics for Latin American conferences, teach-ins, etc.

NETWORY Our aim is to develop and maintain communications with Latin American movements, channeling information to be about what activities are taking place here in support of their struggles, especially from U.S. domination. Also giving voice to their activities and the repression they face by channeling information received to various media outlets and groups capable of responding to particular situations.

CAPSULE In short,

becoming a service collective; coordinating in-coming information and communication, channeling that outward to groups and individuals for the purpose of increasing aware-and action. Ingredients are: staff energies, need for funds and people's interest.

Cuban Health Exchange (CHE), organized to promote an understanding of the Cuban health care system and and break the blockade on medical information and supplies imposed by the ".S. government. Activities include: collecting books and journal subscriptions to be sent to Cuba; providing speakers on medical care in Cuba; reprinting and circulating articles about Cuban health care; encouraging interested medical groups or sciency fic meetings to invite Cuban colleagues to speak thru lectureships, fellowships, etc; organizing rallies, petitions and mass campaigns around issues of the embargo. Need contacts with persons interested in coordinating similar activities in other major cities. CONTACT: CHE c/o CRV, 65 Irving Pl., New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel. Joanna Haas, MD (212) 667-6088 (or) 673-3000.

El Trinitario, organ of Frente Unido de Liberacion Dominicano (FULD), publishes in New York. - CONTACT: P.O. Box 146, Franklyn Delano Roosevelt, New York, N.Y. 10022.

La Gaceta Chibeha, underground newspaper published in New York for Colombians living in the New York area. Interested in making contacts with Colombians living in other parts of the country. Subscription inquiries to this occassional publications should be directed to NINOLA.

Land Tenure Center, publishes some worthwhile articles and factual material related to agrarian reform in Latin America, in both general coverage and individual country case studies. You can receive their material free of charge by putting yourself on their mailing list. (ACCE: AID funded). CONTACT: Land Tenure Center, Univ. of Wisconsin, ison, Hisc. 53706.

Latin America, eight-page weekly airmail newsletter giving rejorts of the latest political, economic and business developments in the area. Latin America, with circulation in 53 countries, is designed for those who need to know what is happening in that part of the world, but who find most newspaper and magazine coverage inadequate and the specialist banking and academic reviews insufficient. Subscription is \$50.00 a year (\$25 for students). CONTACT: "Latin America", 69 Cannon St., London EC4, England.

Latin Marican Digest, a journal summarizing the colitic J, econo ic and social trends of the republics to the south, as condensed from periodicals from throughout Latin America. Issued bimonthly during the academic year (2.00 for 5 issues). CONTACT: Center for Latin American Studies, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona 85281. The Center has also published a book entitled: Who's the in Mexican Government (\$1 paperback, \$2 hardcover) with tentative plans to complete similar guides for other Latin American republics to sid researchers.

inclind free Press (NEFP), publishes and distributes radical pamihlet literature for the movement. Articles on Latin America and Imperialism included in literature list. CONTACT: HEFP, 791 Tremont St., Boston, Mass. 02118.

Noticias Alindas, Latin American news service, having a Christian focus, with correspondents throughout the continent. Latin America Press is the English equivalent. Selicved to appear about twice a week. Subscription uncertain, but there is a student rate. CONTACT: Moticias Aliadas, Apartado 5594, Lina, Peru, S.A.

_ 4 -

Radical Caucus of Latin Americanists, ad hoc group formed on the West Coast for the curpose of planning and mobilizing for the April LASA Conference in Washington D.C. (cf. Conference Notes).

Studies in Comparative International Development, edited by Irving Louis Horovitz. Includes both original studies and also works translated into English for the first time. Contains material in all fields of Latin American studies. Twelve issues a year. (\$8.00 for individuals, % for students, \$12 for libraries and other institutions, and an annual bound edition for \$18). Published at Rutgers University. CONTACT: Sage Publications Inc., 275 S. Beverly Dr., Beverly Hills, Calif. 90212.

Third Vorld Student Organization, recently formed on the University of Oregon campus to give information about Latin American peoples, their problems and possible solutions. CONTACT: Almicar Ordonez, Chairman, 659 Clark, Eugene, Ore. 97402.

Venceremos Brigade, two North American contingents cutting cane as an expression of solicarity with the Cuban 10-million-ton zafra. While the second contingent is in Cuba, the first has returned and set up various committees: fund-raising (for both the first and second trip), press relations, books for Cuba, propaganda (films, tapes, fact sheets), other literature, speakers, and are preparing a book for publication. CCNTACT: The Brigade, Box 643, Cathedral Station, New York, N.Y. 10025.

* ADDRESS CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS

Avoid Vietnams in Latin America (AVILA), Ron Goulet, Clergy and Laymen Concerned 491 Guerrero St., San Francisco, Calif. 94110.

Committee on Latin American Solidarity (COLAS):

The Haymarket, 507 N. Hoover, Los Angeles, Calif. 90004

Bob & Connie Park, 1590 Cambridge, St., Cambridge, Mass. 02138

Bob Pearlman, 47 Lee St., Cambridge, Mass. 02139

Crusade for Justice, Corky Gonzalez, 1567 Downing St., Denver, Colo. 80218

Guardian: Francis Furey, 5820 Howell, Oakland, Calif. 94609
Patty Lee Parmalee, 3952 Massachusetts, Long Beach, Calif. 90814
Lee Webb, 1945 Calvert St., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20009

Movimiento Estudiantil de Chicanos de Aztlan (MECHA): Tony Salazar, UCLA, Los Angeles, Calif. 90014

North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA) -- Vest Coast P.O. Box 226, Berkeley, Calif. 94701

Radical Education Project (REP) -- Bay Area
491 Guerrero St., San Francisco, Calif. 94110

Radio Free People, 133 Mercer St., New York, N.Y. 10012 Tel. (212) 966-6729.

COMFERENCE NOTES *

Chicano Conference

March 25 - 29

Denver, Colo.

Positions: }

Cormunity control of schools, restitution for past economic slavery, political exploitation, ethnic and cultural psychological destruction, denial of civil and human rights and

Workshops:

self-defense of the community. Social and cultural revolution: poetry, art, theater, or-

Warch 25-27:

ganizational techniques, political philosophy, self-defense, etc Chicano Youth Conference -- groups expected from across the

country. Second annual gathering which drew 1500 last year. Convention to liscuss El Plan de Aztlan-calls for an independent local, regional and national Chicano political party.

Mational Congress of Aztlan -- discuss a program for a nation "autonomously free, culturally, socially, economically and

Sponsored by: Crusade for Justice, Corky Gonzalez

Contact: Crusade for Justice, 1567 Downing St., Denver, Colo. Tel. (303) 222-0825. It is mailined body point (see a six on most in the control of the control Va emplose Of 1.5 for a reto

and there of the believed by the tASA Monthestims Count the .S. Imperialish in Latin America" April 29 - May 1 University of Oregon, Eugene

Presentations: "Latin American Identity", "Cultural Imperialism in Latin.

America", Cuban Slides.

Panels: "Reform or Revolution? Discussion of Restructuralization of State o ot and S. Foreign Policy for Latin America", "The Cuban Model for to the hard Latin American Development", "U.S. Military Intervention in the 108 Latin America: Framples from the past, prospects for the in Latin America", "The role of the Working Class in Latin America", "Thurbure Directions of U.S. Foreign Policy in Latin America and the Third World" in Latin America and the Third World"

Particidants: Susan Socenheimer, James Petras, Richard Fagen, Carmelo and colors al Mesa-Lago, Toczry Bastos, John Johnson, James P. Morray, bed at bak . moli Steve Weissman, Charles Anderson, James O'Conner, Daniel Cazes, Giro Germani, Maurice Zeitlin, Irving Louis Horowitz, and Sall and representatives from the H.S. Dept. of State

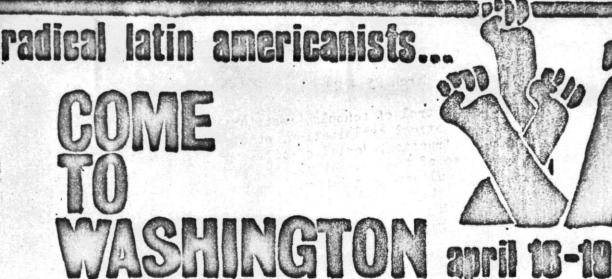
-- PLAN TO COME TO WASHING Sponsored by: AU30-LASA Latin American Symposium melicer on enth travels because in principal or the manage of the control of the Almicar Ordonez, 650 Clark St., Digene, Ore. 97402

"Papel de la jujer en un jundo en Crisis" July 17 - 22 Bogota, Colombia

o los inimpro isita 👈

of the Brandt Load Third Congress of the Woman in the Americas. Will be discussing all aspects of women's role in the world woday. Participants from North and South America. Possibility of financial help, es ecia ly for minority group persons wishing to participate. Looking for broad-based representation at the Conference. 3ponsored by: Momen's International League for Peace and Freedom Contact: Phyllis A. Sanders, Chairman, Latin American Committee Women's International League for Peace and Freedo:

29 Old "ill Rd., Thappaqua, M.Y. 10514 the trade of the same





On April 16-19, 1970, the Latin American Studies Association (LASA) is holding its biennial Convention, at the Hilton Hotel in Washington, D.C. As usual, the LASA Establishment and "professional" Latin-Americanists will be there (most of them travelling on fat university or foundation grants and staying at the Hilton for \$18 a day). They look forward to a genial, back-slapping weekend. 'are securely in control of their elitist, undemocratic Association (in which, for example, only "full members" -- i.e., NO students -- may vote for officers, and even full members must choose from among candidates pre-selected by the LASA Nominations Committee; in which, according to the Executive Council accision of November 14-15, "only bona fide members, i.e., voting members in good standing, will e admitted to the business meeting" at the Convention).

They come to Washington to exchange gossip and ideas -- ideas, that is, about more effective cooptation or repression of revolutionary movements in Latin America, about keeping the research grants
flowing from the government and the big foundations, about the latest miniscule modifications in "modernization" theories. And finally they come to look over the latest crop of graduate students, to recruit the more docile and malleable to transmit to future generations of students the received wisdom of Latin American studies.

BUT something will be different this year. No longer will we sit at home, leaving the field to the "professionals." This year radical students and young faculty -- as many of us as possible -- are going to converge on the Convention. We will demand the total democratization of LASA. We will challenge LASA in its own panels and business meetings. We will hold our own Clearinghouse for Radical Research, where radical Latin-Americanists will have an opportunity to exchange new ideas. Most important, we will organize our own permanent anti-imperialist organization or caucus. And this is only the beginning.

In order to present an effective challenge, however, we must be a large "presence" at the Convention. And in order to function in a representative manner ourselves, we need everyone's suggestions and active participation.

THEREFORE, we call upon radical "Latin-Americanists," both inside and outside of the universities,

- -- PLAN TO COME TO WASHINGTON, APRIL 16-19;
- -- PLAN TO COME ON THURSDAY, APRIL 16: beginning at around dinner time (or earlier) Thursday, we will meet (place to be announced) to make final plans for the Convention;
- -- PLAN TO STAY THROUGH SUNDAY, APRIL 19 for an all-day meeting to set up a permanent anti-imperialist organization;
- -- EFFORTS WILL BE MADE to arrange housing (but do bring your own sleeping bags and try to arrange housing yourselves if possible);
- -- Meanwhile, spread the word. To transmit your ideas, and to obtain further information, contact:

N.Y. NACLA P.O. Box 57, Cathedral Sta. New York, N.Y. 10025

Radical Caucus of Latin Americanists c/o Edelstein, 3420 Kentucky Street Riverside, California 92507

VENCEREMOS!

- Radical Caucus of Latin Americanists

CUBAN PUBLICATIONS * * *

Granma, Weekly review of the official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba. Published in Spanish, English and French. 1-yr. subscription 35.40 (Canadian dollars).

Tricontinental. Theoretical organ of the Swecutive Secretariate of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. (OSPANAL). Bi-monthly sublication at \$3.60 annually (Canadian dollars) in Span. Eng. Fr. and Italian.

Panoram Remonico Latinoamericano (PEL), edited by Prensa Latina. Information and economic perspectives of the 21 nations of Latin America gathered from correspondents around the world. Well-researched and documented monthly publication 10.00 a year.

Yerds Olivo, Organ of the Revolutionary Arned Forces (FoR). This 15% weekly publication may not circulate outside Cuba.

Pensation to Critico, Translated reprints of theoretical works from world thinkers. Worthly publication for \$5.30 a year.

Belanced weekly magazine with detailed erticles on various aspects of Cuban life and society, present and past; popular science, agriculture, etc. The subscription rate of this well-illustrated general education magazine is unknown.

- CONTACT: - The Granua can probably be best obtained by phoning to the following: Fair Play for Cuba, Montreal P.Q. Canada (514) 725-5235.
 - - Since all Cuban publications destined as foreign mail are channeled through the same agency, the best single address for the others listed would be: Institute de Libro, Departmento Internacional, Vedado, Habana, Cuba. (For Tricontinental: P.O. Box 4224, Habana)
 - -- Once your subscription has been processed, it may still suffer considerable delay due to the usual special attention given to Cuban mail. Therefore, you may choose to facilitate material exchange by privately arranging for shipment via a third person in a different country.
- April 19 25: International Week of Solidarity with the Latin American Peoples, stressing solidarity with the people of the Dominican Republic, with those who are still under colonial domination, and those who have attained greater development in the revolutionary struggle.

If you already get the State: State: Zip:

DON-EN1- 137 p 49/121



SECRETARIA DE ESTADO DAS RELAÇÕES EXTERIORES

TELEGRAMA

RECEBIDO

3.035

DA EMBAIXADA EM WASHINGTON

EM/19/19/IV/70

CONFIDENCIAL-URGENTE
DAS/DSI/642.(22)

500.

PARA TOWAR CONHECIMENTO

DA LASA.

SEBRA-141-SABADO-15.15 - ADITAMENTO TELEGRAMA SEBRA 136. FUNCIONARIOS DA EMBAIXADA ESTAO ACOMPANHANDO DISCRETAMENTE OS TRABALHOS DA LASA. NA NOITE DE ONTEM REALIZOU-SE SESSAO PLE NARIA, DURANTE A QUAL FOI APROVADA, ENTRE OUTRAS, RESOLUÇÃO CON DENATORIA DO 'REGIME MILITAR BRASILEIRO''. ENTRE OS MAIS ATI VOS PROMOTORES DESSA RESOLUÇÃO FIGURARAM BRADY TYSON, THOMAS SKIDMORE E PHILIP SCHMITTER. FOI NOTADA NO PLENARIO A PRESENCA DE NUMEROSOS BRASILEIROS, ENTRE OS QUAIS O DEPUTADO CASSADO MARCIO MOREIRA ALVES, O QUAL, SEGUNDO APUREI DARA ENTREVISTA COLETIVA HOJE A IMPRENSA. SEGUIREI INFORMANDO.

MOZART CURGEL VALENTE

NOTA DA DCo: SEGUIU COPIA ANTECIPADA PARA A AAA

IOG/

EM/19/IV/70



SECRETARIA DE ESTADO DAS RELAÇÕES EXTERIORES

TELEGRAMA

RECEBIDO

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DA EMBAIXADA EM WASHINGTON
EM/17/17/IV/70

RESERVADO



DAS/DBP/DAM/DSI/642.(22)
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2ª REUNIÃO NACIONAL DA LASA

("LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES

ASSOCIATION").

SEBRA 136-SEXTA FEIRA-13:00- INAUGUROU-SE ONTEM,
NO HOTEL STATLER HILTON, DESTA CAPITAL, A 2A REUNIAO NACIONAL
DA LASA (''LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION''). FUNCIONÁRIOS
DA EMBAIXADA ESTÃO OBSERVANDO OS TRABALHOS NAS SESSÕES PLENÁRIAS, PAINÉIS E FOROS. PELA MALA DE HOJE, SEGUE DOCUMENTAÇÃO
POSTA AA VENDA OU DISTRIBUIDA NA PORTA DO HOTEL, DE VIRULENTA
CRÍTICA CONTRA O REGINE NO BRASIL. CHAMO PARTICULARMENTE A ATENÇÃO DE VOSSA EXCELÊNCIA PARA O FOLHETO INTITULADO ''NINOLA-DIREC
TORY'', QUE CONTÉM EXTENSA LISTA DAS ORGANIZAÇÕES INTERESSADAS.
NESTE PAÍS, EM FOMENTAR MOVIMENTOS POLÍTICOS RADICAIS NA AMÉRICA
LATINA.

MOZART GURGEL VALENTE

NOTA DA DCo: seguiu cópia antecipada para DAS.

Apri EN1. 137 p51/121



TERROR IN BRAZIL

A DOSSIER

APRIL 1970

DM. EN1. 132 p 52/121

WE CANNOT REMAIN SILENT

We cannot remain silent in the face of the overwhelming evidence of the flagrant denial of human rights and dignity coming to us from Brazil. This dossier is but a fraction of that evidence. Significantly, several documents were written by Brazilians and smuggled out of Brazil at great risk to those involved. They accepted the possible penalties in order to inform the people of the world of the fact that terror and torture are used in their country as instruments of government.

We cannot remain silent. To do so would make us accomplices of those who are the authors and perpetrators of this repression. We call upon the readers of this dossier to raise their voices in protest with us.

RALPH DAVID ABERNATHY

President

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

DORY ASHTON

Author

JOHN BENNETT President

Union Theological Seminary

STERLING W. BROWN

President

National Conference on Christians and Jews

LOUIS M. COLONNESE

Director, Division for Latin America

United States Catholic Conference

THOMAS CORNELL

National Secretary

Catholic Peace Fellowship

ALLEN D'ARCANGELO

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Fordham University

DANA S. GREEN

Director, Latin America Department

National Council of Churches

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Artist

HERSCHEL HALBERT

Executive Director, International

League for the Rights of Man

RICHARD HOWARD

Poet and Critic

IRENE JONES

Assistant General Secretary

American Baptist Foreign Mission Society

TRACEY K. JONES, JR.

General Secretary

Board of Missions

United Methodist Church

STANLEY KUNITZ

Pulitzer Prize Winning Poet

JOHN A. MACKAY

President Emeritus

Princeton Seminary

RICHARD MORSE

Professor of History

Yale University

JAMES H. ROBINSON

Director

Crossroads Africa

BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

U.S. Congressman, New York City

Interamerican Affairs Sub-committee of

the House Foreign Affairs Committee

ANDRÉ SCHIFFRIN

Managing Director

Pantheon Books

MARGARET SHANNON

Executive Director, Church Women United National Council of Churches

RICHARD SHAULL

Professor of Ecumenics, Princeton Seminary

President, World Student Christian Federation

THOMAS E. SKIDMORE

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University of Wisconsin

JOHN COVENTRY SMITH

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Commission on Ecumenical Mission & Relations

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Executive Vice-President

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

ADJA YUNKERS

Artist

ABOUT THIS DOSSIER

In this dossier, the reader will find a variety of documents that are faithfully and accurately reproduced, and bear upon the current crisis in Brazil. There are, for example, laws, decrees and summary "institutional acts" upon which the present military regime has legitimated its right to virtually unlimited power. There are also personal and eye-witness accounts about torture, terror and repression, clearly among the consequences of that unlimited military power. All the documents, however, are authentic and have been rendered into reliable English translations.

Almost all the "legal" documents contained herein originally appeared in the Brazilian press. Precisely because the press has been subjected for several years to self-censorship and, of late, to varying degrees of direct government control, the texts from which the present translations are drawn must be considered "official".

The personal and eye-witness accounts of torture, terror and repression have several origins: public statements to the Brazilian and world press by prominent and courageous Brazilian leaders such as Dom Helder Camara, Archbishop of Recife and Olinda; detailed reports secretly written and remitted abroad by unrenowned but equally courageous Brazilian citizens, often times the very victims of torture.

But, the reader may unhesitantly endow even the latter accounts of torture with absolute credibility. In fact, all but one of those accounts translated here, whether of public or clandestine origin, appeared originally in journals, magazines and other publications of utmost reliability and responsibility. The December 1969 issue of the Paris monthly, Croissance des Jeunes Nations, carried, under the title "Livre Noir: Torture et Terreur au Brésil", eleven documents, several reproduced here; almost all of 'them had been presented earlier to the Holy Father, Paul VI, in a dossier whose veracity was attested to by sixty of Europe's prominent intellectuals and religious leaders of all faiths. Moreover, the "Livre Noir" was endorsed by eight international organizations which subsequently established the International Support Committee. The January-February 1970 issue of Mensaje, the national monthly of the Jesuit Order in Chile, was another source of some of the documents contained in the dossier which the reader now has in his hands.

It is true that almost all of the material in the present dossier refers to events which took place chiefly, although not exclusively, in 1969. The reader may wish to know precisely what is happening today and might ask, "Is torture still going on, now, in April, 1970, six years after the Brazilian Army took power by force?" There is, unfortunately, a time lag between events in Brazil where a dictatorial situation prevails and the arrival of information abroad. But, as recently as March 6, 1970, a French delegation having just returned from an eight-day mission in Brazil, declared, "the situation in Brazil today is considerably more serious than that observed in Greece last year" (see Le Monde, March 8-9, 1970). The two lawyers, sent on behalf of the International Federation of the Rights of Man and the French branch of Amnesty International, further affirmed that torture is not only taking place, but it has now become "systematic and generalized". Finally, the two European spokesmen, who interviewed public, religious and private persons, confirmed that there were in March, 1970, slightly less than 12,000 political prisoners held in jails all over the country and that the average age of these prisoners was 22 years!

A chronology has been included to help guide the reader through Brazilian political events since 1964. But, this dossier is by no means an attempt to study that long and tortuous process which, in the name of the "democratic and Christian traditions of the West", has claimed so many victims. Rather, this dossier is but a footnote, tragic, authentic and crying out desperately for expressions of human indignation and humanitarian solidarity, to the contemporary history of Brazil.

THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR INFORMATION ON BRAZIL

I. CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

1964 March 31

The Brazilian Armed Forces lead a successful coup d'etat against the government of Joao Goulart, which they accuse of having promoted the spread of communism and corruption. (The military officers in Brazil, while sharing a dislike for the previous regime, are divided on questions of how the country should be run. During the next years, "soft line," "hard line," "nationalist," "Yankeephile," and "technocratic" elements in the military would be struggling to impose their solutions to Brazil's institutional crisis. This chronology will point to some of the events which show a progressive increase in repression against civilian forces.)

April

A provisional, "revolutionary" military junta announces radical changes in the economic and social policies of the nation: Many of the laws passed by the preceding nationalist government are declared null and void, among them, the profit remittance law regulating the export of capital by foreign companies, the nationalization of oil refineries, and the distribution of non-cultivated lands near federal roads to landless peasants.

April 15

The leaders of the 'March 31 Movement' name Marshal Castelo Branco to the Brazilian presidency. Institutional Act No. 1 increases the power of the Executive and suspends some constitutional guarantees.

April-June

Mass arrests. Many political leaders (including the last three elected Presidents) lose their political rights for ten years. Several state governors and 112 members of Congress are deposed. Two thousand military men are forced to retire. Federal 'interventors' take over key trade unions. Peasant leagues are disbanded and national and state student unions are outlawed. Thousands of "Investigation Commissions" run by military officials are established in local institutions throughout the country to eliminate dissidents at a grass roots level.

July 14

The Inter-American Commission of the Alliance for Progress approves the request of Roberto Campos for \$888 million in economic aid during 1965 and 1966.

1965 February 11

Brazil and the U.S. sign a treaty insuring American investments in Brazil against losses due to revolution or inflation. Damages are to be paid to businesses by the U.S. government and charged to the Brazilian dollar debt to the U.S.

May 22

Brazilian troops fly to Santo Domingo to join US-commanded forces in cordoning off Dominican Constitutionalist insurgents.

October 5

Elections for governors are held in several states; those opposition groups which are allowed to campaign sweep the more important contests with impressive pluralities.

October 6

The junta decrees that control of state police and security agencies will be taken over by the Federal Government.

October 27

The military junta responds to the failure of the "revolutionary" candidates to win popular support with "Institutional Act No. 2; all political parties are dissolved and the powers of the Executive are further increased; henceforth the President and the state governors will be chosen by the "purified" Congress, rather than by direct popular vote of their constituencies.

October 29

Senator Wayne Morse asks for an end to economic and military aid to Brazil as a protest against Institutional Act No. 2.

November

Two parties are organized under strict control of the Government. One is designated as the government party (Alliance for National Renovation - ARENA), the other as the "loyal opposition" (Brazilian Democratic Movement - MDB).

1966

Former U.S. Ambassador to Brazil, Lincoln Gordon, ('61-'66) on questioning during Senate hearings on his nomination to Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, vigorously defends the political and economic policies of the Brazilian government and friendly American relations towards it.

April 13

February 7

An AID report to $U_{\bullet}S_{\bullet}$ Congress praises the conduct of the Brazilian government since the coup.

October 4

The War Minister, General Costa e Silva, is elected President by the Congress. Only the ARENA deputies vote; the others abstain. The opposition terms the act "an electoral farce."

1967

January 23 A new Constitution is adopted which incorporates the "Institutional Acts" issued since 1964.

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1967 (cont.) Jan. 23 cont.

It gives the President the right to promulgate laws and to declare a "state of emergency" (Martial Law) without consulting Congress. A Press Law providing severe penalties for antigovernment reports is promulgated.

- Thousands of students gather secretly in Rio de Janeiro for the purpose of reorganizing March 2 the student movement on an underground basis. They issue a document condemning the "dictatorship" as a servant of Yankee Imperialism.
- A National Security Law is issued which permits the military to interpret any opposition March 11 as treason.
- 350 student representatives travel clandestinely from all over Brazil and meet secretly to August re-construct the National Student Union (UNE) which has been outlawed since 1964. This is UNE's 29th annual Congress. They elect leaders and agree that the student movement should not concentrate on university issues, but should help mobilize popular resistance to the "dictatorship."
- August 30 A broad coalition of major pre-coup political personalities unites to work for a return to civilian government and democratic liberties. This "Frente Ampla" included former President Kubitschek, most of the center-left, and even militantly anti-communist Carlos Lacerda, but gained little support from any politicians in office.

1968

March 28 Police kill a student during a peaceful demonstration in Rio.

- March 30 His funeral turns into a mass protest. Army tanks occupy the city.
- Violent clashes erupt between students and police in Rio, Sao Paulo, Brasilia, Salvador, April 3 and other cities. The demonstrators vehemently condemned American support for the dictatorship.
- Student-led demonstrations in major cities gain wide-spread public support. Hundreds of May people are imprisoned.
- June 10 The "Frente Ampla" coalition is outlawed by decree.
- June 16 Sixteen-thousand students strike in Rio.
- June 22 Police kill six people during demonstrations in Rio. Five hundred students occupy the Congress in Brasilia.
- One hundred thousand people demonstrate in Rio, calling for "the end of the dictatorship." June 27 Large demonstrations take place in Brasilia, Recife, Salvador, Porto Alegre.
- June becomes known as "the month of blood." During this month the dissolution of the June "Frente Ampla," the massacre of peaceful demonstrators, and the massive police intervention in all centers of political ferment cut off all remaining avenues of open opposition to the regime.
- July 21 The National Confederation of Bishops condemns the Government's "fascist" doctrines of national security.
- Aug.-Dec. Radical resistance movements launch a series of dramatic bank hold-ups and violent symbolic attacks against military-governmental buildings and United States corporate and government offices. Extreme right terrorist organizations step up assassination activities, with alleged governmental collaboration. Among them, the most notorious of the professional killers are the Command for Communist Hunting (CCC) and the Anti-Communist Movement (MAC).
- One thousand university student representatives meeting secretly in Sao Paulo for the 30th October 0 Congress of the National Student Union are arrested. This stroke wipes out the leadership of the Brazilian student movement.
- Marshal Costa e Silva promulgates the "Institutional Act" No. 5. The Congress is dissolved. December 13 This ultimate anti-democratic move is believed to be a "coup within the coup," handing state power over to the most authoritarian sectors of the Army.
- December Mass arrests. Witch hunts against critics in the civil service and armed forces. Total censorship of the press, radio and television. Loss of political rights, loss of jobs. jailing, and constant harrassment of independent liberal news editors, writers, and politicians.

United States financial aid to Brazil amounted to more than \$948 million in loans from 1964 to 1968.

1969 January

The Brazilian Supreme Court of Justice is restructured. Three judges are purged and deprived of political rights for ten years.

- February 6 The Minister of Internal Affairs, General Albuquerque Lima, thought to represent moderate nationalist sectors of the army, is discharged by dominant hard-line pro-U.S. generals.
- May 30 Father Henrique, assistant to the Bishop Dom Helder Camara is tortured and murdered by a right wing death squadron. This assassination provokes intense conflict between the clergy and the government.
- August 15 Resistance groups in Sao Paulo seize a radio station for thirty minutes. They broadcast that a very important event will soon take place.
- August 31 Institutional Act. No. 12 replaces President Costa e Silva, victim of a heart attack by a military triumvirate instead of the Vice-President, a civilian, who was constitutionally mandated to assume the office.
- September 4 The American Ambassador, Burke Elbrick, is kidnapped in Rio. His captors demand the freedom of 15 political prisoners and the broadcasting of a manifesto as conditions for the release of Mr. Elbrick. Both sides carry out the agreement.
- September 9 Institutional Act No. 14 imposes the death penalty for "the crime of psychological warfare and revolutionary or subversive war." The Republic of Brazil never previously had a death penalty.
- Sept-Present U.S. security agents flood Brazil. Mass arrests, terror and tortures of political prisoners are conducted in a volume and brutality far exceeding the wanton brutality of Cuba under Batista.
- October 17 A new Constitution is promulgated which removes virtually all constitutional limitations on the President's actions.
- October 25 The command of the armed forces chose Four-Star General Garrastazú Médici as the new President of Brazil. The "purged" Congress (about 200 of its members have been ousted since 1964) is reopened in order to ratify his name.
- November 4 Carlos Marighela, the most important guerrilla leader is killed in Sao Paulo.
- Nov.-Dec. Many Dominican priests, charged with collaboration with the resistance movement, are arrested and tortured.
- November Sixty European clergymen and intellectuals deliver to the Pope a dossier documenting tortures in Brazil. They form the "International Support Committee" to aid Brazilian refugees.
- February 9 (From The New York Times). As of this date the number of persons deprived of their political rights for ten years has reached 1,116. Student leaders affirm that approximately one thousand students have been expelled from Brazilian Universities for alleged political activities.
- February II A government decree establishing pre-sale police censorship of books, magazines, and foreign publications is issued with the avowed aim of keeping pornography off the market.
- March 7 In his first news conference General E. Garrastazú Médici characterizes the Brazilian regime as a "Revolutionary State". "The military", he says, "will continue in office as long as it takes." The Institutional Act No. 5, which empowers the president to govern by decree and to suspend constitutional guarantees, will not be annulled "soon". In his words, "It was instituted too late, and it is still too early to revoke it."
- Nobuo Okuchi, Japanese counsul general in Sao Paulo is kidnapped by underground militants. They demand the freedom of five political prisoners and a guarantee of the humane treatment of all other political prisoners as the conditions for the release of the diplomat. The list of prisoners includes a mother of three children (whose eighteen year old step-son took part in the kidnapping), a Japanese Brazilian, and a Catholic Mother Superior. Upon landing in Mexico two days later they all testify to having been tortured.

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II. STATEMENT OF FEMALE PRISONERS HELD AT ILHA DAS FLORES, RIO DE JANEIRO

We have written this letter from where we are imprisoned on the Ilha das Flores (Isle of Flowers) in Rio de Janeiro. Only now is information starting to trickle out about the atrocities that have been committed against political prisoners in our country; thus, the Brazilian public may still doubt that these criminal acts are really taking place. We can assure everyone that TORTURE DOES EXIST IN BRAZIL. What's more: ALL THAT HAS BEEN SAID ABOUT THE METHODS OF TORTURE IS VERY LITTLE COMPARED WITH THE TRUE FACTS. Here on the Ilha das Flores we have been victims of and witnesses to torture. We consider it our duty to truth and justice to bring these facts to light.

Many persons may ask why it is only now that revelations are being made in every corner of the country. Up to now threats of more torture and even death have kept us silent. Recent statements, however, both by the President of the Republic and the Minister of Justice as well as reports in the domestic and international press, lead us to believe that we have some protection against reprisals.

The Facts

- 1. Ziléa Resnik, 22, arrested June 5, 1969 and accused of belonging to the MR8 revolutionary organization, was kept incommunicado for 45 days-- 35 more than even the military code allows; she was frequently beaten.
- 2. Rosane Resnik, 20, Ziléa's sister, arrested July 27, 1969 on the same charges, was stripped naked by her torturers, beaten, and subjected to electric shocks on various parts of her body, including her nipples.
- 3. Ina de Souza Medeiros, 20, wife of Marco Antonio Faria Medeiros, arrested July 6, 1969 in Curitiba on the same charges, was made to witness the tortures inflicted upon one of her friends, Milton Gaia Leite. He was hanging naked from a pole while a mass was being transmitted by a radio playing full blast to drown out his shrieks. At the jail of the political police (DOPS), she was told that her husband, who had been arrested two months before, had died. She panicked, though the information later proved to be false. After she was brought to the Ilha das Flores, she was beaten, underwent electric shocks, and was threatened with sexual assault.
- 4. Maria Candida de Souza Gouveia, 22, arrested July 3, 1969 in Curitiba, on the same charges, was beaten and kicked on the spot. Her wrists and ankles were twisted. She was made to strip.
- 5. Maria Mota Alma Alvarez, 20, arrested July 9, 1969 in Rio de Janeiro, was stripped and beaten. One of her fingers was broken, evidence for which can be seen in photographs taken by journalists at the time they were invited to meet members of MR8.
- 6. Maryjane Vieira Lisboa, 22, arrested September 2, 1969 in Rio de Janeiro, accused of being a member of the Popular Action revolutionary movement, was stripped, beaten, and subjected to electric shocks that were stopped only when she fainted from a heart failure.
- 7. Marcia Savaget Fiani, 24, arrested same date, place, and on same charges (as 6) received same treatment except that dowsing in water intensified the electric shocks, resulting in the partial paralyzation of her right fingers. She was kept incommunicado for 14 days.
 - 8. Solange Maria Santana, 25, as above (7) went insane for a while.
- 9. Ilda Brandle Siegl, 25, arrested October 29, 1969 in Rio, was stripped, beaten, and subjected to electric shocks even on her nipples.
- 10. Maria Elódia Alencar, 38, arrested a day later, as above. Strangling forced her to sign her last will and testament. Her torturers kept threatening to arrest and torture her 15-year old son.
- 11, 12, and 13. Priscila Bredariol, 23, Vania Esmanhoto, 24, and Victoria Pamplona, 26, militant members of Catholic Student Youth (JEC), arrested October 31, 1969 in Rio on charges of belonging to Popular Action, were all beaten and forced to listen to the cries of Priscila's husband, Celso Bredariol, and of Geraldo Azevedo, Victoria's fiancé. Both were being tortured next door at the offices of the Naval Information Center (CENIMAR).
- 14. Dorma Tereza de Oliveira, 25, arrested October 30, 1969 in Rio, got the usual beatings and electric shocks plus strangling and dowsing. Pincers applied to her breasts produced wounds, as did needles thrust under her finger nails.
- 15. Marta Maria Klagsbrunn, 22, arrested September 1969 in Rio, was tortured by her jailers who several times threatened to take her to see her husband, Victor Hugo Klagsbrunn, who was also undergoing torture.
- 16. Arlinda-----, arrested November 14, 1969 in Rio, is still incommunicado on the day we write this letter (December 8, 1969).

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We can also testify to many other cases of torture. We can cite, for example, the case of Jean Marc Van der Weld, president of the National Student Union. For six days he was beaten, suspended from a pole, and subjected to electric shocks. As a result his ear drums have been perforated and he suffers from serious neurological disorders. Also tortured were Celso Bredariol and Mario Fonseca Nete. The latter, along with Milton Gaia Leite, underwent the torture called "cock-on-a-string" ("galeto"): a bonfire is set under a body hanging from a pole.

Maria Luiza Garcia Ros, 18, was another case. She was arrested in Rio, raped, and then released, for her innocence of membership in a revolutionary organization was established. (Translator's note: the passive voices here make it impossible to render into the active voice: who raped her? who proved her innocence?)

We have arrived at four principal conclusions:

- 1. Torture sessions are generally held at the Ilha das Flores prison, at the offices of the Naval Information Center on the fourth floor of the Naval Ministry, and at the jails of the political police (DDPS) in Rio and Curitiba.
- 2. The torturers are high-ranking officers of the Naval Information Center. Their torturing is known to their commanding officers and to all military personnel on duty here. Torturers try to hide their identity under false names such as Dr. Claudio, Commander Mike, Dr. Alfredo, Dr. Breno and others.
- Some petty officers and privates also take part in torture sessions, namely Sgt. Alvaro and Pvt. Sergio.
- 4. Torturers often visit the Ilha das Flores as "technical advisers" of the commanding officer, Comdr. Clemente José Monteiro Filho.

We know that our present stance of revealing torture can spark reprisals against us. We are afraid, because it would not be the first time that "attempt-to-escape" or "suicide" have been faked so as to conceal the facts and to "verify" the official version of the facts. All persons interested in getting at the truth and in punishing the guilty should know that we are subject to all kinds of violence. To bring this state of affairs to an end, we need more than ever before the help of everyone in the country.

Ilha das Flores, 8 December 1969

Note: All these cases of torture have been made known to

Marshall Garrastazú Médici, President of the United States of Brazil Monsignor Monzonni, Papal Nuncio Jaime Cardinal Camara, Archbishop of Rio de Janeiro, and other authorities.

The sole result: renewal of press censorship and a nation-wide ban in all mass media on reference to torture of political prisoners.

REVISED NATIONAL SECURITY LAW OF 1969

The following decree, published in March, 1969, significantly increases the categories of acts considered as crimes against national security and stiffens the penalties for such acts. It creates the concept of "adverse psychological warfare", establishes military courts to judge civilians, defines subversive propaganda, takes away (in practice) the right of defense, and gives the armed forces power to imprison any citizen without due process of law.

The following articles constitute the key provisions: Article $12\,$

(It is prohibited) to form, to join, or to maintain any type of association, committee, or organization of class or group which, under the orientation or with the aid of a foreign government or international organization, carries on activities harmful or dangerous to the national security. Penalty: Imprisonment from two to five years for organizers or maintainers, and from six months to two years for others.

(Translator's observation: In determining whether or not an organization is harmful to the national security, the President of the Republic and his Council have absolute discretion.

Article 14

It is prohibited to divulge, by any mass means of communication, false or tendentious news, or a true fact truncated or slanted so as to create or attempt to create ill-will among the people against the constituted authorities. Penalty: Detention from three months to one year.

Paragraph 1

If such divulgation provokes a disturbance of public order or exposes to danger the good name, the authority, the credit, or the prestige of Brazil, the penalty shall be detention from six months to two years.

Paragraph 2

If the director of or person responsible for the newspaper, magazine, radio or television station is found accountable for the divulgations, he will also be fined an amount of 50 to 100 times the value of the local minimum wage, the fine to be doubled should the terms of the previous paragraph apply.

Paragraph 3

The penalties shall be applied in double in the event the infraction is repeated.

(Translator's observation: Under this article, anyone who criticizes any action of a governmental authority may be found guilty of "attempting to promote ill-will among the people against the government", and may be imprisoned for "committing a crime against the national security".

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III. THE TRAGIC DEATH OF CHAEL CHARLES SHREIER

(This document is a compilation of information from several sources.)

Chael Charles Shreier, a 23 year old medical student from Sao Paulo, was arrested together with two friends in Rio de Janeiro on November 21, 1969, for belonging to a subversive organization.

Shreier resisted arrest, but he and his companions were taken forcibly to Guanabara State Police headquarters. Considered to be important prisoners, the trio was transferred to Army headquarters at the <u>Vila Militar</u> in Rio de Janeiro under the command of Captain João Luis. Late that very night, Shreier's body was removed to the Central Army Hospital; Brigadier General Galeno da Penha Franco asserted that Shreier was dead on arrival.

Only three days later did the victim's parents, Emilia Brickman Schreier and Ari Schreier, learn of their son's death. An autopsy signed by Dr. Rubem Pedro Macuco attributed the cause of the student's death to "abdominal contusion with rupture of the transverse mesocolon and mesentery, with internal hemorrhage".

Leading Rio newspapers, JORNAL DO BRASIL and O GLOBO, reported on the incident. Their accounts appear to be based on information provided by the same police sources who were holding the three prisoners incommunicado. From these bits and pieces, Shreier's ordeal is beginning to emerge. During the interrogations at police headquarters in Rio de Janeiro, police agents became convinced that Shreier and his friends were purposely giving false information. At that point, the trio was taken - alive - to the Vila Militar; but, from it Shreier emerged dead only several hours later.

Besides the certificate of autopsy, the strongest evidence that Shreier had been savagely tortured and beaten to death came at his burial service. His body had been flown from Rio de Janeiro to Sao Paulo and taken to the Jewish Cemetery. There in compliance with the Jewish ritual of purification, the coffin was opened (but not without difficulty, perhaps because those who had sealed it shut were unfamiliar with Jewish rites and, moreover, simply never expected the coffin to be opened). The body showed signs of the autopsy: stitches on the thorax and legs; there were also signs of blood in nostrils and purple bruises over the face and abdomen. One of Shreier's cousins remarked upon leaving the ceremony, "He was beaten like a dog."

The Shreier case did not close with the burial of his mortal remains. Ten of his former colleagues at the Sao Paulo Medical School who attended the funeral were called in by the police for questioning. Soon after, the editorial staff of the Brazilian weekly magazine, VEJA, (which had published the above facts in its issue of December 10, 1969, number 66) was paid a visit by military officers who threateningly prohibited publication of any further denunciations of torture. (See THE NEW YORK TIMES, January 6, 1970.)

Article 39

The following constitute subversive propaganda:

- I. The utilization of whatever means of mass communication, such as newspapers, magazines, periodicals, books, bulletins, pamphlets, radio, television, movies, theater and the like, as vehicles of propaganda of psychologically adverse warfare or of revolutionary warfare.
 - II. The recruitment of persons in their places of work or study.
 - III. A rally, public meeting, parade or march.

IV. A prohibited strike.

- V. Abuse, calumny, or defamation directed at an organ or entity which exercises public authority, or at a public official because of his functions.
- VI. A manifestation of solidarity with any one of the acts mentioned in the preceding items. Penalty: Detention from six months to two years.

Paragraph

If any of the actions specified in this article causes a threat to or an attack upon the national security, the penalty shall be detention from one to four years.

Article 44

Civilians as well as military personnel shall be subject to the military courts described in Article 122, Paragraphs 1 and 2, of the Constitution, as amended by Institutional Act Number 6 of February 1, 1969, in relation to the process and judgement of the crimes defined in this decree, as well as those perpetrated against military institutions.

Article 45
The special military court established in this decree shall prevail over any other, even as regards crimes committed by means of the press, radio or television.

Article 46

The Code of Military Justice shall be applied in the proceedings and trials insofar as it does not conflict with the dispositions of the Constitution and this decree.

Article 47

During the police investigations, the accused may be imprisoned up to thirty days by the officer in charge of the inquiry, who should inform the proper judicial authority of the imprisonment. This period may be extended once, by means of a documented request presented by the officer in charge of the inquiry to the authority who nominated him.

Paragraph 1

The officer in charge of the inquiry may hold the accused incommunicado up to ten days if this measure becomes necessary for the police and military questionings.

If he considers it necessary, the officer in charge shall solicit, within the period cited or its extension, the preventive imprisonment of the accused, observing the dispositions of Article 149 of the Code of Military Justice.

(cont. next page)

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IV. STATEMENT OF DOM HELDER CÂMARA ON THE MURDER OF FATHER HENRIQUE

Recife, May 27, 1963.

1. We hereby fulfill the painful duty of condemning the barbaric murder of Father Antonio Henrique Pereira Neto, committed last night, May 26th, here in the city of Recife.

- 2. Father Antonio Henrique, who was 28 years old and had been a priest for the past three and a half years, had consecrated his life to apostolic work among young men and women especially among university students. According to the testimony of several couples, he spent yesterday afternoon and evening until 10:30 p.m. at a meeting in Parnamirim /a Recife neighborhood/ with a group of parents and their children, in line with his deep committment to bridging the generation gap.
- 3. This crime bears all the marks of refined perversity (among other cruelties, the victim was bound, hung, dragged across the ground and shot three times through the head); but what makes it particularly grave is the moral certainty that this brutal offense is just one more in a premeditated series that has included threats and warnings.
- 4. First, there were threats written on the walls of buildings, sometimes followed by gunshots. The Manguinho Palace /the archdiocesan chancery office/ has been covered with numerous grafitti of this type. Shots have been fired at Jiriquiti /the central office for the different services administered by the archdiocese/, while the Archbishop's residence at the Fronteiras church has also been fired upon and covered with grafitti.
- 5. Then came the threatening phone calls announcing that the next victims had already been marked. The first was Candido Pinto de Melo, an engineering student in his fourth year and President of the Union of Students of Pernambuco. Today he is paralyzed with a broken spine. The second was a young priest whose only crime had been to exercise his apostolate in student circles.
- 6. As Christians, following the example of Christ and Saint Stephen, the first martyr, we ask God to forgive the murderers, repeating the words of the Master: "They know not what they do". But, we believe in the right and duty to raise up our protest so that, at the very least, the sinister work of this new death squad may not continue.
- 7. May Father Antonio Henrique's sacrifice obtain God's blessing on both the continuation of the work for which he gave his life and the conversion of his executioners.

Recife, May 27, 1969 Helder, Archbishop of Recife and Olinda José Lamartine, auxiliar bishop and vicar general Msgr. Arnaldo Cabral de Sousa, episcopal vicar Msgr. Isnaldo Alves de Fonseca, episcopal vicar Msgr. José Hernani Pinheiró, episcopal vicar

Article 48

The provisions concerning preventive imprisonment contained in the Code of Military Justice are applicable at any stage of the proceedings.

Individual or collective proceedings may be instigated against the infractors of any of the provisions of this decree.

The defense, in the course of the proceedings, may indicate two witnesses for each of the accused, and the two witnesses should present themselves, whether or not they are served with a summons, on the day and hour set for the inquiry.

and hour set for the inquiry.

Paragraph

Defense witnesses who fail to appear at the appointed time without a justifiable motive verified

by the Council, will no longer be heard; their absence will be considered desistance. (Translator's observation: According to Article 53, the prosecution may name up to three witnesses: the defense is entitled to only two. It is not required that defense witnesses be summoned, and if the latter do not appear because they were not served, they will be considered as desisting and their

testimony will no longer be heard.

Article 62

An individual condemned to imprisonment for more than two years will also be subject to suspension of his political rights from two to ten years.

Article 63

Suspended sentences for crimes described in this decree are prohibited.

Article 64

Imprisonment shall be imposed in a military or a civilian jail, at the criteria of the judge, but without penitentiary regime.

Article 65

Probation will be governed by the terms of military penal legislation.

Article 66

No bail will be permitted for the crimes described in this decree.

V. TESTIMONY OF AN ARRESTED PEASANT LEADER

"On July 13, 1968, the police committed a barbarous crime against the people of Pindaré Mirim, a village in the northern state of Maranhão. Seven policemen, armed with rifles and submachineguns, fired on rural workers who were waiting to be treated at the Medical Center. They gravely wounded Manuel Conceicão, president of the peasant union of Pindaré Mirim... The union issued this report of how the crime took place:

"I, Manuel Conceição dos Santos, president of the union of rural workers of Pindaré Mirim, deny the veracity of the reports published in the São Luis papers and above all of the statements made by the Secretary of the State Police on July 27th in regard to my case.

"In the name of truth, I must declare the following: On the morning of the 13th of July last, several workers were waiting to be treated at the union's medical center. A pickup truck stopped nearby; seven men armed with rifles and revolvers got out. The police commissioner, accompanied by a soldier, called to me and I walked towards him. To my utter surprise, the soldiers seized me and fired five shots into my legs as well as opened fire upon many witnesses, among them women and children. I was thrown into the truck like an animal and driven from the scene to the prison suffering serious wounds in both feet. Only around 5:00 p.m. did I receive first aid. Three days later they treated me again after my toes had become half rotten. On the 17th, they freed me; so as not to die I had to go to São Luis to have a leg cut off because of gangrene."

"SELF CONTROL" OF THE PRESS

THE FOLLOWING IS AN ABRIDGEMENT OF AN ORDER SENT BY THE MINISTRY OF JUSTICE TO ALL EDITORS OF NEWS-PAPERS AND OWNERS OF TELEVISION AND RADIO STATIONS THE WEEK BEFORE MR. NELSON ROCKEFELLER'S VISIT TO BRAZIL, IN JUNE 1969.

No news about, comment upon or interviews with anyone who has had his political rights taken away; No reporting about student movements which have been dissolved by the government, nor about student political activity;

No criticism of government action taking away political rights of citizens or dismissing them from their employment;

No publication of anything that might create hostility toward government officials;

No criticism of the economic policy of the government;

No news about political arrests, except when provided by the government;

No news about the political activity of the clergy, no manifestos of church leaders or interviews with them that might create tensions "of a religious nature";

No news about workers' movements, strikes or other acts considered subversive which may occur in Brazil or in foreign countries;

No news of opposition to the Rockefeller visit whether that opposition occurs in Brazil or in other countries.

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VI. THE REGIME VS. DOM WALDYR CALHEIROS

Introduction

In July, 1969, Dom Waldyr Calheiros, the 46 year old Bishop of Volta Redonda, the center of the Brazilian steel industry, joined eleven of his priests in a letter charging that a labor leader of his diocese had been tortured during an interrogation at a local army unit. The general in charge of the unit where the labor leader was being held ordered an inquiry at which the alleged torture victim and his physician were questioned. The general closed his hearing asserting that there had been no torture and that the bishop was an agitator.

On December 4, 1969, a military court indicted Dom Waldyr on charges of subversion; fifteen priests of his diocese were also brought up on charges but, their trial, like the bishop's is pending; no date has yet been set.

The following undated letter from Dom Waldyr to his fellow bishops illuminates the army's role in sowing discord within the ranks of Brazil's clergy:

Letter from Msgr. Valdir Calheiros to Brazilian Bishops

I believe I am following the wishes of my fellow bishops by informing them of the military case brought against me and 15 priests of the Diocese. During the inquiry, 25 priests were called to testify at the barracks of the First Armoured Battalion by Col. Moacyr Pereira. This created a climate of anxiety. A few days before the investigations began, the secretary of the Priests Council came to see me to say that a group of 12 priests had met to request intervention of the Holy See in the Diocese. Later, at the general meeting and retreat of the clergy, one of the priests told me that the colonel had let it be known to these priests that "if a request for intervention was made they would not be subjected to inquiry and that if it was accepted and the Bishop removed, he would drop the case". Only two priests accepted this proposal. The group of 12 broke up soon after, but there was a rift among the clergy and the climate of distrust has not yet completely disappeared. A characteristic of such inquiries is the attempt to pit priests against their Bishop.

The priests who are accused are at peace with themselves because they do not feel abandoned because the Bishop is involved in the case.

The local press is at the service of the military authorities and only publishes what is slanderous, detrimental or lacking in respect to the Bishop, the priests and the Church. Colonel Pereira states over the radio that I am a Communist. The Brazilian press has never heard my side; only the foreign press has.

The reactions of our brothers of the Episcopacy are varied. Some are worried and have visited me personally to show their sympathy or have sent representatives. Others think we should try and seek a compromise with the military authorities; some believe it's simply a "personal matter".

- 1. I cannot see how this can be considered "a personal matter" when the superiors of the colonel who presides over the case are lending their support and bringing me before the Court. It is these men who govern the country, who drag the local Church before the tribunals and slander the Bishop not only in his own diocese but all over Brazil, since the fact that we are criminally accused is common knowledge. Even if the case is not followed up, the inquiry and defamation remain.
- 2. They bring 16 Priests into disrepute before their parishes and do it in such a way as to leave, at least one, in a very difficult position.
 - 3. They bring discredit to the Church wherever they can and by every possible means.
- 4. The less enlightened Catholics are in doubt, for they hear on the radio and read in the newspapers accusations and insults against us and accusations that we are Communist agitators and subversive agents.

After all that has happened it is impossible to take steps which would appear as a request for clemency. I do not consider that a bishop is humiliated by sitting on the bench of the accused when the crime imputed is that of preaching the Gospel and of defending a poor tortured workman. To excuse oneself before the oppressor for being oppressed would be really humiliating. This is not pride, but conviction of my responsibilities for my own acts. I understand better today the words of the Lord: "If I have spoken ill, prove it, but if I have spoken well, why beatest thou me?" (John 18: 23). These men should be called to account. But by whom?

On thinking over the events with a group of workmen, one of them said to me: "Your Honour, who can speak?... If you are accused of having spoken, being who you are, what would happen to us, who are simple workmen?"

It would be a crime to keep silent in face of the facts. Is that to be subversive? To be silent? To acquiesce? Perhaps they would prefer that the Church remain dumb in the face of clamorous facts. Then they would not try to silence the Church.

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Please try to understand: I am neither depressed nor hurt by the hostility against me and the local Church. No. I have merely wanted to state the truth faithfully. I am at the disposal of any who wish to clarify any points which might seem unclear to them.

LAW PERTAINING TO SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES (Decree 477)

TEACHERS, STUDENTS AND EMPLOYEES OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS WHO PARTICIPATE IN STRIKES, DESTROY PROPERTY (INSIDE OR OUTSIDE OF SCHOOLS), PARTICIPATE IN STREET MARCHES AND UNAUTHORIZED RALLIES, OR DISTRIBUTE "SUBVERSIVE MATERIAL", WILL BE PUNISHED UNDER DECREE 477 BY THE FOLLOWING PENALTIES: PROFESSORS AND EMPLOYEES WILL BE SUMMARILY DISMISSED, AND BANNED FROM EMPLOYMENT IN ANY OTHER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION DURING A FIVE YEAR PERIOD; STUDENTS WILL BE EXPELLED, AND BANNED FROM MATRICULATING IN ANY OTHER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION DURING A THREE YEAR PERIOD. IF THE STUDENT IS ON SCHOLARSHIP, HE SHALL LOSE IT AND BECOME INELIGIBLE FOR ANY SCHOLARSHIP AID FOR A PERIOD OF FIVE YEARS (IF A FOREIGNER, THE SCHOLARSHIP STUDENT WILL BE EXPELLED FROM THE COUNTRY). DECREE 477 WAS ISSUED ON FEBRUARY 26, 1969.

The text of the decree includes the following: "Under the authority conferred on him by the first paragraph of the second article of Institutional Act Number 5, of December 13, 1968, the President of the Republic decrees:

Article |

A teacher, student, official or employee of any public or private educational institution commits a disciplinary infraction if he:

1. Promotes or incites the outbreak of a movement which has as its objective the paralysis of academic activity, or if he participates in such a movement;

II. Attacks persons or destroys property, whether within or without school buildings or grounds;

III. Acts to organize, or participate in subversive movements, street marches or unauthorized rallies;

IV. Produces, prints, possesses, or distributes subversive material of any nature;

V. Kidnaps or holds captive the director or any member of the faculty, official or employee of an educational institution, or a government agent or student;

VI. Uses the school building or grounds for subversive purpose or to commit any act against morals or public order.

Paragraph 1

The infractions defined in this article shall result in the following punishment:

1. If the infractor is a member of the teaching staff, and official or an employee of the educational institution, the penalty shall be dismissal and prohibition from being appointed, admitted, or employed by any other educational institution for a period of five years.

II. If the infractor is a student, the penalty shall be expulsion and prohibition from matriculation in any other educational institution for a period of three years.

Paragraph 2

If the infractor is the beneficiary of a scholarship or any governmental funds, he shall forfeit same and will become ineligible for such aid during a period of five years.

If the infractor is a foreign scholarship recipient, he shall be asked to leave the country immediately.

Article 2

The investigation of the infractions to which this law-decree refers shall be conducted in summary proceedings to be concluded within an inextensible period of twenty days.

When there is suspicion of a crime, the director of the educational institution shall take immediate steps to facilitate a police investigation.

Article 3

The summary proceedings shall be prepared by an official or employee of the educational institution, designated by the director. He shall carry out the necessary investigations and shall cite the infractor to present his defense within forty eight hours. If more than one infractor is involved, a period of ninety six hours shall be applicable to all.

Paragraph 1

The accused shall be suspended from his functions or employment until the time of the verdict, or if he is a student, prohibited from attending classes, upon request of the hearing officer.

Article 6
This decree shall become effective upon the date of its publication, revoking all provisions which are contrary to its terms.

MENSAJE Number 186 January-February, 1970 Santiago, Chile

VII. THE STATE AND THE DOMINICAN ORDER

Among the Catholic clergymen singularly condemned by the military regime as "subversives" and "communists" are the priests of the Dominican Order. Even prior to the military coup of 1964, conservative forces in Brazilian society had spent considerable sums of money to portray the Dominicans' committeent to social change and justice as an anti-democratic conspiracy. That objective seems at the heart of the most recent accusations of the regime against the Order, even though the latest "angle" is clearly unique. In November, 1969, army personnel trapped and slaughtered Carlos Marighela, an old-line communist party leader and present-day guerilla chief, in cold blood in one of the back alleys of Sao Paulo. Immediately after, stories in the Brazilian press, considered by reliable sources to have been planted by the military, charged two Dominican priests with having "betrayed" Marighela. Behind the slander was the government's attempt, first to persuade the public that the Dominican Order was intimately linked to a wing of the Brazilian communist movement, and second, to sow doubts in the minds of non-Catholics about the trustworthiness and intentions of those Catholics who are in the forefront of Vatican II-inspired ecumenical movements.

Shortly after the shooting of Marighela, leading scholars, theologians and intellectuals of the Dominican Order in France and Belgium addressed an evaluation of the present climate affecting church and state in Brazil to Maurice Cardinal Roy, President of the Pontifical Commission on Justice and Peace. The text of the letter follows.

* * * * *

Your Eminence:

The world press has recently repeated certain news items referring to the implication of two of our brothers of the Dominican Province of Brazil in the events surrounding the death of the political leader Marighela and the arrest of several others. These reports would seem to be suspect on several counts:

1. they were issued by agencies wholly submissive to the censorship of the regime now in power; 2. their accounts of the facts contain too many apparent falsehoods; 3. they combine allegations concerning personal morals with political accusations, thus becoming in effect defamations of character; and 4. they all too obviously serve the interests of the regime by encouraging a double division: on the one hand, between the various opposition movements, specially between Christian and non-Christian groups, and, on the other hand, between a "terrorist" minority, which is thus to be excluded, and a "moral" majority, which is asked to isolate itself from the first-mentioned group in all points of view.

While we wait for further reports which are verifiable and verified, we wish to call your attention, and through you that of the Holy Father and Catholic opinion throughout the world, to the fact that the role being played by Christians in movements opposed to the present regime is by no means limited to these Dominicans. Members of the young laity and Catholic Action groups, of both secular and religious clergy, not to mention Protestant circles, are engaging themselves in ever greater numbers. As for the Hierarchy, whose legitimate caution is well known, even it has felt obliged, as you know, to denounce the dictatorial character of the present regime.

Under these conditions, we firmly believe that any effort aimed at disassociating the case of our Dominican brothers from that of the whole Church and its role in the present situation in Brazil would simply be to fall into the trap laid by those in power. Any such effort would create a precedent making it all the easier for a repressive policy, whose efficacy lies in its selective character, to eliminate successively other sectors of the Church, including any Bishops who fail to agree with it, and beginning with the whole Dominican Province of Brazil. It would thus succeed in the end in utterly neutralizing the Gospel.

As for the particular case of our arrested brothers, and quite apart from any reservations or disagreements we might have with their methods, we know that their action was above all motivated by a situation which poses a veritable defiance to the conscience of any believer and to that of any moral individual for whom politics means the development of the whole man and of all men. They are among those who, in today's Brazil, strive to help the people to speak up and who, for that reason, are being reduced, one after another, to silence. For this cause, we believe that they have every right to the name of Christian and that they deserve respect for wanting to lead their lives according to their faith. They therefore have our full support.

That is why we declare ourselves determined to do all in our power to guarantee their honor and their physical safety. Not to cast the light to which we are entitled on the accusation of "treason" made against them, only favors the impression of an accidental death which people can attribute to the vengeance of the opposition, all to the benefit of the regime. For both these ends, we appeal here and now for the assistance of lawyers and international organizations, and we alert public opinion, starting with the publication of this letter.

We ask you to do all you can from your side to counteract the maneuvers and pressures which may be directed against the Church under these conditions and to see to it that the problem imposed on the Christian conscience by the present situation in Brazil is confronted and discussed as it deserves at the highest levels of the Church.

We close by recalling the example of Father Lebret. This man, to whom the encyclical <u>Populorum</u> <u>Progressio</u>, and hence your Commission, owes so much, had a predilection for Brazil to which he devoted a

number of his works and much of his energies. He was also one of our brothers. That, we think, is sufficient reason to justify our initiative.

Please accept, Eminence, this expression of our gratitude for the reception you and the members of your Commission may be good enough to give to our urgent petition. To it we add the assurance of our profound respect and confidence.

Pere J. KOPF, Provincial O. P. de Toulouse

Pere N. RETTENBACH, Provincial O. P. de Paris

Pere D. BELAUD, Provincial O. P. de Lyon

Pere A. M. CARRE Prieur O. P.

Pere P. A. LIEGE, Prieur O. P.

Pere M. D. CHENU O. P.

Pere Y. CONGAR O. P.

Pere M. J. PERVIS O. P.

Pere V. COSMAO O. P.

Pere M. BARTH O. P.

Pere B. D. DUPUY O. P.

Pere P. BLANQUART O. P.

Pere Chr. REVON O. P.

Copies to: Monsieur le Cardinal VILLOT, Monseigneur GREMILLION, Rme Pere Aniceto HERNANDEZ.

(translated from the French)

THE VATICAN RESPONSE ON TORTURE IN BRAZIL

Pontifical Commission Justice and Peace Statement of H. E. CARDINAL ROY

The Pontifical Commission Justice and Peace makes known the following Statement of its President, H. E. Cardinal Maurice Roy:

In reply to the letter with accompanying documents on cases of torture in Brazil, signed by a group of seventy persons, Cardinal Roy has sent a letter in French to Mrs. Marcella Glisenti, Secretary General of the Italian Committee "Europa-Americana Latina".

In this letter, dated January 20, Cardinal Roy writes that the document was brought to his attention on January 8. In compliance with the signatories' desire, the Cardinal submitted the document to the Holy Father who 'with vigilant attention is following the situation of the Church in Brazil, on which He is constantly kept informed".

"The Pontifical Commission Justice and Peace" - His Eminence continues in his letter - "aims at arousing in the People of God an ever increasing awareness of its obligations to promote justice, peace, the development of the human person, and the progress of peoples".

"This is a service", writes the Cardinal, quoting the Holy Father, which the Commission has to render "to help the Church to keep her eyes open, her heart sensitive and her hands ready to carry out the work of charity it is called to perform for the world, in order that every Christian conscience may learn, in the name of the Lord, to examine itself, to reflect and to act".

"However, if it is not up to the Pontifical Commission to pronounce a judgement on any political situation", continues His Eminence, "we cannot remain deaf to the appeals of those Christian consciences who justly react against the attacks and violations and against the rights of the human person which take place in many countries".

The Cardinal then stresses the fact that, publicly and repeatedly, the Brazilian Episcopate has clearly expressed its opinion, inspired by a very vivid pastoral concern; he attaches to his letter the texts of the statement of the Central Commission of the Brazilian Conference of Bishops, dated 20 September 1969, and of the communication of H.E. Cardinal Agnelo Rossi, Archbishop of Sao Paulo and President of the same National Conference, of 10 November 1969. Cardinal Roy also mentions the Pastoral letter of Cardinal Eugenio de Araujo Sales, Archbishop of Sao Salvador da Bahia, and Consultor of the Pontifical Commission, who "denounces terrorism, tortures and executions without trials which have been verified in some regions of the country".

Original Text: Italian

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VIII. APPEAL BY 38 PRIESTS

"Truly I say unto you, as you did it to one of the least of these my brethern, you did it to me." Math. 25:40

"...whatever violates the integrity of the human person, such as mutilation, torments, inflicted on body or mind, attempts to coerce the will itself...all these things and others of their like are infamies indeed. They poison human society, but they do more harm to those who practice them than those who suffer from the injury. Moreover, they are a supreme dishonor to the Creator." Vatican II, The Church Today

Excellencies.

When Brazil signed the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights" it promised to respect the dignity of the human person. From the moment in which Institutional Act no. 5 constituted a threat to these very rights, the National Conference of Bishops found itself obliged to warn the authorities and the people of this fact in a declaration issued on February 18 by its Central Commission:

"The situation which was institutionalized last December opens the door to all manner of arbitrary procedures, including the violation of Fundamental Rights: the right of defense, of legitimate expression of thought, of information; the new situation is a threat to human dignity in both a physical and moral sense".

The bishops were right in taking this position, for it was already clear in Belo Horizonte from the imprisonment of priests and deacons of the parish of "Horto" that arbitrary acts were no longer only a possibility, but already a reality.

In his homily of December 15, our archbishop, Dom João Resende Costa made the following denunciation: "They have been violently beaten and tortured. I am making this denunciation so that there shall be eliminated once and for all from all investigations, those procedures which dishonor all those who practice them and render the process of justice suspect."

In so far as such procedures have not been suppressed, but have been, on the contrary, multiplied, we, signatories of this letter, priests of the archdiocese of Belo Horizonte, called by the Master to the ministry of the Word and the Eucharist, find ourselves confronting a painful dilemma: If, on the one hand, we feel ourselves compelled by the duty that is rightfully ours to denounce the arbitrary acts practiced in our city, we feel constrained, on the other, to refuse to give too many details about facts and persons, so that the latter shall not have to undergo still more suffering.

Leaving aside all political considerations, but with full knowledge of the case at hand, we denounce:
-Outrages against the human person, moral as well as physical.



-jailing the prisoner with handcuffs for 15 days, without removing them even to eat or sleep (at CPOR)

In making this denunciation, we are not washing our hands of the matter and considering our task done.

In accordance with our commitment to the gospels such as it was made explicit by Vatican II and renewed at Medellin, we believe that a declaration by the bishops would be necessary; a declaration which would respond to the legitimate aspirations of an important part of the People of God. This is even more important since the Hierarchy constitutes, at the moment, the only social and moral force capable of raising its voice and perhaps of making itself heard.

We are conscious of the gravity of the accusations we have just drawn up and we feel that it would be dishonest on our part not to give them the guarantee of our signature. However, for reasons of personal security, we have left our names off this sheet and are sending them under separate cover to the President of CELAM and the Secretary General of the National Conference of Bishops of Brazil (Respectively, Dom Avelar Brandão, bishop of Terzinha and Dom Aloiso Lorcheider-NDLR). Respectfully, a letter by 38 priests from Belo Horizonte, July 10, 1969.

IX. A CLASS ON TORTURE

The use of torture against the opponents of the present military regime now appears to surpass all other techniques of police investigation and inquiry. Torture has become so commonplace that the three armed services have organized courses.

One such class was held in October, 1969, at the headquarters of the State Police of Minas Gerais in the city of Belo Horizonte. The following excerpt about that class was taken from a document collectively issued by twelve male political prisoners on December 19, 1969:

"On the eighth of October (1969) a class in Interrogation was held at PE/State Police headquarters/for a group of about a hundred (one hundred) military men, the majority of them sargents from the three branches of the armed forces. Just before the class, Mauricio (de Paiva) was given electric shocks 'to see if the equipment was in good working order, ' in the words of a private named Mendoça. At about 4 p.m. just before the class was to begin, the (following ten) prisoners were led up to the classroom where the session was already in progress: Mauricio de Paiva, Angelo Pezzuti, Murilo Pinto, Pedro Paulo Bretas, Afonso Celso Lara, Nilo Sérgio, Júlio A. Antonio, Irany Campos, and an ex-MP from Guanabara and another prisoner known as Zezinho. Immediately after, they were ordered to enter the room and strip. While Lt. Haylton was showing slides and explaining each type of torture, its characteristics and effects, Sargents Andrade, Oliveira, Rossoni and Rangel, together with Corporals Mendoça and (an illegible name and the soldier Marcolino were torturing the prisoners in the presence of the hundred military men in a 'live' demonstration of the various torture methods in use. Maurício suffered electric shocks, Bretas had a finger put in irons, Murilo was forced to stand on top of cutting edges of tin cans, Zezinho was hung from the 'parrot's perch', and the ex-MP was clubbed while Nilo Sérgio had to hold his balance on one foot while heavy weights were hung from his outstreached arms."

THE LAWS OF REPRESSION

The Brazilian government has produced institutional acts and decrees by the dozens, in an attempt to legitimize its situation. Under such legislation all rights are in reality held by the armed forces, publicly represented by a General-President. The power to legislate and the functioning of the judicial system are subordinated to the criteria of the Executive, who can cancel the terms of office of Congressmen and of Supreme Court judges without having to justify his actions. The accused persons are not even informed of the charges which led to their punishment. The same kind of treatment is meted out to university professors, members of the liberal professions, etc., and even to military officials themselves who are not in agreement with the arbitrary acts which are being committed. The principal laws of repression are: Institutional Act Number 5; the National Security Law; the Press Law; and the Law Pertaining to Schools and Universities (Decree Number 477).

INSTITUTIONAL ACT NUMBER 5

This act, published on December 13, 1968, gives absolute powers to the President of the Republic to decree a Congressional recess, to intervene in state government, to suspend summarily the rights of citizens, including Supreme Court judges, to confiscate personal holdings, and with the Act the right of Habeas Corpus is eliminated. This Act was annexed in its entirety to the Constitution promulgated in 1967.

The principal articles follow:

Article 1

The Constitution of January 24, 1967 is maintained, as well as the State Constitutions, with the modifications which this Institutional Act contains.

Article 2

The President of the Republic may decree the recess of the National Congress and State Legislative Assemblies and the Municipal Councils by a Complementary Act, whether during a State of Siege or not; these bodies shall reassume their functions only when convened by the President of the Republic.

Paragraph 1

When legislative bodies have been recessed by decree, the corresponding Executive Power is hereby authorized to legislate in all matters pertaining to the Constitutions or to the Organic Law of the Municipalities.

Article 3

The President of the Republic, in the national interest, may decree intervention in the States and Municipalities, exempt from the limitations provided in the Constitution.

Paragraph 1

State and Municipal Interveners (Interventores) shall be named by the President of the Republic and shall carry out all the functions and have all the powers which are attributed to the Governors and Mayors, and shall have all the rights, salaries, and benefits determined by law.

Article 4

For the purpose of preserving the Revolution, the President of the Republic, upon the advice of the National Security Council, and exempt from the limitations provided in the Constitution, shall have the power to suspend the political rights of any citizen for a period of ten years and to cancel all elected terms of office, whether federal, state or municipal.

Article 5

The suspension of political rights based on this Act shall simultaneously signify:

1. Cancellation of the privilege of special legal status due to perogative of function;

2. Suspension of the right to vote or to be voted for in labor union elections;

3. Prohibition of activities and manifestations concerning subjects of a political nature;

4. Application, when necessary, of the following security measures;

a. freedom under surveillance

b. prohibition against visiting certain specified places

c. fixed domicile

Paragraph 1

The Act which decrees the suspension of political rights may fix restrictions or prohibitions related to any other public or private rights.

Article

Constitutional or legal guarantees of lifetime duration, of stability in office, as well as of the exercise of functions for a fixed period of time are hereby suspended.

Paragraph 1

The President of the Republic, by means of decree, may dismiss, remove, retire or displace any holders of the guarantees referred to in this article, as well as employees of the self-governing boards (autarchies), public enterprises or associations of mixed capital, and dismiss, transfer to reserve status, or change the status of military personnel or members of the Military Police, providing, when due, payments or benefits proportional to the time of service.

Paragraph 2

The provisions of this article and its first paragraph apply also to the States, Municipalities, Federal District and the territories.

Article 7

The President of the Republic, in any of the cases covered by the Constitution, may decree a State of Siege and prolong it, fixing the period of its duration.

Article 8

The President of the Republic, following investigation, may decree the confiscation of the possessions (cont. next page)

AN APPEAL:

The documents speak for themselves.

Torture, terror and repression are the order of the day; the privation of fundamental human rights continues unabated; the Brazilian -- student, worker, intellectual -- now joins the ranks of the world's political refugees. In all, a critical situation now exists about which almost nothing is known outside Brazil.

For these reasons, scholars, writers, religious leaders, spokesmen for civil liberties as well as other friends of Brazil met in New York in February 1970 and founded the American Committee for Information on Brazil. (A number of signatories to the preamble of this dossier are founders and members of the Committee).

The Committee's aims are:

- 1. To obtain and encourage the obtention of accurate knowledge and information about the contemporary situation in Brazil;
- 2. To disseminate and publicize this information to concerned individuals and organizations;
- 3. To promote assistance to the victims of Brazilian Repression;
- 4. To promote the implementation of the principles contained in the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights,

ADDITIONAL COPIES:

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----- DETACH AND MAIL

I want to e	xpress my solidarity: (Check one or more
*	Add my name to the list of signers of the Preamble.
*	Here is my contribution to defray costs of this dossier.
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of all those who have illicitly become wealthy in the exercise of their public offices or functions, including autarchies, public enterprises, or associations of mixed capital, in addition to the correspondlegal sanctions.

Paragraph 1

If the legitimacy of the acquisition of these possessions is proved, restitution shall be made.

Article 10

The quarantee of habeas corpus is suspended in the cases of political crimes against the national security, economic and social order and the popular economy.

Article 11

There shall be no judicial review of any measure carried out in accord with this Institutional Act and its Complementary Acts, nor of the corresponding results. Article 12

The present institutional Act takes effect on this date, revoking any provisions to the contrary.

Rrasilia December 13, 1968

COMPLEMENTARY ACT NUMBER 38

The following Complementary Act Number 38, was promulgated simultaneously with Institutional Act

"The President of the Republic, using the powers conferred upon him by Article 9 of Institutional Act Number 5 on December 13, 1968, has decided to promulgate the following Complementary Act:

Article 1 In the terms of Article 2 and its paragraphs of Institutional Act Number 5 of December 13, 1968, the recess of the National Congress is decreed as of this date. Article 2

The present Complementary Act takes effect on this date, revoking all provisions to the contrary."

December 13, 1968

HOW THE PRESENT BRAZILAN PRESIDENT WAS "ELECTED"...

- 1. The present President of Brazil was chosen by consulting 239 officers of the Armed Forces.
- The Electoral College was made up of 118 Army generals, 60 Admirals and 61 Air Force Generals.
- The Electoral College was made up of 118 Army generals, 60 Admirals and 61 Air Force Generals
 The only eligible candidates were the "electors" themselves, i.e., two-, three-, or four-star generals.
- 4. For "hierarchical" motives, a three-star general preferred by the troops in the Northeast, the most underdeveloped region of Brazil, was excluded from the dispute for succession.
- 5. The name chosen by the Army High Command, the Admiralty Council of the Navy, and the Military Aeronautical Council as capable of preserving unity and representing the military, was that of General Garrastazú Médici, Commander of the Third Army. A symbolic list of three names, which in addition to General Médici included the Army Chief of Staff and the Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces, was organized.
- 6. Congress, whose membership had already undergone successive purges, was reopened in order to ratify, in the name of national security, the name selected by the upper echelons of the military.

What the Berrigans Mean; Games Corporations Play; Stage – Buchwald and Feiffer on Broadway

(64)

COMMON April 24, 1970 40 cents COMMON April 24, 1970 40 cents

ONE OF THE FIVE POLITICAL PRISONERS RELEASED BY THE BRAZILIAN MILITARY REGIME AND FLOWN IN EARLY MARCH INTO MEXICAN EXILE (IN EXCHANGE FOR THE SAFETY OF A KIDNAPPED JAPANESE DIPLOMAT) WAS A ROMAN CATHOLIC NUN, SISTER MAURINA BORGES DA SILVEIRA. ARRESTED IN OCTOBER, 1969, SISTER MAURINA, THE MOTHER SUPERIOR OF THE SAINT ANNE'S HOME IN RIBEIRAO-PRETO, SAO PAULO STATE, WAS SUSPECT-ED OF PROTECTING ALLEGED STUDENT "TERRORISTS" OPPOSED TO THE PRES-ENT MILITARY GOVERNMENT. DUR-ING THE 19 DAYS SHE WAS HELD INCOMMUNICADO, RUMORS BEGAN TO CIRCULATE THAT SHE WAS BE-ING TORTURED BY THE CITY'S TWO HIGHEST POLICE OFFICIALS. THEN, IN MID-NOVEMBER, THE METROPOLITAN ARCHBISHOP OF RIBEIRAO-PRETO, DOM FELICIO DA CUNHA VASCONCELOS, RE-PORTEDLY OBTAINED INCONTROVERTIBLE EVIDENCE THAT SISTER MAURINA HAD BEEN SUBJECTED TO ELECTRIC SHOCKS AMONG OTHER CRUELTIES. WITH THE SUPPORT OF SEVENTY DIOCESAN PRIESTS, THE ARCHBISHOP IMMEDIATELY AND PUBLICLY ORDERED THE EXCOMMUNI-CATION OF THE CITY'S POLICE CHIEF AND HIS ASSISTANT.

IT SEEMS INCREDIBLE THAT TORTURE SHOULD HAVE BEEN INFLICTED UPON A RELIGIOUS IN THE LARGEST (CONTINUED ON PAGE 135)

NEWS & VIBWS

The Grape Strike

The grape strike has been going on for so long that it's acquired a perverse sort of normalcy. Like a non-fatal tumor, it's there, it's annoying, yet you live with it.

But one day the strike will be settled fully, and on the side of justice. When it is, a measure of credit will belong to the National Conference of Catholic Bishops. The settlement which the bishops' mediation committee helped arrange between the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee and three Coachella Valley grape-growers is the first real breakthrough in that four-year tension.

The three growers represent only one-eighth of the Coachella crop, and only about one percent of the California crop. But size isn't everything. Inland Steel is a relatively small producer, but its decisions turned around the 1962 steel crisis. The same thing could happen here. With luck, it will.

For the bishops, meanwhile, the Coachella Valley settlement stands as a quiet triumph. The grape strike is the kind of controversy that bishops as a body would ordinarily shun. This time they involved themselves and their institution. It was no mistake. Maybe, even, it will set a pattern. That's the sort of social work episcopal bodies should be about.

Stable Neighborhoods

No one, it seems, covers American specialty journals industriously - and more interestingly - than more New Society of London.

Several months ago, New Society dug out of the Journal of Personality and Social Psychology the delicious study of automobile stickers in public parking areas of Davidson County, Tennessee, | during the last presidential campaign.

(The study found that 14 percent of autos bearing Nixon stickers, 14 percent bearing Humphrey stickers, and 19 percent advertising no candidate at all were without the compulsory county car tax disc. Of autos bearing the stickers of lawand-order candidate George Wallace, 26 percent lacked the tax disc!)

Now New Society has dipped into the American Journal of Sociology and come up with a study of the American neighborhood. which indicates that the ramixed community, commonly characterized as unstable, is quite probably more stable than the all-white community.

The study, by Harvey Molotch, threatens to kick into a cocked hat a whole basketful of myths, beginning with the theory that housing integration entices speculators, who move into the local market, buy property which they milk and do not maintain, white residents being thereby forced out.

Molotch found that there was actually a low rate of apartment-building turnover in the racially mixed area, suggesting to him that the fact occurring.

Similarly, Molotch found not a single instance of real estate agents' buying property and then selling to blacks at a premium.

And in both areas studied -the white neighborhood and the mixed one-the mobility-wish of residents was the same.

But, you say, his is only one study and one city. Which is true enough - except that the neighborhoods studied were in Chicago and the numbers involved were some 75,000.

If, in terms of the problems addressed, there's anything unrepresentative about Chicago or 75,000 persons, then we've all been reading the wrong history books.

The Press Scene

This month it's good-bye to Interchange, publication of the Division of Foreign Visitors of the U.S. Catholic Conference. It goes with the phasing out of the division.

In June, it will be goodbye to Young Catholic Messenger, Junior Catholic Messenger and Our Little Messenger, three long-time favorites with parochial school children.

Five years ago the Mes-

supposed process is not in | sengers had a combined circulation of 2.5 million. This year they are 1.4 million and falling. One of the big reasons, according to publisher George Pflaum: declining enrollments in Catholic schools throughout the U.S.

> On the diocesan newspaper front, no new obituaries at the moment, but news of another sort.

> Overview, the Chicago newsletter, reports a broadening of efforts to bring the diocesan paper under tighter chancery controls, citing Worcester (where the Priests' Senate has asked that a priest guide editorial policy) and Pittsburgh (where the shift seems to be back to a priest director).

Overview sees the moves as "new indicators that the layman's influence is being harnessed" in diocesan editorial offices.

Msgr. Francis J. Lally, editor of the Boston Pilot, was asked by the Worcester Gazette about the development. "It doesn't make sense at all," Lally commented. "There should be more laymen in the jobs. The day of the priest is gone."

Priest-editor, he means.

Mr. Nixon as Pope

Boring and byzantinethat's Hans Morgenthau's evaluation of the 40,000word Nixon statement on the state of the world.

"It resembles nothing so much as those lesser papal encyclicals which pronounce a series of unexceptional abstract principles, leaving practical judgment and action where they found them," Morgenthau wrote in the New Republic.

"There is, however, one difference," Morgenthau conceded. "The Pope quotes Scripture and the pronouncements of his predecessors in support of these principles; Mr. Nixon quotes himself 31 times directly, if my count is correct, and innumerable times by reference to a previous statement."

JOHN DEEDY



"Who, Me?"

Ben Roth Agency

DAN. ENI 137 / 73) 121



CORRESPOND-DINCHED

Oberammergau . . . Nix

New York, N.Y.

To the Editors: The Passion Play of Oberammergau is to be given again this year, May 18. Begun in 1633 as a vow taken by the Oberammergau peasants for being spared the plague, this play has been presented ever since, at tenyear intervals, by the village people themselves. Endorsed by Hitler, its text stands as an emotional and powerful catalyzer of anti-Semitic feelings.

Following a number of protests, both from Jewish and Catholic quarters, which kept reaching Cardinal Doepfner's office for many months, the 1970 text is labeled a revised version. Unfortunately, the changes are negligible. The numerous hate-breeding lines are still there. The Passion Play of Oberammergau should therefore be denounced by all Catholics, especially in the United States which sends so many tourists there. From all Catholic pulpits should come the warning that this is a vicious play, wholly contradicting the Statement on the Jews of Vatican II as well as the Guidelines of the American Bishops. Such a warning should have been issued long ago. However, there is still time for the hierarchy to act. As to the people who cannot cancel reservations already made, their only recourse, in order to avoid being implicated in this hate-propaganda, is to go to Oberammergau and become loud, protesting spectators.

CLAIRE HUCHET BISHOP

Patton's Pistols

New York, N.Y. To the Editors: It's a pity James Harvey flawed his intriguing review of the film "Patton" [Mar. 20] by nodding, evidently, during a key scene and referring therefore to the General's "pearl-handled (sic) revolvers."

Blood and guts! There is a vivid moment where Old Foulmouth informs a group of war correspondents that (Continued on page 151)

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THE ABORTION DEBATE

At one stage in the passage of a New York bill permitting abortion upon agreement between a woman and her doctor, a liberal newspaper termed the measure a "triumph for humanity." Humanity being starved for triumphs these days, no doubt the standards are falling, and the hyperbole understandable. That some change in the law was inevitable, was indeed called for, given the change in public opinion on the matter; that such a change might justifiably be the sweeping one the New York legislature has adopted: all this one can reasonably argue, and still feel not a bit triumphant but only profoundly uneasy about the recent debate on abortion reform.

First, there is the matter of the law itself. Although we write about abortion out of a Catholic tradition, certain philosophical and biological considerations raise serious questions for us about the church's traditional position. We do not enjoy the certainty either of some fellow-Catholics or of many proponents of abortion reform. We have no prescription, no alternative "model law" to offer. Yet certain things seem clear. Narrowly restrictive bans on abortion no longer command general public support. Law should not be made by polls, but polls are relevant evidence; and most recent ones show high percentages even of Catholics in disagreement with the older abortion laws. Which may explain why no one, including the church, is striving to have these laws rigorously enforced. Moral convictions can be dealt a serious disservice by strenuous efforts to retain such unpopular laws on the books.

If the old legislation lacked public support, it is not clear, of course, that the public favored a law as sweeping as the ones it will soon be getting. Indeed, the polls indicate otherwise. Nevertheless, there are two strong arguments for the case that if abortion laws are not to be narrowly restrictive, they should be virtually non-restrictive; the "moderate," middle-ground seems to combine the worst of both worlds. On the one hand, "moderate" laws do not seem to remedy the ills-dangerous illegal abortions and discrimination between rich and poor-which abortion reform is meant to remedy. On the other hand, as Robert J. Drinan, S.J., argues effectively, they also grant the state the dangerous role of setting standards for deciding who will live and who will die. Whether the government can in fact be kept out of such a role, as Robert Drinan hopes, is surely arguable. Consider the recent problems of redefining "death" for transplant purposes and note the general growth of government involvement in all aspects of medical care.

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Still, Drinan's position suggests the *legal* merits of what took place at least in New York State.

What took place, however, was much more than a legal matter. Neither side in the abortion debate took the pains necessary to distinguish the legal question from the moral question as carefully as Father Drinan has done, or as we would like to do. Apart from the question of what the law permits, there remains the question of what the individual should do. Apart from the question of whether all, some or no abortions should be forbidden and punishable as crimes, there still remains the question of whether we as a society, with all the customs and institutions which the word society implies, want to encourage or discourage abortion as a general policy.

In one sense, these questions were ignored in the abortion debate. In another sense, these questions were being answered, implicitly, by the slogans and emotions which filled the air. In both cases, we are disturbed.

We are disturbed because the abortion question is only the curtain raiser for a long series of problems which medical and biological advances are going to raise about our control over human life. Much in the present debate suggests we are woefully unprepared to face these further problems.

To be specific: The abortion discussion has been plagued by "facts" which are not facts and facts which may be facts but no one really knows. That estimates, say, for the number of illegal abortions performed yearly in the U.S. range from 200,000 to 1,200,000 is not surprising, given the difficulty of "research"; but seldom do partisans put forward their particular choice of figures with any admission of fallibility.

To be specific: The abortion discussion has shifted rapidly from pleas that more abortions should be permitted by widening the categories of legal abortion, to the argument that the life of the fetus is nobody's business but the mother's; and already there is discussion of positive policies for encouraging and facilitating abortions. Many proponents of abortion reform switched from emphasis on tragic cases and the prevention of dangerous, illegal abortions to talk of abortion as simply another and more efficient means of birth control, or even as an important factor in overall population policy. The ease and speed of this shift, both on the part of proponents and the public, raises worries about what is next on the agenda of "life-control" measures; and whether there is, as some have maintained, any reservoir of conservatism about such matters which can keep us from sliding gracefully into a Brave New World.

To be specific: The abortion discussion is being framed in terms of slogans that are generally unexamined and, upon examination, prove totally unsatisfactory guides to the problems society is now encountering. We mean such phrases as "murder" on the one side, the "unwanted child" and "woman's right to her body" on the other side. From the notion that a fertilized ovum

must be afforded the full protection granted to a human person-a notion understandably fitting to those trained to think in terms either of infused souls or "genetic packages" but just as understandably baffling to a great many people not so trained—we have in effect passed to the notion that the fetus should be considered (for 24 weeks at least, in the state of New York) as an organ of the mother. Legally, as we indicated, this fiction may be workable; it very neatly disposes of any claims a father might have over the life he has helped conceive. That it is a fiction seems undeniable. Yet there are many, who, while ridiculing the former notion, readily base their moral (and not just legal) evaluation of the fetus's status on the latter notion. There are many who speak of the fetus as "property" and indeed take a laissez faire attitude toward this "property" which they would probably reject in regard to property in general.

It must be said that the church bears a heavy responsibility for the primitive state of this discussion. By its failure to come to grips intellectually with the issue of birth control, by its political position toward birth control legislation, by its general insensitivity toward the question of "the sanctity of life" in issues like war and capital punishment, it has lost credibility with the public in general and even, it appears, with its own members.

The church's response to the change in abortion laws will be significant. Perhaps it could be path-breaking. It will have to demonstrate without the assistance of legal pressures its willingness to provide genuine alternatives for those mothers who are faced with the choice of abortion. That means promoting radically new attitudes toward adoption, toward support for child-care, toward the rights of working mothers, toward the use of birth control methods.

These are recommendations which, however, should not be directed only at the church. Abortion reform has been considered a "progressive" issue. Will those who consider themselves progressive give equal effort to exploring alternatives which might effectively enlarge the freedom of choice of women, which might better protect the sanctity of human life, and which might lead us closer to a humane society which cares for all its "unwanted," whether fetuses, children, the aged, the damaged, the unfortunate?

Liberals ought to notice the possibility that one of the reasons abortion reform is succeeding, as opposed to so many other "progressive" issues, may be its convergence with the very patterns in American culture which thoughtful liberals are questioning: the search for once-and-all, technological solutions, to name only one. Whatever decision is made on the permissibility of specific abortions, is society willing scrupulously to examine its principles and rearrange its institutions so as to place a high value on fetal life in general? If the answer is no, then the step just taken was backwards.



ROME'S OPPORTUNITY

Many worthy issues have engaged the concern and emotions of Catholics in the years since the Council, but it is fair to say that only now, with emphasis converging on the revised Code of Canon Law and its prefatory section amounting to a kind of bill of rights, is the question of reform and renewal joined in the fullest of senses. For what is involved in the new *Lex Fundamentalis* is not merely discipline or practice or particular belief, but the whole package. The press speaks of the Code as a "constitution," and in the American vocabulary it is—a constitution for pope and people.

Unfortunately, information which has leaked about this constitution is not cause for great celebration. Definitions and reaffirmations, notably on church and authority, would firmly arrest developing concepts, including those rooted in the Council. Likewise, the rights which the document spells out for Catholics are left subsidiary to the prior right of ecclesiastical authority to restrict those rights by "invalidating or incapacitating laws." Operative, in a word, is what one source describes as the old triumphalistic juridicism.

But the day is far from lost. The document which is currently circulating beyond the intended select membership of the Pontifical Commission for the Revision of Canon Law is still in draft form and could not be made final before the commission meeting scheduled for next October, if indeed then. Much could happen between now and fall, and very likely much will. Officials of the Canon Law Society of America are already mounting an effort to head off the document as written, and so are prominent theologians elsewhere. Father Hans Küng, for one, is attacking the document as tantamount to "legalizing dogma," while at the same time challenging the propriety—and right—of a "small group in Rome" to decide secretly what will be binding law for the whole church.

For Rome, meanwhile, the matter comes down to two major choices. It can hold fast to the methods and logic of the draft texts, and risk a crisis in authority alongside which the crises over birth control and celibacy could seem mild. Or it could use the disclosure of the current Canon Law document as an opportunity to open up to the church at large discussions about a new constitution. The latter would be an exceedingly wise move. There is every reason in the world why the formulation of a church constitution should be public, and no reasonabsolutely none-why it should be secret. More than that, Rome has everything to gain from a public procedure, maybe even a recouping of interest among so many whose tendency it is at the moment to turn the church off. If all could see that Rome is genuinely committed to a people-of-God partnership, the tomorrows could be a big improvement over the now for the church universally.

Labor's Political Kick - Still There?

A recent issue of the weekly newspaper of the St. Louis Labor Council devoted much of its front page to the visitation of Vice President Spiro Agnew to the annual fund-raising fete of the city's Republican party. The only thing which otherwise made noteworthy the banalities and vulgarities of the Agnew delivery was the Vice President's offer to "swap the whole damned zoo" of "uncivil disobedients" for a single platoon of young Americans in Vietnam.

Noting that an unusual representation of local AFL-CIO officials had sat down at the \$100-a-plate affair, the St. Louis Labor Tribune commented that Agnew "was well received and it seemed that many Democrats (labor people) were impressed with his well-delivered talk." The labor types contributed more than \$11,000 to the Republican effort, the paper added.

During the frustrating Spring and Summer of 1968 Gene McCarthy often complained of the "old labor buffaloes" whose presence within the machinery of the Democratic party precluded any real internal reform. They are still there, for the most part, and embittered about the events of that year which removed them from the stage-center of power. And while few of them might elect to demonstrate that they could be happy in the party of Nixon and Agnew, there may be cause for concern that labor might preside at a death watch for the coalition that has at least nominally held together the instruments of change in Congress for most of the last four decades.

Everyone is of course aware that the Democratic party is on hard times, looking not only for leadership and cash but something which it had always seemed to have cornered—issues. Inflation and pollution are on everyone's mind, yet the Administration has somehow unfurled the flag and sought to rally the critics—as long as they are around the President. This may be bad enough, but the Democrats seem to be playing the accommodation game in seeking to pursue only uncontroversial issues.

A stalemated and increasingly widening war in Southeast Asia, accelerating polarization among the races at home and an alarming increase in the call for both legal and extra-legal responses to dissent at home are priority issues and they are the crux of controversy. Yet the Democratic policy-makers have charted a course apparently directed to circumvent any discussion or positioning on these issues. And what better leadership for such a non-policy than Hubert Humphrey, the Presidential nominee who quoted St. Francis of Assisi while convention delegates and demonstrators alike were being worked over in the streets by police who ran riot (according to the findings of a Presidential Commission)?

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Old Politics Humphrey is still the old darling of the trade union politicos, and neither is yet anyone's fool. Despite the appearance of ineptitude in the eventual selection of Lawrence F. O'Brien as the new Democratic national chairman, the former Vice President is virtually assured to regain a seat in the Senate from Minnesota, his old stamping ground for a national forum. Those who smile at the seriousness of a Humphrey candidacy in 1972 are reminded that only ten years ago there was not a recognized political commentator in the country who thought that Richard Nixon was anything but an all-time loser.

Nor can the New Politics crowd dismiss the labor leaders as irrelevant. George Meany may offend them, but the facts of recent political warfare emphasize that it was a labor political machine which defused a crypto-fascist movement toward George Wallace in 1968 and which turned back the first Nixon bid for inadequacy on the Supreme Court in 1969 with the defeat of Clement Haynsworth in the Senate. So far, at least, labor has survived Richard Nixon with the most notable absence being the friendly calls and the invitations from the White House along with the payroller's trough. Coupled with a Humphrey in the Senate, it is reasonable to assume that a rerun of 1968 is being set up, outrageous though the suggestion may be to many in the party.

The fortunes of Hubert Humphrey and his labor friends are in many ways inextricably bound up with each other; their past shared glories still remain as the architecture for future strategies, however out of touch their critics may declare them to be with the realities of today. Irving Kristol recently suggested that the trade unions as institutions have "become that most dangerous of social phenomena: a boring topic," with a virtual absence of any serious scholarship toward them as contemporary apparatus for change and a contempt expressed by the young activists (and even malice: the social science journal *Transaction*, reporting on an attitude survey of returning black Vietnam veterans, found distrust of labor unions second only to the distrust of the police).

For despite the agonies of Chicago and the lessons of 1968, there is every reason to believe that a Humphrey-labor power-center might be one of the few viable ones within the party, given a continuation of the present vacuums due to an unassertive Congressional leadership and the political limbos or wanderings now shared by Senators McGovern, Kennedy and McCarthy. Maine's Senator Muskie again crops as the long-shot alternative, but few would call 1972 before the fortunes of this November are decided.

Meanwhile, there is little evidence to point toward reconciliation within the party. This year's elections for state and county committeemen in several states already suggest a counter-revolution against the McCarthy people who captured control of the party in various jurisdictions (and in some places such as Minnesota then sat on their incumbency and produced a sterile party), and the Com-

mission on Party Structure and Delegate Selection headed by McGovern found virtual non-cooperation among labor leaders in the Democratic apparatus.

The McGovern Commission found a predictable response to its hearings on party reform when one labor official declared it only a device "to give attention to those 'New Politics' nuts who helped lose the election for us." AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Lane Kirkland, often mentioned as being groomed by Meany to become his heir-apparent, has outlined the no-compromise line on hard ideological terms, declaring that labor may have to "concentrate on doing our own thing better and go it alone until the fads and playtoys change and we again suffer the embrace of the 'liberal intellectual community.'"

The AFL-CIO will not wander "down dead-end streets" or pursue "barren diversions," Kirkland continued, despite the state of disarray that is liberalism and the Democratic party. Acknowledging the need for unity of progressives, he remains apprehensive: "With the emergence of bug-out liberals, anti-labor liberals, anti-Semitic liberals and elite liberals—it is becoming more and more difficult to tell who really belongs on which team." One may conjecture that Kirkland's bug-outs and elites are Agnew's misfits and effetes, but the message is pointedly clear: the party was in power before the dissidents raised questions and talked issues; now it is out of power so do not expect labor to participate in remaking the party in the image of the "bug-outs."

John Corry's recent essay on George Meany in *Harper's* was a charitable yet penetrating assessment of the AFL-CIO chieftain, and the condition of Meany, is—like it or not—in many ways the current condition of labor. "The pity of it," Corry concludes, is that while labor might be "suffering from atrophy it may still be one of the best things around."

(Joe Hill is the pseudonym of a writer specializing in labor affairs.)

COMING

SAUL MALOFF writes in the Spring Book Issue about Leonard Woolf's autobiography:

"The subject, naturally, was the vicissitudes of a career and a sensibility at a particular time and place. Unlike some of the celebrated autobiographies (say Mill's or Gosse's or Rousseau's), the evolution of sensibility in Woolf's is not itself the issue. The completed self is there from the beginning, taken for granted, as his intelligence is: intelligence and sensibility are the qualities he writes out of, the sources of his authority; they inform the style, the things seen by it and the depth at which they are seen."



TORTURE

American public opinion, the Christian churches, and the academic community have a special responsibility to protest.

Ralph della Cava

BRAZIL

(Continued from front cover) Catholic country in the world, under a regime which forcibly seized power six years ago this month for the expressed purpose of returning a "corrupt" and "Red-menaced" nation to the "Christian and democratic traditions of the West." However, widespread and systematic use of torture by all levels of the government is the single and most significant new development in the worsening internal political crisis of Brazil. Indeed, torture has become today the handmaiden of oppression in the desperate effort of the Brazilian military to extinguish the remaining vestiges of opposition to their almost total control of the polity and society.

For several months now unimpeachable documentary evidence regarding numerous cases of torture has been available in Western Europe. In November, 1969, the Brussels-based International Association of Democratic Jurists issued a report, entitled *Brazil '69: Torture and Repression*. Although the publication was largely devoted to an analysis of how the new, loosely defined National Security Law (decreed in Sept., 1969) transforms almost any act of opposition to the present government into a crime against Brazil's "national security," it also reproduced several important documents and letters containing the names of about a hundred students, professionals and clergymen and a brief description of the tortures inflicted upon each.

Further reports of torture have been issued from Algiers by the "Brazilian Information Front," a clandestine group of Brazilian Marxists and Christians. If the anonymous character of these documents poses a problem of credibility for some readers, unassailable authenticity is the hall mark of the most widely publicized dossier on torture that was submitted to the Holy Father at the end of 1969 and endorsed for its reliability by sixty of Europe's prominent intellectuals and religious leaders. Given credence throughout France, Belgium and Italy, the dossier was published in the December issue of the Paris monthly, Croissance des Jeunes Nations. Entitled "Livre Noir: Terreur et Torture au Brésil," the dossier contains eleven separate documents. Two concern the cold-blooded murder in May, 1969, of Fr. Antonio Henrique Pereira Neto, a Northeastern priest working among university students, by army-condoned, rightwing terrorists; another is the public protest issued last July by 38 priests from Belo Horizonte against "the physical and moral outrages" continuously committed against imprisoned priests and laymen since December, 1968; other documents recount the tortures inflicted upon students, peasant leaders and a Belgian missionary priest summarily deported last August.

Three documents bear the signature of Recife's celebrated Archbishop, Dom Helder Câmara. In Rome last January 26, the outspoken prelate was received attentively at the Vatican's portals by Pope Paul VI who exclaimed in public to the Brazilian: "We have read the documentation you have sent Us concerning torture in Brazil. Thus, everything you told Us was true! The Church must know how to make its own the ire of the poor and non-violent, the revolt against injustice. The Church will tolerate no longer the commission of atrocities and tortures in a country that calls itself Christian."

Despite the Pope's indignation (transmitted in a dispatch from Maurice Cardinal Roy, head of the Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace, to Brazilian authori-

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ties who banned its publication), "the situation in Brazil today is considerably more serious than that observed in Greece last year." That opinion, made public at a Paris press conference on March 6th last by a spokesman from the International Federation of the Rights of Man and three other international legal and civil rights entities, is included in the third and most recent report on the Brazilian crisis (see Le Monde, March 8-9, 1970). The report is the result of a week-long mission conducted in Brazil by two French lawyers. Torture, they write, "has become systematic and universal." They suggest moreover, that avowals of the Minister of Justice to investigate any case of torture brought to his attention have been made hollow by the recent decree (issued February 11, 1970) governing "the censorship of licentious publications." The decree, purportedly aimed at curbing pornography, has effectively intimidated the remaining critical press from engaging in a new campaign against torture. Military authorities had silenced a previous campaign carried on in early December, 1969, by, among other means, arresting and jailing outspoken journalists.

II. Torturers & Tortured

From these three public sources now available, it is possible at this moment to take preliminary stock of some of the more important factors bearing on the employment of torture.

First of all, it is important to ask just when and how torture became widely employed as an instrument of repression. Most observers are inclined to date this phenomenon from about December, 1968. That month, "hard-line" officers within the Brazilian army pulled off a successful "coup within a coup." The late President, Army marshal Arthur Costa e Silva, was forced to close down the Federal Congress, while the executive branch was again empowered to deprive at will any political opponent of his political rights for ten years.

The victory of the "hard-liners," advocates since the 1964 coup of abolishing all democratic pretenses and handing the country over to outright military rule, went far deeper, however, than most observers then perceived. Today, it is clear that their victory has severely curtailed the influence of the few remaining moderates and "soft-liners" within the armed services. Moreover, the succession of arbitrary laws enacted with impunity after the December 13, 1968 shutting-down of Congress along with the decree of a new constitution in October, 1969, has granted the military rulers virtually unlimited power. For these reasons, most former restraints on the use of torture have all but completely disappeared.

Some may wish to trace the sanctioning of torture to the existence and proliferation of sporadic rightist terrorism prior to December, 1968. Indeed, groups of local and national scope, such as the Communist-Hunting Command, the Death Squadron, and Operation Bandeirante, came into existence over the past three years with, it is widely believed, the complicity of "hardline" military authorities. Membership in these vigilante groups continues to draw heavily upon local police officials (the two torturers of Sister Maurina, for example, are members of Operation Bandeirante) and upon civilian elements who share a kind of "populist" resentment against middle-class politicians whether "liberal" or "radical." But, the emergence of the rightist terrorist groups was not spontaneous. Indeed, they seem to have swung into action as surrogates for the "hard-line" officers precisely at that moment in mid-year, 1968, when popular aspirations had found greater public expression under the liberalizing policies of deposed President Costa e Silva. Now that the "hard-line" itself is victorious, the right-wing terrorists will probably be restrained (although their organizations not completely dismantled), while the purge of all opposition forces can now proceed with the sanction of the "law" within the very barracks and encampments of the armed forces.

A second consideration concerns the victims of torture. There is no exact number, but it would probably not be an exaggeration to state that more than 500 persons were tortured during 1969. (This estimate is most likely low since following the release of kidnapped U.S. Ambassador C. Burke Elbrick last September, over 5000 persons—2000 in Rio alone—had been rounded up and held prisoners for varying lengths of time.) Among the tortured are men and women, whose average age—which the French investigating mission calculated this March from among the more than 10,000 persons still imprisoned—is 22 years!

Obviously, university students and, in recent months, significant numbers of high school students are the chief victims. Most are of affluent, middle-class backgrounds and as a group they comprise the one social category whose democratic efforts to secure civil liberties and promote a free public debate on national issues have been repeatedly met with utter violence. Since the 1964 coup, the army has forcibly prevented students from reconstituting the National Union of Students. During the first half of 1968, thousands of students were jailed after spontaneous street marches to 'end the dictatorship' in several cities proved to have the overwhelming support of the populace. Police repression was so severe in June 1968 that the month is today remembered as "Bloody June." Finally, in April, 1969, almost a hundred professors at the universities of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, the last remaining public defenders of the students, were forced into "voluntary retirement." In a word, the regime has boxed students into the one option left to them: namely, to regroup as a clandestine

The very prospect that young people may have no

recourse but to spend the rest of their lives under a Brazilian variant of "Salazarist democracy" has also compelled some students to join one of a half-dozen guerrilla groups. These arose in response to government repression and rightist terrorism which, in turn, have convinced the guerrillas that "institutionalized violence," imposed by the military, can only be met by armed struggle. Even so, the sensational kidnappings of a U.S. and Japanese diplomat (in September, 1969, and March, 1970, respectively), the most successful guerrilla activities to date, did not have counter-violence as a chief aim. To the contrary, the guerrillas' main goals were first to free their brethren from imprisonment and the brutality of the torturer's chamber and, second, to force the regime to publicize in a rigidly censored press information about political torture and prisoners for a public that can only conjecture about the worsening national condition.

With the student movement and universities in shambles, it is no wonder that reprisals against students have been merciless. The brutal death last November of the 23-year-old São Paulo medical student, Chael Charles Schreier, was attributed to severe internal hemorrhaging clearly the consequence of violent beatings inflicted during the few hours he was held in custody by the Army Police at the Vila Militar in Rio de Janeiro. The death of Schreier, a member of the guerrilla Vanguarda Armada Revolucionária-Grupo Palmares and a Jew, has convinced Brazilians of the army's direct role as torturer, while it also suggested in some circles the possible revival of anti-Semitism within the Brazilian armed forces.

Clergymen, mostly Roman Catholics, have been the second largest target of oppression and torture. Those who have exercised an apostolate in university student circles and are thus usually more progressive—and suspect—were ready targets from the outset. Next in line were those priests and nuns who—whether they concurred or not with aims sought by some student guerrillas—felt compelled by Christian charity and justice to offer sanctuary and protection from arrest and

imprisonment. Finally there were those churchmen, especially those of the Dominican and Jesuit orders, who as Brazilian intellectuals were considered to be hostile to the authoritarianism of the military rulers.

In moving against the clergy, the military has made no distinction between foreigners and nationals. During 1969, suspected Belgian, French, and American missionaries were arrested, some tortured, almost all deported. Nationals may even be less fortunate than their foreign confreres whose anguished cries have at last been heard on the other side of the Atlantic.

Neither has the military distinguished between low and high clergy. In late 1968 and early 1969, a typical assault on Dom Helder's archdiocesan residence consisted of machine-gun bursts and hostile grafitti. Since the latter part of 1969, the assaults have become more direct and menacing, precisely because they are "legal." A case in point involves Dom Waldyr Calheiros, the 46-year-old bishop of Volta Redonda, Brazil's steelmill city; he and eleven of his priests issued a letter in July, 1969, accusing a local army unit of torturing a trade union leader of the diocese. The army held a hearing, denied the charge and condemned Dom Waldyr as an agitator! On December 4, 1969, a military court indicted the bishop and fifteen of his priests on the charge of subversion. Their trial is now pending.

The Roman Catholic church, of course, is the last remaining corporate structure capable of defying the government. Like the military, it is organized on a nationwide level, enjoys some degree of esprit de corps and, since Vatican Council II, is accustomed to speaking via its National Council of Bishops to the nation on national issues. Its ideological cleavages are profound, but inasmuch as the positions of the more liberal spokesmen have been legitimated by Vatican Council II and the 1968 Medellin Conference of the Latin American Episcopal Council, the views of the more conservative and pro-military ecclesiastics have been generally subdued.

For some of these reasons, it is likely that the military will exercise caution in its efforts to silence the liberal

Following are excerpts from a document of the "Brazilian Information Front." The original cites torturers by name.

The prisoners . . . were sent to Guanabara (First Company of the Army—Military Police) on August 18, 1969. . . . After being beaten they were thrown into two tiled cells . . . 2 x 2 meters in area where they remained naked for 74 days without the minimum conditions of hygiene.

The first two nights after their arrival, the prisoners were not allowed to sleep, were made to stand for 96 hours and from time to time were squirted all over with a hose of cold water. On two occasions bombs of tear gas were thrown into their cell and they nearly died of suffocation. . . .

In September, 1969, Murilo Pinto da Silva was tortured at the PE with electric shocks, beaten with a wooden rod, punched and kicked for four hours without interruption.

Pedro Paulo Bretas—hung by the pau de arara, beaten with a rod, given electric shocks, had his fingers squeezed for two days and two nights by small iron bars 20 cm. in length.

Angelo Pezzuti da Silva—given electric shocks and beaten with a wooden rod. At a certain point he was unable to bear the torture any longer and flung himself against the windowpane in the room; he cut himself in several places and fainted. He was

(Continued on next page)

wing of the church. Not a few officers who view with favor the existence of a substantial conservative majority among Brazil's 250 bishops argue it is still possible to woo the church to their own side. At the very least they would shy away from directly attacking the institutional character of the church for fear of losing conservative episcopal support. Furthermore, Brazil's diplomatic ties to the Vatican and the common interest of each in such issues as the continuation of Catholic religious education in Brazil's public schools, and the legal proscription against divorce in Brazil, may well outweigh the strong personal friendship between Paul VI and liberal champion, Dom Helder Câmara. Progressive prelates and "hard-line" officers alike are looking forward to the Pope's pending visit to Brasília in May 1970 for the Eighth National Eucharistic Congress. How this visit will enter into the three-way powerplay of generals, bishops and the papacy, is still a matter for speculation.

A third category comprises the intellectuals—the publishers, writers and professors, the lawyers and journalists who had managed to escape the punitive waves of 1964 and 1966-67 when the military "legally" deprived many citizens of their political rights for ten years or forced many others into exile. Now, however, some leading publishers such as Enio Silveira, director of Brazil's major publishing house, Editôra Civilização Brasileira, have been brought to the brink of bankruptcy by government confiscation of "subversive" literature after it reaches the bookstores. Leading writers such as Antonio Callado and university professors by the hundreds live under constant threat of investigation, military trials, firings and physical outrage. Terror silences even those who have dared to remain at home.

Journalists and lawyers, however, have recently begun to bear the brunt of repression. Publicists and defenders of torture victims, they have themselves become victims. It is true that three journalists charged with crimes against national security for publicizing cases of torture were acquitted at the end of March. But, harassment from legal procedures will serve to reduce the number of ready advocates among the Brazilian fourth estate. The plight of lawyers has been a matter of international record since November, 1969.

Workers and peasants would rightly be expected to comprise the last category of victims. Except for some instances, this has not been the case. The reasons are quite obvious. Peasant organizations, confined primarily to the Northeast, had been led by middle- and upper-class politicians. Their exile or imprisonment (after the army seized power in 1964) resulted in the immediate collapse of scattered and none too numerous rural affiliates. Some genuine peasant leaders who survived (primarily among the less political, Catholic-sponsored Rural Syndicates) were either unobtrusively assassinated, politically neutralized or patriarchially coopted into the already existing system.

Similarly for workers, repression began six years ago and with a vengeance unknown in the rural areas. For union officials audacious enough to have advocated labor radicalism during the Goulart presidency, arrest, imprisonment, torture, execution and exile came on the heels of the 1964 military coup. Moreover, military "interventors" were appointed as overseers in over 2000 of the country's most powerful industrial unions, while the American Institute of Free Labor Development (an A F of L operation financed partly by America's largest corporation with Latin American holdings) and representatives of the ORIT (a pro-American regional trade union confederation in Latin America) virtually took over the indoctrination of the Brazilian rank and file. This control of labor by the army and foreigners as well as recent legislation banning strikes may explain why the defense of labor's rights has frequently fallen to the churchmen in many of Brazil's largest industrial centers such as Santo André (automobiles) and Volta Redonda (steel). But, as the case of Dom Waldyr indicates, there are dire consequences for workers and their defenders who choose to speak out.

Any attempt to calculate just how many torture victims there have been will depend on how the observer defines torture. Father Jean Talpe of the diocese of

(Continued from previous page) taken to the Military Hospital at the vila where he received stitches on his back and arm. His admittance to the hospital was noted on the register there.

Afonso Celso Lara Leite—given electric shocks, punches and tele-phones during several hours by Sgt. A, who continued to administer the electric shocks even after the interrogation was over in order to observe the interesting contractions which the

shocks produced on Afonso Celso's body.

Julio Antonio Betancourt de Almeida—was hung from the pau de arara, given electric shocks, telephones, beaten with a rod and had a truncheon forced up his anus.

On October 8, a class was held at the PE for a group of about 100 members of the three armed forces, the majority with the rank of sergeant, to give instructions on interrogations. Before starting, Mauricio was given electric shocks to see if the apparatus was working well, as Corpl. M. said.
... While slides [were projected] to explain the type of torture, its characteristics and effects, [six officials] tortured the prisoners in front of the members of the class, as a live demonstration of the various methods of tortures employed. Mauricio was given electric shocks... Zézinho was hung from the pau de arara... Nilo Sérgio was made to hold weights with his arms stretched out...

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Bruges, Belgium, who lived four years in Brazil and in January, 1969, was arrested, jailed for six months, tortured and deported, indirectly suggested this issue in an interview he gave upon his release last August to the Belgian Catholic Press Service:

A friend of mine, a professor at the university, was hung naked head down and in this position was worked over for hours with clubs and electric shocks to the most sensitive parts of the body. A young lady whom he didn't know was forced to witness this 'spectacle' and shortly thereafter, in his presence, was dealt with in exactly the same shameful way.

What if the young lady had not been stripped, hung and beaten but been made only to observe the fate of the professor as has indeed been the lot of countless relatives and friends of actual victims? Who, it might be asked, has been tortured? Where the safety of friends and loved ones is suddenly made to hang in the balance, has not the torturing of one victim served to strike terror into the hearts of the others? Where society rather than a single onlooker is made to witness the regime's brutality, is it not then the purpose of the torturer to enslave society in fear?

III. Instrument of National Policy

From all available evidence, torture in Brazil is today an instrument of national policy whose purpose is not to seek information about "subversives," but to bring to heel all and any opposition to the present rule of the armed forces. First of all, the techniques of torture are no longer limited to beatings, pistol whippings, clubbings and the spontaneous violences of individual police anger and sadism. They are increasingly more sophisticated and complicated and, as such, require both considerable personnel and organization for their implementation. Here is a brief description, based on a variety of documents from all parts of Brazil, of the three most common tortures:

1. pau de arara (parrot's perch): the victim is handcuffed and his arms placed over his legs which are bent up close to the chest. A long pole is inserted in the cavity formed between his knee and arms. The pole is raised horizontally above the ground and thus the victim, usually naked, hangs head down. In this position, he can be beaten, clubbed, subjected to electric shocks or "hydraulics" (water poured down his nostrils) and other cruelties.

2. mesa de operação (the operating table): the victim is strapped to an iron table equipped with a gadget that stretches the body; a surgical probe is used to scrape the ribs.

3. choques elétricos (electric shocks): the victim is usually forced to strip before wires are attached to the most sensitive parts of the body and even

inserted into the orifices. Electric current is discharged from an apparatus that is most usually described as a manually-cranked, box-like generator, not unlike a field telephone.

Second, identical tortures are employed in different parts of the country, though the greatest similarity is found in the famous southeastern triangle of Guanabara (Rio de Janeiro), São Paulo and Minas Gerais, the most developed states in Brazil and centers of greatest criticism against the regime.

Third, the three branches of the armed services (army, navy and air force) appear to have played an increasingly larger role coordinating and supervising the torturing of political prisoners. Those tasks usually fell and continue partly to fall upon local and state police agents especially trained in "criminal investigation" and "intelligence work." These indeed still appear to be the actual torturers. However, innumerable documents confirm that several dozen officers from the three branches of the armed forces (but especially the army) are directly in charge of torture activities in such important sites as the Linhares Penitentiary in Belo Horizonte, the Ilha das Flores prison and the Vila Militar, both in Rio de Janeiro.

Moreover, there is evidence that the three services have jointly conducted formal courses in "interrogation" for their junior officers. In one such class held on October 8, 1969, at the State Police headquarters in Belo Horizonte, an army lieutenant showed slides of torturings and lectured the assembly about each type of torture, its characteristics and its effects. Moments before, ten male political prisoners had been marched into the classroom and forced to strip. One by one, they were tortured by corporals and privates in a "live" demonstration before the almost 100 officer-students in attendance.

What are the prospects that the present government will put an end to the use of torture and terror as an instrument of state policy (to say nothing of restoring elections, political parties, freedom of the press, speech, assembly and 'habeas corpus')? When General Emílio G. Médici, a compromise candidate and the third general to rule Brazil since 1964, assumed power in October, 1969, ten months after the internal coup against Costa e Silva, he made a number of promises, chief among them that by the end of his administration in 1974, he intended "to leave democracy definitely installed in our country, as well as fixed bases for our social and economic development."

Less than six months had passed when Médici's "democratic vision" was, under the relentless pressure of "hard-line" officers, cast aside by the proclamation of the "revolutionary state." On March 10, 1970, the general took to the air waves and explained to his fellow Brazilians that the "revolutionary state" signified the decision of the military dictatorship, now in posses-

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sion of unlimited discretionary powers, to continue in office for "as long as it takes" to remake Brazil according to its own lights.

It does not appear that torture and terror will end soon. The methods and techniques of torture, as shown earlier, have already been "rationalized" and legitimated into the military structure. Moreover, the newly proclaimed "revolutionary state," resting firmly on such arbitrary legal instruments as the Constitution of 1969 and the censorship laws of February, 1970, allows the victims of torture almost no recourse before the law (unlike Greece where victims seem recently to have obtained judicial redress).

Finally, there is a more cogent argument why terror will likely remain the order of the day and why Brazil may embark upon the path already traveled by Spain and Portugal, Italy and Germany in another era. It is simply that those who are now in power have accomplished their ascent by the unbridled use of violence against civilians and dissident fellow officers alike. The regime is thus obliged to defend its monopoly of power by continued violence; in doing so, it has created the conditions by which counter-violence may eventually become the only effective recourse available to the oppressed. In sum, unless "soft-line" officers can somehow come to exert in the future a more liberalizing influence on policy than they have since December, 1968, the present regime's political course can only lead to increasingly violent antagonisms within Brazilian society.

In view of the wide-scale tortures and the increasingly fascist militarization of Brazil, what explains the official silence of the United States government? Had any of the incidents alluded to here occurred in Castro's Cuba or some Eastern European nation, Washington would have long ago condemned the outrage. Its silence is a resounding reaffirmation of its policy of complicity in regard to Brazil.

Lincoln Gordon, now president of Johns Hopkins University, was the architect of that policy. As U.S. ambassador at the time of the military coup of 1964, Professor Gordon persuaded the Johnson Administration to recognize the new regime "within 24 hours, even though the regime's policies were largely unknown." Then, as the military junta proceeded to purge the universities, the student movement, the trade unions, the press, congress and government ministries as well as deny three expresidents and hundreds of other citizens their political rights for ten years, Dr. Gordon did not once raise his voice in protest. It was his view that the military coup might well be considered ". . . the single most decisive victory for freedom in the mid-20th century." Thereupon, massive quantities of U.S. aid, loans and investments were bestowed upon the victors.

The Gordon precedent appeared so well established that Governor Nelson Rockefeller returned from his tour of Brazil in June, 1969 (one month after the assassination of Father Henrique Neto) without condemning a single act of violence perpetrated over the previous five years by the military regime. In fact, he was so favorably impressed with the generals, he recommended that commercial arms sales be increased to all Latin American countries and that unqualified support be given to programs aimed at curbing "internal subversion."

IV. The U.S. and Public Opinion

In view of recent events in Brazil, the Rockefeller recommendation raises the question whether the U.S. Government has not been directly involved in Brazil's internal affairs and whether it is not now engaged in the Brazilian armed forces' "counter-insurgency" activities? Until three weeks ago, these questions had not come to the attention of the American public. But a Washington Post editorial against "Oppression in Brazil" on February 28 has resulted in significant disclosures. At first, the Brazilian ambassador in the capital deplored the Post's suggestion that "the United States should abandon its continued and close relations with Brazil," while Dean Acheson argued in a separate letter that a nation's internal policies, even if dictatorial, did not make her "any less a true and loyal ally."

Acheson's March 3 letter, in which he also urged the U.S. to continue to support such "allies, neighbors and friends [as] Greece, Haiti, Brazil, Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia . . .," was followed ten days later by one of the most revealing indictments of U. S. policy in Brazil. Its author is Richard S. Winslow, Jr., a Foreign Service Reserve Officer with the Agency for International Development whose expenditures in Brazil for "economic development" rose from \$15.1 million in 1964 (the year of the coup) to an estimated \$187 million in

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1970. Winslow, however, suggests that AID funds may not be going for "economic development," but "to increase the efficiency of [Brazil's] oppressive police force...":

"... during fiscal year 1970, the State Department's Agency for International Development is spending \$451,000 on its 'public safety' program in Frazil; \$292,000 is now paying for 13 U.S. police specialists residing in Brazil and helping to train thousands of Brazilian police in 'criminal investigations,' 'counter-insurgency,' and the use of the most modern police equipment. AID boasts that in fiscal year 1968, 16,000 Brazilian police were trained under this program, with the number increasing each successive year. Another \$129,000 is being spent this year to bring 58 police officials to the United States for an average of four months training in the latest police techniques."

Of the many implications contained in Winslow's letter, the most obvious is that Washington's silence is a matter of fundamental policy. Its refusal to condemn torture, terror and repression does not stem, as Acheson would have us believe, from the necessity to tolerate the "peccadillos" of a "true and loyal ally." Rather, such a rebuke would be *ipso facto* a self-condemnation of Washington's Brazil policy.

Since governments are clearly not in the business of condemning themselves, what of public opinion? The Europeans (and recently the Chileans) have raised a public hue and cry. But the Americans have not. The Brazilian tragedy has not touched their conscience. Yet public opinion will have an effect not in Paris, Rome or Santiago—capitals to which the Brazilian regime pays scant heed—but in Washington.

Accordingly, it might be well here to delineate areas of immediate concern to three sectors of American public opinion whose interests are linked to Brazil's destiny; namely, the press, the churches and the academic community.

The American press should break its editorial silence about torture in Brazil. The Brazilian regime tends to be more sensitive to the *New York Times*' criticisms than to *Le Monde*'s. The American press should also give more attention to the arrest and imprisonment of journalists and to the imposition, since February, of

In February 1970, a group of writers, scholars, religious leaders and other friends of Brazil met in New York City and founded the American Committee for Information on Brazil. The Committee has just published a documentary dossier about the present crisis, entitled *Terror in Brazil*. Free copies are available from: American Committee for Information on Brazil, Post Office Box 1091, New York, N.Y. 10027.

censorship. Finally, the implications in Winslow's letter to the *Post* should be relentlessly pursued: were any of the 16,000 Brazilian police agents trained by AID in "counter-insurgency" in 1968 responsible for the massive repression of 1969? Have any of the 13 U.S. "police specialists" now residing in Brazil taken part in torturing Brazilian political prisoners? Lastly, is there any real danger that over-all U.S. policies in Brazil might involve the nation in a Latin American "Indochina"?

A greater moral duty belongs to the Christian churches, Brazil being at once the largest Catholic nation in the world and the largest Protestant nation in Latin America. Moreover, countless numbers of laymen and clergy, primarily but not exclusively Catholic, have been victimized, and in several cases, murdered. Surprisingly, the Brazilian Catholic church, once a mainstay of the status quo, has emerged for a variety of reasons as the only national institution that remains capable of defending the principles of freedom, justice and social change in the face of government repression. Yet, neither the U.S. Catholic Conference nor the National Council of Churches has really called its flock's attention to the crisis facing the Brazilian churches (and, in an ecumenical spirit, to the potential rise of anti-Semitism towards Brazil's 150,000 Jews). Today, it is urgent that the Considines and Cushings, the MacKays and Rembaos call once again for a crusade of "40,000 missionaries." Send them forth not to evangelize Brazil, but rather to make known in Washington their dissent from the government's policy of complicity.

Finally, the academic community, including students but above all teachers and scholars of Latin America, must throw off its narrowly professional timidity in approaching the Brazilian tragedy. The scholarly community acted with honor when it spoke up in April 1969 against the firing of almost a hundred Brazilian professors and more recently on behalf of a well-known historian. But, as scholars of Brazil, the academic community knows full well that labor, student, religious and many other sectors of society have been purged, often most severely, for six consecutive years. The April, 1970, meeting of the nation-wide, interdisciplinary Latin American Studies Association in Washington affords those who genuinely know the facts of the Brazilian tragedy a chance to call them to the attention of the nation at large.

Just a decade ago, the Brazilian people were buoyant with hope and optimism about their future. Now, in the tightening grip of tyranny, the nation is being mercilessly divided into two camps. Shall Brazil be plunged into a full-scale civil war? It is highly unlikely in the immediate future; indeed, may she be spared such a fate. But, if it should come to that, where will American public opinion stand? Where will Washington? Can we look forward to a new Vietnam on an incalculably larger scale? The answers may soon be forthcoming.

GAMES CORPORATIONS PLAY

Yes, Virginia, there is a military-industrial complex

STEVEN V. ROBERTS

A visit to a large aerospace firm can be a very unsettling experience. I recently spent several days at the Boeing Company in Seattle—a card-carrying member of the military-industrial complex—and I came away with a number of troublesome impressions.

The first is that we really have been sold the Big Lie on the arms race. There they are in full-color brochures—rockets, missiles, bombers—all of them junk. Billions and billions of dollars to make them and they will never be used. If they ever are, we'll all be dead. Seeing all those acronyms come to life, all those news pictures and stories you never read, shocks you into realizing the monstrosity of it all. There really are Merchants of Death! They make Dr. Strangelove look like a piker—only they don't talk in funny accents and come on like demented maniacs. They're average, tweedy, home-loving, boat-sailing guys, and they sell death for a living. They could just as easily be selling soap powder (with phosphates that pollute water).

The second impression is of tremendous lassitude and waste. Boeing is known in Seattle as "The Lazy B" and you can see why. The government (actually, only onethird of Boeing's business is for the government, although some firms reach 90 percent) will tolerate sloppiness that no commercial client would ever accept. Costs run over? Mendel Rivers will get you the dough. One woman I talked to said she would never buy Boeing stock after working there. Her views echoed discussions I had last summer with workers dropped by McDonnell-Douglas after the Defense Department canceled the Manned Orbital Laboratory program. "As a taxpayer," several people told me, "I was outraged at the waste in the program." Rigid security required high-trained personnel to spend up to 75 percent of their time filling out various forms. Moreover, security prevented any contact between people working on MOL, an Air Force project, and a similar project presided over by NASA. Two groups, working on the same problems, with the public footing both bills—just so the Air Force could soothe its pride and stay in the space business.

The third, and probably the most important impression, is that we have created a Frankenstein in the aerospace industry. And all this talk about "redirecting pri-

orities" will be far more difficult than it sounds—maybe impossible.

The aerospace industry consists of huge compleemploying millions of workers. We have created a v interest in the arms race and space exploration that less powerful or devilish than our vested interest etnam. We have made commitments and now we . get out of them. Indeed, Vietnam is probably easier problem. We can load up our troops and get . and all we would lose is face. But how can we p oeing out of Seattle? Or any one of dozens of firms out of Southern California? I recently heard a radio report quoting a Senator about the financial troubles of Lockheed, which now wants \$600 million from the government to stay solvent. "It's like having a dinosaur in your backyard that demands enormous quantities of food," the Senator said. "When you threaten not to feed him, he says, 'What are you going to do with a dead dinosaur in your backyard?"

One is tempted to say "bury it," but obviously that is not a feasible alternative. For one thing, it is not just a few corporate executives (many of them ex-military officers) who profit from the bloated defense budget. Cutbacks in military spending have a sharp and immediate impact on a huge chunk of the work force. Boeing's commercial aircraft business has been dropping and it was counting on military contracts to pick up the slack. But with appropriations delayed, the company has had to lay off 33,000 workers in the Seattle area alone in the last 18 months. The whole area is headed toward recession. Automobile dealers are closing, housing starts are plummeting. The unemployment rate is pushing 6 percent, and some economists think it will reach 8 percent.

These very real human problems only add force to the arguments of politicians and military men who have their own reasons for maintaining the level of defense spending. (I keep thinking of a sign that appeared in a dormitory at West Point when Vietnam started heating up: "War is our business and business is good.") The fact remains that those hunks of hardware in those glossy brochures are pillars of the national economy. Without them the whole edifice could crumble.

How the interests of the workers coincide with those of the politicians and the generals is illustrated by the SuperSonic Transport (SST). Officials give two basic

STEVEN V. ROBERTS is the Los Angeles bureau chief for the New York Times.

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rationales for pushing ahead with an incredibly stupid project that will pollute the air with more noise for the insignificant gain of two hours of flying time across the Atlantic. First is national prestige. The British and French have teamed up to build one version of the SST, Russia is building another. Therefore, we have to have one. The second is the balance of payments problem. If we have to buy SST's abroad, it is argued, our gold outflow will increase. (Of course we could better afford that outflow if we weren't spending so much on the military in Vietnam, Europe and elsewhere—that is, if we want SST's at all.) So President Nixon, under the prodding of Senator Henry Jackson (known in Seattle as "the Senator from Boeing") and others, has approved the SST. For in addition to enhancing prestige and stemming the gold drain, the SST would also provide thousands of jobs all over the country. Without it, many of those men would be out of work. The dinosaur-and engineers-must be fed.

Or take the B-1, the huge new bomber now being planned by the Pentagon. Now we need a new bomber as much as an outbreak of bubonic plague. But Boeing is counting heavily on the B-1 to get it out of the red. And recently 100 small areospace contractors in Southern California bought a full-page ad in the Los Angeles Times begging the Defense Department to give the contract to a California company. Otherwise, they said, they face annihilation.

What is the answer? One obvious one is diversification. The huge factories which dot the California landscape could build mass transit systems as easily as they build rockets. But here the companies are playing a pretty cagey game. If they did diversify, then the pressure to increase military spending would be reduced. Thus they are in no hurry. When I asked an official at Boeing why the company did not diversify, he answered with a look of consummate condescension. He then made it clear that the company would much rather deal with the Pentagon and its loval Congressional allies than the Department of Transportation, for example, and the uncertain political support for mass transit. "Everybody talks about these other businesses," he said, "but no one is coming around with the checkbook. In any case, none of these ideas will solve our immediate problems. They're talking about building a mass transit system here in Seattle, but even if they started today, they wouldn't need the hardware for eight years."

In the end, therefore, the only answer is government action, of two kinds. The first is the carrot and the stick approach. Guarantee these huge companies a market—for housing, for subway cars, for anti-pollution devices—comparable to the aerospace market. Big business will never act like a charity; it will only do what pays. At the same time, they can be prodded to diversify when it is made clear that the military budget is not infinitely expandable, that no matter what the difficulties involved,

we are just not going to keep building SST's and B-1's. Maybe the only real solution, as J. K. Galbraith has said, is nationalization of the aerospace industry.

At the same time, the government must be willing to accept the responsibility for the enormous dislocations that would result from any sharp reduction in military spending. That means unemployment compensation, guaranteed incomes, job training. Even a well-planned shift in expenditures from war to peace would involve large lags. For this reason, perhaps more than any other, I remain pessimistic. The military-industrialists might be too large and unwieldy to be affected by mere mortals. Their political and even ideological power can be counteracted. But their greatest strength is their sheer size and inertia. What do you do with a dead dinosaur in your backyard?

JESTER SONG AT TWILIGHT

THE STAGE

When the opening of Art Buchwald's Sheep on the Runway (at the Helen Hayes) was followed shortly by Jules Feiffer's The White House Murder Case (at the Circle in the Square) several of the more serious reviewers commented on the sudden burst of satire, noting how desperately that genre was needed today but how, alas, neither of these plays quite satisfied the want. I agree that there are weaknesses in both plays, but it is the central assumption of that criticism which I doubt. It is based on a definition of satire in which the genre is a cleansing mechanism, a theatrical or literary device which, by ridiculing political or social mores, forces the audience to see behavior in a rational perspective that leads to necessary change, beneficent reform. I have always suspected that the advocates of medicinal art, from Sir Philip Sidney to Bertolt Brecht, have overstated the case. Still, at times satire can be a sane voice in a troubled world, a base point for those who want to keep their heads when all about them . . . as Kipling so unsatirically put it. Today, however, satire is a kind of poor relation, pushed into an uncomfortable corner by an actuality that is not only monumentally and horrifyingly inane—as it always was—but which displays itself readily on television and in the daily newspapers. How can Buchwald and Feiffer hope to equal the TV interview with the mother of one of the GI's charged with the Songmy massacre, a bewildered black woman who complains of white duplicity, shocked that her son is under attack for doing what is expected of him-killing those people so we can take the land. How can their invention touch that of the White House publicity staff when it explains that - DON ONI 137 p PG/121

For Timely Insights

Do the fighting in Laos and the coup in Cambodia signalize a widening of the Vietnam war, and American involvement, or could they lead to negotiations and an over-all Indochinese settlement? What are the educational and employment prospects for our country's black community under present Washington policies? Which current developments most affect the tensions between freedom and authority in the church? Week by week Commonweal provides insights on questions such as these.

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a man who fires back when he is under attack, destroying one of the enemy before he himself is killed, is not a combat loss. How even can they approach a confrontation like that of Jerry Rúbin on the Dick Cavett show, meeting an old radical buddy turned reactionary, riding over him with predictable rhetoric and, then, becoming properly quiet for the commercial.

Now that the Laotian mess is no longer a secret, the AID cover for CIA operations a matter of record and the Cambodian government arse over teakettle, the Buchwald play is even more timely than it was when it opened in February. The playwright has managed to get almost everything into Nonomura, his fictional Himalavan country—a CIA-inspired revolution, an accidental bombing, a hardware-peddling general, a panacea-peddling AID man, a Throttlebottom of an ambassador, a student revolutionary, a self-congratulatory columnist bird-dogging Red threats and toppling dominoes. Yet, there is no anger, no bite, no toughness in the play; any laughter that it invokes is indulgent. Like a Buchwald column, the play is harmless. For instance, the portrait of Joseph Alsopdenied on all sides—which should be merciless, is good clean fun, an insider's game. I was reminded of Yevgeny Yevtushenko's article on Robert Kennedy's 42nd birthday party in which he described Buchwald as a "well-fed tomcat that, nonetheless, from time to time, loves to dig his claws into those who pet him." Even if the material in Sheep on the Runway were not overshadowed by reality, its implicit satire would be softened by virtue of Buchwald's position as Washington's resident wit. His barbs do not wound; they only scratch surfaces and cause dinner invitations to sprout.

The White House Murder Case is finally not much more effective than Sheep on the Runway, although it tries to be both funnier and harsher. It, too, has its limited war (in Brazil) and its collection of technological and political evils-nerve gas and an image-conscious cabinet. It juxtaposes the battlefield with the White House, suggesting a mutual cause-effect in action and language, but the White House scene-like so many of Feiffer's cartoons—are more plausible than penetrating, and the battle scenes with their polite chatter about legs and arms dropping off are neither funny nor horrible. Reviewers generally described the play as a gathering of disconnected scenes and ideas, but I suspect that it is more of a piece than it at first seems. After all Little Murders, which elicited the same kind of criticism, is a tightly made play, its disparate turns held together by strong thematic threads. The difficulty for me was not that the twin build—to the murder in the jungle and to the covering up of murder in the White House-seemed like separate actions, but that the climax in both cases was empty theatrically, rhetorical gestures that suggested nothing but Feiffer's striking an attitude. The play was redolent with sincerity, but Feiffer's sincere satire, like Buchwald's lovable satire, somehow ends as a kind of

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acceptance, a way of coping by domesticating the unbearable.

My negative response to the two plays is probably a little unfair. There are good performances in both plays. And a number of funny bits. The moment of benign lunacy in *Sheep on the Runway* when Richard Castellano as the deposed prince reaches eagerly for the phone, hoping to talk to the President: "Oh, let *me* speak to Pat." The slapstick scene in the Feiffer play in which the

blind, paralyzed general flounders dignifiedly amidst the churning feet and fists of the frightened cabinet. My amusement in the first instance was cheerful, in the second, demonic, but in neither case was my laughter a weapon. Yevtushenko, who ought to know since he is one of Moscow's well-fed tomcats, might have been speaking about Feiffer as much as Buchwald when he said that a "tamed accuser" is more useful than frightening to men in power.

GERALD WEALES

BOOKS

Daniel Berrigan winds the spring tighter

The Trial of the Catonsville Nine

DANIEL BERRIGAN

Beacon Press, \$5.95

Trial Poems

DANIEL BERRIGAN & TOM LEWIS

Beacon Press, \$17.50

JAMES FINN

On May 17, 1968 nine people entered local draft board number 33 in Catonsville, Maryland, placed hundreds of individual draft files in wire baskets, carried them out to a parking lot and set them afire with homemade napalm.

On October 5-9, 1968 in a Baltimore Federal Court, Philip Berrigan, Daniel Berrigan, Thomas Lewis, James Darst, John Hogan, Marjorie Melville, Thomas Melville, George Mische, and Mary Moylan were judged guilty of destroying U.S. property, of destroying Selective Service records and interfering with the Selective Service Act of 1967. Their appeal to the Supreme Court has been turned down and by the time these words are printed they may be in jail, serving sentences that range from three to six years.

Respublica locuta, causa finita est. Is this the case? The defendants have had a fair and impartial trial, have been judged guilty and now, as felons, can serve out their sentences while the nation, and the rest of us, can go about

our daily business secure in the small knowledge that their present fate will dissuade other dissenters from equally foolish acts? Alas, I fear not. What has gone before may yet prove only prologue, the greater events and the greater meaning gradually unfolding in the months and years to come.

Judging by these two books, this is what the defendants themselves foresee. As Daniel Berrigan writes in his Introduction to The Trial, "this work had but one purpose therefore: to wind the spring tighter," the spring, of course, being all that was comprehended in the act of burning the draft files, all that the defendants attempted to introduce into the trial, all that they feared the legal procedures would obscure. In a quite different way the book he produced with Lewis does the same thing. Trial Poems is a handsome, outsize facsimile edition of drawings by Lewis, overwritten with Berrigan's poems, all produced within the confines of jail and smuggled out by friends. Using only the crudest artistic materials-all that he could devise from what was available-Lewis has produced effective work that yields up its full intent only to close attention. Berrigan's poems are meditations on the relation between society and the act for which they were vet to be judged and sentenced.

The Trial of the Catonsville Nine is a condensed, shaped account of that judging and sentencing, a dramatic presentation in which the defendants account for their actions and assert, against prosecution and judge, their right to introduce into the proceedings the values which for them are inseperable from their acts. The formal structure of the book, paralleling the formal context of the court, brings into sharp confrontation contrasting values and attitudes concerning Vietnam, the social ills of America, the proper jurisdiction of the Court and, indeed, all that is generally suggested by the terms "system" and "establishment."

The prosecution, for example, stated: "This trial does not include the issues of the Vietnam conflict. It does not include the issue of whether the United States ought to be in the conflict or out of it." And again: ". . . to the extent that our country has problems, these problems will be solved. . . . But our problems are not going to be solved by people who deliberately violate our laws, the foundation and support for an ordered and just and civilized society."

And Philip Berrigan, for example: "We see no evidence that the institutions of this country, including our own churches, are able to provide the type of change that justice calls for. . . . We believe that this has occurred because law is no longer serving the needs of the people; which is a pretty good definition of morality."

And Daniel Berrigan: "My brother's action helped me realize from the beginning of our republic good men had said no, acted outside the law when

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conditions so demanded. And if a man did this, time might vindicate him."

This risk, it is clear, is now; vindication, if it comes, lies in the future. The Catonsville Nine risked not only a punitive sentence—which they did in fact receive-and the scorn and contempt of the Establishment, not only a sudden embrace and equally sudden rejection by young people who now counsel more damaging attacks on the system; they risked also the jaundiced look and principled criticism of liberal and radical friends in the movement. For they were engaged in a very special act of civil disobedience, the validity and justice of which must always turn on a judgment of the particulars in which the act is embedded, and here reasonable men will make different judgments.

When the draft files were bloodied in Baltimore and burned in Catonsville, I

was not among those who saw these as great symbolic acts that would illumine our situation and enlighten the nation. Nor was I ready to urge others on to similar acts that might land them in jail. In thinking about this event I felt many of the same emotions I feel when I read Thoreau's "Of Civil Disobedience," as I have done a number of times in the last several years.

Thoreau, too, took issue with his government on issues of racist institutions and expansionist warfare. ("Witness the present Vietnam war, the work of comparatively few individuals using the standing government as their tool; for, in the outset, the people would not have consented to this measure." Thoreau's sentence, except that I have substituted Vietnam for Mexican.) And in the midst of confused and complicated issues he, too, asserted a bed-

rock certainty and clarity of judgment that initially repel me rather than attract. Thoreau found no value in a system of law, and the Catonsville Nine find little in the system that operates in this country today. The links in Thoreau's chain of argument are sometimes ill-fitted and sometimes altogether missing, and so I find much of that offered by the Catonsville Nine.

But always, finally, there is Thoreau's unyielding, flint-like integrity and a judgment that has been certified by time. It is not after all a bad tradition to be part of, to carry on, and no small thing to do it as well as have the members of the Catonsville Nine.

Some of the nine have been scornful of those who analyze and criticize their action while offering no better alternative. I am no more persuaded or intimidated by that opinion when it comes from them than when it comes, as it regularly does, from leaders of our government. One does not have to be able to lay an egg to detect one that is rotten. We must here be true to our own perceptions and declare that what we see we see. There is the crucial difference, however, that the power of the Catonsville Nine is exactly what they can extract from their own human resources while the power at the disposal of our government is immense! It is not the nine we must set straight but a government whose actions and policies are horribly askew today. Those of us with our own resources of criticism would do well to direct them at the proper targets. And when days of sadness and distress settle on our land with ever increasing weight, we would do well to forge what alliances are possible, and to remember what Philip Berrigan expressed exactly: "There is no one way, there are as many ways as there are men or communities. It is up to us to pursue our way as best we know how, and to respect theirs."

Beyond that, those of us who continue to have reservations about some techniques of civil disobedience can accept the opportunity offered by these two books to ponder the problem yet again. For every day we see mounting evidence of what dire things are ac-



complished in the name of authority and obedience. There have been times in the past when good and strong men believed that duly constituted authority had to be opposed, had to be disobeyed; for the Catonsville Nine and others that time is now; for many others that time may yet come.

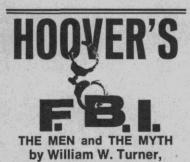
No Bars to Manhood

DANIEL BERRIGAN

Doubleday, \$5.95

HARRY J. CARGAS

The question is bothering me. How will I be able to face Dan Berrigan when he gets out of jail? He gave witness, definitively, at Catonsville (with



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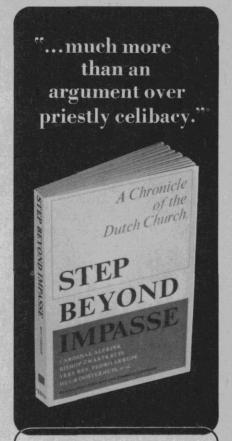
those eight magnificent others) and I have only cheered him on. He risked social destruction in the profoundly symbolic act of napalming draft records and I participate by merely reading his books.

What has happened, of course, is that the prophet has saved himself by offering himself as victim, and the rest of us are still looking for comfortable avenues to salvation. His truth hurts us in his latest collection of essays, not because he wishes injury but because we, in ourselves, feel our inactivity: "In a sense, I claim a certain sorry advantage over most of those who have yet to choose the place and time of their response to American violence, a response that will embody their existence and carry their lives captive, in bonds to a choice, in a direction they cannot yet know." Our Augustinian answer is I will, I will, but not yet.

For those who have been meaning to read Berrigan but haven't quite begun, No Bars to Manhood is a good place to start. There are nineteen essays and two poems and most of the material hasn't been in periodicals before. He ranges from autobiography to Eldridge Cleaver, from Jeremiah to Gandhi, from Lear to Ionesco, from Catonsville to Cornell. With the insights of a poet and activist, Berrigan offers what can be described as gusty spiritual reading for the contemporary concerned.

This is important reading on two levels. We learn about issues and we learn about the inner life of a just man. First, the man. We get a sketch of childhood, preparation for and ordination as a Jesuit priest, study, contact with the French worker-priest movement suppressed by Rome in 1954; we read a little about poverty and peace work, college teaching and Eastern Europe, exile to South America for conscience's sake, a Cornell assignment and then Catonsville. These are interesting because they happened.

But insights will perhaps mean more to us who lead lives of excited inactivity. Why for example, does Berrigan opt for Camus over Teilhard? "In these two, Camus and Teilhard, the humanist meets the futurist. And, let it be added,



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the humanist comes off on certain key attitudes, immeasurably the better." (Berrigan told me that he'd read all of Teilhard in French, but that Teilhard's "hope" was considerably removed from Berrigan's own experience.)

Campus riots at Cornell achieve an archetypal importance in Berrigan's witness. Authorities will have to bear the blame for a system that, including bribes and rewards, aims to do nothing other than perpetrate a testament to the values of our parents and society.

Lawyers are a target of Berrigan conversation. Here they are marked in print. The law profession acts against man. Law schools "produce judges who prosecute men like my brother and myself, instead of prosecuting the men who are prosecuting a genocidal war.

. . The law profession, in fact, is connecting with fewer needs, fewer issues, and fewer men."

For a Christian activist, "The word of God is one of crisis." And for a poet, the words of politicians are caged in hypocrisy. A new President takes his oath of office on the Biblical passage that speaks of transforming swords into plowshares, then raises the military budget. "I am concerned with so simple a thing as language." What does it mean, "Blessed are the makers of peace?" He is certain that "The obscenity of the sons is purer than the hypocrisy of the parents." Here is the poet in the new tradition of Allen Ginsberg and LeRoi Jones.

The Church, with her death-urge, "her diluting of the facts of life, and the consequent malfunctioning of religious people in face of the brute facts of change" gets some attention. So does the nation, fully four-fifths illiterate "beginning with the men who wield power over us, and continuing through the universities, the legal institutions, and the churches . . ."

The two levels of man and issues, Berrigan and insights, are best fused in the section on the prophets Jeremiah, Paul, Bonhoeffer and Gandhi. Paul in chains is almost a theme on Berrigan. Of Jeremiah, Berrigan speaks about "A man profoundly in touch with his tradition, a man profoundly at odds with his tradition." A more autobiographical utterance is impossible to imagine.

So Berrigan goes to jail, and we read his books and . . .?

Eagle Or Sun?

OCTAVIO PAZ
TRANS. ELIOT WEINBERGER
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RONALD CHRIST

Octavio Paz is Mexico's greatest living poet. But let's face it: that's like saying William Carlos Williams was Paterson's best writer. For Americans, a better way of indicating Paz's importance will have to be found. Perhaps it would be more suggestive to say that in the universe of Latin American writing, Neruda's poetry is solar: a lavish, Hispanic fulmination—like a Tamayo watermelon-and Paz's poetry lunar: a rarer, Gallic luminosity-like a Magritte moon-; or, to put it another way, to say that while Neruda is directly concerned with the world, its objects and processes (including poetry), Paz is more frequently concerned with poetry, its procedures and words (meaning things).

But let's really face it: Paz is an even better essayist than he is a poet. His 1950 evocation of Mexican character and culture, The Labyrinth of Solitude, is, in fact, devoted to the real world and it produces an astonishing image of a whole nation, truer than the profound truths it reveals for presenting them in a mythos made entirely beautiful. Written in a lucid, rich prose, Labyrinth of Solitude is Paz's poetic masterpiece. And his volume of poetics, El arco y la lira (still untranslated) is more indispensable and uniquely expressive than much of the poetry he has written. So we confront a major poet who writes invaluable prose, and that's exactly where Eagle or Sun? comes in.

Eagle or Sun? was published one year after Labyrinth of Solitude, and, as its title signifies, the book continues

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Paz's search for Mexican identity. (The title images refer to the obverse and reverse of a Mexican coin; the title poem explains: "Today I fight alone with a word. That which concerns me, to which I concern: heads or tails? eagle or sun?") But the book also continues Paz's vacillating search for his authorial identity, and he might just as well have written: "Today I fight alone with a form. Heads or tails? prose or poetry?" because Eagle or Sun? is a series of short prose poems (miniature, highly imaginative essais, really) marking a crucial instance in Paz's career where he has consciously tried to dissolve the images of his poetry in the fluid of his prose without sacrificing the nature of either.

Eagle or Sun?, then, is a significant experiment in the career of a significant poet, and its longest piece, "My Life with the Wave" (which tells of a man's falling in love with a wave, his taking her home and the tides of their affair until she freezes in his absence and he sells her to a waiter who chops her up into little pieces to chill bottles) is a breathtaking success. It is a fantasy as delicate as anything by Hans Christian Andersen or Perrault, as magical as anything by André Breton or Dali and as beautiful as anything else by Paz. "My Life with the Wave" alone justifies the experiment and the volume.

For the most part, however, this book is the self-referring self-scrutiny of an intense artist using prose to make words into things ("a bit of air in a pure mouth, a bit of water on greedy lips") as he stands in awe of things made into poetry ("the cantos of sand ... said by the wind a single time in a single interminable phrase, sourceless, endless, senseless"). Like so much contemporary art, Eagle or Sun? is selfconsciously about itself; but, for a change, intelligently, illuminatingly so. Thus it is not a carefree volume, because Paz explains that "Every poem is made at the poet's expense"; and while it sings the pain of creation—the Passion of Poetry, not the passion in poetry is Paz's theme—it also celebrates the poetic opportunity by rejoicing in the "World to populate, blank page,"

privileging us to witness a poet who can accurately say that "From my body images gush" while he gracefully avoids that modern literary pitfall, "a bramble of allusions, tangled and fatal." Of course everything in Eagle or Sun? is not as good as "My Life with the Wave," but by pointing always in the direction of itself, the book establishes its own elevated norms and provides a fine introduction to all of Paz's work.

Less fortunately, the publishers have provided no table of contents or index

to list the pieces by title or initial phrase, nor have they divulged anything about the translator, Eliot Weinberger. Nevertheless they have had the good sense to issue Eagle or Sun? in a bilingual edition so that phrases like "to which I concern" and "Light light the headless things" can easily be checked against the clarity of Paz's Spanish. On the whole, though, this is a good translation and it is encouraging to know that Mr. Weinberger is at work on a larger selection of Paz's poetry. For too

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long, too much of this important writer's work has been out of print in English or, worse, simply untranslated.

Church Politics

KEITH R. BRIDSTON World, \$4.95

RAYMOND A. SCHROTH

The week I began this book a Boston Jesuit announced that he was running for Congress. Father Robert F. Drinan's decision to fight for political poweralthough for a secular rather than an ecclesiastical post-was at least in the spirit of Keith R. Bridston's thesis: politics is not a dirty game but a Christian art.

M. A.

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in the defendants' putting the judge in jail'."

For a free copy of NATIONAL RE-VIEW, write: Dept. E, 150 E. 35 Street, N. Y. 10016.

Bridston, a theology professor at Pacific Lutheran Seminary and the son of a North Dakota State Senator, has written a jargony, plodding, and artificially organized book studded with insights on a critical problem. Drawing on the work of Reinhold Niebuhr and Hans Küng and the documents of Vatican II, he argues convincingly that the Christian church, if it is to survive, must model its political structures on those of secular democratic society.

Church Politics' program is at once radical and conservative: radical in that elections would force some elements in the Catholic church leadership to stop pretending that authoritarianism and secrecy are divinely sanctioned, or that an undemocratic manner of appointing church leaders has freed the church from the taint of political maneuvering; conservative in that the author underlines the need for institutions at a time when the anti-institutional psychosis, particularly among the young, is leading a good many Christians to chuck structures as useless or corrupt.

The modern church's greatest weakness, Bridston maintains, is that it has denied its essentially political nature. He prefaces each chapter with news stories on ecclesiastical conflicts over segregation, birth control, liturgical change and finances in which church officials scramble and maneuver to retain their power and end up looking venal, irrelevant, or absurd. A collage emerges of churches' repressing rather than creatively channeling man's natural drive for power.

Dominant trends in traditional piety, such as the Christian's quest for perfection defined in terms of individual holiness, have led us to stress God's love so

REVIEWERS

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FATHER RAYMOND A. SCHROTH, S.J. is doing doctoral work and teaching at Fordham University.

much that we have submerged the fact of his power. Consequently, the very idea of church politics has been difficult to absorb. Ironically, power has been relegated to the realm of the "unspiritual" at the same time that the actual church politicians have protected themselves from the checks and public criticisms that curb the worst secular politicians by wrapping themselves in the cultural taboos that traditionally cloak religious figures.

Bridston proposes that the churches embrace their political natures and virtually sacramentalize the electoral process. Confirmation would become the rite of political adulthood; clerics would overtly campaign for ecclesiastical offices with the cooperation of a free church press and with financial subsidies for their campaigns. In his strongest chapter he argues that democracy is far from alien to the church: we see it in the book of Acts and in the general tradition of church government, particularly in the election of the pope. Celibacy has also had its political effects in that it has saved the church from hereditary bishoprics and from entrenched family dynasties.

Yet, even though elections might preserve us from some of the worst abuses of ecclesiastical authority, a more fundamental problem remains. Bridston may have been led on by the myth of structural reform—like the student government leaders who begin each year by revising the student constitution instead of getting to work. The church's first obligation is to retain-or regainits moral and ethical authority. The question is not so much whether a particular church structure—hierarchical or democratic-has divine sanction but rather what kind of community organization will give Christian leaders maximum freedom to proclaim the Gospel. To be specific, is it the fault of the structures that church leaders kept mum even on one recent issue that simply cried out for moral testimony: the massacre of civilians in Vietnam? Or is the problem deeper?

At its best, the hierarchical system could liberate pastors and bishops from the forces which, as DeToqueville and

(75)

Lord Bryce warned, reduce democratic leadership to the lowest common denominator. After all, the "system" has allowed occasional exhilarating freedom and power to Archbishop Roberts, Bishop Parilla-Bonilla, the late Bishop Sheil and, in some shining moments, Bishop Sheen and Cardinal Cushing.

For the most part, though, the church's record for moral leadership has been mixed. On issues of sexual morality, pastors have been known to demand heroism; but on moral issues that question the American dream—racism, nationalism, domestic political repression—we had best look for moral outrage to Tom Wicker or the New York Review of Books.

Perhaps the problem isn't so much in the structures as in the men and the degree to which individuals allow themselves to be crippled by the cultures they serve and which serve them-by the curse of ambition, the willingness of "religious" people to trim and rationalize, to play the same political games as other lovers of power. As Ronald Sampson illustrates in his brilliant essay, "The Vanity of Humanism" (The Nation, 12/29/69), "And this quest for power, commonly disguised by what appear to be good or disinterested motives, is the primal source of the evil we feel ourselves called upon to overcome."

It remains to be seen to what extent democratic structures will make the Christian witness more courageous and whether applying the "power to the people" policy to the church will make the new clergy closer to the poor, more loving, more ready to sacrifice their own lives and ambitions. So warned, we should give Bridston's program a try—before it is too late.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 131)

only a pimp from a New Orleans whorehouse would carry pearl-handled guns, and that his own actually were ivory-handled.

Having twice come within view of

that roaring tempest myself in the European Theater of Operations, I can confirm his complaint of misrepresentation in the matter of his personal armaments.

DAVID DAVIDSON

Indians in Brazil

New York, N.Y. To the Editors: I have received a clipping from Commonweal of February 6, 1970, of an article entitled "Genocide in Brazil" [News & Views]. It appears to be a rewrite of propaganda which appeared some months ago in the European press and since shown to be without foundation in fact whatsoever.

The falsity of the allegations should have been apparent to you from the first paragraph of your article, which speaks of "mass murder of hundreds of thousands of victims," when the total population of tribal Indians in Brazil has been between 90,000 and 100,000 altogether—and still is.

I am enclosing a tearsheet on this

subject from a recent Brazilian Bulletin and would appreciate your further comment and due investigation of the facts.

The charge about giving Indians smallpox through "impregnated clothing," incidentally, dates back to the Indian siege of Ft. Pitt in U.S. colonial days and was probably picked up by a European sensation-seeker from a U.S. history book.

PAULO TARSO F. DE LIMA Director, Brazilian Gov't. Trade Bureau

Reply

Neither the above letter nor the enclosed Bulletin provides evidence that the stories distilled from the London Times, Christ und Welt, Jeune Afrique, etc., were propaganda. In fact, the Bulletin in some ways strengthens reports it is anxious to disprove, by noting that Brazil's Indian population, now between 90,000 and 100,000 was once estimated at about a million.

JOHN DEEDY

What governs our morality?

"Rubenstein is a natural dazzler. He swings from Sartre to Freud, from McLuhan to Marcuse, from Hebron to Majorca... and never loses his brainy cool.... His book is important reading." EUGENE B. BOROWITZ. The New York Times Book Review.

As Rabbi Rubenstein, one of the exponents of radical theology and the new morality sees it, Modern Man faces a terrifying paradox. Contemporary technology—the Pill, the computer, TV and the Bomb have raised profound questions concerning traditional religious values. Man is more powerful, yet his new freedom leaves him more perplexed than ever.

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MORALITY AND PROS

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RISTIANITY

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Repression and Terror

The Price of "Progress" in Brazil

WILLIAM L. WIPFLER

"TERROR AND Torture in Brazil" is the brief and dramatic title of a dossier that has been submitted to the Vatican by a group of 61 Belgians, Frenchmen and Italians. In sharp, brutal detail it sketches the portrait of a military dictatorship that has initiated a systematic and inhumane process of repression in the name of progress. The dossier contains 11 statements that testify to the torture and murder of so-called "political" prisoners, but these represent only a small percentage of the documentation that is now available from Brazil, smuggled out with great danger to those involved in its preparation.

The present tragedy is the latest stage in a gradual shift toward fascism that was initiated by a military coup in March, 1964. For four-and-a-half years the generals and colonels manipulated the political scene. In 1966 three different elections were arranged so that the Government could increase its power through a pseudo-democratic process. Opposition was driven out of the political arena, and only "candidates" approved by the Government could be assured of election. Congress became a virtual rubber stamp with only a few courageous voices of opposition raised in its sessions. Finally in December, 1968, the last façade of democracy was removed with the closing of Congress and the granting of total power to the President-General.

What has been accomplished by the military during its six years in power? An article in the Wall Street Journal entitled "Military 'Hard-Liners' are Expected to Block Revival of Democracy," (Dec. 31, 1969) offered a succinct evaluation.

> Brazil, a nation that has prided itself on personal freedom and libertarian traditions, is living under a dictatorship. The military's

. . . Their takeover, it is implied, was a necessary and temporary intervention for the good of the nation. But after five-and-a-half years of military government, the pledges to step aside look increasingly hollow to analysts here. . . . The military government . . . has done much to curb inflation (1964 rate: 85 percent; expected 1969 figure: 23 percent), stimulate economic growth and lure foreign investment, but despite such progress there remains abundant misery among Brazil's 90 million Brazil has enormous natural resources, but the per capita income hovers around \$350, and many millions live outside the money

"revolution" didn't begin that way, however.

economy altogether. Real income has been falling. Less than half the population is literate. Health, education, sanitation and other vital services are sadly inadequate in most parts of the country. The government could not be called popular.

In short, the price for "stability" and "progress" is becoming exceedingly high for most Brazilians.

The rights and liberties of Brazilian citizens have been radically curtailed during the past 14 months by a series of National Security Laws promulgated by decree. One of these, Institutional Act Five, suspended habeas corpus, ended civilian participation in government, severely limited freedom of the press, and effectively muzzled dissent.

In order to control opposition, hundreds of prominent citizens, including a past-President, 94 congressmen, several state governors, dozens of minor officials and journalists were deprived of their political rights for ten years. Seventy professors were dismissed from the Universities of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro without explanation. Hundreds of students were expelled from the universities for three to five years, and others were sent to prison by military tribunals. (Ed. Note: Readers may recall an earlier discussion of such acts by Richard Shaull in "Repression, Brazilian Style" in our July 21, 1969 issue.)

WILLIAM L. WIPFLER, who became acquainted at first hand with the problems of torture while serving as an Episcopal missionary in the Dominican Republic during the Trujillo era, is Assistant Director of the Latin America Department of the National Council of Churches. To the best of our knowledge, this is the first full-length article documenting torture in Brazil to appear in this country.

Facts for All, . . . But the US

Repression and terror have increased substantially. Untold numbers of persons have fallen victim to the arbitrary violence exercised by the police and military. Stories of mass arrests and the inhumane treatment of the opponents of the Government have filtered out of Brazil for about a year. And then, through one of those strange inconsistencies that appear even under the most efficient of repressive mechanisms, the facts came into the open. During the first ten days of December, 1969, the Brazilian press bombarded the public with reports of the torture and abuse of political prisoners. Many of these same prisoners gained new courage and signed detailed affidavits revealing the indignities and suffering they had undergone.

Brazil was shocked. Prominent citizens called for a serious investigation. The President-General vowed to look into the matter personally. And then suddenly there was a new silence. Reports and commentary on arrests and the treatment of political prisoners were prohibited unless provided by the Government. These were considered "national security" matters; laws covering them included:

Article 16. It is a crime to publish by any means of social communication news that is false, tendentious or that contains distortions which turn the people against the constituted authorities. Punishment shall be detention of from six months to two years.

When such publication would provoke public disturbances or would endanger the image, authority, trust or prestige of Brazil, the punishment shall be detention of from two to five years.

Article 34. Slander, because of political bias or nonconformism, of the character of someone who exercises a position of authority shall result in a punishment of solitary confinement of from two to four years.

If this crime is committed through the press, radio, or television the punishment shall be increased by half.

The threat was too grave. The media capitulated. Since December the documentation of specific cases of torture has been finding its way out of Brazil in increasing quantity. Included in this are a number of the declarations signed by victims during the brief period of hope. In Europe, especially in France, Germany and England, the situation has been widely publicized and commented upon in both the religious and secular media.

A lengthy article in *Der Spiegel* (December 15) caused widespread dismay in West Germany because of the echoes of its own Gestapo nightmare. The full text of the dossier sent to the Vatican was

published in the January issue of the French magazine *Croissance*. Numerous articles and editorials have appeared condemning the Government of Brazil and calling on responsible leaders to take action against it similar to that taken by the European community against Greece.

With few exceptions, however, this has not been the case of the media in the United States. When the subject has not been ignored altogether, articles in most of the major newspapers and periodicals here leave the impression that the use of torture



has been limited to application against "terrorists" and "Communists," or has been only a sporadic occurrence in a particular area.

Increasing evidence shows, nevertheless, that torture is widely and indiscriminately used against those who are apprehended in alleged anti-Government activities, against members of their families who are tortured in order to weaken the prisoner, against persons who may have associated with the suspected individuals, or against those who are themselves only suspected of being critical of the Government. Furthermore, the reports now available show that many of the methods of torture are identical throughout the entire country and must be attributed to official activity rather than the whim of an over-zealous interrogator.

The 16 at Ilha das Flores

Many tortures will never be reported. Some of the victims are dead or insane, large numbers are still imprisoned, and many who are out of jail fear the repetition of their experience and will not testify. Others, however, are ready to take the risk of denouncing the atrocities committed against them or that they have witnessed in the hope that public and international pressure will bring these inhumane acts to an end. The concluding paragraph of a statement signed by 16 women at Ilha das Flores, a prison in the Rio de Janeiro harbor, is typical of this courageous stance:

We know that our present attitude denouncing tortures, can spark reprisals against us. We

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fear, for it would not be the first case of the simulation of an escape or a suicide to try to hide the truth we are now stating. We call the attention of all those interested in finding out the truth and in punishing the guilty to the fact that we are at the mercy of all types of violence, and need now, more than ever, the decisive help of all.

They had prepared their declaration, they said, "at a moment when the Brazilian public begins to be informed about the atrocities committed against political prisoners in our country and still may doubt that these crimes are really happening." Each of the 16 had been tortured. The following details are taken from their report:

Zilea Resnik, 22, arrested on June 5, 1969, accused of belonging to the MR8, a revolutionary organization. She was kept incommunicado for 45 days during which time she was frequently beaten.

Resane Resnik, 20, Zilea's sister, arrested on the same charges on July 27, 1969. Stripped naked by her torturers, she was beaten and suffered electric shocks on various parts of the body, including the nipples of her breasts.

Ina de Souza Medeiros, 20, arrested on the same charges in Curitiba, Parana, on July 6, 1969. In Curitiba she was forced to witness the tortures inflicted upon one of her friends, Milton Gaia Leite, who was hung naked from a pole while a radio transmitted, at its loudest, a mass, in order to cover up his cries. At the jail of the Department of Political and Social Order (DOPS, the political police) she was informed that her husband, Marco Antonio Faria Medeiros, arrested two months before, had died. She panicked, but this information was later proven false. Brought to Ilha das Flores prison, she was beaten, received electric shocks and threatened with sexual assault.

Marijane Vieira Lisboa, 22, arrested in Rio de Janeiro on Sept. 2, 1969, accused of being a member of the Ação Popular movement. She was made to strip, was beaten and given electric shocks that ended only when she lost consciousness due to heart failure.

Marcia Savaget Fiani, 24, arrested in Rio on the same day on the same charges as the preceding woman. She was made to strip and was beaten. The electric shocks administered to her were made more intense by water previously thrown on her body. The shocks caused a partial paralysis of her right hand. She was kept incommunicado for 14 days.

Maria Elodia Alencar, 38, arrested in Rio on Oct. 30, 1969, was beaten and suffered electric shocks. She was tortured by strangling and was forced to sign her will under torture. Her torturers persistently threatened to arrest and torture her 15-year-old son.

Dorma Tereza de Oliveira, 25, arrested in Rio, Oct. 30, 1969, suffered the customary beatings and electric shocks, as well as strangling, drowning and wounds on her breasts produced by pincers. Needles were thrust under her finger nails.

No further information is available regarding the treatment of the 16 since the time their declaration was made public.

Victims of these atrocities come from every strata of society and from all walks of life. In a single letter written by a lawyer who had suffered 15 days of solitary confinement for defending a political prisoner, the following cases were cited:

Mrs. Ana Vilma, wife of another prisoner named Pena Fiel, was subjected to severe torture that affected her uterus in particular; she needed medical attention. Her husband was also tortured.

All priests arrested in this prison were hung by their feet, completely naked, beaten and given electric shocks. Father Augustine challenged the torturers during the punishment, invoking Christ's example.

In cell number one, next door to mine, a young lady was ill. Her name was Vera, and she was bruised from head to foot. I was told that her husband was in worse condition. Their crime was that they knew a person wanted by the political police. They were set free on a Monday but until Tuesday of the following week they required medical attention in order to recover sufficiently to travel. One of the torturers said that "beating is all right, but one must know how to do it."

A young student also arrived at the place where I was. He was a physics student who had been expelled by his university on the charge of subversion. I saw him after his first interrogation, and he had been beaten so badly that his feet were so swollen that he could not walk. He was sent to the Clinical Hospital where he declared that his wounds were caused by torture. The torturers had broken bones in his hands and feet.

The prisoner in cell number four, named Sebastiana, suffered a mental disturbance because of the tortures, and no medical treatment was given to her.

In another letter written by a 56-year-old taxi driver, Severino B. Silva, there is a description of the treatment he received in the military village of Rio. He was tortured by starvation. His toenails were pulled out and razor blades were forced under his fingernails. After being beaten, he went through a simulated hanging. He still awaits trial after 11 months of imprisonment on a charge of suspicion.

The Forms of Torture

The declarations and reports are from all parts of Brazil. Almost every document verifies that commissioned officers of the police or military are in charge of interrogations. The torture is generally carried out at the DOPS headquarters or of one of the intelligence services (Army, Navy or Air Force), or in prison. The methods of torture follow a pattern.

Beatings: Usually inflicted at the beginning and during interrogation. Blows are given with clubs, metal bars, fists and feet. The face, ears, stomach, breasts and genitals are the most frequent targets of the beatings.

"Pau-de-Arara" (Arara Pole): Hands and feet are tied together and a pole inserted between them. The ends of the pole are then supported on a table with the victim hung face down. He is often left in this position for several hours while submitted to other tortures. In some documents it is reported that alcohol fires are lighted on the floor below the victims face. Some individuals have been incapacitated for long periods after this torture because of the traumas to their legs, arms and backs.

Electric shocks: Current is generated by a field telephone or taken directly from wall sockets. Shocks are delivered to the hands, feet, tongue, ears, breasts and genitals. The victim is often soaked with water in order to increase the effect of the shock. The current is frequently increased so as to cause the entire body to become rigid or be contorted by muscular spasms.

The Telephone: Sharp blows with the flat hand are delivered simultaneously to both ears. This causes a loss of balance, impairment of hearing, as well as severe pain.

Sexual abuse: In most cases the documents declare that the prisoners are stripped of their clothes at the initiation of the interrogation. Humiliation is an obvious element in the psychological aspect of the torture. The genitals of both men and women receive considerable attention in beatings and the administration of electric shocks. Women prisoners are often violated by torturers or are turned over to police or soldiers of lower rank for their amusement. Male prisoners are sometimes forced to witness the sexual abuse of their wives, children or fiancées.

Simulated execution: Prisoners have been taken from sessions of torture or awakened during a brief respite and brought before a firing squad armed with blanks or empty rifles. Others have been drowned in buckets of water and then revived. And

still others have been hung and then cut down after losing consciousness.

This list is not a complete catalog of all of the tortures described in the available documentation. It is, however, a compilation of those mentioned most frequently by the victims.

As might be expected under such circumstances, increasing numbers of Brazilians are leaving their homeland to seek refuge in other countries. Many



of them are faced with almost insurmountable difficulties: improper or incomplete travel documents, insufficient financial resources, hostile military regimes in several of the nearest countries. (The best estimates available at this time are about 500 in Chile, 1300-1500 in Uruguay and approximately 2,000 in Paris, many of whom are students uncertain that they can safely return to Brazil. Large numbers are in other countries, including the US, but the figures are unavailable since many of them fear to declare themselves refugees.) Although the exodus grows each day and the potential for future refugees is tremendous, international refugee organizations have done little to respond to the needs of the victims of this new situation.

Massive efforts, not unlike those made on behalf of the Jews and others from Europe and Cubans in the early 1960's may now have to be made on behalf of Brazilians. The first steps of such a response is now being organized by a group of individuals from the religious, academic, professional and artistic fields in New York City. (For information, write: The Editor, Christianity and Crisis.)

How the US Fits In

All of this information and documentation of torture and repression becomes even more disturbing when the extent of continuing US Government and business involvement in Brazil is recognized. Very little open criticism has been forthcoming from these two institutions regarding the course of events of the past six years and particularly of recent months.

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When the coup occurred in 1964 Ambassador Lincoln Gordon received it with open satisfaction. He said it was "perhaps as significant to the defense of the Free World as the Sino-Soviet split and the success of the Marshall Plan." Through his influence Washington recognized the military regime within 24 hours.

Significantly, the Agency for International Development increased its expenditures in Brazil from \$15.1 million in 1964 to \$122.1 million in 1965. It has proposed a \$187 million program for 1970. In addition, the US military has maintained the largest of its Latin American missions in Brazil, with over 100 advisers on the staff. The Military Assistance Program provided \$24.9 million in 1967 and \$19.4 million in 1968. Between 1964 and 1968 2,255 military men passed through its training program.

The one brief (four-month) interruption in US support occurred after the closing the Congress in 1968. Some observers believe that aid and assistance were restored quickly because of the inconvenience caused to US business and banks by the suspension. US investment there accounts for \$1,326 million of the \$7,314 million invested in all of South America.

This article is not intended to be sensational. Its purpose is, rather, to awaken American Christians and public opinion to this horrendous terror and

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inhumanity. The authorities of Brazil are concerned about their image abroad, and especially in the United States, from which they receive massive foreign aid and investment capital. International outcries may not bring democracy back to Brazil, but it may force the Government to restrict its present policies in the treatment of political prisoners.

Regardless of what its impact in Brazil may be, we must not—cannot—any longer allow our Government and business to quietly support a type of government that we—and prior to certain recent erosions of our own civilization in the past at least—have regarded as contrary to our way of life. What Brazil does is ultimately her own problem; what we do to support, and thereby encourage, her dehumanizing policy of repression is our problem. Brazil—a nation that has made significant contributions to international culture—may be losing the respect of the nations of the world, but we can only wonder how much greater is her loss than ours.

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REPRESSION BRAZILIAN STYLE

Nelson Rockefeller was well received during his recent journeys. His visit was not interrupted by student demonstrations or other acts of protest; no word of criticism was heard on the radio or in the press.

Yet we should take everything but comfort from his reception in Brazil. It was possible only because the military government has been systematically repressing all political opposition in recent months. Wherever Rockefeller went, massive military and police protection was provided; any negative comments about his visit, as well as any reporting of hostility that might have occurred elsewhere, were prohibited.

This event highlights both the political crisis in Brazil and the dilemma our government faces in its policy toward Latin America.

Last December, in the face of mounting pressures for change among many segments of the population, the military closed Congress, took away the political rights of a large number of the political leaders still around, and created a general climate of insecurity and fear through indiscriminate arrests and the threat of loss of employment for those who might seem potentially subversive.

In April, 72 university professors in Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo were dismissed by government decree. Some of them had international reputations and were among the most outstanding scholars in their fields in Brazil. Many of them had no direct political involvements. They now have no opportunity to teach in a Brazilian university; in fact, it will be very difficult for them to find other work. Yet, in a number of instances, they have been denied permission to leave the country to seek employment elsewhere.

Perhaps the best indication of the present state of affairs is a recent order sent by the Ministry of Justice to all editors of newspapers and owners of television stations. It consists of a long list of items about which no news or editorial comment will be permitted. Among them:

No news about, comment upon or interviews with anyone who has had his political rights taken away;

No reporting about student movements which have been dissolved by the government, nor about student political activity;

No criticism of government action taking away political rights of citizens or dismissing them from their employment;

No publication of anything that might create hostility toward government officials;

No criticism of the economic policy of the government:

No news about political arrests, except when provided by the government;

No news about the political activity of the clergy, no manifestos of church leaders or interviews with them that might create tensions "of a religious nature."

No news about workers' movements, strikes or other acts considered subversive which may occur in Brazil or in foreign countries.

Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that an increasing number of people find themselves in a situation of complete insecurity and that a climate of fear and desperation is becoming more and more widespread. A young priest in Recife, adviser for youth affairs of Bishop Helder Camara, was assassinated a few weeks ago. His body was found hanging from a tree on the university campus. Shortly thereafter, an attempt was made to kidnap the president of the Union of Students of the State of Pernambuco. When he tried to escape, he was shot and badly wounded. The number of political prisoners, although unknown, is estimated to be between 2,000 and 5,000.

There is of course another side of the ledger. The government program of economic development has been relatively successful, and the destruction of the corrupt and ineffective old political order is not regretted. But this economic progress has thus far not meant any significant disruption of the old order of economic privilege, and it has occurred by means of increasing dependence upon the US. The military who destroyed the old political order is incapable of creating a new one. Those who have the knowledge, energy and creativity for that task are committed to working for major social and economic reform and the participation of the dispossessed masses in the life of the nation. They are also the people the military feels it must destroy or neutralize to remain in power.

It would be unwise for us to become too critical of the Brazilian military. We in the US have helped to get them where they are and now support them. And in our own policy for Latin America, we are caught in the same trap. We cannot hope to extricate ourselves until we are able to call into question the basic assumptions of our present economic and political relationships, understand the deepest longings and hopes of the younger generation and of the dispossessed and discover how to support rather than block their struggle. To do that may well mean that we will have to be as concerned about changing the structure of our society as they are of theirs.

RICHARD SHAULL

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Brazil Twists Thumbscrews

Brazil Junta Repression Stifles the Opposition

By Brady Tyson

The writer, an associate professor of Latin American studies at American University, was from 1962 to 1966 a Methodist missionary in Brazil, where he was active with the student movement in Sao Paulo. He visited the country again in September, 1969, and most recently last month.

THE WASHINGTON POST

Sunday, April 5, 1970

It is Now just over six years since the military coup that placed the Brazilian army in control of that nation's government. What was probably intended by most of its instigators as a relatively brief extralegal intervention in the country's political process and a temporary suspension of normal constitutional rights and procedures has now stretched out far longer than any previous similar intervention. And the majority of both friends and foes of the military regime agree that the end of army rule in Brazil is not in sight.

Three successive Brazilian army generals have assumed the presidency, each expressing the hope of restoring political freedom as soon as the process of purifying Brazilian political life of "communism, corruption and chaos" has been completed. But each of them has been led by the internal dynamics of army politics and military political ideology to adopt successively more stringent and repressive political measures until Brazil today resembles the harshness and insensitivity of the Greek military dictatorship.

Since the army seized power in 1964, physical force and torture have been used against political prisoners, either to force information or confessions or for purposes of intimidation and punishment. But what began as an unplanned and sporadic series of cases that might be described as "police brutality" has now become, according to the report of two French lawyers who visited Brazil in early March, a truly organized system used as a means of political repression. It is a system that has become general, with the participation of higher echelon officers and often even the presence of medical doctors in attendance who are attached to the police or to the armed

The Brazilian people are surely one of the most tolerant and amiable peoples in Latin America, with a reputation for nonviolence in politics. What are the factors that have produced an apparently durable and inflexible military dictatorship that is increasingly using torture as a systematic tool of repression? What have been the results

of the policies of repression on Brazilian political life, and what has been the impact on the Brazilian people?

Immdiately after the military coup of 1964, thousands of people of all professions and classes were arrested, and some of these suffered various types of mistreatment and torture. In the first months, relatively few cases were reported.

During the first two years of the regime of President Humberto Castello Branco—after the first wave of repression had passed—many political factions were allowed to operate openly, if impotently, and this provided a channel through which tortures could be denounced. Likewise, the press remained largely free, and in this sense the government was under some restraints, and torture of political prisoners did not become common.

There was one notable exception, however, that demonstrated the pattern that was to be followed very often in the future when the army encountered stubborn opposition. In the state of Goias in late 1964, in a struggle to discredit and remove from office the governor of the State, Mauro Borges, (who had been one of the original supporters of the military takeover earlier that year, and was himself an army officer), the army investigators "discovered" a "Polish spy ring." The tortures



used by the police and army investigators in this case were subsequently publicized widely in the Brazilian press, with pictures and statements from those who had been tortured.

As a result of the indignation thus aroused, the federal government named a prominent general to visit the army posts of the country. The only public announcement made was that the inspection team found nothing abnormal, thus setting very early a pattern that has persisted: the government has refused to acknowledge or seriously to investigate the charges of torture, and to punish those responsible.

During 1965 Brazil was fairly tranquil, and violence against political prisoners diminished although President Castello Branco assumed greater powers to cancel out the effect of opposition victories in some state elections.

After General Artur Costa e Silva was elected president at the end of 1966 by a rubber-stamp Congress that had been purged of the most effective opposition leaders, prospective civilian candidates for the announced presidential elections of 1970 began to appear. A mild form of protest politics, against inflation principally, emerged in the major cities.

The lid was tightened when the government, to placate a group of hard-line air force officers, announced a ban on mass demonstrations against its policies. The opposition was thus forced into cowed silence or clandestine activity.

By 1967, the government had secret police and paid informers sitting in the classrooms of university professors, and efforts were begun to destroy the national students' union. And in prisons, a series of ingenious forms of torture became more common.

A Turning Point

IN THE SPRING of 1969, a student was killed in a scuffle with military police in a student restaurant, marking the first such public use of violence against unarmed students who had begun a peaceful demonstration. Angered students took to the streets, with labor union and popular support that surprised the army. For the first time in memory, Brazilian soldiers were stoned and booed as they dispersed the demonstrators.

On April 4, 1968, a mass celebrated for the dead youth, Edson Luis, led to a protest march by his fellow students. Mounted military police rode into the marching students. Serious bloodshed was avoided when the Roman Catholic bishop and his priests locked arms and placed themselves between police and students. But the deep alienation between the army officer corps and the civilian population, especially the students, was now in the open for all to see.

The army officers were bitter and resentful, which led to a mood demanding an end to half-measures in dealing with what they saw as the nation's social and political ills. An agreement evolved among them that, to bring about a cure, "the patient must be held still" through political repression.

In September 1968, a five-minute speech by an opposition Federal Deputy in the National Congress, Dr. Marcio Moreira Alves, calling on the Brazilian people to ignore the army parades on Brazilian Independence Day (Sept. 17) because the army was harboring torturers, was sufficient to provoke the army into the next step towards open and systematic repression.

The military high command demanded that Congress strip Dr. Alves of his congressional immunity so he could be tried by a military court for defaming the name of the army. The crisis was put on ice until after the visit of the Queen of England, but in early December the Congress, in a surprising vote, refused to take away the legislator's immunity. The army acted swiftly, and on Dec. 13, 1968 a new "Institutional Act," closing Congress and giving almost limitless discretionary power to the president, was proclaimed by the ministers of the three armed forces.

Massive Purge

IN A NEW WAVE of political repression many of the leaders of the official opposition party were stripped of their offices and political rights, as also were many members of the official government party who had dared to vote with the opposition in the key test. Thousands of federal and state employees suspected of being subversive or of sympathy with the subversives, were summarily fired, with no right of appeal. There was a new wave of arrests. The press was intimidated. and in the new situation there was virtually no way to denounce the tortures and abuses of the police power. The courts were subject to new limitations, and were thoroughly intimidated. And the tortures began to increase.

Students, dissenting soldiers, labor organizers, professionals, young priests and others became more and more attracted or driven to underground political and protest activity, and they began to organize clandestine groups dedicated to overthrowing the military dictatorship. The first task set was to win the confidence of the Brazilian people, and to undermine the authority of the military regime. There was some talk of guerrilla warfare, but very little physical violence has been practiced by the Brazilian underground to date. The movement began to rob banks to finance itself, and has staged a few dramatic incidents, such as the kidnapping of the U.S. Ambassador in September 1969, and of the Japanese Consul General in Sao Paulo last March, to dramatize the plight of the political prisoners.

By early 1969 the Brazilian government was aware that a significant amount of torture was going on in various prisons and army barracks, but it has consistently refused to deal with the question and has refused to name courts of inquiry, probably for fear that such inquiries would encourage the underground groups and paralyze the repressive work of the police and the army by destroying their morale.

The go-it-alone attitude of 20 or so competing federal agencies combating "subversive activities" began to show ugly tendencies again. The "Squadron of Death," composed of police from several important Brazilian states, began, as early as 1967 to murder some common criminals without bothering to arrest them. It is believed that more than 200 criminals were killed this way during the high-point of this activity in 1968, even in the face of protests in the press. Again, the government maintained an official silence, and no one has been publicly charged or punished for these acts.

The Situation Today

RECENT REPORTS from Brazil—
furnished by the Brazilian underground and therefore still needing verification from independent sources—
tell of a demonstration of various
methods of torture used on five live
prisoners for the benefit of 100 policemen in training. Names of the police
instructors and the prisoners are
given, the time is set as October 1969,
and the place as Belo Horizonte. Other
reports list many cases, giving names of
the tortured and sometimes of the torturers, and describing in detail the tor-

tures suffered. The number of people imprisoned probably reached an all-time high in December of last year, and though there is apparently a small drop in the total number of prisoners, the tempo of torture appears to be increasing.

In November 1969 the Minister of Justice of Brazil told journalists that "violence is against the law in Brazil." He continued by stating that the President of Brazil—by this time General Garraztazu Medici had been named by Congress to assume the place of the ailing Costa e Silva—had directed that all federal agencies dealing with internal security should review and revise, if necessary, their methods of repression and put an end to the use of all physical violence against political prisoners.

The national press, taking advantage of this opening, applauded the official statement and published reports of numerous cases of torture. A few days later the Minister of the Air Force said at a press luncheon that members of the opposition to the government were criminals and would be treated as such. The press ceased from that moment any further attempt to publicize the cases of torture.

No one, probably including the Brazilian government, has really accurate statistics on political persecution and torture in Brazil since 1964. But the following figures—pieced together from Brazilian exiles, sources in Brazil, newspapers and magazines in Latin America and Europe, and U.S. academics who have done research in this area—constitute a conservative consensus:

Political arrests since 1964-30,000.

Political prisoners today—10,000 (of which about two-thirds have not been formally charged).

Prisoners beaten and mutiliated— 3,000 to 5,000.

Prisoners tortured systematically—500 to 800.

Prisoners who died from torture—25 to 100.

Political exiles—1,200 to 1,800 (mostly in Uruguay, Chile, France and Mexico, small groups in U.S., Cuba and Algeria).

Persons deprived of political rights —4,300 (includes three ex-presidents, about 20 ex-governors, 190 legislators and at least 2000 civil servants).

Even if the above estimates were cut in half, the army would still be the initiator of far more violence than the underground.

New Methods

IN ITS FRUSTRATION, the clandestine political opposition in Brazil has turned recently to the much-publicized kidnapings of diplomats, who are held as hostages for the liberation of imprisoned members of the underground. The current wave of kidnapings of foreign diplomats in Latin America must be seen largely in this context.

But the kidnapings are more evidences of the military weakness of the underground than of its strength, and contribute little to its campaigns to overthrow the governments of Brazil, Guatemala, Argentina or the Dominican Republic.

There is, indeed, no recourse, to courts; the press and public protest are largely silenced, and outside Brazil, international organizations such as the United Nations and the Organization of American States have ignored the problem. Only in Western Europe has the situation received any appreciable publicity.

Of the five prisoners released in Mexico City on March 15, four claimed to have been tortured, and one of the four showed signs of weakness and infirmity. One of the four who claims to have been tortured is a Catholic mother superior of an orphanage, who also claims to have been innocent of the charges leveled against her. Shortly after her arrest the archbishop of the city where she was being held excommunicated the police chief because of the alleged tortures.

The dissidents in Brazilian society have suffered repeated shocks as each new repressive feature was revealed or announced. I happened to be in Brazil last September when the government (inspired by the military high command) announced in the wake of the kidnapping of the U.S. ambassador and subsequent events, the institution of the death penalty. Brazil had long prided itself upon the civilized virtue of having no death penalty, and this new evidence of the hardness of the Brazilian army shocked even the Brazilian left, even as late as September 1969.

The tortures and persecutions have produced an atmosphere of suspicion, despair and listlessness among great sectors of educated Brazilians. (That 50 per cent of Brazil that is still functionally illiterate has lived in despair for centuries.) Brazilian university students are especially bitter.

"We have no friends or allies anywhere in the world," one Brazilian student told me during a visit there a few weeks ago. "We stand for justice for all our people, freedom for all our people, against imperialism and military dictatorship. The Russians do nothing for us. The Chinese ignore us. Fidel just makes propaganda. The American government helps the military dictatorship. American students and professors have no sense of solidarity with us. Our own professors have either run away or accommodated themselves. Our parents don't understand us and are afraid. We stand alone."

Church Opposition

A Catholic clergy, including some Bishops and some of the laity, has tried during the past 20 years to create a church more responsive and more helpful to the needs of the socio-economically depressed classes of Brazil. Some of the Church's leaders and organizations have become the symbols and focus of visible opposition to the policies of the new government. The Vatican has been concerned with the persecutions of the Church, and has been careful to avoid over-identification with the military government.

Rather than risk solidifying national and world public opinion on the side of the Church by attacking it directly, the Brazilian government has evidently decided that a war of attrition against the progressive elements of the church is a sounder policy. Occasionally, as in the case of the kidnap-slaying of young Father Henrique Pereira Neto last May in Recife, rightist paralegal groups exercise their intimidation outside the jails and police stations. A few priests have gone into the clandestine life of the underground, and many of the students there are products of the Catholic student movement. There are also at least several Brazilian priests in jail today, and the tension between the government and certain sectors of the church remains high.

Will the Brazilian army continue to tighten its control by increasing political repression and the torture of political prisoners? The frustrations of trying to govern a large nation (the fifth largest by population in the world, and one of the fastest growing), deeply divided between the rich and the puor, with a restless people awakening from centuries of deprivation to the possibilities of a better life, are enough to tax any government.

The Brazilian army has shown itself either insensitive to or irritated by all criticism from outside its own ranks. It has tended during the past six years to isolate itself even more from the people it rules, and to become more resentful of the skepticism of civilians. Indeed, there is a growing "anti-civilian" mentality among Brazilian army officers that makes one wonder if they ever intend to turn the country back to constitutional rule.

Neither the criticism and opposition, nor the difficulty of the problems, is likely to diminish in the future. And there seems to be little likelihood that the Brazilian army will change its pattern of reaction.

So far only Pope Paul on the international scene has expressed concern over the tortures and persecutions in Brazil, and he rather timidly. The U.S. government remains essentially committed to the Brazilian government's policy of "stability" as the road to progress and so far it too shows no sign of moving away from the status quo.

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A PROTEST TO THE BRAZILIAN GOVERNMENT

The following letter was published in the New York Times "Letters to the Editor" section on Sunday, March 8th, 1970. Since its publication the following United States scholars specializing on Latin America have adhered to the protest and have contributed to give it greater divulgation.

To the editor:

Since the overthrow of the legally elected Government of Brazil in 1964, scholars abroad dedicated to the study of Brazil have watched with indignation successive encroachment upon the civil liberties of the Brazilian people. In the past months we have been shocked to learn of systematic efforts to muzzle the press, to silence public criticism at all levels, and to jail or exile those who protest against torture, imprisonment without cause, and suppression of civil rights.

It has now been announced that Caio Prado, Jr., historian, philosopher and political figure of international stature, will be brought to trial before a Brazilian military tribunal for political opinions published years ago in a university publication.

In the cause of decency and the defense of the natural right of all men to voice their opinion without fear of imprisonment, we members of the international community of scholars, protest this act on the part of a military tribunal while simultaneously deploring the inhuman treatment of political dissidents.

We doubt that ever in the history of Brazil has there occurred more systematic, more widespread, and more inhuman treatment of political dissidents.

Richard Morse
Thomas Skidmore
Stanley Stein
Charles Wagley
New York, February 23, 1970

Robert Levine State University of N.Y., Stony Brook

Lewis A. Loser State University of New York

Joseph L. Love Tulane University

Eduardo E. Lozano Princeton University

Neill Macaulay University of Florida

Frank MacShane Columbia University

Joseph Maier Rutgers University

Robert D. Marcus State University of New York

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Washington, em // de desembro de 1969.

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"Latin American Studies Association",

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Senhor Ministro,

Em cumprimento de determinação de Vossa Excelência, tenho a honra de enviar-lhe, em anexo, os seguintes documentos, em que se explicam a origem, as finalidades e o funcionamento da "Latin American Studies Association", organização privada norte-americana que reúne os mais importantes estudiosos da América Latina neste país, tendo como sócios mais de setecentos professores universitários, especialmente ci entistas políticos, sociólogos, antropólogos, etnólogos, geógrafos, his toriadores e especialistas nas línguas espanhola e portuguêsa e nas li teraturas hispano-americanas e brasileira:

- 1. "The Latin American Studies Association: Summary Survey with Appendix";
- 2. "Latin American Studies Association Report on Activities, 1968";
- 3. "The Latin American Studies Association Fact Sheet . 1969".
- Remeto, igualmente, cópia do memorandum sobre

A Sua Excelência o Senhor Embaixador Mario Gibson Barboza, Ministro de Estado das Relações Exteriores.

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2.



OPIA.

Emb. Washington/CONFIDENCIAL/7.(22)(42)/1969/pagina 2.

a situação universitária brasileira, enviado à associação, a título pes soal, pelo Professor Philippe C. Schmitter.

- A "Latin American Studies Association" não parece ter orientação política definida. Dela fazem parte professores de quase todas as posições ideológicas, entre os quais, porém, há prática unanimidade quanto à preferência pelo modêlo norte-americano de govêrno. Is so não impede a associação de tomar posições políticas, sempre que jui gue ameaçada a liberdade de cátedra, tal como entendida neste país. Is so ocorreu, em meados dêste ano, quando a LASA enviou duas mensagens ao ex-Presidente Arthur da Costa e Silva, com protestos contra o afastamen to e a aposentadoria de vários professores brasileiros. De uma delas mendei cópia com o ofício-verhal Nº 845, de 13 de junho último.
- As referidas mensagens eram assinadas tanto por professores da ala liberal, como Thomas Skidmore (que é autor, aliás, de um conhecido livro sobre história contemporânea brasileira, Politics in Brazil-1930-1964), quanto da ala conservadora, como Charles Wagley (casado com brasileira, autor de um livro indispensável em qualquer "brasileina" Uma Comunidade Amazônica e de várias outras obras sobre nos so país, inclusive An Introduction to Brazil, talves o mais percuciente volume publicado nos Estados Unidos sobre o Brasil e cheio de simpatia pela vida brasileira).
- 5. Como expliquei na ocasião, os círculos universitários norte-americanos são extremamente sensíveis a tudo o que possa ferir, em qualquer parte do mundo, as prerrogativas de sua classe, e as intensas relações pessoais mantidas por quase todos os signatários com vários dos professõres que foram, então, aposentados explicam, mais do que qualquer outra razão, os têrmos das mensagens.
 - 6. Quanto ao Professor Philippe C. Schmitter, é êle autor de duas obras Mexico and Latin American Economic Integration e The Politics of Economics in Latin American, a segunda em colaboração com



PIA.

Emb. Washington/CONFIDENCIAL/7.(22)(42)/1969/página 3 e última.

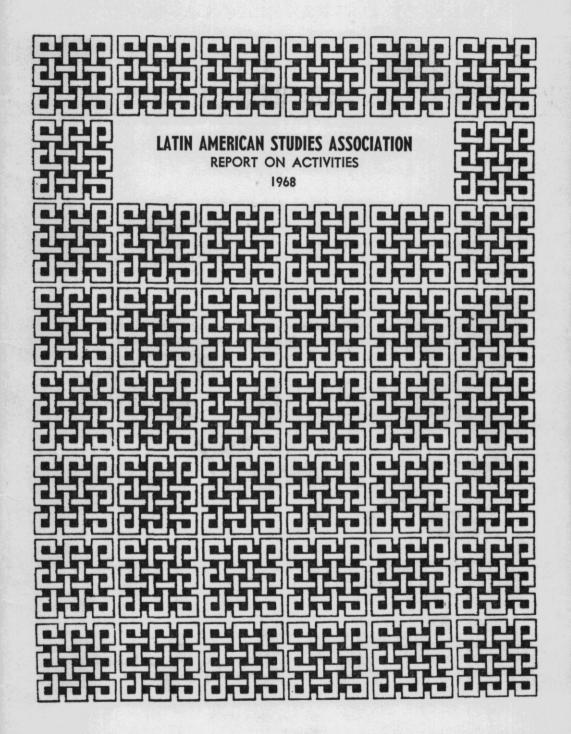
com Ernest B. Hass - sendo considerado, no espectro político norte-americano, um liberal moderado.

7.

A sede da LASA, a que estão ligados os departamentos de estudos latino-americanos de tôdas as importantes universidades nor te-americanas, é em Washington, na Hispanio Foundation da Biblioteca do Congresso.

Aproveito a oportunidade para renovar a Vossa Excellência os protestos da minha respeitosa consideração.

(Celso Diniz) Encarregado de Negócios, a. i.





REPORTS

THE LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION: A SUMMARY SURVEY WITH APPENDIX

Howard F. Cline, Director, Hispanic Foundation, Library of Congress

on MAY 7, 1966, A REPRESENTATIVE GROUP OF SCHOLARS WHO WERE INVITED to Washington, D.C. for a meeting sponsored by the Joint Committee on Latin American Studies (of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council) and the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress, formed the Latin American Studies Association. The members of the Latin American Research Review Board, representing the institutions contributing to the support of the Review, were among the scholars invited to this meeting. When, on May 12 it was incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia with a "perpetual" term, the new Association became a legal entity, a tax-exempt, non-profit professional body created by scholarly area specialists to meet their particular and growing needs.²

Below appear further details of the new organization, whose emergence is the most recent phenomenon in a lengthy evolutionary chain of events to which numerous groups and individuals have contributed over the years. Without attempting to be comprehensive, the following pages sketch the background out of which LASA grew, and place it in the historical context of the development of Latin American studies in the United States. We shall not attempt to encompass the general literature on the growth of area studies, or numerous writings diagnosing the ills and virtues of those concerned with Latin American studies and various attempts to create for them a durable coordinating mechanism.

Traditionally historians, students of literature, anthropologists, and geographers have, in descending numbers in that order constituted the majority of Latin Americanists. Such area specialization slowly grew from diverse roots, taking on numbers and becoming more visible in form after 1900.

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Enclosure #4

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MEMORANDUM

TO: Officials of the Latin American Studies Association and Other Scholars

Interested in Brazil

FROM: Philippe C. Schmitter

IN RE: The Recent "Involuntary Retirement" of Scholars in Brazil

By coincidence, the recent "forced retirements" of academic personnel in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo occurred literally on the eve of my departure for Argentina (April 26-30). For the information of the officials and members of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA) and other scholars concerned with the future of academic life in Brazil, I have prolonged my passage here and appointed myself, strictly a titulo pessoal, a one-man preliminary investigating committee. The following, then, is a hopefully objective, but forcibly incomplete summary of the facts of the current situation. To this I have added a set of recommendations for possible action on the part of LASA.

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The prospect that the Costa e Silva Government would "humanize" the Revolution of 1964 and respect the admittedly authoritarian, but nonetheless non-arbitrary, provisions of the 1967 Constitution was abruptly cancelled by the promulgation of the 5th Institutional Act on December 13, 1968. The immediate provocation for the Act was the refusal of Congress to waive the immunity of one of its members, who had spoken out against the military after their invasion of the University of Brasilia and who was accused by the government of "publicly inciting animosity between the armed forces." But the Act was entirely out of proportion to the speech of the Deputy or Congress's refusal to exorcise itself of him. It was in fact much less a specific counter-measure by the Government than a reaction by the linha dura within the military to what they perceived as an alarming drift in Brazil toward political accomodation and liberalization. In the clearest language possible an important, indeed determinant, group of military officials announced to the Brazilian people that it would not tolerate even a return to the oligarchic, "bourgeoise republican," norms of the post-war period, especially those concerning tolerance of civil and political liberties. Following its promulgation, the Government disbanded the Federal Congress and several state legislatures, retired from the Supreme Court several of its judges, suspended the political rights of dozens of politicians and former political activists, arrested still dozens more after summary procedures, and engaged in extensive censorship of mass-media. It did not immediately attack members of the academic profession, but concentrated on purges within the "political class."

Ominous signs, however, appeared during the early months of 1969. The Ato itself, removed the constitutional guarantees concerning Federal employment and empowered the President of the Republic to "dismiss, remove, retire, or make available (disponível) any (federal, state, municipal, or territorial) employee of autarchic agencies, public firms, or mixed companies with salaries proportional to their term of service." Since a vast majority of Brazil's scholars are publicly employed, the potential threat to their tenure and freedom

of expression was obvious. Even more ominous were the provisions suspending $\underline{\text{habeas corpus}}$, judicial review of executive decisions made under the Act, and permitting the President to decree further $\underline{\text{Atos}}$ at his discretion.

In a climate of widespread apprehension -- stimulated by rumors of dismissals of professors and personal vendettas at provincial universities (the censored newspapers carried no mention of these events) -- the Government issued Decree-Law no. 477 (February 26, 1969) which "defines disciplinary infractions practised by professors, students, employees, and workers of public and private teaching establishments." Barring strikes and stoppages, the organization of subversive movements, parades, marches, etc., and the production, distribution, or storage of subversive material "of any type" as well as other activities, the Act added a particularly sinister innovation by making the direcor of the school personally responsible for installing a police inquiry in the event of a complaint and for disciplining the accused within 48 hours "mediante processo sumário." Punishments are to run from a five-year prohibition of employment in the case of teaching and administrative personnel to a three-year expulsion for students with fellowship aid to be denied for five years. "In the case of foreign bolsistas, immediate expulsion from the country" is stated punishment.

A subsequent regulation of the decree gave a more prominent role in the initiation of accusations to the Division of Security and Information of the Ministry of Education, a quasi-military, secret police unit within the Ministry. It also invited "any other authority or person!" to file complaints! All investigations are to pass through this Division which will exercise, in conjunction with the Minister, ultimate authority over judgment and sentencing.

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In the midst of public relations campaigns intended to "tranquilize spirits," promote a "return to political normality," and appeal to Brazilian scholars abroad to repatriate themselves, the Rio de Janeiro newspapers of April 26 carried almost without comment a list of 44 funcionários públicos who had been (involuntarily) retired with pay proportional to their time of service. With few exceptions, these consisted of university professors (see attached list for the names of those affected as of May 13th, with their institutional affiliation and field of specialization). On this first list were such prominent professors as Florestan Fernandes, José Leite Lopes, Roberto Accioli, Manoel Maruício de Albuquerque, and Eulália Maria Lannayer Lôbo.

Four days later (April 30) a second and much longer list was promulgated, this one containing mostly politicians and diplomats, along with 24 professors at the University of Sao Paulo. Again the primary target seemed to be social scientists, e.g. Caio Prado Júnior, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Octávio Ianni, Paula Beiguelman, Paulo Singer, although it also contained a number of very prominent scholars in the physical sciences and medicine.

In neither case were any specific accusations levied against the dismissed professors and researchers, nor were they given the slightest opportunity to defend themselves before or after "sentencing." The decisions came abruptly and arbitrarily -- without warning to those involved and without explanation to the public at large.

The analysis of the process, motives, and consequences -- to say nothing about predictions of likely future behavior -- is bound to be excessively speculative in an ambiente such as Brazil is currently experiencing. Fragmentary data, allusions, rumors, supposition, and pure guesswork substitute for the systematic juxtaposition of multiple observations. The almost complete censorship of the newspapers insures incomplete information on the part of Government officials, as well as the affected parties and outside observers.

From a series of informal interviews and what has been available publicly, I can offer the following speculations as to process, motive, and consequences.

<u>Process</u>: There were significant differences in the way in which the two lists of "retirees" were elaborated. The first was, in the opinion of all, "badly done." In at least one case, the <u>aposentado</u> (Bolivar Lamounier, a Ph.D. candidate at UCLA currently working with the Candido Mendes Research Institute), was fired from a Federal position which he had never occupied. Others seemed to have been similarly irrationally accused or selected. The principal target, however, was the teaching and research staff of the Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Sociais (IFCS) of the Federal University of Rio. (Formerly, when I taught there, it was just the Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade do Brasil.)

The initiative apparently came from the investigating commission inside the Ministry of Education composed of General Turola (a man of near legendary brutality), Professor Jorge Boaventura, and Professor Helio Avelar. Accusations were reportedly filed against their colleagues by various radical rightist professors within the Institute and the University (most repeatedly named as responsible was Eremildo Viana, professor of medieval and ancient history and ex-director of the Faculdade de Filosofia da UFRJ) who had the necessary contacts with military officials and could thereby eliminate their political and personal opponents within these.

The second (São Paulo) list also bears the stamp of a personal vendetta rooted in faculty politics. The current Minister of Justice, Luiz Antônio da Gama e Silva, is the former rector of USP and the victims read suspiciously like a list of his personal opponents, a group of younger professors, devoted to university reform. Whereas the first list appeared suddenly, a presidential decree with little or no prior collegial evaluation, the second issued from an elaborate and publicized meeting of the National Security Council (CSN) and followed what might be called the "normal" channels of repressive policy-making.

The point to be made here is that the decisional process in contemporary Brazil is extremely erratic and unpredictable. It some cases to get a repressive decision if would suffice simply to get the ear of the proper military official (especially Jayme Portela, the Head of Costa e Silva's Military Household). In other cases an elaborate formal procedure is followed involving deliberation by the whole Cabinet, although inside information on the CSN meeting indicated that none of the civilian Ministers dared question Gama e Silva's list and that the meeting itself was a mere formality. It is widely believed that civilian ministers and state governors even within their specific policy sector or geographic area, are not capable or influential enough to prevent repressive initiatives emanating from military sources. The Minister of Education was reliably reported not to have known of the first list before it was published in the papers; the Governor of São Paulo was informed of the second list by the radio report.

Motives: From the preceding description, it would appear that private objectives rooted in internal faculty disputes played an important role.

Nevertheless, certain interesting "coincidences" suggest other possible motives. The "retired" professors had two characteristics in common (1) they were almost invariably among the most popular with students; (2) they were strongly committed to and active in university reform. As a group they certainly could not be (and indeed were not) accused of flagrant leftism or subversion. There is no evidence of any organizational links with opposition groups or radical ideological convictions on the part of the group as a whole. The presence of a certain number of scientists of well-known apolitical leanings but who "suffered" from their popularity with students and their interest in modernizing their respective faculties confirms in the minds of many observers what seemed to be the ulterior motives behind the repressive acts. Also many more obviously leftist professors who were less popular or active in university reform were unscathed by the purge.

The fact that social scientists were especially hard-hit has convinced many that the military are especially wary about undergraduate instruction in these disciplines. One informant reported knowledge of an internal report in the Superior War School which concluded that social science was too "intoxicating" for undergraduates and, therefore, should not be taught, although no objections were raised against research or graduate instruction.

The initial concentration of effort on the Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Sociais in Rio de Janeiro was also a clear indication of the Government's intention to punish professors sympathetic to student protest demands. Students of the IFCS had been particularly active in the demonstrations of last year; its directory had been periodically harassed by eccusation, military interrogation, and even a bomb explosion in front of their building in Botafogo, largely on the vague grounds of promoting student political activisim. It was, not jokingly, accused of being the "Nanterre Carioca."

Consequences: Of course, the most immediate one is the stoppage of much of the country's important research in the physical and medical sciences, the complete collapse of the Social Science Institute in Rio de Janeiro, and the paralysis of the Faculty of Philosophy in São Paulo. In the latter case, students spontaneously went on strike (without, of course, calling it such). A Committee for the Defense and Autonomy of USP was formed with the ludicrously cautious assertion that it was "sem caráter político." In Rio de Janeiro the response has been less concerted and more anomic -- a sort of diffuse feeling of anger, fear, and helplessness. From Rio Grande do Sul came news of the resignation in solidarity of Leônidas Xausa as director of the Social Science Department.

In conversations with several <u>aposentados</u> and others, I sensed a surprisingly united reaction, perhaps the first instance of an emerging nationally-coordinated perspective on the part of social scientists in Brazil -- itself a somewhat encouraging aspect in an otherwise very discouraging situation. First and foremost is their desire to avoid "another Argentina" or, in other words, the wholesale resignation and emigration of scholars from the country. Those not (yet) affected are being encouraged not to resign; those already affected are exploring various possibilities for shifting to private sources of research support and training facilities (a.g. the Instituto Universidade de Pesquisa da Faculdade Cândido Mendes, the Getúlio Vargas Foundation (its private standing and autonomy from Government interference is questionable) and the Instituto Nacional de Estudos de Desenvolvimento (INED) in São Paulo). For a few at the top echelons with important research projects and some students in advanced graduate studies whose professors have been forced to resign, going abroad may be the only alternative.

The Probable Future: The dreariest scenario suggest that these events are only the tip of an iceberg -- the first move in a carefully calculated, "salamislicing," tactic aimed ultimately at destroying the independent academic life of the country, especially in the soical sciences, by eliminating one group of scholars after another. Based on a meticulous "cost-benefit" analysis, the hard line military single out a certain marginal set of victims, remove them while the other who remain relatively unaffected by the first slice simply wait their turn. Backing this interpretation are some of the ideological pronouncements and expressions of objectives put out by the military, the recent statement of the Justice Minister that "the punishments have no quantitative limit and are going to reach all sectors of national life," the failure of the Governor of São Paulo to appoint as new rector of USP the name most voted on by the University Council as traditionally had been the case, and the strange notices that military officers have been insisting on their right to enter the universities to take courses and degrees without taking the usual entrance examination.

The second scenario depicts the Costa e Silva regime as exceedingly narrow-based, vulnerable to military factionalism, hopelessly confused, following contradictory and self-defeating policies (e.g. publicly promoting an elaborate university reform bill and then expelling most of the professors interested in the reform; attempting to close the technological gap à la Servan-Schreiber and then forcing the most dynamic and original researchers to resign), and completely lacking a predictable, logical decision-making structure. Decisions emerge from a variety of sources based on a puzzling combination of individual initiative, personal vendetta, military cobertura, and infighting between cliques within the regime -- with no apparent method or madness. The President, Costa e Silva, is viewed as basically a weak figure who has to permit a great deal of delegation of decisional autonomy, although he must ultimately sign all decrees, and who is kept deliberately ill-informed by a tight circle of rightist military advisors and a bland, thoroughly censored press.

In either scenario, the future of academic freedom and original research in Brazil is grim. Whether they come as part of a careful plan or as the result of vengeful, isolated initiatives, everyone anticipates further "retirements" of university personnel. Rumors of additional lists in Rio and São Paulo and new ones in other states and who is on them are rife. A sense of impending doom coupled with helplessness, but so far not accompanied by panic, penetrates all areas of intellectual endeavor. For a country with an enviable past record for tolerance and the protection of civil liberties, it is a sad tale. For a researcher who is returning to Brazil for the first time in three years, it has been a shocking experience.

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Suggested courses of action: Any action taken by LASA or other group of American scholars -- and I am firmly convinced that the scholarly community should take a stand on this unequivocal breach of academic freedom -- must take into account the sad fact that the current Brazilian regime is one of the most authoritarian regimes in post-war Latin America and getting more so daily. Attempts to communicate with, much less effectively influence, policy-makers are hardly likely to succeed unless formulated in a manner calculated to appeal to the military mind, e.g. the need for research to enhance Brazil's national security, or accompanied by the threat of such sanctions, e.g. the withdrawal of U.S. aid altogether cr from specific projects, that the regime has to pay attention to them. LASA is not likely to make an impact on either ground.

Perhaps more important, is the impact that a strong stand will have on the spirits and will to resist of Brazil's scholars. A sign that the outside world does care about the maintenance of an advanced and progressive research capacity in Brazil and that it is prepared to facilitate this internally and, if necessary, externally could be very important. Also useful might be a sign from the international scholarly community that those so-called academies who use expediential "revolutionary" appeals to military authorities in order to resolve their internal faculty disputes and to prevent university reform by purging their opponents will eventually suffer some consequences.



I; therefore, propose the following measures:

- 1. The immediate dispatch of an official LASA investigating committee charged, as in the Argentine case, with conducting an inquiry into all aspects of the recent involuntary retirements and the eventual publication of a report. This committee should seek maximum publicity for its efforts (although its activities will be surely censored out of the Brazilian press). The governments of the United States and of Brazil should be informed formally of this mission and its composition. It would be desirable if the committee of inquiry could be composed of some three to five persons of considerable intellectual stature here in Brazil, with at least one representative from the physical sciences and, hopefully, with European as well as North American participation.
- 2. Information concerning the state of Brazil's universities and research institutions should be disseminated as widely as possible, e.g. letters to newspapers, Congress, the Department of State, etc. I am thoroughly "unoptimistic" about any attempt to get the State Department to make even a symbolic gesture, but the effort should be made. Interestingly, here in Brazil, some hope is entertained that Nelson Rockefeller in his forthcoming visit can be prevailed upon to express his concern with the state of academic life and public freedoms in this country. His Latin American advisors should be approached and appraised of the content of this memorandum. Another possible area for applying pressure might be the international lending agencies, especially those with loans in the educational sector such as the IADB.
- 3. An informal clearing house should be set up by LASA with the purpose not only of disseminating information about further repressive acts, but also of collecting requests by Brazilian scholars who feel they must leave the country and who desire employment and/or educational opportunity abroad. This service could be especially critical for persons in the humanities and "softer" social sciences who are likely to find it more difficult to join one of the existing private research teams.
- 4. Foundations should be approached and impressed with the desirability of "emergency" financing for private academic and research ventures in Brazil, e.g. the Cândido Mendes Institute and the Instituto Nacional de Estudos de Desenvolvimento in São Paulo. True, there is no Di Tella Institute in Brazil but a series of, hopefully interconnected, mini-Di Tellas may suffice to keep the social sciences alive in these trying times.
- 5. International professional associations should be appraised of the purges and requested to transfer, where possible, their meetings away from Brazil. Especially, they should be appraised of the names of the persons involved and requested to attempt to avoid conferring prestigious contacts upon those directly involved in the repression. Incidentally, international honors and invitations are still well-publicized in the Brazilian newspapers and serve to embarass the Government when given to forcibly "retired" professors.

Philippe C. Schmitter Rio de Janeiro 15 May 1969

PROFESSORS AND TEACHERS RETIRED FROM THE PUBLIC SERVICE

UNDER THE FIFTH INSTITUTIONAL ACT

UNIVERSITY OF SÃO PAULO

Acting Rector

Helio Lourenço de Oliveira

Faculty of Philosophy

Caio Prado Jr. (History)
Emília Violetta da Costa (History)
Fernando Henrique Cardosa (Sociology)
Florestan Fernandes (Sociology)
Octávio Ianni (Sociology)
Paula Beiguelman (Politics)
Mario Schemberg (Physics)
Jayme Tiomno (Physics)
Bento Prado Alemida Ferraz (Philosophy)
José Artur Giannotti (Philosophy)

Faculty of Medicine

Alberto Carvalho da Silva (Physiology)^X Isaias Raw (Biochemistry)^{XX} Luiz Reis Luis Hildebrand Pereira da Silva Reinaldo Chiaverini

Faculty of Medicine in Ribeirão Preto

Helio Lourenço de Oliveira (Psychology and Psychiatry)

Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism

Jon Andro Veigareche Maitrejean João Batista Vilanova Artigas

School of Cultural Communications

Jean Claude Bernadit (Film)

Faculty of Public Health and Hygiene

Elsa Salvatori Berquó (Statistics)
Paulo Israel Singer (Statistics)

Institute of Pre-History

Paulo Alfeu Monteiro Duarte (Director)

x Professor Carvalho is also president of the São Paulo State Research Foundation (FAPESP).

xx Professor Raw is also presidente of the Carlos Chagas Foundation and scientific director of the Foundation for the Development of Science Teaching.



UNIVERSITY OF SÃO PAULO (cont'd)

Institute Butanta (for the study of poisonous venom)

Olga Baeta Henriques (Biochemist) Sebastião Baeta Henriques (Biophysicist)

FEDERAL UNIVERSITY OF RIO DE JANEIRO

Institute of Philosophy and Social Sciences

Maria Celia Pedroso Torres Bandeira (Sociology)
Marisa Coutinho (Sociology)
Moema Eulalia de Oliveira Toscano (Sociology)
Alberto Coelho de Souza (Sociology)
Lincoln Bicalho Rogue (Sociology)
Gay José Paulo de Holanda (History)
Maria Yeda Linhares (History)
Hugo Weiss (History)
Manuel Mauricio de Albuquerque (History)
Maria São Paulo de Vasconcelos (Anthropology)
José Antonio da Mota Pessanha (Philosophy)

Institute of Geosciences

Eduardo Moura da Silva Rosa (Geography)

Institute of Physics

José Leite Lopes (Director) João Cristóvão Cardoso Elisa Ester Frota Pessoa Plinio Sussekind da Rocha Sara de Castro Barbosa

Institute of Mathematics

Maria Laura Leite Lopes

School of Chemistry

Augusto Araujo Lopes Zanith (Director) Aurelio Augusto Rocha

School of Belas Artes

Mario Antonio Barata Quirino Campofiorito Abelarda Zaluar

School of Physical Education and Sports

Alberto Latorre de Faria

FEDERAL UNIVERSITY OF RIO DE JANEIRO (cont'd)

Faculty of Law

Alberto Portocarrero de Miranda

School of Music

José de Lima Siqueira

PONTIFICAL CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF RIO DE JANEIRO

Miriam Limoeiro Cardoso Lins (Sociology)
Bolivar Lamounier (Political Science)**XX
José Antonio da Mota Pessanha (Philosophy)**XXX
Manuel Mauricio de Albuquerque (History)**XXX
João Cristóvão Cardoso (Physics)**XXX

COLEGIO DOM PEDRO II (Secondary School)

Roberto Bandeira Acioli Maria Helena Trench Villas Boas

FEDERAL UNIVERSITY OF MINAS GERAIS

Nassim Gabriel Merediff (Education)

UNKNOWN (Rio de Janeiro)

Osmar Cunha (Ex-federal deputy)
Yara Lopes Vargas (Ex-federal deputy)
Helio Marques da Silva
Milton Lessa Bastos
Wilson Ferreira Lima
Maria José de Oliveira
João Luis Duboc Pinaud

UNKNOWN (São Paulo)

Julio Pudeles Pedro Calil Padis

xxx Professor Lamounier is also director of the University Institute of Research of the Faculty Cândido Mendes

xxxx These professors were also listed above as faculty members of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro.

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