

BRAZILIAN INFORMATION BULLETIN

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Number 2

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF BRAZILIAN BISHOPS:

"Tortures, unfortunately, do exist in our country"

On February 17, at the conclusion of its 12th annual General Assembly (held in Belo Horizonte), the National Council of Brazilian Bishops released three letters dealing with the highly sensitive issues of torture and repression. In doing so the Catholic Church took one more step towards an open break between church and state in Brazil and placed itself more firmly in the position of the most outspoken organized above-ground opposition inside the country to the government's current policies.

The first letter was addressed to Archbishop Valdir Calheiros of Volta Redonda, a Brazilian steel producing center. The letter expressed solidarity and rejected the charges of "subversion" that were made against him for denouncing the torture of a labor union leader in Volta Redonda in 1969.

The letter not only supported the bishop but also clearly acknowledged the existence of torture in Brazil: "In the specific case of Volta Redonda, when your Excellency denounced tortures which the authorities deny took place,¹ we observe that indeed tortures, unfortunately, do exist in our country, and in many circumstances, in the most shocking way."

THE SECOND LETTER

The second letter was addressed to the Provincial of the Dominican order, Domingos Maia. It gives moral support to the Dominicans and protests the long delay and procrastination of final decisions on Dominican priests and other laymen who have been in prison for more than fifteen months and do not foresee resolution of their cases in the near future. "We dare to hope that, from now on, no arrest will be made without observing the legal procedures such as official communication with the legal authorities in this way preventing prisoners from being kept incommunicado, barred from talking with their lawyers, with neither themselves nor their families knowing why those things happened, why they are kept under those conditions or when they will be allowed to return to a normal life with their families and in their communities."²

THE THIRD LETTER: THE RECENT TORTURE OF A PRIEST AND HIS AIDE.

Paulo Evaristo Arns is the new archbishop of Sao Paulo. In his first days as Archbishop, Dom Arns had

a delicate case on his hands. On January 29th, Father Giulio Vicini, 30, of Milan, Italy, and Mrs. Yara Spadini, Brazilian social worker, were arrested on charges of subversion at a favela (slum) where they were doing social work.

The priest and the social worker were tortured at police intelligence headquarters. The archbishop was allowed to visit them and later described that "he saw the marks of torture including burns left by violent electric shocks."³ Mrs. Spadini was stripped almost naked in front of six men and threatened with sexual assault if she did not admit she was engaged in subversion.

There was prompt action: in a interview with Sao Paulo's Governor Abreu Sodre, the Archbishop described the treatment that the two prisoners had received. "The Governor was shocked" he said in a interview with newspapermen. "He gave me permission to take a doctor to jail to give the prisoners a full medical examination".⁴ But as soon as the permission to do



this was granted, military prosecutor Durval de Moura Araujo accused the two persons (after having already kept them under arrest and incommunicado for ten days) of writing leaflets "containing ... subversive propaganda and false statements aimed at turning the people against constituted authorities", and requested that the police keep the two in custody and incommunicado, for ten more days, while an investigation was completed. The police force (which officially comes under the governor's control) put them incommunicado, and forbade the doctor to see them. A Catholic layman explained the episode as being "... a result of the military mind. Someone knew the examination would cause trouble..."⁵

As a result, on Sunday, February 7, all the churches in the diocese of Sao Paulo posted an eleven-point statement on their doors charging that the two persons had been tortured and that Government authorities has broken a promise to have them examined by a doctor of the Bishop's choice.

BRAZILIAN TESTIMONY

Priest in the dragon's chair

RIO DE JANEIRO—For the first time in recent years the Brazilian press has been permitted to publish the testimony of political prisoners who said they had been tortured by the police.

Father Giulio Vicini, an Italian priest, and Yara Spadini, a Brazilian social worker, appeared in a Sao Paulo military court on March 2 on charges of engaging in "subversive activities." At a public hearing attended by, among others, the Archbishop of Sao Paulo, Msgr. Paul Evaristo Arns, Italian Consul Marcelo Minime, and Msgr. Aristides Pierovano, Superior General of the Vatican's Missionary Institute, as well as reporters and priests, the accused persons related how they had been tortured after their arrest on January 30.

Father Vicini said he was beaten up by four policemen, who insulted him and spat in his face, immediately after he was brought to the police station. After he had been roughed up for two hours he was strapped into a chair popularly called the *cadeira do dragao* (dragon's chair), and subjected to a long series of electric shocks.

Four policemen jabbed him with the electrodes while a fifth regulated the voltage of the current. In addition, the priest testified, his torturers shone an unbearably bright light in his eyes, while earphones clapped to his head pounded out a variety of shrieks and other noises.

When these tortures failed to elicit a confession—for the simple reason that Father Vicini had none to make—the enraged policemen dragged him before a man he easily recognized as none other than the celebrated Sao Paulo Police Commissioner Sergio Paranhos Fleury.

It was he who induced former guerrilla leader Carlos Marighela to walk into a trap where he was gunned down on November 4, 1969. Also to Mr. Paranhos Fleury's credit was the police operation which resulted in the death of Mr. Marighela's successor, Joaquim Camara Ferreira, on October 21, 1970.

Miss Spadini's testimony was

shorter but no less indicting. She said she had been tortured with electric shocks for about fifteen minutes. Then, interrupting her narrative, she told the judge innocently that she had no idea why she was arrested. "You were caught carrying subversive material," she was informed by the bench. "That is why you are being prosecuted."

Straw in the wind?

"That charge was invented after my arrest," she protested. "No one mentioned this to me until now." Cheers broke out in the courtroom, and some laughed nervously, whereupon the judge ordered the court cleared, except for the lawyers and—rather significantly—the reporters.

That Father Vicini and Miss Spadini were able to talk in open court, before the Brazilian public and a special envoy from Rome, about the tortures police inflicted on them is an exceptionally important development in and of itself. But what is even more significant is that not only were reporters admitted to the trial; they were allowed to print what they heard, a marked departure from the usual government reaction to this kind of disclosure.

One interpretation is that the government has decided to stop "covering" the torturers. It may be indicative that the men accused by Father Vicini and Miss Spadini were uniformed members of the police.

The National Bishops' Conference of Brazil, meeting in its twelfth assembly at Belo Horizonte last month, passed a new resolution protesting against police torture in Brazil. It was a gesture of support for Msgr. Arns, whose firm position on the question seems to have produced some results. The Brazilian authorities could benefit from this development if the Vatican envoy, Msgr. Pierovano, reports back to Rome that while prisoners are tortured in Brazil, the government and the courts are determined to put an end to such practices.

IRENEE GUIMARAES

The letter sent by the NCBP supports the position taken by Archbishop Arns and quotes the note that the Secretary for Public Safety of Sao Paulo sent to the Bishops promising to "uphold the integrity of the authors of common crimes as of terrorists and subversives by not allowing abuses...."⁶ The letter states that the Bishops together with Dom Arns will keep vigil in order to see that these goals are fulfilled within the territory of their dioceses.

According to the indictment, the leaflets considered subversive blamed the authorities for "murdering" a young worker named Raimundo Eduardo da Silva and carrying out a campaign of "persecution and mass arrests" against workers in the industrial suburbs of Santo Andre and Maua.⁷

In Italy, already more than 70,000 people have signed a protest statement about this case which will be sent to the Vatican and to the Brazilian Government.⁸

FOOTNOTES:

1. *The New York Times* of February 18 mistranslates this as "...you denounce the existence of torture that in fact did not take place...." The original, as it appeared in *Correio da Manha* on February 18 states: "...onde V. Exma. denuncia torturas que no dizer das autoridades nao se teriam verificado..."
2. Translated from the Portuguese as it appeared in the newspaper *Correio da Manha*, February 18, 1971.
3. *Latin American Times*, February 14, 1971.
4. *Latin American Times*, February 14, 1971.
5. *The Miami Herald*, February 12, 1971.
6. *Correio da Manha*, February 18, 1971.
7. Santo Andre and Maua are suburbs of Sao Paulo.
8. *Latin American Times*, February 14, 1971.

TO CONTINUE RECEIVING THIS BULLETIN

The first two issues of this Bulletin have been sent to a very large mailing list. Beginning with Bulletin No. 3 we will send it only to those who responded to these mailings and let us know they have received the Bulletin and wish to continue receiving it. Also send us the addresses of others you think would be interested in receiving a sample copy.

We depend on contributions to cover the costs of printing and mailing -- labor is donated. Please make checks payable to American Friends of Brazil, Box 2279, Station A, Berkeley, CA. 94702.

We also welcome any contributions of articles, photographs, brief notices, documents, graphics, etc., though we cannot guarantee they will all be used.

Many thanks to those of you who responded so generously to our first issue.

Note: There are no copies of Bulletin No.1 left.

DOCUMENT:

Brazil denounced to U.N. Human Rights Commission

In a effort to focus more world attention on the mistreatment of political prisoners and the general state of repression in Brazil and to create more pressure on the government to allow an international body to investigate the state of human rights in the country, a number of leading international organizations made a special appeal to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights currently in session in Geneva.

The presentation of the two documents reproduced below was made on March 23rd. They immediately received the support of the delegations from Austria, the Netherlands and Pakistan. The appeal to the Brazilian government was sent to President Medici on March 16th with an information copy sent to the Inter-American Human Rights Commission.

Readers are urged to give these documents as wide a circulation as possible in their local media and to follow them up in whatever ways seem most appropriate.

STUDY OF THE SITUATION IN BRAZIL WHICH REVEALS A CONSISTENT PATTERN OF VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

1. Recent information about Brazil has been characterized by one common trend: allegations of the systematic violation of human rights by the Brazilian authorities. This concern has been voiced by a number of Brazilian and international institutions, as well as by outstanding personalities. They suggest that such persistent violations are being felt by all strata in Brazil. Increased protests are coming from all sectors of the population, including many who had thus far hesitated to speak out.
2. The National Conference of Brazilian Bishops, in a statement issued in May 1970, denounced "trials conducted too slowly, arrests on the basis of mere suspicion, hasty and unproven charges, and investigations carried out while the defendants are detained in secret prisons and are often deprived of the fundamental right of defence". Still more recently, in February 1971, the Conference restated: "We must affirm that unfortunately tortures exist in our country".
3. The Brazilian Association of Lawyers has time and again protested against the ill-treatment of political prisoners and their seriously restricted right of defence.
4. Trade union organizations have protested against the limitation of freedom of association and democratic liberties, and have expressed their concern about the violation of their right to organize and to express grievances in Brazil.
5. Reports have been received of wide-spread intimidation of suspects by their arrest, detention and torture, either physical or psychological, by police and military organizations, these suspects being later released without any attempt to charge or try them for any offence -- a procedure which is a complete abuse of the Rule of Law and Human Rights.
6. In view of the apparent powerlessness of judicial

institutions in Brazil, seen by some to be dangerously threatened by undue interference by the executive power, a number of international organizations have felt it important to determine the validity of these allegations. In July 1970, the International Commission of Jurists requested the Brazilian Government to grant facilities to the International Committee of the Red Cross and to Amnesty International to visit all places of imprisonment and detentions, and asked the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights to undertake an investigation into the treatment of political prisoners in Brazil, in order to ensure, at least, that the United Nations standard minimum prison rules are respected.

7. The Brazilian Government has chosen to reply by denying the existence of political prisoners and the use of torture in the country, and by refusing to authorize the visit of any international organization, thus impeding any impartial ascertainment of the validity of the allegations.

8. The allegations can no longer be ignored by the United Nations. In particular, the growing protest from important Brazilian and international ecclesiastical, trade unions, lawyers associations and other bodies, that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to which the Brazilian Government is a signatory, is being systematically violated through the torture of political prisoners.

9. For this reason, the international Organizations, listed in the annex to this document, have addressed a joint appeal to the Brazilian Government, urging it to accept an impartial investigation by a competent international commission. The full text of this appeal is attached.

10. They further urge the United Nations Commission on Human Rights to place the specific case of human rights violations in Brazil on its agenda. They are prepared to place at the disposal of the Commission extensive documentation of these allegations which, we are convinced, contain sufficient evidence to demand study and eventual action by the United Nations. Such a preliminary dossier has been presented to the Secretary-General, and we are at his disposal to provide such further information as he may deem useful and necessary.

World Federation of Trade Unions

Commission of the Churches on
International Affairs of the
World Council of Churches

International Commission of Jurists

Pax Romana

March 1971.

A UNITED APPEAL TO THE BRAZILIAN GOVERNMENT

Considering that in the course of the last two years, many well-known Brazilian and international institutions and personalities have expressed grave concern

over allegations of the systematic violation of human rights in Brazil;

Bearing in mind that the Brazilian government has repeatedly denied any use of torture against the political prisoners in that country;

Recalling that the Brazilian government has refused to authorize the visit of any international organization, including the International Committee of the Red Cross, to the places of imprisonment and detention or to allow it to interview prisoners, thereby impeding the impartial ascertainment of the validity of these allegations;

Recalling that the Brazilian government took this same attitude in not allowing the designated regional body, the International

body, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, to pursue its investigation into the treatment of political prisoners in Brazil;

The undersigned international organizations call upon the Brazilian government to withdraw its opposition to an impartial investigation of these allegations by a competent international commission.

- Amnesty International
- Catholic International Union of Social Service
- Commission of the Churches on International Affairs (CCIA)
- Committee on Society, Development and Peace (SODEPAX)
- Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
- World Council of Peace
- World Federation of Trade Unions
- World Muslim Congress
- World University Service (WUS)
- Confederation Mondiale du Travail (CMT)
- Federation Internationale des Droits de l'Homme
- International Association of Democratic Lawyers
- International Commission of Jurists
- International Peace Bureau
- International Students Movement for the United Nations (ISMUN)
- Mouvement International pour l'Union Fraternelle entre les Races et les Peuples (UFER)

Brazil leads O.A.S. walkout

The O.A.S. convention in early February in Washington, called to deal with the issues of kidnapping and terrorism of diplomats and other officials, ended in a hemispheric split.

After a week of negotiations, the Brazilian Foreign Minister, Mario Gibson Barboza, walked out because "... there is no possibility of a convention that would deal not only with kidnapping but with terrorism as a whole. In our opinion, kidnapping is not an isolated problem, but rather in some cases, an end to a sequence. Not to consider the whole sequence is inadmissible." Representatives from Argentina, Ecuador, Paraguay, Haiti, and Guatemala followed suit.

The controversial draft stated that kidnapping, murder, and other assaults on the lives and physical

integrity of V.I.P.s should be considered "common crimes of international significance, regardless of motive", and that the perpetrators of such "crimes" would not be entitled to asylum and would have to be extradited or tried in the country they were arrested in. Brazil and its allies wanted all terrorists to be subjected to this rule.

Then Chile, Bolivia and Peru walked out because they said the new rule would interfere with the right of asylum.

The draft just managed to pass with a majority of twelve votes, including that of the United States, the author of the draft.

From: The Washington Post, February 2, 1971.



Mato Grosso slave farm

A slave farm has been found in Mato Grosso, a huge, jungley state in the interior of Brazil, with 1,200 men who have been forced to work there for no pay. They were forced to work even when sick, were punished harshly or even killed on the slightest pretext, and forced to stay on this farm in the middle of nowhere by a band of armed men.

The farm was partly funded by a federal agency, the Superintendency for the Development of Amazonas and set up to guide the development of Brazil's vast interior. It was run by the Company for the Development of the Araguaia, and had begun growing crops, raising cattle and recruiting men in the states of Mato Grosso and neighboring Goias.

The farm advertised high pay, but the laborers never received a cent and were told that their food and lodgings were costing more than their wages. The men were literally prisoners and if ever they complained about the lack of pay, miserable conditions or mistreatment, they were brutally beaten. Malaria was rampant on the farm, and most of the men became ill soon after their arrival. Only the seriously ill were allowed to leave -- it was not uncommon for two men to die each day.

Thirteen men finally made an escape, but eight were caught and two were killed. The three who were successful eventually made it to Brasilia, several hundred miles to the south, and federal police were alerted.

They arrested eight men in charge of the farm who are being held responsible for the conditions there following a massive investigation -- they are charged with crimes ranging from beating workers to homicide. The police called the farm a "veritable concentration camp where hundreds of men lived in complete slavery".

The owners of the farm strongly denied the charges.

From: Los Angeles Times, February 17, 1971

POLITICAL PRISONER SENTENCED TO DEATH



Teodomiro Romeiro dos Santos and Paulo Pontes at the trial.

Teodomiro Romeiro dos Santos, a 19 year old high school student from Salvador, Bahia, is the first political prisoner to receive a sentence of capital punishment, under the new National Security Law issued by the military government in September 1969. He is accused, together with Paulo Pontes, a 26 year old bank clerk, of killing an Air Force sergeant who was a secret agent for a local political police force. Paulo Pontes was condemned to life imprisonment.

The new National Security Law instituted, for the first time in this century, capital punishment for both civilians and military personnel accused of revolutionary warfare or subversion. In Brazil, capital punishment was abolished by the Republic in 1889; even before

that, during the Empire, it was seldom used. Had they not been convicted of political activity, both would have been judged under the Penal Code which calls for imprisonment of twelve to thirty years for the same offense.

Both prisoners, detained since October, 1970, complained of torture and mistreatment while in jail. Their families declared they could not find a lawyer in Salvador to defend the two, and thus had to accept the Public Defender. Since the sentence was pronounced, Professor Sobral Pinto, a distinguished lawyer from Rio de Janeiro, has offered to proceed with the defense of the two accused, in the Military Supreme Court, where an appeal can be made.

Since the establishment of the National Security Law, many Public Prosecutors have asked for the application of capital punishment for political crimes, but this is the first time that such a sentence has been given. The Catholic church, through the National Conference of Brazilian Bishops, released a statement to the press speaking out against the application of death sentence. The military prosecutor, however, was very satisfied with himself after the trial: "my accusation was excellent, maybe the best of my life". He also said that CODI (Coordination of Internal Defense), the repression organization to which the dead sergeant belonged, was supposed to guard "our democratic regime" and to defend "our sacred, free and Christian institutions" (*Jornal do Brasil*, March 19, 1971).

Although this is the first time that the death penalty has been applied in a political trial, it will not be the first time that citizens have been killed by the police for political reasons. One recent example: on March 23, five days after the trial, the leading Rio morning newspaper, *Jornal do Brasil*, published a release from the First Army Headquarters saying that Gerson Teodoro de Oliveira and Mauricio Guilherme da Silva died "on the way to the hospital", after a shootout with police agents; the note said they had "resisted arrest".

Mysterious disappearance of Paiva

Rubens Paiva, a civil engineer who was formerly a member of the Labor Party and the Chamber of Deputies, and who was stripped of his political rights for ten years in 1968, and his wife, Maria Lucrecia Eunice, were arrested in the middle of January and disappeared mysteriously a few days later.

Government security agents came to their apartment in Rio de Janeiro on January 20, put a hood over Mr. Paiva's head, and took him away. Several agents remained in the apartment overnight barring everybody -- the Paiva children, three friends of theirs who came over to visit, Mrs. Paiva, and the maids -- from leaving. The following morning, Mrs. Paiva, her 15-year old daughter, Eliana, and her three friends were hooded and taken to military police headquarters.

Eliana was locked up in a cell by herself and questioned about her father's contacts, who came to see him, who phoned him, and about "numerous telephone calls he received from Santiago, Chile" while she listened to the screaming of tortured prisoners. She was released the next morning and told that her father had "managed to escape". That evening, the Rio papers carried an article saying that eight anonymous gunmen had ambushed the Volkswagen that Paiva

was being driven in by police, the gas tank caught fire, and the mysterious men had fled with him. This is the last that has been heard from him or his wife, although the censored press has given at least the official details of the unexplainable disappearance. Paiva's family is both rich and influential, and has been able to bring the matter directly to the attention of President Emilio Medici, and Eliana Paiva has written a letter to the Commission for the Defense of Human Rights to appeal for help in getting her parents out of prison -- assuming they are still there and not dead.

News men who have investigated the spot where the attack is supposed to have taken place seem to doubt the government's story and believe that the whole incident was fabricated to cover up the truth of what really happened to Eunice and Rubens Paiva or what the military police and the government plan to do with them.

From: *The New York Times*, February 2, 1971 and
Le Monde, February 10, 1971

AS THE BRAZILIAN INFORMATION BULLETIN GOES TO PRESS:

We recently learned that Maria Lucrecia Eunice Paiva was released from prison after over two months, but there has been no news whatsoever of her husband.

THE TERROR OF TORTURE AND CRIMES IN BRAZIL

INTRODUCTION

Shortly after the arrival in Chile of the 70 prisoners released in exchange for the Swiss ambassador Giovanni Enrico Bucher on January 14, 1971, Punto Final, a leading Chilean leftist weekly, conducted interviews among the ex-prisoners. Reproduced below are a statement by a spokesman for the group, Jean Marc van der Weid (president of the Brazilian National Union of Students) and two personal testimonies which give a graphic description of the repression and torture which have become commonplace in Brazil. At the same time the interviews reveal a strong determination to continue organizing and a clear faith in the ability of the Brazilian people to create a new order. (Source: Punto Final, February 2, 1971, no. 123).

STATEMENT BY JEAN MARC VAN DER WEID

The following statement was read by Jean Marc van der Weid to 50 Chilean and foreign journalists shortly after the arrival of the 70 in Chile. Jean Marc, a Swiss-Brazilian chemical engineering student, was elected president of UNE, the Brazilian National Union of Students, in a clandestine meeting of delegates representing nearly all the universities in Brazil held in January 1969. UNE represents about 300,000 students and was outlawed in the early days of the military government in 1964.

Jean Marc was arrested in September 1969 and was tortured to try to get him to reveal the whereabouts of other UNE officers and to try to force him to admit he was a member of Acao Popular, an outlawed political movement which originated with several Catholic worker and student organizations. He was tortured with simulated drowning, the "pau-de-arara", electric shocks, and the "telephone" (as a result of which his right eardrum was punctured).

The 24 year old Jean Marc is currently touring Europe speaking about conditions in Brazil.

"As we set foot on Chilean soil, a country where the struggle for the liberation of the oppressed peoples made a step forward with the victory of the companeros of Unidad Popular¹, we address ourselves to the workers in the countryside and the cities, to the students and to the Brazilian people, as well as those outside of Brazil who support the liberation struggle now being waged in our country.

"In Brazil, the most basic human rights were set aside by a clique of generals in power. Legal protections as such as the right of habeas corpus, are denied those who oppose the regime; police repression indiscriminately affects thousands of Brazilian prisoners who do not have the right to a defense. The military tribunals, where those who judge are the same ones as those who torture, having nothing to envy in Franco's fascist tribunals and the judicial farces of the Nazis. There have been cases of torture in the very court rooms, as those of the Corporal Mariano Ferreira. Far from hearing the crescendo of worldwide clamor against the tortures, the military dictatorship only intensified and further institutionalized that monstrous institution of repression.

"Recently, a government minister publicly admitted the existence of torture in Brazil and the military officers responsible for the worst organization of repression in Sao Paulo -- Operacao Bandeirantes -- were decorated by the government with a medal of honor.

"Shortly after the kidnapping of the Swiss Ambassador by our companeros commander Eduardo Leite, known as "Bacuri"² -- who contrary to the reports of the newspapers in collusion with the repression, was still in prison -- was assassinated by torture and his eyes and ears were torn from his head by the Death Squad³.

"This fallen companero is just one more of the many who were murdered in Brazilian dungeons -- like Carlos Marighella, Juarez de Brito, Mario Alves, Joaquim Camara Ferreira, Severino Callou, Virgilio Gomes da Silva, Chael Charles, Olavo Hansen and many others.

"Parallel to this campaign of terror used to repress those who oppose the exploitation and repression of the Brazilian people, there is an intense campaign which attempts to show that Brazil is undertaking "huge projects to fit a big country". While the government boasts of the growing economy, real wages keep falling -- in the last five years real wages have dropped 54 percent. Programs such as "Operacao Rondon"⁵ which tries to cover up the misery of the Brazilian people with donations and social assistance, recruit students at the same time student leaders are being expelled from the universities and seized by the government. This fascist-nationalist chauvinism is strongly supported by the regime in order to make people forget that acute starvation is killing the Northeast.

"But all this cannot hide the fact that each day the poor get poorer and the rich get richer. This situation leads inevitably to struggle on the part of the exploited -- a struggle which is fundamentally expressed by the armed struggle which was begun by the Brazilian revolutionary groups about three years ago.

"The military dictatorship, the political expression of an alliance of North American imperialists with their Brazilian junior partners, is forced to use violent repression and deception in order to continue exploiting the Brazilian people. Having opted for integration into the periphery of the imperialist economy in 1964, its objective is to reduce the wages of the local labor force as much as possible in order to intensify the accumulation of capital, and with it facilitate the growth of profits for imperialism.

"Torture does not happen because the generals are "evil" as such, but because they find it necessary to increase the profits of the international monopolies (which directly subsidize those processes).

"However, it is just and necessary that the product of the Brazilian's work serve the needs of the Brazilian people. In response to the criminal attacks of the military regime, the working class has launched into armed struggle with the aim of eliminating oppression and exploitation. At this point small armed detachments emerged, bourgeois banks and military barracks were expropriated and actions were carried out to defend the political life of the masses.

"These detachments do not act according to an unreal plan, rather, they follow the course of the popular movement. Their aim is to create the necessary conditions for the emergence and development of the principal instrument of the struggle for liberation: the people's army.

"Although comparatively few until now have taken arms in hand, the correct course for the liberation struggle through urban and rural guerrilla warfare will arm all the people and annihilate the oppressors and exploiters of the Brazilian people.

"It is in this light that we should place the kidnapping of the Swiss ambassador: this was a legitimate action by the people to save our companeros from the horrors of the prisons. And so long as the dictatorship's arbitrary actions continue, we will continue to use this weapon.

"The alliance between the middle sectors, the working class and the peasants is being forged in the practice of the armed struggle to carry out the agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution and through a necessarily prolonged war. The people are taking on a long term struggle, where armed actions form the day-to-day political struggle. Brazilians understand that it isn't enough to re-establish the democratic institutions that have been destroyed by the generals; rather that we must establish a democracy with new foundations that will not be a simple clique of generals. True democracy in Brazil will emerge as the expression of a popular revolutionary government, the fruit of a long and hard struggle of all our people.

"The military dictatorship unilaterally completely broke down the kidnapping negotiations from the start. In this way they avoided publishing a manifesto to the nation written by the comandos who carried out the action, which included other demands: free travel on state-owned trains during the negotiations, and a list of names and accounts of Brazilians in Swiss banks. In addition, after having promised to free those who were named, they broke their word. With the list of names already in their hands, the Brazilian government used the list for blackmail by threatening us with reprisals in the event that the negotiations did not work out well. And they proceeded to refuse to release several comrades.

"False declarations to the effect that they did not want to be freed, were attributed, for example, to Dr. Ruben Bergel; companero Delio Fantini has yet to be freed because he still bears marks of the torture he suffered nearly 2 years ago.

"Continuing with their irresponsible offensive which at no time took into account the Swiss ambassador's life, the dictatorship subjected us to humiliations. Many of us were tied up together in pairs for three consecutive days at Galeao airport; part of our belongings were stolen; absurd slander against some of us appeared in the Brazilian press on the basis of official information, and we were assaulted by Air Force officials at the airport, while we were still tied up (we remained tied up until our arrival in Chile).

"The commando group responsible for the action never let itself be overcome by emotion, and was thus able to carry out

the negotiations to their conclusion.

"It is necessary to make known to international public opinion a denunciation: there is a concrete possibility that some of our companeros, like those who were rejected, such as Alberto Vinicius (Xanha), Paulo Ponte, Aldo Sa Brito, and Diogenes Sobrosa de Souza may have been murdered by the repression in the prisons.⁷ We must therefore submit this matter to an intense public campaign of public clarification.

"Summing up, we consider that the unpatriotic character of the Brazilian dictatorship shows itself most clearly when their agents try to annul our Brazilian citizenship -- we who are legitimate patriots! But the people know that we are continuing our struggle. If the dictatorship was born and will die fascist, then we were born and will die Brazilians!"

PART II - A METALLURGICAL WORKER

STATEMENT BY ROQUE APARECIDO DA SILVA

Roque Aparecido da Silva is a 24 year old metallurgical worker from Osasco.

"I worked as a metallurgical laborer in Osasco. On May 1, 1968, we organized a demonstration. It was brutally repressed by the police. Since then, I had to elude the DOPS police and the "Operação Bandeirantes" soldiers. I was arrested on February 1, 1969. They subjected me to all kinds of tortures. Electric shocks, the "pau-de-arara"⁸, beatings of all kinds. The writs of habeas corpus that were presented in my behalf were never even read.

"They persecuted me for being the leader of the metal workers. But in Brazil they do not only go after the organizers, but all their families also. Five months after I was imprisoned in Sao Paulo, my brother, Joao Dominguez da Silva, was arrested. They were always asking me about him in the torture sessions and trying to get me to inform on his whereabouts. Joao was arrested on the street, while walking with a fellow worker. He was shot after he was apprehended. With four bullets in his body, he was tortured for three days. Then he was transferred to a hospital.

"This hospital was later invaded by army troops, who took him to the military hospital. The torturers of the "Operação Bandeirantes" kept him there for fifty days. While they were performing four operations to remove the four bullets, they beat him. They treated him with serums and injections so they could continue torturing him. He finally died on September 23, 1969. I repeat his name because nobody should forget his death: Joao Dominguez da Silva ...

"At that time, my sixty year old father was also arrested and tortured; they were always asking for the whereabouts of my brother. They did not arrest my mother because she was in the hospital being operated on before my arrest, but they wanted to do it. They also arrested two other brothers, my sister, and her husband. They were all tortured, which is routine in Brazil. Even before asking any questions, the police and soldiers torture. The minister of Justice had a book printed in various languages saying that there were neither tortures nor political prisoners in Brazil. Like in every fascist and unpopular regime, the use of torture appeals to the cynicism, and the lies cover up the suffering and hunger of the people and the Brazilian working class.



"My wife Ana Maria Gomez da Silva, was held prisoner for eight months only for being the wife of "the known agitator Roque Aparecido da Silva." In a effort to break her down, she was forced to be present at the torture of other prisoners.

"When they finished torturing and murdering my brother Joao, the soldiers agreed to hand the body over to my family. But they put the body in a sealed coffin with a small glass opening that would permit you to only see his nose and eyes. But we know that there were wounds in his mouth that were one centimeter deep and that his head, his genitals, his hands and feet, all his body was covered with wounds from the electric shocks.

"Thinking that other revolutionaries would come to the house where they could pay respects to my brother's remains, 400 police surrounded the place. A soldier, who was a friend of my family, was taken prisoner at that moment, for nothing more than going to a friend's wake."

PART III - ALMOST A CHILD IN THE REVOLUTION

STATEMENT BY MENDES BRITO

Mendes Brito was limping as he got off the plane in Chile, having been tortured up to the last day of his detention. He was president of the Federation of Secondary School Students in Calabouço, Rio de Janeiro in 1967-68. Because he was labeled a leftist he was refused admission to the university. In the late 1960 he was sentenced in absentia by a military tribunal to three years imprisonment as a result of two charges of subversion. In 1966 he had joined the Brazilian Revolutionary Communist Party (PCBR) which was formed shortly after the 1964 coup by dissidents within the Communist Party.

"In 1968, acting on a decision of the organization, I went to work in the state of Parana. There, I organized the party among wage-earning coffee workers, who live in danger and indescribable misery, exploited by the rich landlords and colonels.

"On November 29, 1970, I was detained on suspicion in Patu Branco. They transferred me to military police headquarters in Curitiba, the state capital, where I was subjected to every type of torture from the "pau-de-arara" to electric shocks and drowning in water. When they arrested me, I had with me 2 pamphlets, one written by the PCBR, but unsigned, and one signed by the VPR (Popular Revolutionary Vanguard) entitled "Experiences of the VPR in Vale da Ribeira".

"They thought I might have been from the VPR, and during the tortures they questioned me on the whereabouts of Capitán Lamarca, leader of the VPR, and wanted me to divulge where the guerrilla training camps were. On the fourth day, I still had not given my real name, so they transferred me to Sao Paulo, and the torturers of the "Operacao Bandeirantes", 2nd Army, where they tortured me for three successive days. They gave me electric shocks on my genitals, tongue, hands and feet and the "pau-de-arara"; they put cigarettes out on my body; they beat me continuously on the kidneys with a rubber truncheon; they simulated drowning me by putting two rubber tubes up my nostrils through which they ran water; and also, by immersing me in a tank of water, while hung by the "pau-de-arara"; in other words, the whole repertoire of the repressive services of the

dictatorship.

"The military torturers confused me with Jose Leonardo, a Brazilian who is in Cuba, and they tortured me interminably to find out how, when and why I had returned, so I finally told them my real name, and they refused to believe me. Later they checked it out in the archives and found my dossier. Then they returned me to the military police in Curitiba, where the torturing continued every day.

"They wanted to know my connection with the other militants of the PCBR and the location of their training camps. I refused to say a word about the organization and that only made them all the more furious. I was tortured there until a week before the trip to Chile, about which I knew nothing. After that, they transferred me to Rio in an eleven-hour car ride, during which my face was covered with a hood, my hands and ankles were handcuffed, and I was tied around the neck. In Rio, I ended up in a police department that I did not recognize where they put me into a tiny room with my face still covered.

"On the first day of my arrival, they sent in a MAC (Movimento Anti-Comunista) commando group. They pinned the skull-and-crossbones of the "Death Squad" to my chest, read me a death sentence, and pretended to shoot a gun. I remained in this condition for seven days with no food or water, unconscious of what was going on. On the fifth day, I could not stand the thirst any longer -- I urinated into my shoe and drank it. I would also like to record -- the place seemed to be some sort of garage -- that they practiced another psychological torture which they call "presuntada" ⁹ on me which consists of throwing the prisoner on the ground tied up and driving over him or her with a car or else stopping short right on the ribs.

"On the 7th day, they transferred me from the little room to the Baron de Mesquita barracks of the Rio military police. Out of pure sadism, they tortured me from eleven at night until two in the morning with electric shocks using a modern electronic machine specially imported from the United States. After I signed the exchange agreement, I realized that it had been a kidnapping. They tried to force me to sign another document saying that I did not accept the exchange, but I refused. Nevertheless, they threatened to tell the Brazilian press that I did not want to go to Chile. They also did the same thing to other companeros. But I am here.

"I would like to announce that Alberto Vinicius do Nascimento was imprisoned with me. He is being tortured and has a broken leg. I know the regime intends to sentence him to death or life imprisonment. There are thousands of prisoners tortured in Brazilian prisons. They must be freed. Many of them run the risk of death by torture; many have already died from the beatings".

FOOTNOTES:

1. Unidad Popular is the name of the popular front government which won a plurality in the September 1970 elections in Chile and is currently in power under the leadership of Salvador Allende.

2. See Bulletin #1 (February 1971) page 2 for more on the death of Eduardo "Bacuri" Leite.

3. The Death Squad is a secret organization of off-duty policemen who believe in doing justice with their own hands; they execute persons alleged to have escaped legal punishment. Many Death Squad members are involved in torture cases.

4. Carlos Marighella was a Federal Deputy for the Brazilian Communist Party in the 1940's. In the late '60's he broke with the CP and became the chief organizer of the ALN (Aliance for National Liberation). He is the author of the "Minimanual for Guerrilla Warfare". On November 4, 1969 he was killed in an ambush led by Sergio Fleury (of Operação Bandeirantes and the Death Squad) in Sao Paulo.

Joaquim Camara Ferreira was Marighella's successor in the ALN. On October 24, 1970 he was killed by Fleury and his associates in Sao Paulo.

Olavo Hansen was a labor leader. The cause of his death, according to the Legal Medical Institute, was the injection into his bloodstream of a highly poisonous insecticide, Parathion. He was arrested on Labor Day (May 1, 1970) while leafleting in the outskirts of Sao Paulo. The physician Primo Alfredo Brandmuller was kidnapped while investigating the cause of his death. (see Veja, August 3, 1970).

Chael Charles was a medical student in Sao Paulo who was arrested and killed by torture. His body was given to his family for burial. When the coffin was opened before burial, as is Jewish custom, marks of torture could be seen all over his body.

Mario Alves was a journalist who was tortured to death in early 1970. He died after 24 hours of delirium without receiving any medical attention. He was one of the founders of the Brazilian Revolutionary Communist Party, a Communist Party split-off, in 1964, shortly after the coup.

Severino Viana Callou was a former Army sergeant, who, according to official reports, was found hung in his cell. However, it is well known that prisoners at the Army Police prison, where he was detained, are left naked or in their underwear and thus would have nothing with which to hang themselves.

Virgilio Gomes da Silva died on September 29, 1969, of tortures inflicted by agents of "Operação Bandeirantes". The day his body was buried his wife was tied to the "Dragon's Chair" to witness the torture of her four-month old son.

(A comprehensive list of tortured and torturers is available in French from the COMITE SOLIDARITE AVEC BRESIL, 4065 Rue Louis-Cyr, Montreal, Quebec, Canada; Tel. 932-7346).

5. Operação Rondon is a type of domestic "Peace Corps" organized by the Army to send students to poverty-stricken areas to provide medical, dental and other similar services.

6. Galeao is Rio de Janeiro's international airport.

7. The U.S. press referred several times to these people (though not by name), always reprinting the official Brazilian government reports: that the prisoners "did not wish to go into exile and preferred to remain in Brazil and take their punishment" (The Washington Post, December 22, 1970) or that the government would not free them "because they had been charged with kidnapping, murder or other major crimes" (The Miami Herald, December 27, 1970).

8. "Pau-de-arara", the "parrot's perch", is a common form of torture in Brazil. The victim's hands and feet are tied together and he is placed in a crouching position on the floor with his knees drawn up to his chest and his hands grasping his ankles. A wooden pole, sometimes a common brookstick, is then passed between his knees and forearms and he is lifted off the floor and left hanging from the pole whose ends are supported on two tables or other objects of similar height. The victim hangs, head down, often for several hours, usually nude, while various tortures are applied.

9. "Presuntada" comes from "presunto" (Portuguese for ham), which is the Death Squad slang word used to describe its dead victims.

Dow gets the best

General Golberi do Couto e Silva, former Director of S.N.I. (National Information Service, the Brazilian equivalent of the CIA), was recently named President of Dow Chemical do Brasil. He is one of the many ex-members of the military government that hold executive positions in American companies in Brazil. (Front Bresilien d'Information, Paris, No. 2, 1971).

How Business Week assesses political freedom in Brazil

"Underneath such business euphoria, though, there is a dark side to Brazil's prosperity. The military regime ruthlessly represses all signs of political dissent. Before last Fall's state elections, 5,000 people were arrested, most of them by political police wearing hoods. The government turns a blind eye to "death squads" of off-duty police who execute persons alleged to have escaped legal punishment. Newspapers are censored and shut down, phones tapped, mail opened, elections rigged, rights of habeas corpus ignored, and torture is used in interrogations".

From: "Booming Brazil Finds a Key to Growth" - Business Week, March 13, 1971.

Film interviews with the 70

A film of interviews with the 70 prisoners released on January 14, 1971, in exchange for the Swiss Ambassador to Brazil, Giovanni Enrico Bucher, will be available in two months to groups wishing to show it. Saul Landau and Haskell Wexler are currently editing the nine hours of color film shot in Chile. It includes testimonies and recreation of tortures experienced by the 70 ex-prisoners. The April Bulletin will give details of how to obtain a copy of this film for local showings.

Recommended reading:

Brazil: What Terror is Like" by Marcio Moreira Alves, a Brazilian journalist who was formerly a member of Parliament, and now lives in exile in Paris.

Published by The Nation, March 15, 1971, pg. 337

Health Conditions of 40 Brazilian Prisoners

(The following is a medical report of the condition of the forty political prisoners released on June 15, 1970, in exchange for German Ambassador Ehrenfried von Holleben.)

The majority of the forty political prisoners who have found asylum in Algiers have traces of blows and wounds and various illnesses due to the bad treatment they received in prison. The most evident signs and symptoms are:

a) two kinds of wounds caused by electric shocks especially in the extremities of lower and upper limbs: 1) some already closed; 2) and open again and infected due to the fact that tissue affected by electricity takes a long time to heal and due also to the deplorable sanitary conditions. They are mostly second and third degree burns.

b) wounds caused by the "pau-de-arara" with loss of tissue due to the rubbing of wood and rope, etc. These are found especially on the lower and upper limbs.

c) problems of locomotion and/or orthopedic problems, more or less grave, resulting from hanging from the "pau-de-arara". Paralysis of upper and lower limbs, temporary loss of motor ability requiring the use of a wheel chair.

d) infection of the urinary tract (urethritis, nephritis, pielites, etc.), or of the reproductive organs as a consequence of the unhygienic conditions of the jails.

e) scars and marks resulting from heavy blows. Gashes and traces of handcuffs and rope.

f) scarred wounds caused by these gashes, with loss of tissue.

g) scarred wounds in different parts of the body caused by cigarette burns, and corrosive substances such as acids, caustic soda, etc.

h) finger-nails torn out and scars caused by the tearing.

i) missing teeth, broken teeth, bridges in bad repair because of blows.

j) neurological, psychological and psychosomatic problems due to physical and psychological torture (insomnia, loss of appetite, gastritis and colitis). Loss of memory and other problems caused by drugs used during the questionings.

k) heart problems, especially palpitations caused by electric shocks and blows.

l) problems of kidney control.

m) general weakness due to undernourishment of the prisoners.

D. Janaludine M.D.

Physician of the Family Center of Casoral Ben-Aknoun

MORE ON THE MILITARY...

HOW U.S. MILITARY ADVISORS VIEW BRAZILIAN REGIME

Notwithstanding some half-hearted State Department criticism of the current military regime in Brazil, relations between the U.S. advisory group and the Brazilian military have remained friendly and courteous. This relationship is cemented by the \$130 million in military assistance provided the regime since it seized power in 1964. A Congressional study group that visited Brazil in 1970 related that:

U.S. military personnel report being welcome at all activities of the Brazilian Armed Forces. Their advice is often solicited on military problems and, at times, through personal contacts, individual U.S. representatives have been able to exert beneficial influence on authorities.¹

What kind of "beneficial influence" was exerted was not explained by the Congressmen, but it did not include a return to constitutional rule. There do not seem, in fact, to be any substantive disagreements to divide the Brazilian military and their American advisors. The Congressional group gave this summary of statements made by U.S. advisory personnel:

Rather than dwell on the authoritarian aspects of the regime, they emphasize assertions by the Brazilian armed forces that they believe in, and support, representative democracy as an ideal and would return government to civilian control if this could be done without sacrifice to security and development. This withdrawal from the political arena is not seen as occurring in the near future. For that reason they emphasize the continued importance of the military assistance training program as a means of exerting U.S. influence and retaining the current pro-U.S. attitude of the Brazilian armed forces. Possible disadvantages to U.S. interests in being so closely identified with an authoritarian regime are not seen as particularly important.²

FOOTNOTES:

1. Report of the Special Study Mission on Military Assistance Training (Latin America) - Subcommission on National Security Policy and Scientific Developments, (Washington D.C.), May 7, 1970, pp.7-8.

2. Idem, p. 5.

BRAZILIAN JUNGLE WARFARE TRAINING CENTER

With the current emphasis on urban guerrilla actions in Brazil, the press has focused little attention on the Brazilian and U.S. military's preparations for rural and jungle counterinsurgency warfare. Brazil is about 50 percent jungle and the non-urban regions of the country will most probably be an important center of the struggle -- especially as foreign interests and the Brazilian government push plans to "open up" the Amazon and other remote areas.

Already Carlos Lamarca, the ex-Army captain who deserted in March 1969, has led his Popular Revolutionary Vanguard (VPR) guerrilla group in a clash with the Second Army in a forest area 120 miles south of Sao Paulo (Ribeira do Iguape Region). As the Air Force dropped napalm the Second Army conducted ground searches but the guerrillas broke out of the net after a firefight in early May 1970.¹

Until 1964 most Brazilian officers trained in jungle warfare were graduates of the U.S. Army's Jungle Warfare Training Center at Fort Sherman in the Panama Canal Zone. But shortly after the military coup ousted President Goulart in April 1964 the Brazilian armed forces and their U.S. advisors established the Centro de Instrução de Guerra na Selva (Jungle Warfare Training Center) in a 400 square mile tract of virgin jungle in the heart of the Amazon near Manaus.

The CIGS is modeled after the U.S. Army's Panama school with modifications to adapt it to the conditions of the Amazon. The CIGS commandant, Lieutenant Colonel Jorge Teixeira de Oliveira and the center's first instructors were all graduates of the U.S. course in Panama.

The six instructors run about five six-week courses each year with 40 men in each course -- thus graduating 200 "Pes Verdes" (green feet), as the jungle fighters are called, each year. The typical course includes instruction in jungle survival, logistics and communications and guerrilla warfare techniques. On a 12 day exercise the trainees move in small units across large areas of jungle and at the end are "taken prisoner" and submitted to various methods of torture. These include electric shocks, being buried in sand up to the neck and being kept awake for long periods of time and interrogated.

The trainees range from noncommissioned to brigade-level officers from Brazil and other Latin

American countries. In addition, U.S. advisors to the CIGS have arranged for American Vietnam veterans to go through the course. According to these veterans the CIGS is one of the toughest jungle warfare schools in the world.

1. The Miami Herald, May 21, 1970.

Sources: Los Angeles Times, February 3, 1970; The New York Times, March 31, 1970. Sucesos magazine of Mexico in its November 21, 1970 issue has a series of photographs depicting the grueling training exercises at the CIGS jungle camp.



One of the final exercises in jungle warfare training: about 20 men are placed in a narrow ditch filled with mud and are covered with branches. Drawing made from a Sucesos (Mexico) November 21, 1970 photograph of trainees at the jungle warfare school in the Amazon.

DOES THE U.S. NAVY SUPPORT BRAZILIAN TORTURES ?

Rio de Janeiro (AP) -- The U.S. naval mission here is on the same floor in the Brazilian Navy Ministry as a room in which political prisoners claim to have been tortured.

One American assigned to the floor said recently: "I have been hearing screams and groans for about two years. I was frightened."

Other U.S. personnel were reported to have seen Brazilians being dragged to and from the interrogation room by Brazilian naval agents.

None, insofar as can be determined, has ever reported anything about it to U.S. Navy officials or

the U.S. Embassy.

Admiral Clarence Hill, commander of the U.S. mission, said he knew of nothing "about this kind of thing".

But after newsmen began making further inquiries of U.S. personnel there, Hill ordered them not to discuss the subject. The American who reported hearing screams and groans would no longer talk about it.

From: The Los Angeles Times, February 23, 1971.

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