

BRAZILIAN

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MEDICI'S VISIT Nixon Christens Brazil a Sub-Imperial Power

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

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

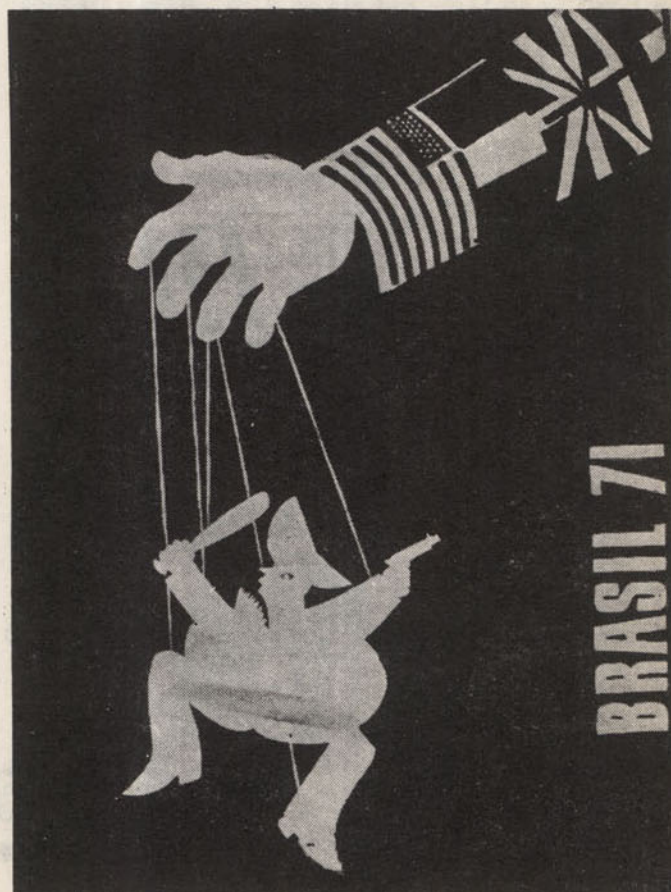
"President Nixon put his talks with President Medici of Brazil in the context of the 'vitally important' consultations he is conducting with this country's 'closest friends' prior to his visit next year to China and Russia. It was the kind of recognition and association Brazil has long sought from Washington."²

This placed Brazil in the major league of world powers -- alongside the other nations Nixon was "consulting" before his trip: France, Great Britain, West Germany, Japan and Canada. The important point was not Nixon's conferring with Brazil about China-- Medici's advisors told newsmen relations between China and Brazil (which does not recognize Peking) were not even discussed³ -- rather, that he bestowed upon Brazil the mantle of U.S. sub-imperial power in the Southern Hemisphere. In his toast welcoming the dictator, Nixon proclaimed, "We know that as Brazil goes so will go the rest of that Latin American continent."⁴

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

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

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



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

The Washington Post, September 19, 1971

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

REFERENCES

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

For More Information on Brazil

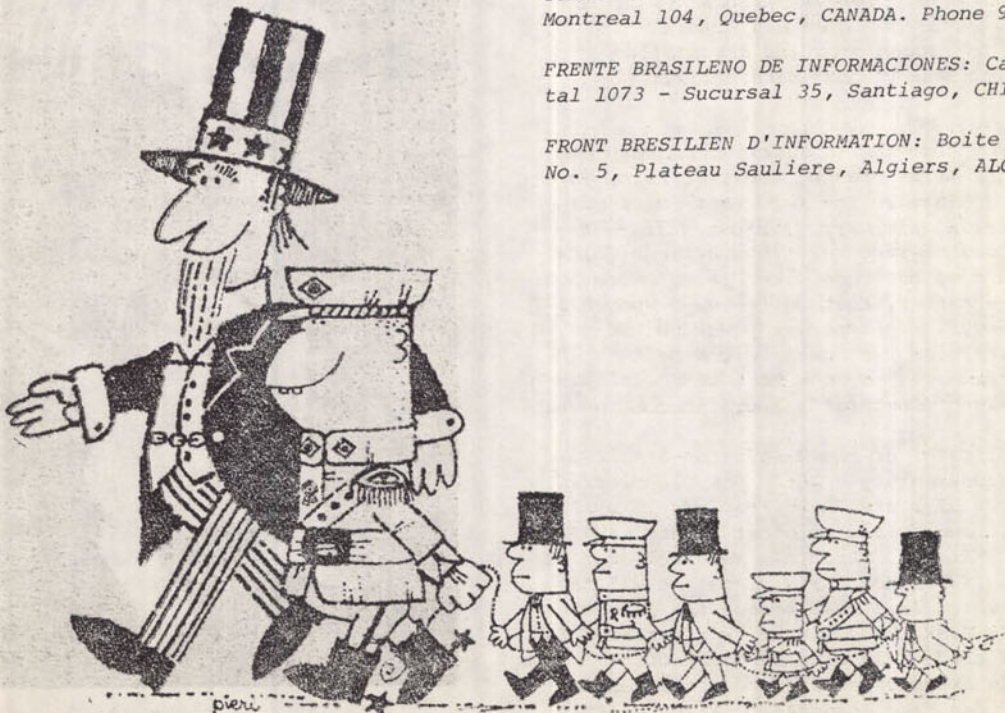
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GRUPO DE LIAISON

Protesters Leave No Sanctuary for Medici

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



The New York Times/Gregory Tames
BRAZILIAN CHIEF BEGINS VISIT: President Emilio G. Medici with President Nixon at the White House.

The New York Times, December 8, 1971

FOOTNOTES

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

Three Awkward Questions for Medici

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

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

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

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

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

General Vernon Walters:

CIA Nominee: Grey Eminence Attending Medici

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

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

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

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

In the same article he adds,

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

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

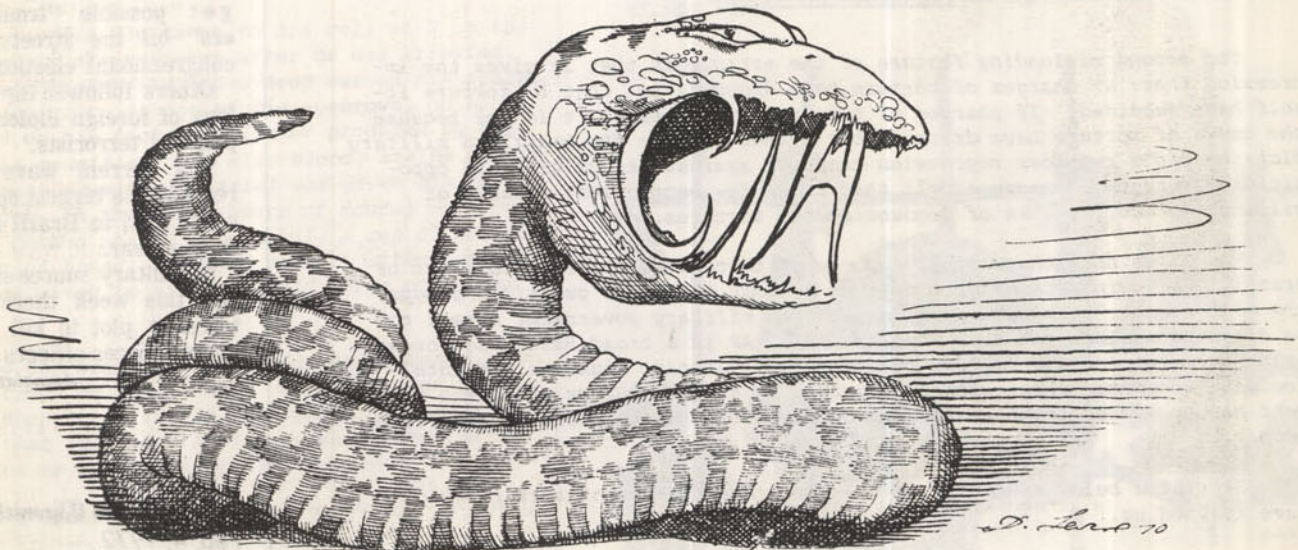
FOOTNOTES

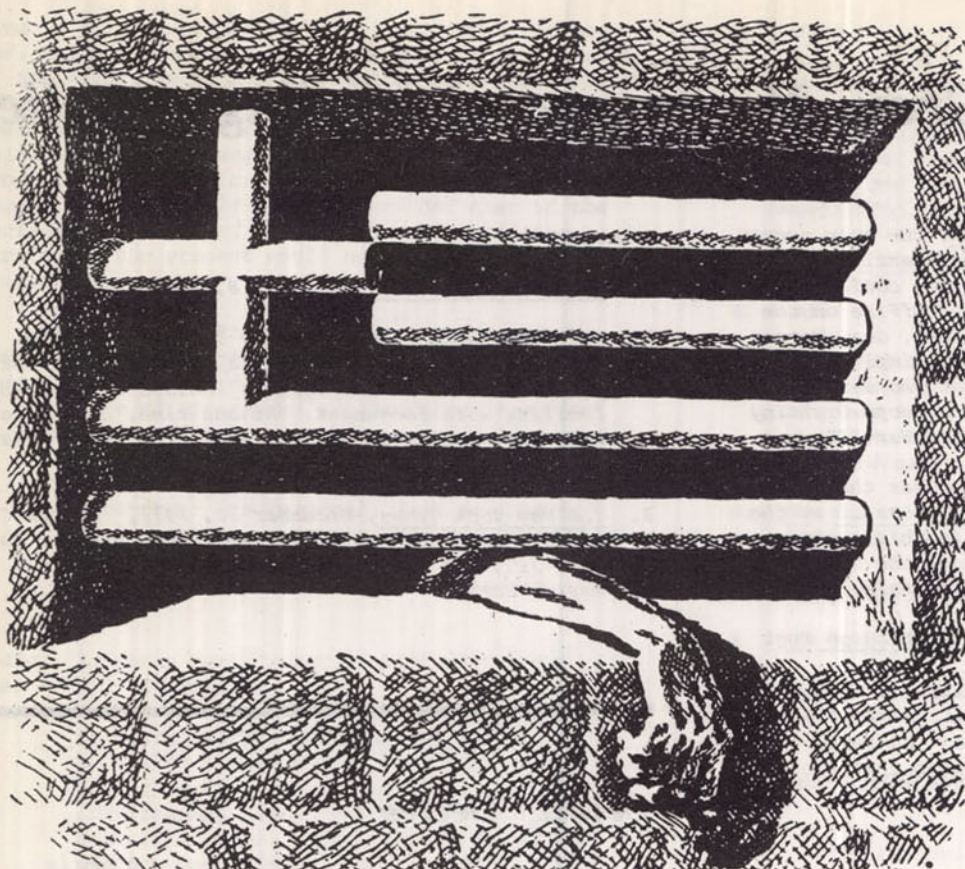
1. *The New York Times*, December 8, 1971
2. *The Washington Post*, February 5, 1968. Goshko adds, "Brig. Gen. Vernon D. Walters is an affable, urbane man whose many talents include a remarkable facility with languages. At one time, he was well-known in Washington as President Eisenhower's favorite interpreter."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

Secret Decree

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

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





Times Reports that Tortures Are Ending

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

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

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

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

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

Brazil Regime Rounding Up 'Subversives'

Rio de Janeiro

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

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

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

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

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

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

Others followed the kidnappings of foreign diplomats by political terrorists.

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

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

Associated Press

San Francisco Chronicle
Feb. 4, 1972

Continuing Tortures in Brazil

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Nov. 20 - Dec. 10, 1971

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

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



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

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

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

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

BERTRAND RUSSELL TRIBUNAL - INVESTIGATION ON TORTURE

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

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

"Dear Sartre,

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

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

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

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

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

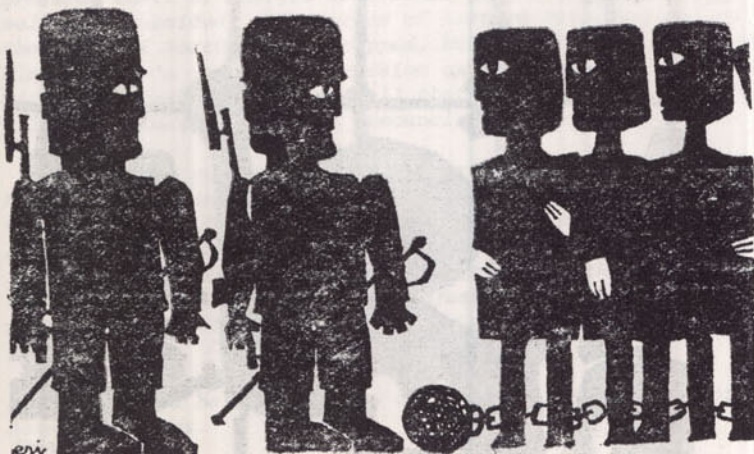
With comradely greetings,

/sgn Vladimir Dedijer
Tyr Revolucije 1
61000 Ljubljana
Yugoslavia

December 4, 1971."

NEW PAMPHLET ON BRAZIL

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



Superfarm in the Amazon

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

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

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

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

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



BUSINESS WEEK July 31, 1971

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

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

FOOTNOTES

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



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

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

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

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

The Washington Post, July 25, 1971.

Behind the Stock Market Boom



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sources:

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

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

GERMAN INVESTMENTS IN BRAZIL

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

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

Rap Brazilian torture in letter to general

Special to the National Catholic Reporter

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

National Catholic Reporter, December 17, 1971

Incident at Bahia Mathematics Conference

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

BEAUTIFUL RIO

To the Editors:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mike Shub

University of California
Santa Cruz, California

The New York Review

Opening Brazil's Mineral Resources

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

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

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

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

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

USAF Study

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

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

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

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



The CPRM

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

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

BID FOR Mining Rights in Brazil

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

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

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

U.S. Investors Flock In

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

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

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



FOOTNOTES

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

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

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

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

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

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DEAR FRIENDS OF BRAZIL

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

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

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

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