

# BRAZILIAN

# INFORMATION

## BULLETIN

May 1972

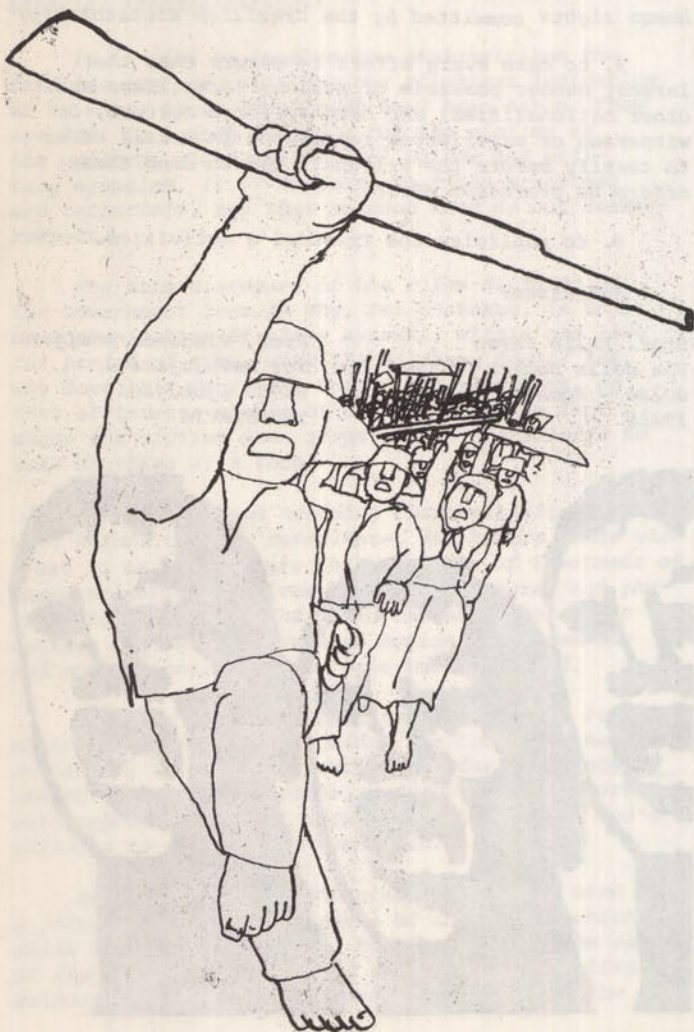
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## The Life of a Peasant Leader is in Danger

Since last March and April the AMERICAN FRIENDS OF BRAZIL have received letters, reports and petitions from the most reliable sources, such as the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, the World Council of Churches and the Committee Against Repression in Brazil denouncing the arrest of the peasant leader Manoel da Conceicao and his comrade Luis dos Santos. The following is a short description of this urgent cry for action and solidarity.



MANOEL DA CONCEICAO, recognized as one of the main peasant leaders in Brazil, was arrested at the end of February of this year. Since his arrest, there has been no news on him.\* A request has been made by his friends to the outside world for urgent intervention addressed to the Brazilian authorities so that his life be spared.

36 years old Manoel da Conceicao, father of two children, was president of the rural workers union of Pindare-Mirim, in the State of Maranhao, from 1966-1969. This union is supported by 100,000 peasants.

The region of the Pindare-Mirim valley is inhabited by poor peasants who have for the last years carried on a bitter struggle against the expropriation of their lands and in order to create autonomous methods for the commercialization of their crops.

In the context of these struggles, Manoel da Conceicao was wounded by the police on the 13th of May, 1968. While the peasants were waiting to be received in a medical center, the police arrived and fired on the men, women and children who formed the queue. Manoel da Conceicao received 5 bullet wounds in the legs; later in the hands of the police he received no treatment for his wounds so that gangrene set in.\*\*

\* In a letter from Brazil sent to the Bertrand Russel Tribunal and to CARIB (Committee Against Repression in Brazil), Conceicao's arrest was described as "carried out by the private agents of a sugar-cane plantation owner without any warrant. Both Manoel da Conceicao and Luis dos Santos were taken to Sao Luis (capital of Maranhao state) where they were illegally detained for two and half weeks. On February 9 they were taken to the barracks of the 24th Cavalry Battalion located in Sao Luis where they were interrogated and harrassed by a Federal Police agent, one Naval and two Army officers." Copies of the complete letter are available from CARIB, P.O.Box 426, Hyattsville, MD 20782.

\*\* For more information on Conceicao's testimony on his May 1968 arrest see "TERROR IN BRAZIL, A DOSSIER, April 1970" available from the Latin America Bureau, United States Catholic Conference, 1312 Massachusetts Ave., NW, Washington, D.C. 20005.



Freed on the 17th of July, 1968, his leg had to be amputated. Upon his return to the village of Pindare-Mirim thousands of peasants protested in solidarity with him.

Today there are fears for the life of Manoel da Conceicao. Since 1969 he has been continuously harangued. Forced to live clandestinely, he has always been protected by the peasants of the Pindare-Mirim valley. For this these peasants have been attacked on several occasions by the police and later by the Army. His arrest represents a very hard blow for the peasants' struggle in Brazil in particular, as well as for the struggle of the whole Brazilian people against the oppression it suffers at the hands of the military dictatorship.

TO SAVE THE LIFE OF MANOEL DA CONCEICAO THE FOLLOWING MUST BE DONE AT ONCE:

1. His arrest must be made known as widely as possible.
2. To write letters or telegrams of protest against the arrests of Manoel da Conceicao and Luis dos Santos to the Brazilian authorities through the

Inter-American Commission on Human Rights  
c/o Dr. Luis Reque  
Organization of American States  
Washington, D.C. 20006

or directly to:

Gen. Emilio Garrastazu Medici  
President of the Federative Republic of Brazil  
Palacio do Planalto  
Brasilia, BRAZIL

M. Alfredo Buzaid - Minister of Justice  
Ministerio da Justica  
Brasilia, BRAZIL.

3. Make known to the press the interventions addressed to the Brazilian authorities by those organizations who will show their solidarity.

4. Send financial contributions for the international campaign of solidarity with Manoel da Conceicao to:

CHICHERIO  
CCP Geneva 12-30035  
SWITZERLAND

## More on the Bertrand Russell Tribunal

In our last issue we announced that the Bertrand Russell Tribunal had begun preliminary investigations about torture of political prisoners in Brazil.

During his last visit to Latin America professor Lelio Basso, rapporteur and member of the Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal for the Investigation of the North American War Crimes in Vietnam, and member of the Italian Europe Latin America Committee, had already gathered much documentation of the criminal behavior of the Brazilian military dictatorship.

Professor Basso proposed that a tribunal be set up immediately, to examine the following items:

- a. the Brazilian military regime as a dictatorship;
- b. the crimes against human rights committed by this dictatorship;
- c. the brutal assassinations that have become habitual in Brazil.

Vladimir Dedijer, the President of Sessions of the Bertrand Russell Tribunal has decided to propose the reopening of the tribunal. He has also emphasized the necessity of denouncing the expansionist character of the Brazilian military government.

The initiative of reopening the tribunal has been strongly supported by many organizations in the U.S. and abroad such as: Committee Against Repression in Brazil, American Friends of Brazil, United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, Chicago Area Group on Latin America, Committee for Denunciation of Repression in Brazil (Chile), Comite Solidarite avec Bresil (Canada), Frente Brasileiro de Informacoes (Chile) and Front Bresilien d'Information (Algeria).

The success of the initiative of professors Basso and Dedijer will depend on the mobilization of Brazilians and friends of the Brazilian people in many countries. We call for your help in establishing the tribunal and making it as efficient as possible. For this task we ask you:

1. to send messages of support for the project to Lelio Basso and Vladimir Dedijer;

2. to send them information about crimes against human rights committed by the Brazilian dictatorship;

3. to make every effort to ensure that the largest number possible of persons (Brazilians and other nationalities) who have suffered torture, or witnessed or experienced repression in Brazil offer to testify before the Tribunal, and to send these offers to professor Basso;

4. to publicize the Tribunal's activities.

Addresses:

Prof. Lelio Basso  
Via della Dogana Vecchia, 5  
00186 - Roma  
ITALY

Prof. Vladimir Dedijer  
Tgr Revolujice 1  
61000 Ljubljana  
YUGOSLAVIA





# Dom Helder Camara Denounces

To our dear brothers in the Church, and to the beloved people of God in the Archdiocese of Olinda and Recife:

Very serious and sad incidents force us again to write you, a short time after the announcement of the arbitrary and unjust banishment of our cherished colleague Father Jose Comblin.

The authorities seem to be convinced that subversion has moved from the South to the Northeast and, especially, to Fortaleza and Recife.

In our city there has been an increase in kidnappings, disappearances and arrests, especially of workers and students. We want to register here, as Pastors, the primary reason for our intervention and denunciation: to register our protest that not even the Law of National Security and the decrees published after Institutional Act number 5 are being respected. Only rarely do those in charge of arrests identify themselves. There is no prison warrant duly dated and signed by a qualified authority, nor is there any documentation to support the reasons for arrest. The arrests are made either in the homes or, in the case of workers, during working hours - as has occurred in factories such as the Torre, Pilar and Santista - giving the impression that they are dangerous terrorists and agitators. There is an unnecessary use of violence, and even cases of vandalism of arrestees' homes. The vehicles used by the authorities in such arrests usually do not have any official identification.

It is easy to imagine how panic-stricken the families must be, with not the slightest indication as to where their loved ones have been taken. They are left to search futilely for the victims at the numerous state and federal police and military agencies. It is supposed that the arrestees are terrorists, and that as such they do not deserve respect.

Why this disregard of the rules dictated by the Government itself? Why, for instance, is there no communication of these arrests, within the lawful period of time, with the Military Court? And why does this Court not inform the relatives, so that at least a change of clothes could be sent, since the victims when arrested are not allowed to take anything with them?

As Pastors, and assuming responsibility before God, before our own conscience, and before those who trust in us, we declare that the rule of treatment of these arrestees involves unbelievable moral and physical torture. There has been increasing pressure against the Catholic Workers Action: many members and one national director have been arrested.

We state once more that the only reason for the mistrust and prejudice against the Church is because we cannot, in all conscience, in order to maintain the so-called social order, continue to collaborate with oppressive social structures that reduce God's children to a sub-human condition.

How long is anti-Communism going to be used as a pretext for the maintenance of injustices which stink to the High Heavens? How long, under the excuse of fighting terrorism, will the Police and Military authorities use terrorist methods that abuse the

Helder Camara and Ralph Abernathy in Brazil  
The Christian Century, June 10, 1970



most basic human rights? We are compelled to ask - as the brave lawyer Heraclito Sobral Pinto did in Vargas' time - that at least the laws that protect animals be applied to the human prisoners.

It is not by chance that we date this letter May 1. It is not only because most of the victims are workers, and the Church is increasingly concerned about them; but also because we want to state our deep concern, as Pastors, that the model of economic development adopted by our country is being paid for by the poor, who have no voice, no opportunities. Even if they attempt to protest in the most legitimate and honorable way, they are still treated as subversives and communists.

As usual there will be those who will say that this letter is a subversive act on the part of Bishops who are more politicians than men of the cloth. On this Labor Day, we remind all men of good will, and most especially our brothers the workers, of a teaching from the Acts of the Apostles: "And they called them, and commanded them not to speak at all nor teach in the name of Jesus. But Peter and John answered and said unto them, whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye. For we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard." (Acts IV, 18-20).



Helder Camara  
Archbishop of Olinda and Recife

Jose Lamartine Soares  
Auxiliary Bishop



# A Worker and his Family Arrested

Another denunciation of tortures has been sent to us, as further proof of the military's unchanged interrogation methods. This is the case of a whole family that suffers because the father is suspected of "subversion". The following are excerpts from the denunciation:

"Joaquim Alencar de Seixas, a skilled worker, and his 16 year-old son, Ivan, who was finishing Junior High-School, were arrested on the morning of April 16, 1971, by officers from DOI (Dpt. of Internal Operations, formerly OBAN). Taken to a police station, they were beaten, and the policemen tried to make Joaquim confess, putting a gun to his son's head. Soon after they were taken to DOI's headquarters on Tutoia Street (commanded by Major Carlos Alberto Brilhante Ustra). While getting out of the vehicle, attached by the same pair of handcuffs, father and son were beaten with the butt-ends of rifles. The hand-cuffs broke apart. Joaquim tried to defend his son, and threw himself upon the policemen. They opened up a blast of machine-gun fire on his legs. He was dragged to the torture chamber, his head broken open from the rifle-ends blows, and his legs wounded by the shots. He was placed in the "Dragon's

Chair", which is covered with metal plates and where the victim receives electric shocks. His son was being tortured in the adjoining room, so that one could hear the other's screams. He was taken to the pau-de-arara (an iron bar between two trestles, where the victim hangs like a chicken on a spit). He received more electric shocks.

"The police invaded his house on this same night, and arrested his wife, D. Fanny (53 years old), and his daughters Iara (22 years old) and Ieda (23 years old), taking them to DOI. Fanny was put into a cell directly beneath the room where her husband was being tortured. The April 17 newspapers published an official notice of the Security Organizations, stating that Joaquim Alencar de Seixas, "dangerous subversive", had been killed the night before in a shoot-out with police. In fact, he was still alive during that day. At night, his wife heard his screams and cries mixed with the noise of beatings. But in the early morning of April 18, all was silent. Fanny looked out from the small window of her cell into the patio, and saw the torturers come down the steps carrying her husband. She saw that his head was covered with bloody newspapers. They put him in a vehicle, and that was the last she saw of him.

"Ivan, besides suffering tortures, was taken on the afternoon of the 17th to a deserted road, where the police threatened to kill him, in the same manner used by the "Death Squad".

"The torture of Fanny and her two daughters began on the same day they were arrested... The two girls were beaten and were threatened with rape... Twenty days later the whole family was transferred to the Dept. of Political and Social Order (DOPS). The three women were kept in a dark underground cell. Ivan was kept in a solitary cell without a window, under the pretext that he was a minor and could not have contact with other prisoners. The women were later transferred to Tiradentes Presidio. Ivan remained in solitary confinement for six months."

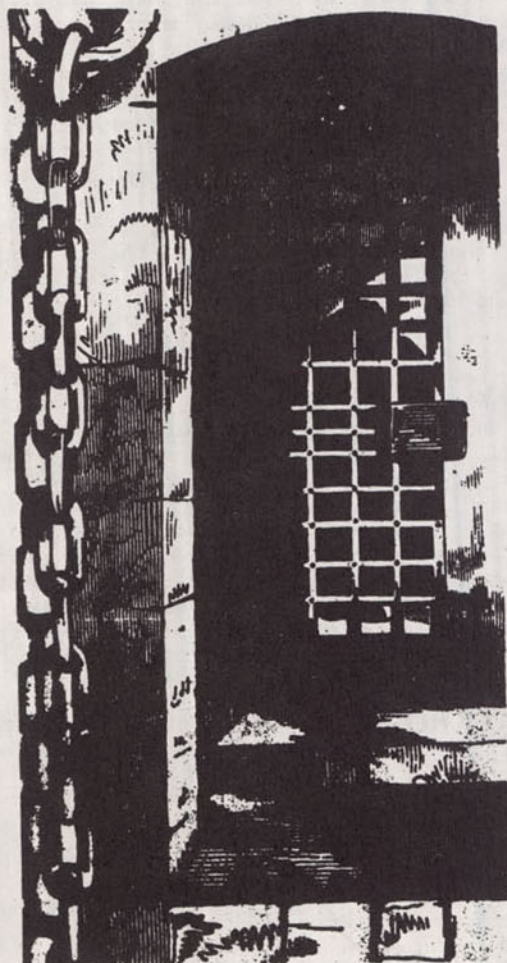
Since they were originally from the state of Rio Grande do Sul, it was decided to have them transferred there, at the end of 1971. The police wished to establish what possible "subversive links" the family might have in that region. They were taken to the local DOPS, and left in a cell without sanitary facilities, next to the torture chamber.

After some time they were transferred back to the Tiradentes prison in Sao Paulo.

"Ivan was placed in the cell of a mad-man. It was alleged that he was a minor and could not be "in company of dangerous subversives".

"Sometime before, Fanny had a heart stroke. Taken to the Santa Casa Hospital, the doctors also found she had an ulcer. They recommended that she stay there to receive adequate treatment, but she was taken back to prison."

We have no further information on the fate of this working-class family. In all probabilities, they are still suffering in jail.





# The Enemy

Rather than responding to demonstrations and strikes, the Brazilian Army is now engaged in preventing these actions from happening. We call your attention to this translation of parts of an article entitled "Army 'takes over' factory" (Exercito "ocupa" fabrica) that appeared in O Estado de Sao Paulo of June 5, 1971.

In a surprise operation ... the 19th Regiment of Sao Leopoldo\* occupied all the installations of Borbonite [a factory]. The operation took only a few minutes and kept an area of 60,000 square meters [71,400 square yards] under the control of the soldiers. ... The factory remained under control from 3 to 6 PM and during that time officers maintained vigilance to make sure the rhythm of work was not slowing down.

Odair Fonseca, one of the owners of the plant commented: "We find it very interesting to count on a system of security which allows normal production in time of agitation or even of war". Colonel Sebastiao Menezes Neto, who observed the operation said that the occupation of that plant was part of the training the Army is undertaking in many parts of the country. "This operation even allow us to force the enemy (our emphasis) to work for us".

(\*) Members of this regiment are known as "boinas verdes" (green berets) according to the newspaper.

## Psychological Treatment for Political Prisoners

"Torture and beatings do not change people's ideas". This was the brilliant conclusion of General Bina Machado, the new Commander of the Brazilian Superior War College, who favors the use of "psychological methods" for political prisoners.

General Bina Machado, who served in the 5th Section of the U.S. High Command in World War II (the unit in charge of psychological warfare), is enthusiastic about psychological methods, which are, still according to the General, yielding "quite satisfactory" results. He declared (JORNAL DO BRASIL, February 10, 1972 and VEJA, February 16, 1972) that

thanks to those methods, 30 of the 50 students imprisoned during his former Command of the 1st Army could be freed, while the other 20 still remain under the responsibility of the "psychologists".

The whole affair reminds us of the movie "Clockwork Orange", in which the police tries to rehabilitate criminals by similar psychological treatments. It is also interesting that torture and the imprisonment of 50 students can be mentioned by one of the leading Army Generals, in a country that still claims not to have political prisoners.

## Professor of Anthropology and his Two Daughters Arrested in Rio

Jose Ferreira de Alencar, anthropologist, and his two daughters (17 and 15 years old), were arrested by DOPS in Rio de Janeiro, on February 25, 1972. Their whereabouts are still unknown.

As a leftist intellectual, Ferreira de Alencar has been persecuted by the military government since 1964, when he was arrested by the Military Police in the massive arrests following the coup. Since then his house has been searched many times, and he has been arrested twice. The repressive organization of Ceara (his native state), the DEOPS, has made his life extremely difficult. He was expelled from the University of Ceara, where he taught and did research.

His several arrests did not last long, but

their repetition weakened Ferreira de Alencar's health. On December 30, 1970, as a result of a long illness, he had his leg amputated.

On January 7, 1972, a large police round-up resulted in hundreds of arrests in Fortaleza (capital of the state of Ceara). Ferreira de Alencar succeeded in leaving Ceara, and went to Rio de Janeiro. He decided that it was impossible to remain in Brazil and asked for political asylum in the Mexican Embassy. According to witnesses, he was arrested upon entering this country's Embassy.

Scientific, cultural and religious organizations are pleading for his life, and for the liberty of his two daughters.

## Brazilian Bar Association Searches for Lawyer

The Brazilian Bar Association appealed to President Medici, stating that it "has reason to worry about the silence of the Department of Justice, in respect to the fate of the lawyer Paulo de Tarso da Silva, and it fears for his physical integrity, for six months have passed since his disappearance". The document was signed by the lawyer Moacyr Belchior, president of the Brasilia section of the Bar. It states further that "in the War Ministry he obtained information that Paulo de Tarso had been arrested by military authorities, but that he had been turned over to the Federal Police, and that only the Dept.

of Justice could inform him. Thirty days passed after the Dept. of Justice had been notified, when on January 26 it informed the Bar that it had no statement to make about the young lawyer's fate." The letter to the President concludes: "As a proof of our total trust on Your Excellency's spirit of justice, the Bar appeals strongly that Your Excellency will personally interfere to locate the lawyer Paulo de Tarso da Silva. Such a gesture will be in profound accordance with the law, with human rights, and will be a sign of extreme nobility."

Source: O Estado de Sao Paulo, January 29, 1972



# IMPRESSIONS FROM BRAZIL

Professor Hans Föllmer was in Brazil for a summer teaching a Mathematics course. Here are his impressions.

This past summer I stayed for two months at the University of Sao Paulo (USP), teaching a course at the Instituto de Matematica e Estatistica. It is well known that civil rights under Brazil's military government are restricted, and here are some details encountered on the USP campus. The issue of civil rights should however, not be isolated from its political context, and I add some remarks on that.

During the last ten years USP has moved out from the inner city to its widely spaced new campus south of the suburban Alto de Pinheiros. There are few visible reminders of the student unrest of 1968, of its efficient repression, and of the subsequent purge among students and faculty. One that remains is the row of dormitories which stand largely vacant because students are no longer allowed to live on campus. The prevailing impression is indeed "the peace of silence on campus" (title story of the weekly *Veja* of September 1, 1971), so much so that even the Minister of Education, Colonel Passarinho, has complained. There is no political discussion in the cafeterias, and even among close acquaintances one may find careful double talk. After three weeks it came as a surprise to discover on one of the bulletin boards of the Engineering School a small clipping from the French *L'Express*, reporting the disappearance of a Brazilian labour activist (and rumours that he had been dropped from a helicopter).

The students have of course some reason to use restraint. Decree 477, issued in 1969, suspends for three years any student involved in "subversive activity," and this is loosely defined. To pin the wrong clipping on a bulletin board might qualify. *Veja* cites more than thirty cases where the 477 has been applied. But this figure does not seem to reflect what is actually going on. There is other legislation, in particular "ato No. 5," which eliminates the constitutional habeas corpus guarantees in the case of political crimes. Many students simply seem to disappear for a while, without any publicity. During these two months several students in the social sciences and in physics were arrested, or so I was told. No public information was available, and there was no open discussion of these cases. Among the people I met at least two had been in jail and under torture, both women. In August the director of the political science department was arrested because his wife was suspected of "subversive activity," and again there was no public information or comment.

Many professors have been expelled from the faculty during the purge of 1969 and since. One of them, Florestan Fernandes, a sociologist now teaching in Toronto, was to give a talk at USP in late August. He did not come: the Rector had served notice that he would be arrested if he tried to speak. The argument was strictly legalistic: having been expelled from USP, he was not supposed to use USP facilities. But when a second talk at the Catholic University (PUC) was scheduled two days later, about 200 students waited again in vain. No reasons were announced this time, and people were urged to disperse because the military police might intervene.

The only case of public student activism during the summer was a picnic to protest a price raise in one of the student restaurants. About 300 students had a peaceful lunch in lawn in front of the beautiful

Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo (one of the main international centers for urban architecture, at least until 1969, when the director and others were expelled), listening to the *escola de samba* (samba band) of the geography department. No speeches were made. Yet everybody seemed to be very aware that the military police might arrive at any minute.

Since the picnic may be already beyond the limits of legality, and since very substantial risks are involved in passing these limits, it is not surprising that frustration is widely spread. *Na fossa* (in the pit) is the leitmotiv in the comic strips of Brazil's satirical weekly *Pasquim*. There are not many ways out. Many concentrate entirely on their academic work. There are also some features of American hip culture, with emphasis on "personal growth." Brazilian pop music, in particular the *tropicalismo* of Caetano Veloso, Gilberto Gil and others, has been for some time a medium of dissent. The government has started a counteroffensive, and recently some very loyal sambas have been written. (An analysis of how Brazilian music, and of course soccer, are manipulated by the government in order to increase its support among the Brazilian people can be found in the English *New Society* of August, 1971, no. 464).

Some of those who oppose the government have joined the urban guerrilla groups. But the government's counterinsurgency has been very efficient, and many are convinced that American know-how and technology have lent a helpful hand. Since Marighella was killed in Sao Paulo (by the squad of Sergio Fleury, who is now implicated in the investigation of the *esquadrao da morte*,\* a terrorist "law and order" gang inside the police), guerrilla activity seems to be declining. But the bank offices in Sao Paulo are still tightly guarded by military police, one at the entrance and one inside, in a small concrete structure with loop-holes.

During the summer the Brazilian press, which works under a system of "self-censorship" supervised by army



DESENHO DE YENIA



censors, reported the U.S. Senate's hearings on American military assistance in Brazil,\*\* in particular in training the Brazilian police force. Students on campus did not seem impressed by the Senate's belated findings. Weighted against the political and economic U.S. support throughout the military "revolution," i.e. since April, 1964, if not before, the details of American involvement in somewhat embarrassing police activities appear to be a matter of minor importance. That support seems natural, given the goals of the revolution and the criteria of U.S. foreign policy. In 1963-64 the Goulart government, trying to face the immense socio-economic problems of the Interior and the Northeast, started to reorder priorities, and in particular considered a serious attempt at land reform. Under pressure from landowners and the industrial establishment, Goulart sought the support of labour and the "peasant leagues." In April 1964, large segments of the urban bourgeoisie, startled with the prospect of structural changes towards socialism, supported a military coup in order to prevent the "Cubanization" of the country. On April 1, the first army units started to revolt. On April 3, President Johnson sent his "warmest wishes," and Dean Rusk greeted the coup as "an expression of support for constitutional government" (this was qualified as "pure Alice in Wonderland stuff" by the *New York Times*, and it is indeed a somewhat ironic statement if one considers the 4:1 victory of Goulart in a January, 1963 plebiscite, and the history of the "revolution" since 1964).

In fact, the real issue was not the constitution, but the direction of Brazil's social and economic development. The basic goal of the coup was to conserve private enterprise as the main driving force, with maximum use of foreign capital participation. Since 1964 Brazil has been about the safest place for foreign investment in Latin America, and this has been rewarded by a large capital inflow from the U.S., Western Europe and Japan. U.S. foreign aid, most of which had been suspended in 1963, returned on an enlarged scale after the coup. Thus supported, the Brazilian economy has had very high GNP growth rates in recent years. As C. Sulberger recently reported somewhat naively from Greece: "The fair-minded observer must note the regime's accomplishments... It has kept the economy expanding." No wonder. Macro-economic growth rates need of course some scrutiny. Industrial development concentrates in some of the coastal regions, in particular the state of Sao Paulo. And there one might want to subtract: a) its rising social costs (Sao Paulo's pollution is probably second to none), and b) the sizeable production of waste for the urban middle class consumer market. The Interior and the Northeast have been largely left out so far. President Medici, during a recent visit to the Northeast, was reported to be visibly shaken by the unexpected degree of poverty and plain misery, and was quoted as saying, "A economia vai bem, o povo e que vai mal" (the economy is fine, it's the people who are not).

In 1964 the military's vote for development based on foreign capital would probably not have been possible via representative democracy; it required indeed a military coup. Since then it has been the main achievement of the "revolution" to secure that option, open to democratic discussion. It has rather paid the price of suppressing civil liberties and of tightly controlling any potential opposition, in particular in the Universities. The repression of public dissent is thus not simply a matter of right versus left. Its specific purpose is to safeguard the "Brazilian model" for Third World development. For example: Helio Fernandes of the rightist *Tribuna da Imprensa* was arrested on August 25 for a nationalist-conservative editorial which attacked the military for not taking a lead to free Brazil from foreign economic oppression. As soon

as the risks seem small enough, civil liberties as well as some version of representative democracy may easily be reinstalled. The government probably has sound reasons for not doing so now, or in the near future.

Some of the strict inequalities behind Brazil's impressive growth rates can easily be studied in Sao Paulo which has a highly stratified bourgeoisie (participating in very different degrees in the distribution of profits) and a large labor force (whose real wages are said to be stationary if not declining: tight wage control in the principal tool in fighting the country's inflation. University teachers usually feel that their salaries are low, and many seem to have second jobs in order to maintain certain standards; they are of course highly privileged compared to the overwhelming majority of the people of Sao Paulo. The low pay relatively speaking, may be one reason why there is a considerable number of women on the faculty. Anyway, it is certainly easier for a Brazilian middle class woman to stay professional than for her American sisters. Typically she has her *empregada* (maid) usually black and/or from the interior, who, for \$40 per month or less does the cooking, cleaning, and child-care full time and seven days a week. This form of exploitation is well institutionalized: even apartments built at the present time have their separate four by eight foot unit which constitutes the *empregada's* living quarters, and a separate staircase. Few give it a second thought and the little bell is used by conservatives and liberals alike as well as the *Herr und Knecht* dialectics that one cannot treat her on an equal basis because then she would not know her place. It is of course easy to rationalize in any given individual case: for the young unskilled woman coming in from the interior society provides few options other than prostitution.

In this condition the visiting mathematician finds himself in a fairly privileged position. He is often paid by American standards, i.e. better than his Brazilian colleagues. His wife can facilitate her personal growth by hiring an *empregada*, and take liberal pride in eliminating the bell. Things are fine if a) he views himself essentially as a tourist or as uncommitted "artist in residence," and if he manages to take a romantic outlook on the interracial culture and folklore of poverty -- the *Orfeu Negro* view of the favelas (and the amount of graceful gentleness and uninhibited human warmth of the Brazilian people was indeed one of my strongest impressions). If b) he views his work as a contribution, more or less, to technological development, then he may feel comfortable if c) he thinks that the administration of that development is in good hands (what is good for General Motors do Brasil or Volkswagen do Brasil is good for the country), or d) that technological development is good anyway, i.e. if he adopts a more or less sophisticated version of the Sacharov convergency theory. If (b) applies but not (c) or (d), then he may wonder to what extent his objective role is different in other places, say in the U.S. -- apart from circulating newsletter. If he thinks that the latter, i.e., the difference in civil rights, is the crucial issue, than the justification is the clear cut, and he should not go to Brazil. Roger Godement's justification for teaching mathematics, "On peut du moins essayer de donner aux gens le gout de la liberte et de la critique" (*Cours d'Algebre*, p. 17) does not apply: in that respect Brazilian students do not need any foreign help.

\* For more on *Esquadrão da Morte* (Death Squad), see BRAZILIAN INFORMATION BULLETIN No. 5, p.10.

\*\* See BRAZILIAN INFORMATION BULLETIN No. 5, pp. 6-7 for more on the U.S. Senate's Hearings



# TORTURE IS LAID TO RIO'S MILITARY

Charges by Freed Prisoners  
Are Renewed in Brazil

By JOSEPH NOVITSKI

Special to The New York Times

RIO DE JANEIRO, May 6—

Reports by prisoners released within the last month indicate that, after a lull of several months, torture has again become a regular method of interrogation in Brazilian military installations here.

The use of beatings and electric shocks on prisoners suspected of being opponents of Brazil's eight-year-old military Government first came to public notice in late 1969, and the intelligence and police services of the navy and army were connected with the practice then in some reports. Since then, however, first the navy, then the army and finally the air force in the Rio area were reliably reported to have stopped the practice.

Reports of torture never stopped completely in Brazil,

but by late last year the reports accused the civilian political police of at least three Brazilian states, and not the military. The use of torture on terrorists and suspected political activists has been denied once by the Government. It was later admitted once publicly, by the Minister of Education, Jarbas Passarinho.

Reports from Brazil, apparently brought out by Roman Catholics and by the Brazilian Communist party, became part of a worldwide campaign of protest against the military Government by church groups, political parties, public figures and academic groups.

## Psychological Harassment

The height of the protest campaign coincided with the waning of what had been an active urban guerrilla campaign by the radical left in Brazil and also with a steadily diminishing number of reliable reports of the use of torture.

The recent accounts, filtered out through several normally reliable channels, seemed to indicate that psychological harassment of a kind new to Brazil and sometimes also physical torture were almost standard procedure for certain political prisoners.

"They put a black hood over my head, stripped me and tumbled me into a chilled room before they even asked my name," a released prisoner recalled.

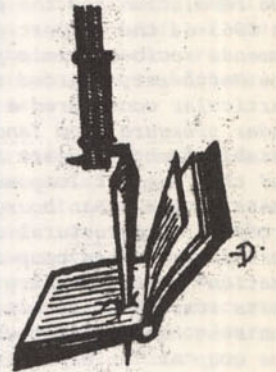
Two days later, the prisoner said, electric shocks were applied that doubled him up and left his muscles in knots.

Accounts such as this came after a wave of arrests that began in early April among students and professors, at a local university and among activists suspected of connections with an underground urban guerrilla group.

It was understood that such reports had reached Lieut. Gen. Sylvio C. C. da Frota, who, as First Army commander is the ranking officer in the Rio area, and that General Frota had ordered a stop to the practices. General Frota and Gen. João Bina Machado have been generally credited with halting the use of torture at the army police barracks here.

Yet accounts that became available this week told of new psychological harassments in use at these same barracks. Recently released prisoners told of being confined nude in odd-shaped cells, with temperature controls that could produce lasting cold. Others recalled unnerving recorded sounds maintained at varying volume for hours until their heads spun. All recalled being in cells with loudspeakers.

Some reported that electric shock, applied particularly to the genitals, had been used on them at army and navy installations. This was the first re-



port of any physical torture at a navy installation since early in 1970. Adm. Adalberto de Barros Nenes, the Minister of the Navy, broke up the high echelons of the navy's intelligence service in that year, according to naval sources, in order to stop the practice of torture.

*The New York Times, May 7, 1972*

# Indian Policy in Brazil Is Criticized

Rio de Janeiro

One of Brazil's top Indian specialists has resigned because he says he's tired of being a gravedigger for the Brazil's present policy.

Antonio Cotrim, 31, who has spent more than ten years on Indian protection work in Brazil's forests, charged yesterday that Brazil's government-controlled National Indian Foundation is nothing more than an organization to manipulate public opinion.

He accused the foundation

of not trying to protect the Indians against land developers who are moving into their territory.

Foundation employees who do try to protect the Indians against these land developers are being pushed aside by the foundation, said Cotrim.

Cotrim has worked among many tribes in several parts of Brazil. But he said he became sickened as he watched one small tribe after another being hit by disasters.

In one tribe alone, the paracanas, he said, 40 Indians had died and eight had gone blind from venereal disease introduced into the tribe by laborers working for the Indian foundation.

In another area, he said, the foundation had moved one tribe of Nhambiquaras to a new home eight months ago. But so little care had been taken of them that almost all the children under 15 years old in a tribe of nearly 400 had died.

The land which had been

the original home of the tribe is now being taken over by developers to open up cattle ranches, he said.

*L.A. Times Service*

*San Francisco Chronicle, May 23, 1972*



# Brazil's Aid Program to Latin America

During the first week of April, 1972, Brazilian president Emilio Garrastazu Medici met with the head of Bolivia's military government, Hugo Banzer, at a town on the border between the two countries. Ever since the coup in August 1971 which brought Banzer to power (and in which it is widely believed that Brazil played a key role), Brazil has been giving the Bolivian government substantial amounts of money and credit. The purpose of the April meeting was to formalize this relationship.

But the meeting also had other implications because it was a step toward further defining a new policy of the Brazilian regime. For the last one and half to two years Brazil has been looking beyond its frontiers to the markets of its neighbors because its own internal market was clearly too small to absorb the enormous quantities of goods that are being produced in the so-called "economic boom". So, Brazilian industries began searching for profitable outlets for their surpluses.

What they found, however, was that many of the underdeveloped Latin American countries could not accommodate them because they simply could not afford it. So, being a friendly neighbor, Brazil decided to help them solve these problems: in the past few months, following the U.S. example, it has extended "assistance" loans largely in the form of credit with which to purchase Brazilian products -- to 13 Central and South American countries including Guyana, Venezuela, Colombia, Nicaragua, Honduras, Guatemala, El Salvador, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Paraguay and Uruguay. All these credits total about \$70 million.

This new move is indicative of Brazil's new role in Latin America. Since the 1964 coup, the generals have had a very intimate relationship with the U.S., particularly on the business/industrial level, with the result that U.S. interests are investing billions in that country. Economically, the results have been spectacular from a purely statistical point of view: production has increased at a hitherto unheard of rate, the GNP has risen enormously, and the profits for U.S. corporations investing there have been fantastic. In this sense, Brazil far outstrips her neighbors.

Yet, in the light of international financial statistics, the whole uproar seemed slightly unreal. Brazil, with an official foreign debt of \$5.3 billion, is herself one of the largest recipients of foreign aid in the world. She is the largest single borrower

on the books of the World Bank and in debt to government agencies and private investors from the United States, Western Europe, Japan and Canada. "They are just endorsing our checks and passing them on," one Western diplomat said in an acid comment on Brazil's foreign aid effort.



Bolivian President Hugo Banzer Suárez, left, and Brazilian President Emilio Garrastazu Medici after signing an agreement on foreign aid. Figures on map list Brazil's aid to neighbors.

Source for the article and graphic: "Now it's: Gorilla Go Home!", by Joseph Novitski, in *The New York Times*, April 9, 1972.

## What the Brazilian Officers Learn at the U.S. Military Academies

Some of the topics covered in the United States deal with: censorship, checkpoint systems, chemical and biological operations, briefings on the CIA, civic action and civil affairs, clandestine operations, communism and democracy, cordon and search operations, counter guerrilla operations, cryptography, defoliation, dissent in the United States, electronic warfare and countermeasures, the use of informants, insurgency intelligence, counterintelligence, subversion, espionage, counterespionage, interrogation of prisoners and suspects, handling mass rallies and meetings, nuclear weapons effects, intelligence photography, polygraphs, populace and resources control, psychological operations, raids and searches, riots, special warfare, surveillance, terror, and undercover operations.

SOURCE: U.S. Policies and Programs in Brazil, Hearings before the Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate, First Session, May 4, 5 and 11, 1971; 92nd Congress, p. 89.



# Brazilian Sanctuary — Investment Briefs

Brazil is rapidly building on its reputation as a safe haven and lucrative market for foreign investment. During the first half of 1971 foreign interests invested and reinvested over \$2.5 billion (42% of this total came from U.S. firms). Brazil has replaced Japan as the U.S. Export-Import Bank's biggest borrower, accounting for 12% (\$101 million) of all Eximbank loans in the last half of 1972. Brazil has also received nearly half of all Eximbank credits to foreign banks for relending to local businessmen (who then use the funds to buy U.S. goods). Last September Brazil became the largest borrower from the World Bank (with over \$1 billion borrowed).

Companies which have been expropriated or scared away from more nationalistic countries have found a safe sanctuary in Brazil. Alcan Aluminum of Canada recently announced that its planned \$90 million bauxite mining project in the Amazon will be more than an adequate substitute for its mines which were nationalized last year in neighboring Guyana. Alcan will maintain management control of the Amazon operation. (Its negotiations with Guyana had broken down over the issue of management control).

U.S. auto manufacturers are boosting their investments in Brazil, not only to get in on the world's fastest growing car market, but also to establish production there for export to other Latin American countries, including the Andean Common Market bloc countries where their plants have been taken over or shut down. Because labor is plentiful and cheap, reported the New York Times (Jan. 28, 1972), "many foreign manufacturers are viewing Brazil as a giant factory for supplying home markets". One day after Volkswagen closed six factories in Germany because of labor troubles and growing competition on world markets, it announced the beginning of a \$70 million factory in Brazil. VW's existing factory in Brazil is already the largest producer outside West Germany. Last year Volkswagen of Brazil took over Latin American market operations for the parent company.

Also in the motor vehicle sector, Business Week (Jan. 8, 1972) reported that in the last two years Caterpillar has sold over 770 pieces of machinery worth over \$47 million to the builders of the Trans-

amazon highway. Caterpillar now has an estimated 70% of the earth-moving equipment market in Brazil.

Foreign investors continue to stream into Brazil. Rodman Rockefeller, president of IBEC (International Basic Economy Corporation)\* and son of Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, made a ten day tour of Brazil in January to study investment possibilities. Among his entourage was David Lilienthal, former head of the AEC (Atomic Energy Commission) and the TVA (Tennessee Valley Authority), architect of the Cauca Valley development plan in Colombia, whose Resources and Development Corporation was recently acquired by IBEC.

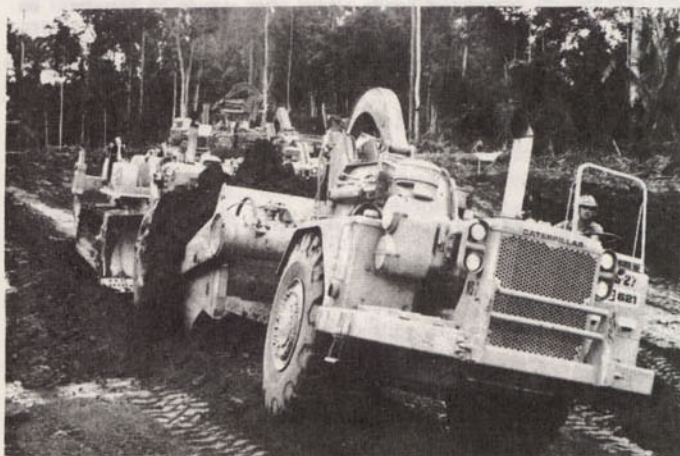
U.S. banks continued their penetration of the financing sector. Manufacturers Hanover Trust bought a 25% interest in two Brazilian finance companies, Wells Fargo Bank opened an office in Sao Paulo, and Security Pacific Bank of Los Angeles opened its first location in Latin America -- a representative office in Sao Paulo.

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\* IBEC - A business venture created by Nelson Rockefeller after the World War II, to take advantage of the improved investment opportunities created by the infrastructure reforms and to diversify the family's investments into areas other than oil. Today IBEC's operations are mainly in the agribusiness sector, supermarkets and food products, poultry breeding (Arbor Acres in Brazil), housing, metal products, financial services and investment. (Source: "The Rockefeller Empire: Latin America", NACLA, 1969; available from NACLA, Box 226, Berkeley, CA. 94701.)

This article is a reprint from NACLA's Yanqui Dollar Project, mailing #1, April 1972.

Sources: Noticias, February 2 and February 23, 1972; The Journal of Commerce, September 27, 1971; Business Latin America, March 2, 1972, p.69; Los Angeles Times, January 5, 1972; The Journal of Commerce, January 20, 1972; Noticias, January 12, 1972; Los Angeles Times, December 1, 1971.



Made-in-Brazil Caterpillar machines work on the Trans-Amazon Highway.

## Slaves in the Amazon

Dom Joaquim de Lange, Bishop of Tefe, in the right bank of the Solimoes River, decided to end all religious services in his diocese as long as the rubber plantation owners go on using slave work.

The workers, who live in deserted areas, are paid not in money, but in food, for which high prices are charged. Kept in permanent debt, they cannot leave the area, thus remaining slaves.

The act of the Bishop, supported by the 85 priests of the Diocese, confirms the accusations of the French missionary Julio Vitte, who observed the same conditions in the Aripuana River region (JORNAL DO BRASIL, February 10, 1972).

Business Week, January 8, 1972



## Dear Friends of Brazil:

The Brazilian Information Bulletin has finished its seventh issue. Since our first publication in February 1971, we have received letters and contributions from over 25 countries supporting our work. Our success has come from direct support from individuals.

Anyone doing research about Brazil that pertains to the interests of this Bulletin is invited to submit studies for publication. Newspaper clippings and magazine articles sent from anywhere in the world will also help us make up B.I.B. #8.

Your contributions sent now will pay for printing and mailing of the next Bulletin. We are presently considering reprinting all our back issues in a booklet form because we have few left while requests keep coming. In order to do this we need to raise at least \$600.00. If enough contributions come in we will proceed with this project.

Our thanks to those who made possible this issue and continue supporting this work in one form or another.

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## CERN AND THE INSTITUTIONAL ACT NUMBER 5

1,100 scientists working in CERN\* have signed and sent a petition to Brazilian officials through the Geneva League of Human Rights (1, rue de Rive, Geneva, Switzerland) in protest for the promulgation of the Institutional Act Number 5.

The letter of protest says that "the promulgation of the Institutional Act Number 5 on December 13, 1968 officially suppresses [human] rights and liberties, thus violating the International Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the UN General Assembly in Paris on December 10, 1948".

(\*) CERN (European Center for Nuclear Research) is a Geneva based center of scientists dedicated to research of elementary particles.

For the full English version of the Institutional Act Number 5 see pages 46 and 47 of the Senate Hearings on Brazil (copies available from: Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402).

## CUBA RESOURCE CENTER NEWSLETTER

This bi-monthly publication examines Cuba's drive for development and the struggle to create a new man and woman. Regular features include information on religion in Cuba, a summary of U.S. press coverage of Cuban issues, excerpts from the English edition of Granma, book reviews, documents and coming events.

Subscriptions: \$5.00 a year for individuals, \$10.00 for institutions. Send to CUBA RESOURCE CENTER, Box 206, New York NY 10025.

## CORRECT ADDRESS

In the last BIB we listed the groups that publish information on current events in Brazil. The correct name and address of the Canadian group is:

COMITE SOLIDARITE - BRESIL  
2744 Rue Centre  
Montreal 104, Quebec, CANADA

## VOICE OF HAITI

The "VOICE OF HAITI" is a newsletter published by the Friends of Haiti (P.O. Box 365, Hopewell Junction, N.Y. 12533). It is dedicated to bringing to the attention of the American people documented facts on the past and present Haitian political life.

Write to the above address for more information. If you wish to contribute, please make your check payable to Friends of Haiti.

## ARGENTINEAN POLITICAL PRISONERS

The United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) has launched a campaign to get information on the repression in Argentina out to the American people and to civil libertarians around the world.

For information contact USLA Justice Committee, P.O. Box 2303, New York, NY 10002 - (212)924-0894.

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