

Enclosure #4

MEMORANDUM

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

FROM: Philippe C. Schmitter

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

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

-x-x-x-

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

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



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

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

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

-x-x-x-

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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



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

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

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

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



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

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

-X-X-X-

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

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



I; therefore, propose the following measures:

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

Philippe C. Schmitter  
Rio de Janeiro  
15 May 1969

Attachment (1)



PROFESSORS AND TEACHERS RETIRED FROM THE PUBLIC SERVICE

UNDER THE FIFTH INSTITUTIONAL ACT

UNIVERSITY OF SÃO PAULO

Acting Rector

Helio Lourenço de Oliveira

Faculty of Philosophy

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

Faculty of Medicine

Alberto Carvalho da Silva (Physiology)<sup>x</sup>  
Isaias Raw (Biochemistry)<sup>xx</sup>  
Luiz Reis  
Luis Hildebrand Pereira da Silva  
Reinaldo Chilverini

Faculty of Medicine in Ribeirão Preto

Helio Lourenço de Oliveira (Psychology and Psychiatry)

Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism

Jon Andro Veigareche Maitrejean  
João Batista Vilanova Artigas

School of Cultural Communications

Jean Claude Bernadit (Film)

Faculty of Public Health and Hygiene

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

Institute of Pre-History

Paulo Alfeu Monteiro Duarte (Director)

- x Professor Carvalho is also president of the São Paulo State Research Foundation (FAPESP).  
xx Professor Raw is also presidente of the Carlos Chagas Foundation and scientific director of the Foundation for the Development of Science Teaching.



UNIVERSITY OF SAO PAULO (cont'd)

Institute Butantã (for the study of poisonous venom)

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

FEDERAL UNIVERSITY OF RIO DE JANEIRO

Institute of Philosophy and Social Sciences

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

Institute of Geosciences

Eduardo Moura da Silva Rosa (Geography)

Institute of Physics

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

Institute of Mathematics

Maria Laura Leite Lopes

School of Chemistry

Augusto Araujo Lopes Zanith (Director)  
Aurelio Augusto Rocha

School of Belas Artes

Mario Antonio Barata  
Quirino Campofiorito  
Abelarda Zaluar

School of Physical Education and Sports

Alberto Latorre de Faria



FEDERAL UNIVERSITY OF RIO DE JANEIRO (cont'd)

Faculty of Law

Alberto Portocarrero de Miranda

School of Music

José de Lima Siqueira

PONTIFICAL CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF RIO DE JANEIRO

Miriam Limoeiro Cardoso Lins (Sociology)

Bolívar Lamounier (Political Science) xxx

José Antonio da Mota Pessanha (Philosophy) xxxxx

Manuel Maurício de Albuquerque (History) xxxxx

João Cristóvão Cardoso (Physics) xxxxx

COLEGIO DOM PEDRO II (Secondary School)

Roberto Bandeira Acioli

Maria Helena Trench Villas Boas

FEDERAL UNIVERSITY OF MINAS GERAIS

Nassim Gabriel Merediff (Education)

UNKNOWN (Rio de Janeiro)

Osmar Cunha (Ex-federal deputy)

Yara Lopes Vargas (Ex-federal deputy)

Helio Marques da Silva

Milton Lessa Bastos

Wilson Ferreira Lima

Maria José de Oliveira

João Luis Duboc Pinaud

UNKNOWN (São Paulo)

Julio Pudeles

Pedro Calil Padis

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

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