

# TELEGRAM

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Amembassy Office BRASILIA

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BRASILIA

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Date:

October 4, 1966

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ACTION: Secstate WASHDC PRIORITY 137

INFO: Amembassy RIO DE JANEIRO PRIORITY  
Amconsul SKO PAULO PRIORITY 41

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BRASILIA 195

SUBJ: Costa e Silva Election

REF: BRASILIA 194

1. Indirect congressional election of administration candidate Costa e Silva to presidency and Deputado Pedro

Aleixo to vice presidency in unopposed contest, as expected, was without ~~surprises~~ <sup>surprises</sup>. Congress met with administration's quorum secure; opposition and administration spokesmen respectively attacked and defended in relatively mild fashion indirect vote for President; voting went quickly and smoothly; President-elect delivered brief acceptance speech; Senate President Moura Andrade also spoke. Entire proceedings lasted less than three hours. Chief interest of session aroused by differing content and tone of Costa e Silva and <sup>Moura</sup> Andrade speeches.

2. Costa e Silva's acceptance speech largely rehash of speeches he has been giving for months, blending vague promises of revolutionary continuity with equally vague assurances of his devotion to democratic institutions.

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Former received heavier emphasis in this speech. Denying that March 31 movement was either coup d'etat or military mutiny, Costa e Silva declared that "continuity of revolution" meant "imperative to maintain its inspirations and secure its ideals." Referring to solidarity of armed forces, President-elect stated: "Democracy has to arm self in order defend self from those who use its immunities to destroy it." Costa e Silva further declared: "Democracy confers not only rights, but also duties -- and latter are always greater and more numerous than former." On positive side, former War Minister declared that March 1964 movement had "commitment with democracy," and that his own democratic instincts cannot be doubted. Further stated he would not commit injustice of considering "sectarians of fanatic ideologies" those who disagree with revolutionary government, and called on all Brazilians to work with him. Costa e Silva briefly alluded to deficiencies in food, health, education as most pressing of Brazil's immediate national needs. Referred to Castello Branco administration's "valuable work" in this area as "social humanism."

3. Senate President replied with forceful statement stressing constitutionality, separation of powers, and government by consent with responsiveness to needs of

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governed. Moura Andrade first quoted passages his April 11, 1964 address following election Castello Branco, which called on Revolution to respect <sup>its</sup> ~~its~~ democratic origins, authority and dignity of Congress and Courts, human rights and Brazilian traditions. He expressed to Costa e Silva hope these concepts would "find repercussion in democratic spirit" of President-elect. Defining limits of three powers (Executive, Legislative, Judiciary), Moura Andrade said he trusted Costa e Silva administration would act within this framework: "I sincerely believe Your Excellency desires embody power which emanates from Constitution and laws and which is already immeasurable in itself." Stressing importance of Constitution, Moura Andrade added that difficult task of governing nation often becomes even more difficult and complex when governing powers abandon ~~simplex~~ simplicity of constitutional guidelines of conduct. He recalled Costa e Silva role in Revolution and praised latter's continued efforts maintain contact with sentiments of people, adding latter essential because time moves quickly and suddenly populace will have matured and left leaders behind unless they keep finger on pulse. Moura Andrade closed with repetition

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his description of ideal President in address at March 1966 opening of Congress (Brasília A-93), concluding "Entire nation wants to affirm, when Your Excellency leaves Presidential Palace, that it had such a man guiding its destinies."

4. Joint congressional session itself transpired uneventfully, except for short flurry when Senator João Abrahão (MDB-Goiás) insulted ARENA congressmen. Principal opposition spokesmen -- Chamber leader Vieira de Mello, deputy leader João Herculino, and Senator Josaphat Marinho -- all criticized indirect congressional election of President in strong, but reasoned terms and avoided any criticism of Costa e Silva himself. (Herculino dressed entirely in black in symbolic sign of mourning.) 337 Congressmen (286 Deputies, 51 Senators) composed quorum. 295 votes received by Costa e Silva came from 255 Deputies and 40 Senators. All votes but one came from ranks of ARENA. Sole opposition congressman to vote for Costa e Silva was Deputy Anisio Rocha of Goiás, whose expulsion from MDB followed shortly after election. Departure of opposition congressmen from Chamber floor was undramatic. Few dozen spectators, who appeared to be mainly students, also walked quietly out of packed visitors' gallery when opposition withdrew. Evening Oct. 3, Moura Andrade,

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who presided over session, told Emboffs it went off more smoothly than he had expected -- more so than many/<sup>an</sup> ordinary session.

5. President Castello Branco in jovial mood when he presented 64th birthday gift (neckties) to Costa e Silva on Oct. 2 in latter's hotel suite, and also at reception offered by Costa e Silva evening Oct. 3. Reception brought out overflow crowd of about 1,500 ARENA Senators, Deputies, Governors, Cabinet Ministers, and usual political hangers-on. Opposition, if invited, conspicuously absent, although a few (e.g. Deputy Herculino) attended Sunday night buffet at Congressional Club honoring Costa e Silva.

6. Comment: (A) Opposition's moderate behavior during session suggests that MDB still wants to keep intact its channels of communication to future Costa e Silva administration. For his part, Costa e Silva seems similarly inclined, at least at this early stage.

(B) Discussing his speech with Emboffs evening Oct. 3, Senate President Moura Andrade said he repeated his April 1964 remarks on return to constitutional normality in hopes Costa e Silva would heed his injunctions, as Castello Branco had not. Moura Andrade acknowledged that his remarks on constitution were pointed towards forthcoming congressional

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consideration of new constitution. Noted that in his opinion Congress to be elected Nov. 15 should take up matter of new constitution, but that Castello Branco wanted new constitution enacted while he still in office. Noted that if new constitution a good one, it would have no difficulty in Congress, but if a bad one decreed by President, it simply would not last.

(C) Contradiction between imperatives of "revolutionary continuity," as stressed by Costa e Silva, and need to return to constitutional norms, as stressed by Moura Andrade, epitomized the underlying tensions inherent in current and future political situation.

Vagueness of Costa e Silva's speech itself indicative of his present caution on this score, and probably his recognition for need proceed slowly this delicate area.

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