



Pol 23-9 Braz
Department of State

TELEGRAM

DECLASSIFIED
Authority NND 969000

CONFIDENTIAL 730

PAGE 01 RIO DE 14520 210230Z

92
ACTION ARA 16

INFO CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04,

RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, CU 04, EUR 15, NIC 01, AID 28, PC 04,

COM 08, E 15, LAB 06, SIL 01, RSR 01, SAH 02, AGR 20, /186 W
098442

P R 201905Z DEC 68
FM AMEMBASSY RIO DE JANEIRO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5951
INFO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMCONSUL RECIFE
AMCONSUL SAO PAULO
USCINCSO

C O N F I D E N T I A L RIO DE JANEIRO 14520

SUBJECT: GOB JUSTIFICATION OF IA-5

REF: RIO 14501

1. MEMBERS OF BRAZILIAN MILITARY, OFFICIAL GOVERNMENT SPOKESMEN AND EXTREMIST CIVILIANS ARE EXPLOITING EVERY OPPORTUNITY ATTEMPT EXPLAIN TO EMBOFFS REASONS BEHIND GOVERNMENT ACTIONS DECEMBER 13 AND SUBSEQUENTLY. SOME EXPLANATIONS ACCOMPANY EFFORT IDENTIFY J.S. WITH BRAZILIAN GOALS AS REPRESENTED BY NEW INSTITUTIONAL ACT AND URGE UNDERSTANDING AND CONTINUED USG SUPPORT.

2. JUSTIFICATIONS MOST OFTEN CENTER AROUND ALLEGATION THAT SUBVERSION AND CORRUPTION SERIOUSLY THREATENED SUCCESS OF 1964 REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM. ENLARGING ON SUBVERSION, CLAIM IS MADE FORCES WERE AT WORK THREATENING REGIME'S VERY SURVIVAL OR AT THE LEAST CREATING IRRITATING DISTRACTION WHICH IMPEDED ITS EFFICIENT FUNCTIONING. CITED TO BUTTRESS THIS VIEW ARE STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS WHICH ERUPTED DURING PAST YEAR AND WHICH WERE DIRECTED AGAINST REGIME. ANTI-GOVERNMENT ACTIVITY BY CERTAIN PRIESTS, INCLUDING ALLEGED INVOLVEMENT WITH GUERRILLA MOVEMENTS; POLITICAL ACTIVITIES BY INDIVIDUALS CASSATED BY REVOLUTION AND CONSPIRACIES BY MARI-GHELLA AND FAR LEFTISTS. IN GOVERNMENT VIEW, THESE FORCES CREATED CLIMATE OF DISORDER LEADING TO SIGNIFICANT RECENT GROWTH URRAN

CONFIDENTIAL

42



Department of State

TELEGRAM

DECLASSIFIED
Authority AND 969000

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 RIO DE 14520 210230Z

TERRORISM INVOLVING BOMBINGS, ARMS THEFTS AND ROBBERIES BY SUBVERSIVES WITH PURPOSE OF WEAKENING CONFIDENCE IN GOVERNMENT AND DESTROYING IT. WHILE MOST ACTIVITIES REFERRED TO ABOVE ARE ATTRIBUTED TO COMMUNISTS AND PRE-REVOLUTIONARY FIGURES, SUBVERSION CATALOG HAS RECENTLY BEEN EXTENDED TO INCLUDE CIVILIAN PLOT BY BRAZILIAN VESTED INTERESTS AND FOREIGN ECONOMIC GROUPS TO OVERTHROW REGIME IN JANUARY AND THEREAFTER EXPLOIT NATION (RIO 14462).

3. GENERALLY LUMPED TOGETHER UNDER SUBVERSIVE EFFORTS TO UNDERMINE SYSTEM ARE DEVELOPMENTS IN CONGRESS AND IN COURTS. BACKERS NEW INSTITUTIONAL ACT THEORIZE THAT CONGRESSIONAL DEFIANCE OF GOVERNMENT AS REPRESENTED BY MOREIRA ALVES CASE WOULD INITIATE PROCESS INEVITABLY LEADING TO ACTION BY CONGRESS TO GRANT AMNESTY TO POLITICAL FIGURES PUNISHED BY REVOLUTION FOR SUBVERSION AND CORRUPTION AND TO REINSTITUTE DIRECT PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN 1970 WHICH TOGETHER WOULD IN EFFECT TURN NATION BACK TO PRE-REVOLUTIONARY CONTEXT, AS REVOLUTION NOT POPULAR BECAUSE OF ITS REFORM EFFORTS. FREQUENT ACTION BY SUPREME COURT AND OTHER JURISDICTIONS TO GRANT HABEAS CORPUS TO INDIVIDUALS APPREHENDED BY GOVERNMENT ON SUBVERSION CHARGES HAS BEEN CONDEMNED AS SABOTAGE AND AS ENCOURAGEMENT TO ENEMIES OF REVOLUTION.

4. SECOND MAJOR RATIONALE FOR NEW INSTITUTIONAL ACT REVOLVES ABOUT CONTENTION THAT CORRUPTION IS STILL WIDESPREAD AND IS SAPPING RESOURCES WHICH RIGHTFULLY SHOULD BE CHanneled TO NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT. RADICALS ASSERT CORRUPTION EXISTS ON MUNICIPAL, STATE AND FEDERAL LEVELS, INVOLVING EVEN MINISTERS AND THE PRESIDENT'S FAMILY, AND THAT IT MUST BE ROOTED OUT TO DEMONSTRATE PUBLICLY

MILITARY REPUDIATION OF IT, THUS COUNTERING INNUENDOS MILITARY HAS BEEN INVOLVED. CORRUPTION ARGUMENT EMBRACES ALSO UNPATRIOTIC PROFITEERING AND SHADY PRACTICES BY VESTED INTERESTS SUCH AS THOSE EXEMPLIFIED BY DOMINIUM SOLUBLE COFFEE GROUP.

5. ANOTHER LINE OF THOUGHT IS THAT COORDINATED EFFORT EXISTED TO ERODE MILITARY PRESTIGE IN WHICH NEWS MEDIA, POLITICIANS, LEFTIST INTELLECTUALS AND PROGRESSIVE CLERGY INVOLVED. PARTICULARS CITED INCLUDE ANTI-MILITARY SONGS (CAMINHANDO), STAGE PLAYS (RODA VIVA, OPINAO), NEWSPAPER CARTOONS, ARTICLES (HERMANO ALVES) AND EDITORIALS, SERMONS, STUDENT SLOGANS, SPEECH BY MOREIRA ALVES, AND

CONFIDENTIAL.



Department of State TELEGRAM

DECLASSIFIED
Authority NND 969000

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 RIO DE 14520 210230Z

ATTEMPT BY BOTH MOREIRA ALVES AND HERMANO ALVES SUMMON LEADING GENERALS LIKE PORTELLA AND MEDICI TO TESTIFY BEFORE CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE ON INVASION OF UNIVERSITY OF BRASILIA. SENSITIVE MILITARY MEN INSIST THAT AS MILITARY IS CHIEF SUSTENANCE FOR REGIME, SUCH CRITICISM STRIKES AT VERY ROOT OF SYSTEM AND IS INTOLERABLE.

6. POINTS MORE INFREQUENTLY HEARD INCLUDE DESIRABILITY TO JACK UP PRESIDENT AND GOVERNMENT WHICH ACT AND NEW MILITARY POSTURE NOW ACCOMPLISHES. BLUNTLY PUT THIS CONTENTION NOT ONLY SINGLES OUT INEFFICIENCY BY SOME OF PRESIDENT'S MINISTERS AND NEED TO REPLACE THEM BUT ALSO TOUCHES COSTA E SILVA HIMSELF CLAIMING HE WAS ISOLATED IN BRASILIA AND NOT TUNED TO NATIONAL PROBLEMS. IN THIS VIEW, ACT AMOUNTS TO REINVIGORATION AND REDEDICATION OF REVOLUTIONARIES THEMSELVES TO STRIVE FOR MOVEMENT'S GOALS.

7. ELEMENTS IN MILITARY IRRITATION, HARDLY MENTIONED AT ALL NOW, AT LEAST PUBLICLY, INCLUDE LOW LEVEL MILITARY PAY AND ATTENDANT HARDSHIPS ON OFFICERS AND FRUSTRATION AT LACK OF MODERN MILITARY EQUIPMENT FOR THREE SERVICES. ARMED FORCES PARTICULARLY SENSITIVE TO CONTRAST THEIR ECONOMIC SITUATION WITH PROLIFERATION CONGRESSIONAL JAUNTS ABROAD AND OSTENTATIOUS LIVING OF CIVILIAN TYCOONS.

8. COMMENT: WHILE PROCESS OF RATIONALIZATION HAS SET IN, IT UNDOUBTEDLY TRUE THAT MILITARY AND THEIR CIVILIAN SUPPORTERS FERVENTLY AND SINCERELY BELIEVE IN VALIDITY OF THE JUSTIFICATIONS THEY OFFER FOR INSTITUTIONAL ACT NO. 5. THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT THEIR ASSESSMENT IS OBJECTIVE OR ACCURATE. CLEARLY OPPOSITION, THOUGH UNCOORDINATED AND SECTORAL, DID EXIST TO REVOLUTIONARY REGIME. TO POSTULATE, HOWEVER, THAT OPPOSITION FORCES REPRESENTED SERIOUS AND URGENT THREAT IS GROSS OVER-ESTIMATE UNSUBSTANTIATED BY ANY EVIDENCE PREVIOUSLY AVAILABLE AND UNFLATTERING TO MILITARY SERVICES THEMSELVES WHICH HAVE CONSTANTLY OFFERED ASSURANCES THAT NATIONAL SECURITY SITUATION WELL IN HAND.

9. NEITHER STUDENTS, CLERGY, CONGRESSMEN NOR MARIGHELLISTAS COULD OVERTHROW REGIME, NOT EVEN IN HIGHLY UNLIKELY EVENT COOPERATION COULD BE ARRANGED AMONG THEM. ALL OF FACTORS MENTIONED ABOVE TO ONE DEGREE OR ANOTHER MAY HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO ACCUMULATION OF FRUSTRATIONS WHICH MADE MOREIRA ALVES VOTE "LAST STRAW," BUT THEY CAN NOT BE VIEWED AS A VALID RATIONALE FOR THE DRASTIC MEASURES IMPOSED BY INSTITUTIONAL ACT NO. 5, PARTICULARLY WHEN ONE BEARS IN MIND

CONFIDENTIAL



Department of State

TELEGRAM

DECLASSIFIED
Authority NND 969000

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 RIO DE 14520 210230Z

THE STRONG POWERS THE GOB ALREADY HAD IN HAND UNDER THE CONSTITUTION, THE PRESS LAW AND THE NATIONAL SECURITY LAW. TUTHILL

CONFIDENTIAL