



47

POL 23-8 BRAZ  
XR POL 13-2 BRAZ

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

~~SECRET~~ 251

PAGE 01 BRASIL 02415 01 OF 02 261849Z

42  
ACTION ARA-17

INFO OCT=01 ADP=00 CIAE=00 DODE=00 PM=09 H=02 INR=10 L=03  
NSAE=00 NSC=10 PA=03 RSC=01 PRS=01 SS=15 USIA=12  
AID=20 PC=04 OMB=01 SY=10 TO=12 RSK=01 X132 W  
040807

BRASILIA  
4-26-73  
2415

R 261700Z APR 73  
FM AMEMBASSY BRASILIA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7383  
INFO AMCONSUL RECIFE  
AMCONSUL RIO DE JANEIRO  
AMCONSUL SAO PAULO  
AMCONSUL BELEM  
AMCONSUL PORTO ALEGRE  
AMCONSUL SALVADOR

Declassified Authority: 33216  
By: Dorothy Johnson Date:  
09-14-2012

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Authority AW1969033

~~SECRET~~ SECTION 1 OF 2 BRASILIA 2415

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: PINT PINS BR  
SUBJECT: INCREASE IN SUBVERSION-RELATED ARRESTS AND ALLEGATIONS  
OF TORTURE

POL 23-8 BRAZ  
XR POL 13-2 BRAZ

REF: SAO PAULO 687 AND 503; RIOS A-90

1. THERE HAS BEEN AN INCREASE IN SUBVERSIVE-RELATED ARRESTS DURING LATE MARCH AND FIRST HALF OF APRIL WITH ATTENDANT CLAIMS OF TORTURE, IN AT LEAST TWO CASES DEATHS, WHICH SECURITY OFFICIALS ATTRIBUTE TO RESISTING ARRESTS BUT WHICH POSSIBLY CAUSED BY TORTURE, HAVE OCCURRED. BASED ON INFORMATION GATHERED TO DATE BY VARIOUS EMBASSY COMPONENTS THE ARRESTS APPEAR TO BE CONCENTRATED IN RIO DE JANEIRO, NITEROI AND SAO PAULO, WITH MINOR ACTIVITY IN PORTO ALEGRE, AND ACCORDING TO ONE OFFICIAL SOURCE IN A POSITION TO KNOW PARANA, EMBASSY IS ATTEMPTING TO REFINE DATA CONCERNING ACTUAL EXTENT OF REPRESSION AND WILL REPORT FURTHER IN VARIOUS CHANNELS.

[Redacted]

(2)

FOIA(b) (1) State Dept

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45



Department of State

TELEGRAM

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PAGE 02 BRASIL 02415 01 OF 02 261849Z FOIA(b) (1) State Dept

2. AS DEPARTMENT AWARE, THERE WERE TWO POLITICAL ASSASSINATIONS ATTRIBUTABLE TO TERRORISTS IN FEBRUARY. K21 FEB IN SAO PAULO, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AND THERE WERE REPORTS OF PLANS FOR FURTHER ACTS OF TERRORISM. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] IN ADDITION, GOB TOOK PRECAUTION TO EXPAND PROTECTION OF DIPLOMATS DURING CARNIVAL PERIOD AND ALERTED MISSION TO POSSIBILITY OF DIFFICULTIES DURING MARCH 31 ANNIVERSARY OF 1964 REVOLUTION. HOWEVER, THESE REPORTS WERE NOT MADE PUBLIC AND PROBABLY CAME TO ATTENTION OF MEDIA AND OTHERS ONLY IN A FRAGMENTED MANNER. AS A RESULT, IT IS COMMONLY HELD VIEW OF MANY POLITICAL OBSERVERS, PARTICULARLY AMONG ANTI-REGIME JOURNALISTS, THAT THERE HAS NOT BEEN AN INCREASE IN THE LEVEL OF TERRORIST OR SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITY SUFFICIENT TO EXPLAIN AN INCREASE IN REPRESSION. THEREFORE, A NUMBER OF RUMORS ARE CIRCULATING AND ARE RECOUNTED BELOW AS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE IN THE "STREET" AND BECAUSE OF THEIR POTENTIAL FOR POLITICAL REPERCUSSIONS BOTH INTERNATIONALLY AND DOMESTICALLY, IT SHOULD BE EMPHASIZED THAT THE FOLLOWING IS PRESENTED AS CURRENT SPECULATION IN SOME SECTORS AND NOT AS CORROBORATED FACT. THE FIRST RUMOR, SPECIFICALLY, IS HEAVILY DISCOUNTED BY THE EMBASSY:

3. A THESIS IS BEING PROPAGATED BY THE STAFF OF THE ESTADO DE SAO PAULO, AND PARTICULARLY ITS MANAGING EDITOR, OLIVEIROS FERREIRA, THAT A DELIBERATE ATTEMPT IS BEING MADE TO FOSTER A CLIMATE OF POLITICAL CRISIS. OLIVEIROS, AN ULTRA LIBERAL WHO HAS BEEN CONSISTENTLY ANTI-MEDICI REGIME AND TENDS TO SUPPORT THE DEVIL'S VIEW OF HISTORY, IS PROMOTING THE IDEA THAT BRAZILIAN SECURITY AUTHORITIES ARE UNILATERALLY ENGAGED IN A REPRESSIVE CAMPAIGN UNDER THE ORDERS OF SNI CHIEF FONTOU AS A MEANS OF CHANGING THE PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION.

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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PAGE 03 BRASIL 02415 01 OF 02 241849Z

GROUND RULES, I.E., STOPPING THE CANDIDACY OF GENERAL ERNESTO GEISEL. REFLECTIONS OF THIS HYPOTHESIS HAVE SURFACED ALSO IN RIO DE JANEIRO, PORTO ALEGRE AND, AS IT HAS IN THE PAST, IN BRASILIA.

4. IN THE LATTER TWO CASES, THE STORY WAS BEING SPREAD BY LOCAL ESTADO REPRESENTATIVES. THIS WAS PROBABLY ALSO THE CASE IN RIO. NEVERTHELESS, THE STORY HAS NOW SUFFICIENTLY SPREAD SO THAT ECHOES OF IT MAY BE HEARD FROM ANY NUMBER OF DISPARATE SOURCES. CARDINAL ARNS, ARCHBISHOP OF SAO PAULO, FOR INSTANCE, FIRMLY BELIEVES IT TO BE TRUE. PIMENTA NEVES, MANAGING EDITOR OF EDITORA ABRIL (VEJA, REALIDADES) BELIEVES IT WITH SOME VARIATIONS AND RESERVATIONS. A NUMBER OF OPPOSITIONIST POLITICIANS HAVE ACCEPTED IT AS THEIR OWN. THE GREAT PRESTIGE OF THE ESTADO IN ITSELF LENDS A CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT OF CURRENCY TO THE STORY.

HOWEVER, THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT THE CONSIDERABLE NUMBERS OF THOSE DETAINED SOME OF WHOM MOST LIKELY HAVE BEEN TORTURED AT A TIME WHEN THE REGIME APPEARS MORE STABLE THAN EVER, ADD ADDITIONAL FUEL.

5. THERE ARE TWO MORE BRAZILIAN VARIATIONS ON THE ABOVE THESIS:

A. THE REPRESSION COULD BE ATTRIBUTABLE TO NORMAL SECURITY CONCERNS AROUSED DURING THE DELICATE PERIOD DURING WHICH THE SUCCESSION IS BEING DETERMINED. STUDENTS OF BRAZILIAN HISTORY POINT OUT THAT THERE HAS NEVER BEEN A SUCCESSION IN BRAZIL, WHETHER UNDER THE EMPIRE OR REPUBLIC, WHICH DID NOT PROVOKE CONSIDERABLE TENSIONS. FURTHER, THERE IS

A GROWING CONCERN ABOUT THE EFFECTS OF INFLATION ON THE LOWER CLASSES AND THE CONVICTION THAT EFFORTS DURING THE PAST YEAR HAVE NOT BEEN AS EFFECTIVE AS CLAIMED, FOR INSTANCE, ONE OF THE RECURRING THEMES HEARD IN SAO PAULO IS LITERALLY THE PRICE OF BEANS, THAT BASIC STAPLE OF THE LOWER CLASS BRAZILIAN DIET, WHICH NOW STANDS AT SEVEN CRUZEIROS PER KILO AND IS EXPECTED TO GO TO NINE NEXT MONTH. THUS, THE REPRESSION IS A SELF-GENERATING EXCUSE TO CLAMP DOWN FURTHER DURING A SENSITIVE PERIOD.

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Authority AW1969033



Department of State

TELEGRAM

~~SECRET~~

PAGE 04 BRASIL 02415 01 OF 02 201849Z

B. ONE OF THE MAJOR CONCERNS OCCASIONED BY THE GEISEL CANDIDACY AND WHICH WAS PROBABLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE EARLY "STOP GEISEL" MOVEMENTS WAS THE PROSPECTIVE LOSS OF GOVERNMENT JOBS BY INCUMBENTS TO GENERAL GEISEL'S SUPPORTERS. WITH RESPECT TO THE HARD LINERS AMONG THE SECURITY FORCES, THERE WAS ALSO THE UNSUPPORTED BUT PERSISTENT FEELING THAT THE GEISEL REGIME WOULD BE MORE "DEMOCRATIC." THUS AN ATTEMPT ON THE PART OF THE SECURITY FORCES TO JUSTIFY THE CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE OF THEIR ROLE AND, IN EFFECT, THEIR JOBS WOULD BE WITHIN THE REALM OF POSSIBILITY.

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POC 23-8 BRAZ

# Department of State

# TELEGRAM

~~SECRET~~ 353

PAGE 01 BRASIL 02415 02 OF 02 2620532

72  
ACTION ARA-17

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PH-09 H-02 INR-10 L-03  
NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-12  
AID-00 PC-04 OMB-01 SY-10 YO-12 (RSR-01) /132 W  
041849

R 261700Z APR 73  
FM AMEMBASSY BRASILIA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7384  
INFO AMCONSUL RECIFE  
AMCONSUL RIO DE JANEIRO  
AMCONSUL SAO PAULO  
AMCONSUL BELEM  
AMCONSUL PORTO ALEGRE  
AMCONSUL SALVADOR

~~SECRET~~ SECTION 2 OF 2 BRASILIA 2415

6. INITIAL CONTACT WITH SECURITY SERVICES TENDS TO CONFIRM THE TREND TO A RECENT INCREASE IN NUMBERS OF ARRESTS BUT THESE SERVICES FEEL THEY HAVE HARD INFORMATION LINKING THE SUSPECTS WITH SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES.

7. EMBASSY PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS IS THAT HARSH INTERROGATION METHODS REMAIN IN USE ON OCCASION IN VARIOUS PARTS OF BRAZIL REGARDLESS OF WHETHER THEY ARE KNOWINGLY TOLERATED BY HIGHER AUTHORITY. IT IS EVIDENT THAT SUCH METHODS ARE MORE LIKELY TO BE EMPLOYED DURING PERIODS OF HEIGHTENED POLITICAL NERVOUSNESS. IF OUR IMPRESSION OF AN INCREASE IN REPRESSION IS SUSTAINED BY FURTHER INVESTIGATION AND ANALYSIS, IT IS EVIDENT THAT THIS ISSUE COULD BECOME A CAUSE OF INCREASED CONCERN IN POLITICAL CIRCLES WITHIN BRAZIL AND REGAIN WIDESPREAD PUBLICITY ABROAD AS CHURCH AND CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS, JOURNALISTS AND OTHER INTERESTED OBSERVERS REACT TO ARRESTS.  
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