

AIRGRAM

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FROM: Embassy RIO DE JANEIRO

August 23, 1962

Brazilian Elections 1962: Report No. 27, Governors and Vice Governors

This report is designed to analyze the political orientation of the governors (and vice governors) who are among the most important participants in the great game of politics as it is played in Brazil. Although none of them can stand for re-election, those whose terms are expiring are almost without exception seeking other high elective office, and those who can look forward to three more years in their present position will exert a very significant influence on behalf of their chosen candidates in the October electoral sweepstakes.

The strength of the centrist political forces in Brazil is reflected in the orientation of the governors and their alternates. Eight of the eleven governors elected in 1960 and four of those elected in 1958 can be classed as centrists. (See Enclosure No. 1 for an alphabetical listing of the governors and vice governors, showing their parties, states, and political classifications, and Enclosure No. 3 for a listing by classification.) One of those chosen in 1960 and two of the 1958 victors are conservatives, while another elected in 1960 (Carlos Lacerda of Guanabara) is a non-Communist radical reformer with strong centrist leanings. The leftist forces have not fared well in the gubernatorial balloting, winning four races in 1958 and only one in 1960 (giving them a total of 3 of 21).

With respect to the governorships being contested this year, the last time around the leftists and centrists each took four and the conservatives two. While the situation in certain states may shift radically, the balance is likely to remain about the same. For example, the possible leftist gains in Pernambuco and perhaps Sergipe will probably be offset by their losses in Rio Grande do Sul and Piaui.

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(A brief outline of the upcoming gubernatorial elections is included in "Report No. 23 - A Geography of Leftist Political Strength and Ambitions," Embassy Airgram A-159 of August 8, 1962.)

The Brazilian governors are generally individuals with a substantial political background. (The electoral record of each governor and vice governor, from 1945 through 1960, is shown in Enclosure No. 2.) Most come from the Federal Congress and return there when their term has expired. Of the twenty-one successful gubernatorial aspirants on the last full go-around (1958 and 1960 combined), ten were serving as Federal Deputies and four as Senators at the time of their election. Two others made the jump up from Vice Governor, and one (Carvalho Pinto in São Paulo) from a state cabinet position. Two were politicians who had failed in their bids for the Senate the previous election, while one was mayor of the state capital. Only Cid Sampaio in Pernambuco was a newcomer to politics.

Similarly, with the exceptions of Carvalho Pinto and perhaps Parsifal Barrozo, those governors whose terms are expiring are seeking election to Congress with no fewer than five setting their sights on the eight-year mandate of the Senate.

The gubernatorial candidates have a political background much like that of the incumbents, with by far the largest number coming from the ranks of Congress. In Rio Grande do Sul, Sergipe, São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Espírito Santo former governors are seeking to regain the offices they relinquished four years ago. In the last three of these states these candidates are finding stiff opposition from other former governors.

For vice-governors, the electoral background is similar, if less rich, to that for the governors. In 1958 a single leftist was elected to the number two spot in a state (Pelopidas Silveira in Pernambuco) and in 1960 only two (Clóvis Salgado in Minas Gerais and Deutel de Andrade in Santa Catarina). In each of these three cases the governor elected at the same time was a centrist, and the presence of a leftist as his running mate resulted from concessions in forming a coalition. This same factor worked in the opposite direction in 1958 when the successful running mates of leftist gubernatorial candidates Roberto Silveira and Chagas Rodrigues were, respectively, the conservative Celso Peçanha and centrist Tiberio Nunes. Over one-third of the incumbent vice governors reached that position from the state legislatures, while an equal proportion were members of the national legislature. A majority of the vice governors elected four years ago are now running for Congress; the exceptions are those who chose to enjoy three months as acting governor after the incumbents stepped down to be eligible for election to Congress.

For the Ambassador:

Enclosures:
As stated.

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The following is an alphabetical listing (by last name) of the Brazilian state governors and vice governors who were in office as of June, 1962. Their last names are underlined, and those portions of their names by which they are commonly known are written in upper case. In addition, their parties and states are given, as are their political classifications, where sufficient information is available to place them in one of the seven categories described in detail in Enclosure No. 3 to Report No. 1 (Despatch No. 891, May 14, 1962) of this election series. This enclosure is classified Confidential only because of the listing by political category. Without this, it would be unclassified.

	<u>Category</u>
ALUIZIO <u>ALVES</u> (UDN), Governor, Rio Grande do Norte	V
Armindo Marçílio DOUTEL DE <u>ANDRADE</u> (PTB), Vice Governor Santa Catarina	III
ORLANDO MOSCOZO Barreto de <u>Araújo</u> (PSD), Vice Governor, Bahia	V
DIONIZIO DE ARAUJO <u>Machado</u> (PST), Vice Governor, Sergipe (see Machado)	
José PARSIFAL <u>BARROSO</u> (PTB), Governor, Ceará	V
NEWTON de Barros <u>BELO</u> (PSD), Governor, Maranhão	V
MAURO BORGES <u>Teixeira</u> (PSD), Governor, Goiás (see Teixeira)	
NEY Amintas de Barros <u>BRAGA</u> (PDC), Governor Paraná	V
LEONEL de Moura <u>BRIZZOLA</u> (PTB), Governor, Rio Grande do Sul	II perhaps I
AURELIO Corrêa do <u>CARMO</u> (PSD), Governor, Pará	V
Carlos Alberto Alves de <u>CARVALHO PINTO</u> (Non-party), Governor, São Paulo	V
LUIZ de Souza <u>CAVALCANTE</u> (UDN), Governor, Alagoas	V
Fernando CORRÊA DA <u>COSTA</u> (UDN), Governor, Mato Grosso	VI
ALFREDO Salim <u>DUALIBE</u> (PSD), Vice Governor, Maranhão	V
ANDRÉ <u>GADELHA</u> (UDN), Vice Governor, Paraíba	
LUIZ <u>GARCIA</u> (UDN), Governor, Sergipe	VI

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	Category
RAUL <u>GIUBERTI</u> (PSD), Vice Governor, Espírito Santo	VI
WILSON <u>GONÇALVES</u> (PSD), Vice Governor, Ceará	V
PEDRO Moreno <u>GONDIM</u> (PDC), Governor, Paraíba	V
(Padre) WILFREDO <u>GURGEL</u> (PSD), Vice Governor, Rio Grande do Norte	V
CARLOS Frederico Werneck <u>LACERDA</u> (UDN), Governor, Guanabara	IV perhaps V
CARLOS Fernando Monteiro <u>LINDENBERG</u> (PSD), Governor, Espírito Santo	VI
DIONÍSIO DE ARAÚJO <u>Machado</u> (PST), Vice Governor, Sergipe	V
JURACY Montenegro <u>MAGALHÃES</u> , (UDN), Governor, Bahia	V
José de <u>MAGALHÃES PINTO</u> (UDN), Governor, Minas Gerais	V
GILBERTO MESTRINHO de Medeiros <u>Raposo</u> (PTB), Governor, Amazonas (see Raposo)	
NEWTON Burlamaqui <u>MIRANDA</u> (PSD), Vice Governor, Pará	V
Antônio <u>REZENDE MONTEIRO</u> (PSD), Vice Governor, Goiás	
ORLANDO MOSCOZO Barreto de <u>Araújo</u> (PSD), Vice Governor, Bahia (see Araújo)	
Cícero Gracia <u>Neto</u> (UDN), Vice Governor, Mato Grosso	
TIBÉRIO Barbosa <u>NUNES</u> (UDN), Vice Governor, Piauí	V
José PORPHYRIO DA <u>PAZ</u> (PSP), Vice Governor, São Paulo	V perhaps III
CELSO <u>PEÇANHA</u> (PSD), Governor, Rio de Janeiro	VI
CELSO <u>RAMOS</u> (PSD), Governor, Santa Catarina	V
GILBERTO MESTRINHO de Medeiros <u>Raposo</u> (PTB), Governor, Amazonas	III
Francisco das CHAGAS Caldas <u>RODRIGUEZ</u> (PTB), Governor, Piauí	III
CID Feijó <u>SAMPAIO</u> (UDN), Governor, Pernambuco	V
CLÓVIS <u>SALGADO</u> Gama (PR), Vice Governor, Minas Gerais	II
PELOPIDAS <u>SILVEIRA</u> (PSB), Vice Governor, Pernambuco	I
MAURO BORGES <u>Teixeira</u> (PSD), Governor, Goiás	III
TEOTÔNIO Brandão <u>VILELA</u> (UDN), Vice Governor, Alagoas	V

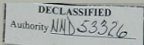
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This enclosure is a roster, by state, of the Brazilian state governors and vice governors in office at the end of June, 1962. (As noted elsewhere in the election reporting series, a number of these men have since resigned to become candidates for election to legislative offices in October 1962.) The roster shows each man's present party affiliation, the number of votes he received when elected in 1958 or 1960, and his earlier electoral record from 1945 on.

The governors and vice governors are listed in this enclosure by those portions of their names by which they are commonly known. Their full names are given in Enclosure No. 1. In cases where a man's party affiliation has changed, his affiliation at the time of election is shown next to the vote count, and election on coalition tickets is noted in the same manner. A lower case "cp" following a man's official party label indicates that he is known to have received Communist Party support in the 1958 election. Other symbols used in the table are: the capital letters "FD" or "SL", indicating election to the Federal Chamber of Deputies or to a State Legislative Assembly, and a small "a" in parentheses indicating that the election was as a suplente (alternate deputy or senator). As a space-saving measure, the election figures for 1945 and 1947 have been combined in one column, as have those for 1954 and 1955. In the latter instance, election took place in 1954 unless otherwise noted. In 1945-7 column, the year of election can be determined by the position to which election was won: i.e., elections for the Federal Chamber of Deputies were held in 1945 and those for the State Legislative Assemblies in 1947.

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<u>Name and Party</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1958</u>	<u>1954-5</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1945-7</u>
<u>ALAGOAS</u>					
Gov. LUIZ CAVALCANTE (UDN)	38,915	5,262-PD (PSD-PTB-PRP)	55,832(s) Senate (UDN)		
V.G. TEOTÔNIO VILELA (UDN)	33,952	1,348(s)+ SL	1,387-SL		
<u>AMAZONAS</u>					
Gov. GILBERTO MESTRINHO (PTB) Appointed Mayor of Manaus, 1955		37,241 (PTB-PST-PSB)			
<u>BAHIA</u>					
Gov. JURACY MAGALHÃES (UDN)		300,746	303,226 Senate (PST-UDN-PTB)	++	18,591-PD
V.G. ORLANDO MOSCOZO (PSD)+++		245,816 (PSD-PTB-PR)	4,047-SL (PR)		
<u>CEARÁ</u>					
Gov. PARSIFAL BARROSO (PTB)		279,449 (PTB-PSD)	258,728 Senate (PR-PTB-UDN)	16,789-PD (PSD)	3,778-SL (PSD)
V.G. WILSON GONÇALVES (PSD)		267,157 (PTB-PSD)	6,038-SL	4,946-SL	3,182-SL

+ Lost election as Senate suplente in 1958, with 38,673 votes.

++ As UDN candidate for Governor of Bahia in 1950, Magalhães lost election by approximately 5,000 votes.

+++ Formerly a member of the PR, Moscozo recently switched to the PSD which is supporting him for re-election as Vice Governor.

<u>Name and party</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1958</u>	<u>1954-5</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1945-7</u>
		<u>ESPÍRITO SANTO</u>			
Gov. CARLOS LINDEMBERG (PSD)		97,624 (PSD-PSP)		66,495 Senate	12,758-FD*
V.G. RAUL GIUBERTI (PSP)		96,986 (PSD-PSP)			
		<u>GOIÁS</u>			
Gov. MAURO BORGES (PSD)	160,365	34,014-FD			
V.G. REZENDE MONTEIRO (PSD)	138,014	14,400-FD (PTB)	2,392-SL (PTB)		
		<u>GUANABARA</u>			
Gov. CARLOS LACERDA	357,153	143,012-FD	159,707-FD (UDN-PR-PL)		34,762-SL
		<u>MARANHÃO</u>			
Gov. NEWTON BELO (PSD)	143,414**	24,767-FD	16,568-PD	66,722(s) Senate(PST)	
V.G. ALFREDO DUALLIBE (PSD)	132,325**		122,905(s) Senate	11,352-FD (PST)	
		<u>MATO GROSSO</u>			
Gov. CORRÊA DA COSTA (UDN)	66,206	73,801 Senate		42,313 Governor	Mayor (*47) Campo Grande
V.G. CICERO GARCIA NETO (UDN)	71,379				

* Elected Governor in 1947 with 59,008 votes, supported by a coalition of PSD-UDN-PTN-PPB
 ** Coalition of PSD-UDN-PTB-PL

<u>Name and party</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1958</u>	<u>1954-5</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1945-7</u>
<u>MINAS GERAIS</u>					
Gov. MAGALHÃES PINTO (UDN)	760,427 (UDN-PRT-PL)	52,979-FD	33,924-PD	24,408-FD	14,001-FD
V.G. CLÓVIS SALGADO (PR)	500,830 (PR-PST)			676,914(PL) Vice Gov.	4,784-FD
<u>PARÁ</u>					
Gov. AURELIO DO CARMO (PSD)	118,129 (PSD-PDC-PTB)	*			
V.G. NEWTON MIRANDA (PSD)	100,670 (PSD-PTB)	2,552-SL			
<u>PARAÍBA</u>					
Gov. PEDRO GONDIM (PDC)	148,961**		180,152*** Vice Gov.	3,937-SL (PSD-PL)	1,832-SL (PSD)
V.G. ANDRÉ GADELHA (UDN)	102,873 (UDN)				
<u>PARANÁ</u>					
Gov. NEY BRAGA (PDC)	253,552 (UDN-PDC-PL)	57,099-FD	Mayor Curitiba		
<u>PERNAMBUCO</u>					
Gov. CID SAMPAIO (UDN)		309,631****			

* Unsuccessful candidate for Senate Suplente in 1958, with 78,303 votes on PSD-PDC slate
 ** Coalition of PSB-UDN-PL-PTB
 *** Coalition of PSB-UDN-PSD-PL in 1955; in 1954 Gondim was elected State Deputy with 2,839 votes (PSD)
 ** Coalition of UDN-PTB-PSP-PTN-PSB

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Name and Party	1960	1958	1954-5	1950	1945-7
V.G. PELOPIDAS SILVEIRA (PSB) (cp)		277,210*	Mayor Recife		**
<u>PIAUÍ</u>					
Gov. CHAGAS RODRIGUEZ (PTB)	101,525 (UDN-PTB)		20,225-FD (PSD-PTB)	11,120-FD (UDN)	
V.G. TIBÉRIO NUNES (UDN)	96,440 (UDN-PTB)		3,417-SL (PSP-UDN-PL)		
<u>RIO DE JANEIRO</u>					
Gov. CELSO PEÇANHA (PSD) Elected as Vice Governor	299,679 (PSD-PRP-PST)		31,332-FD (PTB)	14,018-FD (PTB)	
<i>Elected but not now serving</i>					
Gov. ROBERTO TEIXEIRA DA SILVEIRA (PTB) Died February 1961.	376,949 (PTB-PDC-UDN -PSB)		267,681 Vice Gov. (PTB-PTN-PSD)	5,692-SL (PTB)	1,502-SL (PTB)
<u>RIO GRANDE DO NORTE</u>					
Gov. ALUÍZIO ALVES (UDN)	121,076+++	23,726-FD (UDN-PST-PTN)	18,699-FD	11,435-FD (UDN-PST)	5,788-FD
V.G. MALPREDO GURGEL (PSD)	115,702+++	7,374(s) FD		9,555-FD(s) (PR-PSD-PSP)	7,116-FD
<u>RIO GRANDE DO SUL</u>					
Gov. LECNEL BRIZZOLA (PTB) (cp)		670,003	103,003-FD+++	16,691-SL	3,839-SL

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- * Coalition of UDN-PTB-PSP-PTN-PSB
 ** Communist candidate for Governor in 1947 (58,135 votes) and for Mayor of Recife in 1947.
 +++ Coalition of PSD-PSB-PDC-PTN-PSP-Dissident UDN
 ++ Elected Mayor of Porto Alegre in October 1955, with approximately 65,000 votes.

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Name and Party	1950	1958	1954-5	1950	1945-7
<u>SANTA CATARINA</u>					
Gov. CELSO RAMOS (PSD)	201,752*	++			
V.G. DOUTEL DE ANDRADE (PTB)	238,040*	23,217-FD			
<u>SÃO PAULO</u>					
Gov. CARVALHO PINTO (non-party)		1,312,017***			
V.G. PORPHYRIO DE PAZ (PSP) (cp)		880,045 (PSP)	658,132 Vice Gov. (ESB-PTN)	16,122-SL (PTB)	5,800-SL (PTB)
<u>SERGIPE</u>					
Gov. LUIZ GARCIA (UDN) (cp)		56,337 (UDN)	7,033-FD (UDN-PSP-PST)	5,860-PD (UDN-PST)	7,089(e) Pd****
V.G. DIONIZIO DE ARAUJO (PST)		54,191 (UDN-PST)			

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* Coalition of PSD-PTB-PDC-PRP-PL
 ** Unsuccessful PSD candidate for Senator in 1958, with 190,953 votes.
 *** Coalition of PDC-UDN-PTN-PR-PSB
 **** Unsuccessful candidate for Governor in 1947, running against José Rollemberg Leite whom he defeated in 1958.

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Governors and Vice Governors by Political Category

In this enclosure an effort is made to place the governors and vice governors in appropriate political or ideological categories, (in accordance with the classification system described in Brazilian Election Report No. 1, Despatch 801 of May 14, 1962). This effort is based on a check of biographic files as well as on consultation with political officers and others at Embassy Rio, the Brasilia Office, and the Consulates whose work has brought them into contact with these officials. Despite the effort and the many views that have gone into these listings, they should be considered tentative and subject to change. Three of the vice governors have not yet been placed in any category because information about them is not sufficient to permit even tentative classification.

I. COMMUNISTS OR CRYPTO-COMMUNISTS

PELOPIDAS SILVEIRA (PSB), Vice Governor, Pernambuco

II. FELLOW TRAVELERS OR USEFUL INNOCENTS

LEONEL BRIZOLA (PTB) Governor, Rio Grande do Sul (perhaps I)
CLÓVIS SALGADO (PR), Vice Governor, Minas Gerais

III. LEFTIST ULTRA-NATIONALISTS

DOUCEL DE ANDRADE (PTB), Vice Governor, Santa Catarina
GILBERTO MESTRINHO Raposo (PTB), Governor, Amazonas
CHAGAS RODRIGUEZ (PTB), Governor, Piauí
MAURO BORGES Teixeira (PSD), Governor, Goiás

IV. NON-COMMUNIST RADICAL REFORMERS

CARLOS LACERDA (UDN), Governor, Guanabara (perhaps V)

V. CENTRISTS

ALUÍZIO ALVES (UDN), Governor, Rio Grande do Norte
ORLANDO MOSCOZO de Araujo (PSD), Vice Governor, Bahia
PARSIFAL BARROSO (PTB), Governor, Ceará
NEWTON BELO (PSD), Governor, Maranhão
NEY BRAGA (PDC), Governor, Paraná
AURELIO CARMO (PSD), Governor, Pará
CARVALHO PINTO (Non-party), Governor, São Paulo
LUIZ CAVALCANTE (UDN), Governor, Alagoas
ALFREDO DUAILIBE (PSD), Vice Governor, Maranhão
WILSON GONÇALVES (PSD), Vice Governor, Ceará
PEDRO GONDIM (PDC), Governor, Paraíba
WALFRÉDO GURGEL (PSD), Vice Governor, Rio Grande do Norte
DIONÍSIO DE ARAÚJO Machado (PST), Vice Governor, Sergipe
JURACY MAGALHÃES (UDN), Governor, Bahia

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V. CENTRISTS (continued)

MAGALHÃES PINTO (UDN), Governor, Minas Gerais
NEWTON MIRANDA (PSD), Vice Governor, Pará
TIBÉRIO NUNES (UDN), Vice Governor, Piauí
PORPHYRIO DA PAZ (PSP), Vice Governor, São Paulo (perhaps III)
CELSO RAMOS (PSD), Governor, Santa Catarina
CID SAMPAIO (UDN), Governor, Pernambuco
TEOTÔNIO VILELA (UDN), Vice Governor, Alagoas

VI. CONSERVATIVES

CORRÊA DA COSTA (UDN), Governor, Mato Grosso
LUIZ GARCIA (UDN), Governor, Sergipe
RAUL GIUBERTI (PSD), Vice Governor, Espírito Santo
CARLOS LINDENBERG (PSD), Governor, Espírito Santo
CELSO FEÇANHA (PSD), Governor, Rio de Janeiro

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