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POLITICAL PROBLEMS
OF BRAZILIAN SCIENCE

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BRAZILIAN SCIENTISTS AND STUDENTS RESIST REPRESSION

Student strikes, and fears for the continuance of a major meeting loom large on the horizons of Brazil's scholarly community. In the longer run, scientists are trying to cope with a growing gap between the wealthy and poor in a nation that has aptly been described as "Belgium in India" — 20,000,000 people living with the standard of living of the Belgians surrounded by 90,000,000 living like the population of India.

Human rights figured at the very outset of the trip when, only two hours before departure, my passport was discovered to have expired. Racing to the passport office, explaining that the mission was urgent human rights, I found the passport office ready to rise to the occasion; it issued a new passport within an hour. Chalk up one for Jimmy Carter.

The Pan Am plane leaves Kennedy Airport at 10:30 p.m.; by 10:30 the next morning I was in a Sao Paulo hotel making arrangements to meet Dr. Oscar Sala, president of the 14,000-member Sociedade Brasileira para o Progresso da Ciencia (SBPC).

Dr. Sala turned out to be an indispensable man, in his third presidential term. As a distinguished physicist, with obvious diplomatic abilities, he was able to relate skillfully to a variety of different points of view in Brazil.

From earlier newspaper accounts, and from his explanations, the SBPC dilemma became clear. SBPC had always had its meetings in varying locations around Brazil. In order to bring SBPC to Brazil's poor northeast, a meeting had been scheduled in Fortaleza during the July academic recess. The military government had indicated that it wanted the meeting "delayed" but had not issued a decree of prohibition.

The underlying problem was that the meetings are conducted much like those of SBPC's brother society — the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS). Papers typically covered subjects of science and society as well as of pure science, and the public could attend and participate in discussing the papers. Because political meetings in Brazil require permission, and because the general political atmosphere is superduper McCarthyite, SBPC is probably the last open forum at which ordinary Brazilian citizens could join in open discussion of sensitive political issues. Every year, the press was giving the meeting more attention.

Parts of the government feared that students would "take over" the meeting as part of their struggle for a return to democratic institutions. Another government attitude was: "Why spend money to support a meeting at which we will be criticized?" In the end, for whatever reason, the government did not provide the necessary funds and Fortaleza turned out not to be ready to receive the meeting.



Dr. Oscar Sala, President, SBPC

Dr. Sala announced that the meeting would be closed because the government was not showing "sufficient sympathy". Triggered by this, leaders of SBPC, led by Prof. Mauricio Rocha e Silva and backed by an overwhelming consensus of SBPC scientists, decided to push ahead. In poker terminology, they decided to "pay to see" the opposition hand. If the government wanted the meeting stopped, let it say so openly.

The SBPC leadership decided to hold the meeting in Sao Paulo, which is the major scientific center, to hold down travel costs. But the federal University of Sao Paulo would not run the risks of housing such a controversial meeting on such short notice. Into the breach came the Church. The Archbishop of Sao Paulo, Cardinal D. Paulo Evaristo Arns, said he would, if asked, give permission to hold the meeting in a Sao Paulo Catholic university.

Large numbers of Brazilian citizens — perhaps looking for a polite way to show their political feelings — offered their homes to participating scientists and even sent donations. Artists gave shows and donated the proceeds. Twice the usual number of nonscientists signed up as "associate members" of the SBPC.

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FAS SEEKS TO ASSIST BRAZILIAN SCIENTISTS

In response to newspaper reports that Brazil's scientists were having difficulties maintaining governmental support for the annual meeting of their Brazilian Society for Progress in Science, FAS's Director Jeremy J. Stone traveled to Brazil for a week in August and interviewed many of the leaders involved. His visit coincided with student strikes in protest against repressive actions taken by the rector of the University of Brasilia in response to political demonstrations and he interviewed participants in this matter as well. This issue is his report.

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Asked whether the meeting would be held next year, Dr. Sala said he did not know but "we'll try". The main problem seemed to be that the government did not like to be criticized. For example, SBPC had issued statements in favor of democratization and a document against censorship. I asked Dr. Sala if he had copies of these statements and he replied that they had been published in the newspaper. (Ten years before, in Moscow, a leading Soviet poet who wanted me to arrange the western publication of his poems, but who feared giving me a private copy, had hit on the idea of sending me a tear sheet of its publication in an obscure Russian journal. The methods of self-defense against repressive regimes are everywhere quite similar.) Later I went to the important newspaper *Folha de Sao Paulo* and received a copy of one of these documents. (See page 3 box for an excerpt).

Brazilian media are censored in such proportion as they reach mass audiences. Thus nothing controversial normally reaches a mass audience through the radio or television. The press by contrast is relatively uncensored. Currently, on-site newspaper censors have been replaced by self-censorship supported by occasional orders and "recommendations". On the other hand, individuals circulating material that might be considered "subversive", or even speaking against the military government in private, commit a criminal offense. As a result, it could be construed to be a crime to circulate material which had, nevertheless, been earlier printed in a newspaper and announced without penalty at a public meeting. (It is also a crime to "maintain association with any organization that, by orientation or help from foreign governments or an international organization, carries out activities prejudicial or dangerous to National Security". Since "National Security" includes especially internal security, this could include "maintaining association" with Amnesty International because it complains about Brazilian torture.)

Goldemberg and His Imprisoned Son

Working a few hundred yards away from Dr. Sala at the University of Sao Paulo was Dr. José Goldemberg, president of the Brazilian Physics Society, and for the last seven years the director of the Institute of Physics. Dr. Goldemberg is a kind of Wolfgang Panofsky of Brazil, possessing scientific eminence, a readiness to express outspoken opinions on public policy issues, and a resultant great cachet among interested politicians. He had denounced the German-Brazilian nuclear deal, incurring considerable governmental enmity. I visited him to determine whether the subsequent imprisonment of his son had been an act of retaliation.

Goldemberg's son, Clovis, is a brilliant engineering student who decided to enter an Air Force supported technological institute and there became a student leader. In his third year, the Air Force tried to reorganize the school into a true military school and Goldemberg's son led the opposition, arguing that it was wasteful to give all the engineers to the Air Force. His opposition was later vindicated by a decision of the Brazilian Congress. But the Air Force considered the opposition a "communist conspiracy".

In 1975, Clovis Goldemberg was kidnapped from home. (In Brazil, the police do not "arrest", but rather plain-

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Dr. José Goldemberg, President, Brazilian Physics Society

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SBPC "MEMORIAL OF THE SCIENTIST TO THE BRAZILIAN PEOPLE"

The document espouses democratic freedoms and repudiates censorship of any artistic, literary, journalistic or scientific activities, particularly the recent establishment of censorship to foreign publications.

Finally, it repudiates "acts and proceedings which assault human rights, such as: a) the government's lack of concern over the manifestations and desires of the people for a better life, a better education, and for fundamental human rights, and freedom from threats and tortures; b) restriction of the right to organize, such as the right of scientists to organize their own societies, of students to form their own representative organs, as well as the restriction of freedom of expression in education at all levels; c) demand that teachers commit themselves ideologically as a condition for jobs or promotions, which happens regularly in academic institutions; d) the existence of decrees, rulings and statutes which restrict the freedom of expression of teachers and students, such as Decree-Law 477, which is a constant source of disturbance at universities.

— From Folha de Sao Paulo 7/13/77



Demonstration at University of Sao Paulo

technological independence is the goal, that Canadian CANDU technology is superior and better for Brazil.

Feeling the effects of the overnight plane flight the night before, I retired early. Rising at 5:30 A.M., I began reading Alfred Stepan's *The Military in Politics: Changing Patterns in Brazil*. This had seemed rather dry in the United States but, attention sharpened by the events of the last day, its brilliance became apparent; every sentence rang like a bell.

Brazilian Military Politics

The military in Brazil had long seen itself as the guarantor of the Brazilian system and had intervened, for example, four times since World War II. But until 1964, they had always returned to their barracks after installing some suitable civilian. By 1964, the generals were emboldened, partly by a broadening of the War College curriculum, to try governing by themselves. Four generals have tried: Castello Branco, Arthur da Costa e Silva, Emilio Garrastazu Medici, and the present General Ernesto Geisel. The economy had begun picking up in 1968, partly as a result of import substitution policies, but was now in some recession.

Political scientists continue to debate the role of the United States in the 1964 overthrow of President Joao Goulart. The U.S. Ambassador at that time was FAS member Lincoln Gordon, former President of Johns Hopkins University and later Assistant Secretary of State for Latin America. Dr. Gordon had said the revolution was "100% made in Brazil" but there was no doubt (and it was nowhere denied) that the United States welcomed the coup and, indeed, had made preparations to recognize the plotters quickly and even to send them arms if necessary. Perhaps more important, U.S. aid policies had helped weaken the Goulart government and assisted in creating the 100% inflation that undermined the government's domestic political support.

That having been said, however, there appears to have been a broad consensus in Brazil supporting the coup. It was catalyzed by Goulart's erratic policies and by his threats to circumvent the Constitution to produce social change. Most newspapers had only called upon the army to carry off a coup in defense of the Constitution.

The generals in Brazil, unlike those of Argentina, spring from the lower and middle classes. They do want to solve the economic problems of the poor. In fact, it is a pillar of their ideology that internal subversion is the main threat to Brazil and that this threat can be ultimately vanquished only through economic development. Further, the generals consider themselves to have no personal eco-

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clothesmen just drag off their victims by force.) Even José Goldemberg, with all his contacts, could not find out where his son was for 24 hours. The son was tortured and held incommunicado for a week. At this time, a famous journalist, Herzog, was being tortured to death — an event that led to the removal of the Second Army commander responsible. During the uproar, the son was removed to an Air Force base where he was well treated.

The charge against the son was that he was trying to "reorganize the communist party". An Air Force colonel officially recommended that the charge be dropped but that the son be expelled. The colonel was immediately replaced. A new colonel then made further charges under various military decrees ("offenses to the national flag", etc.) which could have led to 8 years in jail. Tried by a military court in Sao Paulo, the son was unanimously acquitted. However, under a bizarre Brazilian security law, all persons acquitted of national security offenses automatically have their cases appealed to a high court. There, without hearing the son, and in private, the high court condemned him by a split vote of 6-4. The verdict of this military court is now being appealed; the son has been in jail almost one year of his two-year term.

During this difficult period, Goldemberg had made threats that he would leave the country and had tried to resign the directorship of the Institute of Physics. There had been an outpouring of support and sympathy and much urging that he stay; the president of the University had even traveled with him to see the Governor of the State of Sao Paulo.

Goldemberg thinks his opposition to the nuclear deal led to the Air Force's intense interest in persecuting his son. Ironically, the Army likes Goldemberg's view. His criticism is based on the fact that the nozzle enrichment technology used by the Germans is untested, that Brazil is buying reprocessing that it will not soon need, and, if

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conomic stake in the society and hence to be capable, in principle, of instituting radical economic change. It was the hope of some officers that military imposition of authoritarian discipline would permit a successful program of development.

Today, a growing consensus among the same political voices that supported the 1964 coup is calling upon the military to reestablish the rule of law; this even included high-ranking former military officers. While each of the four military presidents had vaguely promised to end military rule by the end of his term, it appeared that these promises might now have to be fulfilled. One prediction was that Geisel's successor would be a general chosen by the Congress and the next president thereafter would be a civilian.

Day-2 — Students Demonstrate in Sympathy

Meeting in the morning with a key journalist-scientist, I lunched at the campus with junior faculty. Moving around the campus, I was startled to see the students having a demonstration. They were preparing a funeral procession at which they would bury in effigy the rector of the University of Brasilia, who had expelled some of his students — about which more later. Some were chortling over newspaper advertisements they had successfully placed in mock sympathy over the "death" of Rector José Carlos de Almeida Azevedo. They seemed like students everywhere and, especially, like those who had early led the anti-Vietnam demonstrations. But they required a good deal more bravery.

One said that, among the older students, she could always look around and see some who received "hard torture", as opposed to rough treatment or beatings. (The height of the torture had been in about 1968-69 when the older students were undergraduates.)

Physical abuse has deep roots in Brazil. Common criminals are not only *abused* physically but sometimes physically *punished* (e.g., spanked). My informant said her heart sank whenever she saw a young boy caught after succumbing to the impulse to steal something because she knew he would later be beaten. Some tortured students were all right afterwards, others seemed themselves only after a year or two, and some never. But the tradition of student activism is a strong one; students even helped end slavery in the late 19th century. And many students just assumed it would not happen to them, etc.

As we talked, word came that the police were surrounding the campus. There was much humor and some nervousness. It turned out later that there was no effort to seal off the campus, as rumored, but instead the police had closed off a bridge behind the procession of students engaged in mock burial. Apparently to twist the lion's tail the students had left the campus, but only for a short way and then returned.

At 4:00, I visited CEBRAP, a social science think tank formed by the best Brazilian political scientists. These had been forcibly retired from academic life for their "leftist" views after the 1964 coup. Helped into existence by the Ford Foundation, CEBRAP represented a unique window on Brazilian political life. At CEBRAP they felt the main problem for the military was that it had no program and no ideology for dealing with the nation's problems; it was involved now in a naked struggle for power. Geisel



Professor Simas Mathias, former Secretary General, SBPC

had started with a program of decompression, but the economic situation was not good and he could not control the hard-liners, who had stopped all initiatives. The trickle-down method of helping the poor by helping the well-to-do was not working.

The two political parties in Brazil are really the Church and the Army. The Church had supported the revolution but was now getting radicalized by confrontation with the excesses of the Army. The biggest problem for a return to normality was the problem of amnesty: amnesty for the politicians prohibited from political activity, for the academics and generals forcibly retired in purges, for the exiled students, etc. And what to do about the torturers who, I later learned, were being defused by relocation around the country in widely separated places. Would they be brought to justice for acts ordered by their superiors in the name of "the revolution"? Apparently not.

CEBRAP is now seeking funds to match a grant by Ford, and I tried to provide its director with some counsel on the American foundation scene.

That evening I chatted with a retired professor of chemistry, Professor Simas Mathias, former Secretary General of SBPC and now a scholar of the history of science. His son was in exile in Paris, having fled the country with the police on his trail, for participation in student demonstrations in the sixties. He feared quiet retaliation of various kinds for his involvement in the SBPC affair. Indeed, the next day he was denied, in connection with a trip abroad to a Pugwash meeting, an exemption that scientists usually get from an onerous travel tax. (But a few days later he received a grant for the trip from a government foundation.)

In the morning I walked to the most famous law school in Brazil, Largo Sao Francisco, to see Professor Dalmo Dallari. He has the courage to chair a Commission on Justice and Peace that tries to identify and protest the

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Pacheco Leao, President, Brazilian Academy of Sciences

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worst excesses of arbitrary imprisonment and torture. His mother having died the day before, he was not at his office and I asked to be taken to see the student leaders. They were then engaged in a public student meeting to determine whether and how to support the students on strike in Brasilia. With their permission, I sat in the back and received running translations.

Because the law school was in the center of Sao Paulo the students felt they had a special opportunity to make their struggle known to the city residents. The activists wanted to strike and to demonstrate outside the school. But only about 50 of the 2500 students attended the public meeting. Many obviously feared that strikes would cut into the 20% of all classes they were allowed to miss without course failure. There was talk of demonstrating on August 11 in connection with the 150th anniversary of the law school. I asked my translator if students who had been tortured were warned by the police not to speak of it later and she said: "Normally we don't have courage enough to say afterwards what happened to us."

Proceeding to the headquarters of the Archbishop of Sao Paulo, I left a note thanking Cardinal Arns, on behalf of American scientists, for helping the Brazilian scientists hold their SBPC meeting. In the basement of the rectory, in two bare rooms, I discussed human rights problems with the staff of the Papal Commission on Justice and Peace. I asked to be kept informed of scientists and scholars suffering denials of human rights.

As I left the rectory, a taxi pulled up and a student got out. His face showed the marks of a beating and there was a hideous swelling on his cheek which brought to mind the torture called the "mad dentist". I wondered if the level of torture had really fallen off as much as some had suggested and if he had come to discuss his case. But I had no time to be sure.

Back at the hotel I met with the distinguished pharmacologist Mauricio Rocha e Silva who had done so much to ensure the holding of the SBPC meeting. He turned out to be something of a crotchety firebrand. We had little time to talk — and were interrupted by a request for an interview by the *Jornal do Brazil* which I was not ready to give — so we agreed to meet that evening.

I went to exchange ideas with a newspaper editor who surprised me by the intensity of his concern that I be very careful in Brasilia.

Rio de Janeiro on the Weekend

In Rio, on Saturday, I met in succession with the *New York Times* correspondent David Vidal, with an eminent microbiologist and with a political scientist who specialized in Brazilian science.

On Sunday, I explored Rio until 7:00 PM, when Aristides Pacheco Leao, the President of the Brazilian National Academy of Sciences, did me the honor of coming to my hotel and discussing a range of problems with candor for 90 minutes. Dr. Pacheco Leao reminded me of a high-ranking American admiral I know: controlled, intelligent, honest and deeply conservative. He felt SBPC had done the government a favor by holding the meeting because, in the event it had not been held, foreign scientists would have complained and embarrassed the government. In particular, the government should have given more warning of its apprehensions. But in future SBPC would have



Carlos de Almeida Azvedo, Rector, University of Brasilia

to change because, with social scientists included as they were, lots of things discussed were not science at all — Oscar Sala had a "hard job" to get this sorted out.

As far as the students were concerned, he felt they were led by a "subversive opposition movement" that was placing people in labor and other circles as well as in student movements. It was older "professional students" who were causing the trouble in Brasilia and the rector was probably under political orders to expel them. The reason for the trouble there was that "outside agitators" would naturally go to the University of Brasilia where agitation gets more attention. (In one case, the daughter of an ambassador had been treated roughly and the ambassador had gone straight to President Geisel who phoned the rector and said, "Can't you keep order?") The mass of students was "readily inflamed". Asked if most students supported the regime, he admitted however that government supporters would be a minority.

Organization of Brazilian Science

Dr. Pacheco Leao was not happy with the state of exchange agreements with the U.S. National Academy of Sciences — relations which he called "reduced". Brazilian science did have some hopes of getting help from NSF.

The Brazilian scientists were getting ample government funds by previous standards, but much was being wasted in a new bureaucracy that involved hundreds more people, thousands more dollars and, paradoxically, less real scientific review of projects. The Scientific Advisory Council to the Brazilian National Research Council (NRC) was only discussing general matters and, apparently, attendance on it was considered something of a bore. Bureaucratic tendencies had increased and the main directors of the NRC were not really first-rate practicing scientists. (Their chief is a 37-year-old engineer, Jose Dion de Mello Telles, whom I was not able to see because he was in Rio when I was in Brasilia.) The reduction of scientific review, and a somewhat more random allocation of funds, had encouraged scientists to make unconscionable demands for funds without fear of ridicule by colleagues.

Brasilia

On to Brasilia, the nation's capital, built by President Juscelino Kubitschek, to help open up the country's interior. The city is super modern, designed and built as if by a single architect around a gigantic mall, intersected by an enormous halfmoon of official buildings, with satellite areas for embassies, diplomatic residences, etc. The net effect is weird, somewhat akin to the Orwellian world capital of some foreign planet in a science fiction novel. In winter, the climate is completely dry with temperatures

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similar to summer in Washington, D.C.; in Brazilian summer, however, there is rain interspersed with Sahara-like temperatures.

The U.S. science attaché being out of town, and his assistant being at loose ends, I overcame my reluctance to make use of embassies and asked her to make some appointments and to serve as a translator. All went well at first.

I had earlier been advised that General Joao Batiste Figueriredo, one of ten candidates for President, had been at the bottom of the effort to forestall the meeting of the SBPC and I determined to try to see him. Because he is head of the Brazilian CIA, his secretary responded that he gave out no information of any kind but might permit a courtesy call. Hearing of my request, the U.S. Embassy became so unnerved that, in the end, the attaché's assistant developed a sudden diplomatic illness; the phone to which a half dozen Brazilian officials were to respond to my appointment requests was left unattended; and I was not warned.

Had I waited passively for call-backs to be relayed to the hotel, the trip to Brasilia would have been effectively sabotaged; fortunately, I did not. So much for Embassy cooperation in what is, after all, President Carter's most cherished policy of support for human rights. (Earlier I had learned that the Department of State was classifying as secret Embassy reports on the SBPC meeting that had been prepared from Brazilian newspapers! They deny it.)

I had met on Monday evening with one of eight directors of the National Research Council. His defenses of the structure of the NRC seemed to confirm some of the complaints of Dr. Pacheco Leao.

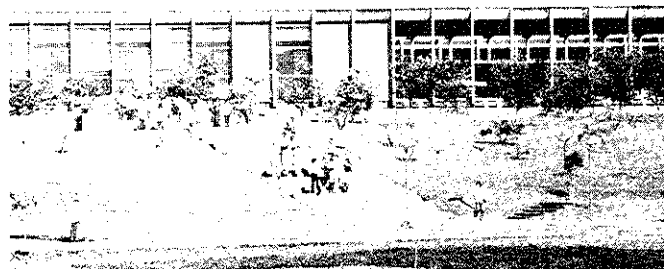
But three constructive suggestions he made for cooperation were: Brazilian students on U.S. exchange should be encouraged and permitted to work on matters of political interest to Brazil; more exchanges could be arranged directly between brother universities; joint U.S.-Brazilian efforts to solve real problems in the underdeveloped world might be useful.

The University Without the Army

On Tuesday morning, for the first day in two weeks, the Army turned out *not* to be on the campus of the University of Brasilia. I wandered around the extraordinary campus where each building is a separate major architectural effort. No campus in the world is more striking or more modern, but students and faculty are nervous.

Both the Chairman of the Physics Department and the Chairman of the Mathematics Department were reticent about talking to me although one was the Ph.D. student of a former FAS chairman and the other was a fellow mathematician.

At 10:00 the students had a demonstration. They made police photography impossible by standing in a circle, facing inward, under a low roof. From the center of the circle, a disembodied voice called for the release of arrested student representatives and for the resignation of Rector Azevedo. Hands were raised to support a continuation of protest, and a demonstration was scheduled next day at 11:00 at the Ministry of Education. (The students said that the newspapers had been told not to report their activities; this was incorrect although I later learned that the newspapers in the capital had received a *recommen-*



University of Brasilia

dation a few days before not to report events.)

The students' troubles had begun on May 19 when, all over the country, they engaged in a kind of teach-in at noon-time to discuss the Constitution and democracy. Only in the University of Brasilia had the rector seriously disciplined the students for a political meeting without a permit, and his 16 suspensions had only led to further strikes. After the July winter recess, the rector had punctuated the reopening of school with 34 more suspensions and 30 expulsions. In the resultant turmoil, hundreds of students had been arrested (and later released); about 21 student leaders were still in jail.

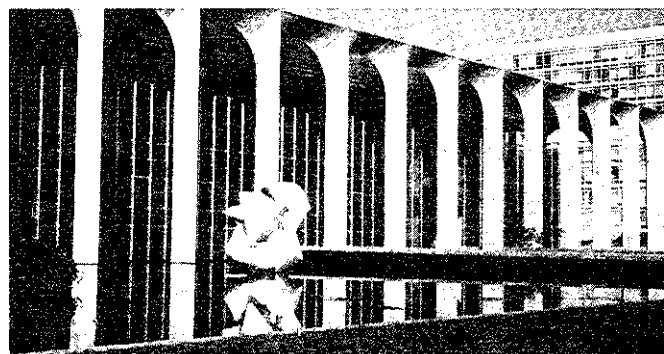
In the afternoon, I met with the rector, Dr. Azevedo, an MIT Ph.D. in physics and a former Navy captain, and with the former rector, now dean of graduate students, Amadeo Cury. Together, they had supervised vast growth in the new University and they were shoulder to shoulder in its defense.

Dr. Azevedo felt that the day's "experiment" of removing the Army had been a "complete failure" because the students had begun "rioting" and interrupting class. The issue was "violence in school". Told that I had not seen such violence, he said that the problem had been at the School of Technology. Asked whether this was a "complete" failure, he said that it was since the Army would have to be introduced everywhere if there was trouble anywhere.

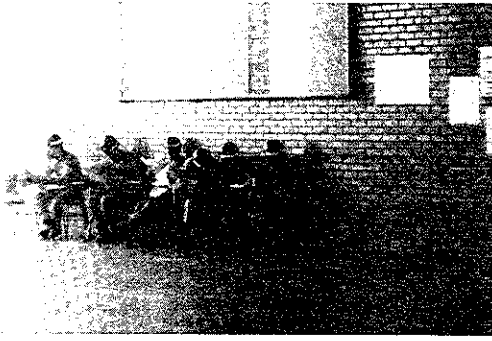
Asked about the nature of violence, he referred — as had a number of others — to the same incident (a student allegedly threatening another with a cigarette). Apparently there was a paucity of such incidents. A faculty committee of inquiry, appointed by the rector himself, had concluded that the students were not violent; the rector rejected their report.

Dr. Azevedo, who is considered by some students to whom I spoke to be an out-and-out liar, certainly exag-

—Continued on page 7



Brasilia



Army on Campus

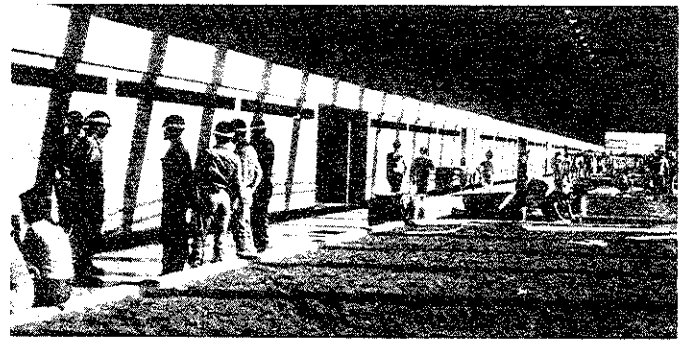
Continued from page 6

gerates. In an interview with the Brazil equivalent of *Time Magazine*, *Veja*, he justified calling for Army intervention by saying that a campus was a public heritage and that: "I was taken away from the classroom at MIT twice by the police. Me. Me." When I asked about this, he said that on these occasions he had been requested by the police to move his illegally parked car! And this, I later learned from MIT faculty members, was almost certainly by the MIT police, not those of Cambridge, Massachusetts.

The rector and vice rector see the University of Brasilia as the choice of student agitators because it is an "echo chamber" in Brazilian politics, being in the capital and being attended by so many children and wives of government officials. Dr. Cury called the campus a "training ground for all the new political weapons" as had been the civil war in Spain. Of the students, he said he did not know "what they want" and said "they asked to be arrested". But since nothing seemed to have been done on the Brasilia campus which had not been done elsewhere on May 19, it was hard to credit their point of view. It is true, however, that the University of Brasilia has been in periodic turmoil since 1964. (At that time 90% of the faculty resigned over the post-coup purge of the then rector.)

Poking around, I discovered that most professors thought the rector was making a mistake. The students were not especially badly behaved, in fact they did not even write graffiti — but used paper for their signs. At the *School of Technology*, the only problem had been that the engineers — unpolitical as everywhere — had wanted to have classes, and student organizers had been urging them to participate.

The entire "experiment" of removing the troops had been unannounced and it was characteristic of the absence of dialogue that no effort had been made to use the experiment to encourage deescalation. Azevedo was consulting daily with the Chief of the Military Cabinet, Hugo De



Army on Campus

Anbrade Abreu. Some felt he was taking orders like a "good soldier". Others thought the whole tough policy was Azevedo's bid for promotion when the rector's term expired in 1980; if right-wing General Frota should win, Azevedo might be the Minister of Education or, as he probably would prefer, chief of the nuclear industry. Scientists in Sao Paulo felt that Azevedo was poisoning the entire university atmosphere and turning back the clock.

Dr. Cury, whose relationship with the campus he built reminded me of Abram Sachar and Brandeis, was prepared to talk, he said, about the University for days. But after two hours, I had to leave to see Senator Franco Montoro, Senate minority leader of the opposition party MDB. Senator Montoro is Senator from Sao Paulo and hence has a special relationship with the scientific community, whose most eminent Brazilian university is in his senatorial district. With the Senator speaking slowly in English while I used rough French, we were able to communicate quite adequately for 30 minutes.

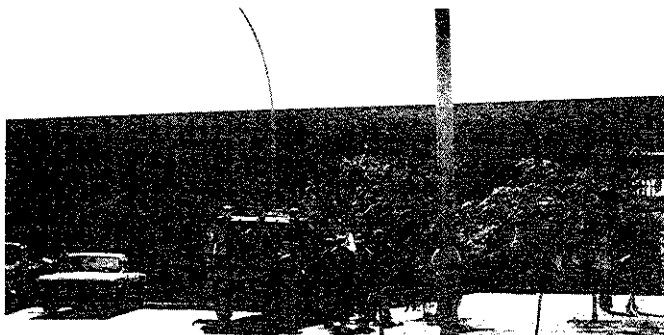
Army Back on Campus — FAS Director Detained

Returning to the campus next morning, I saw the enormously increased disturbances that resulted from having the Army return. Students were rushing up and down shouting "two more arrested", while others warned me that they and I should get out of the vicinity of the central building.

I took a few pictures of the Army — one too many. A plainclothesman ran after me, demanded my identification, made me wait for ten minutes while the files were checked, hustled me into a small Volkswagen and drove me to a deserted part of the campus. There a dialogue of the deaf ensued in which the two non-English-speaking police tried to explain that pictures were not permitted while I signaled "on to the police station". Having earlier removed my film and mixed it, in my pocket, with unexposed film, I had no hesitation in producing an unexposed roll from a pocket to which the police had pointed. They thereupon drove me to my hotel where, both sides quite satisfied, there were handshakes all around.

I hustled over to an appointment with the lawyer for the students. He said he could do little for them since the students had no right to *habeas corpus* under the so-called "Institutional Acts"; rule by decree was now prevailing in Brazil. Lawyers were reduced to being public relations persons who could go to the newspapers if there was violence — which there has not been for the Brasilia students in this period. (There have been arrest of students and torture of them elsewhere however.) Many government officials had tried to get Dr. Azevedo to change his policy of student punishment but he had stepped it up.

—Continued on page 8



This command truck photograph aroused police.

ADDED IN PRESS:

In late August, students proclaimed "national demonstration day" and there were large-scale protests and arrests in Sao Paulo, Porto Alegre and elsewhere, in support of students arrested in Rio and Brasilia.

In September, the Army was still on the Brasilia campus. Quiet had descended but, despite a faculty petition, Rector Azevedo declined to order its removal.

In late September, Clovis Goldemberg was released from prison on parole.

Continued from page 7

In general, Brazilian violence on political prisoners had declined after President Carter had made a point of human rights. (Score two for Jimmy Carter.)

As our conversation was ending, the lawyer received a call announcing that his brother had been arrested — for all he knew it was retaliation for his own legal activities. (That morning, the papers were announcing that 200 lawyers had put out a statement saying: "To call our dictatorship a democracy is a lie".)

I had an appointment at 11:30 at the Education Ministry with the chief of all higher instruction, Dr. Edson Michado, and I hurried there early in the hope of witnessing the students' planned demonstration at 11:00. The Minister of Education, Ney Braga, had had the common sense to order the Army away from the building and, in any case, the students did not show. Arguing my way into the building despite efforts by the police to keep everyone out till 2:00, I had a number of interesting conversations while waiting for Dr. Michado to leave an urgent meeting with the Minister.

From what I had learned before these meetings and after, the situation is clear. The Education Ministry, which seems an island of sanity, considers that its policies are vindicated by the absence of student trouble on all other campuses. They consider Azevedo wholly responsible for the problem in Brasilia. And if the unrest continues for some further weeks, they think that President Geisel will ask for his resignation notwithstanding the expected political reaction from the right wing.

Ney Braga, who was from the same party as Franco

Montoro before political parties were consolidated into Arena and MDB, does engage in dialogues with the students. But although Minister of Education, he has not the power, politically if even legally, to force the rector to change his plans.

With regard to SBPC, Dr. Michado, who is an impressive and disciplined official of some force, said he felt the meeting had "not been very controlled" and that SBPC itself, and the newspapers, had created an inaccurate and unfortunate image that the government was against the scientists. The Ministry did not anticipate any problems in the future. It would be a "terrible mistake" to conclude that the troubles were derived from the government.

Preparing to Return

Later I checked out of my hotel, moved my bags to a central location, picked up from a law office copies of the Institutional Acts under which the security forces operated, and set out for the airport. En route, the driver of a passing car smiled and waved. On impulse, I asked the taxi driver if the wave had been from "polícia". To my astonishment, he assented. Wondering if the police were sore about the unexposed film and if this was the wave of the spider to the fly, I stopped, called the Embassy, and invited the science attaché, now back in town, to pick me up and chat with me about scientific issues en route to the airport. On the way, he unquestioningly agreed to a rather simple request which had become, by then, a matter of pride.

There was no trouble at the airport, although we were both closely and obviously followed even onto a noisy and deserted airport balcony. And in the Rio airport, where I changed planes that evening, no one had been alerted to continue the surveillance.

By the next morning, in Kennedy Airport, the *New York Times* was reporting ACLU's efforts to protect the right of fascists to march in Illinois. And in National Airport, prominent signs reminded travelers being accosted by flower children:

"Representatives of religious groups, in an exercise of their First Amendment rights, are distributing flowers . . ."

I had found my way home to rule of law, but would Brazil?

—JEREMY J. STONE

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