

AIRGRAM

Pol 18-1 BRAZ
FOR RM USE ONLY

RM/R	REP	FE
1		
ARA	EUR	FE
NEA	CU	INR
		5
E	P	IO
	1	
L	FBO	AID
		9
AGR	COM	FRB
INT	LAB	TAR
TR	XMB	AIR
ARMY	CIA	NAVY
OSD	USIA	NSA
	10	3
		NSC 6

A-49 CONFIDENTIAL

NO. _____

TO DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1965 NOV 26 AM 8 28

INFO: RIO DE JANEIRO, BRASILIA
RIO-1 BELO HORIZONTE-1
BRASILIA-1 CURITIBA-1
BELEM-1 PORTO ALEGRE-1

FROM : AmConGen RECIFE

SUBJECT : The Rio Grande do Norte Election

REF : ConGen's A-15 of August 6, 1965

Air Pouch of STATE
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
BUREAU OF AMERICAN AFFAIRS
NOV 29 1965
BR

RECIFE-10
SALVADOR-1
SAO PAULO-1

DATE: November 17, 1965

ARA

Summary

The Rio Grande do Norte Election was a smashing victory for the Cruzada de Esperanca, the personal political machine of Governor Aluizio Alves. In an extremely hard-fought and vehement campaign, marked by universal and frenetic public participation, the Governor obtained a substantial majority for the PSD-PTB-PDC ticket of Monsignor Walfredo Gurgel and Clovis Motta, while in the city of Natal the race for Mayor was easily won by the Governor's brother, Agnelo Alves. Rio Grande do Norte faces a continuation of its present regime, but with a possible loss of momentum from the pace set by Governor Alves. An unanswered question is the extent to which the incoming Governor will attempt to keep himself independent from the current incumbent.

PLEASE PASS
OTHER
BRAZILIAN
CONSULATES
AND RETURN
10 COPIES
TO RECIFE

1965 NOV 26 AM 10 08

COPYFLO-PBR

Enclosures:

1. Election Returns (UNC)
2. Biography of Walfredo Gurgel
3. Biography of Clovis Motta

GROUP 8
downgraded at 12-year intervals,
not automatically declassified.

CONFIDENTIAL

FOR DEPT. USE ONLY
 In Out

FORM 4-62 DS-323

Drafted by: HMacDougall:lfw 11/17/65

Contents and Classification Approved by:

Clearances:

Action: ARA/BR- N AN- File - 11/20/65

DECLASSIFIED
Authority NND 959 000

Introduction

In the gubernatorial election held in Rio Grande do Norte on October 3, the PSD-PTB-PDC (Cruzada de Esperança) slate of Senator Monsignor Walfredo Gurgel and Federal Deputy Clovis Motta won an easy victory over the UDN slate of Senator Dinarte Mariz and Federal Deputy Tarcísio Maia. Figures in the election were reported by the Regional Electoral Tribunal as follows:

Eligible Voters:	375,416
Votes Cast:	281,125 (75%)
Gurgel-Motta	151,349
Mariz-Maia	124,119
Blank	2,296
Void	3,361
Gurgel Margin	27,230

In the Natal Mayorality Race, the Cruzada ticket of Agnelo Alves and Ernani Silveira also won handily over the opposition ticket of Pedro Lucena and Dari Dantas, though Agnelo ran consistently behind Gurgel in Natal. Results are:

Eligible Voters:	70,689
Votes Cast:	53,949
Alves-Silveira:	31,872
Lucena-Dantas:	20,952
Blank & Void	1,125
Alves Margin	10,920

Review of Campaign

The campaign in Rio Grande do Norte was conducted with a vehemence, and aroused a degree of popular interest, previously unheard of in the Northeast. From the first, the campaign was a personal duel between Governor Aluízio Alves and former Governor Dinarte Mariz, who has been Alves' most vigorous enemy since 1960, when Alves broke with him and the UDN to run his own successful campaign for the Governorship. The actual candidate of the Cruzada de Esperança was ignored by the opposition and recognized as a stand-in for Alves by the pro-Government forces. Alves had considerable difficulty in patching together a ticket which would obtain united Cruzada support and at the same time retain his position as its head. Vice-Governor "Major" Theodório Bezerra, veteran head of the State PSD, had to be talked out of his lifelong dream running himself. This was accomplished at the cost of some PSD enthusiasm.

CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED

Authority NND 959 000

Alves tried to split the opposition by bringing in the independent UDN Mayor of Mossoró, Raimundo Soares, as his candidate, but the latter refused to be Alves' tool. Finally, Monsignor Walfredo Gurgel, former Vice-Governor, Senator, and PSD politician, was chosen as a candidate with no enemies, respected as a priest, and a man willing to accept Governor Alves' leadership of the Cruzada de Esperança. As running mate the State PTB chairman, Federal Deputy Clovis Motta, was chosen.

That former Governor and now UDN Senator Dinarte Mariz would be the opposition standard bearer was almost certain from the start. As running mate, following Raimundo Soares' refusal of the job, was chosen suplente Federal Deputy Tarcísio Maia (nominally PTB but actually UDN), who is the brother of Paraíba Senator (and Governor-elect) João Agripino Filho. The strength of the opposition is traditionally centered in the western part of the State, around Mossoró, which is dominated politically by the Rosado Maia family.

In the campaign itself, the Cruzada forces ran on the dynamic record of the Alves administration, promised a continuation of it and attacked the previous Dinarte Mariz administration as one of corruption and do-nothingness. The opposition countered with vehement charges that Alves was corrupt and had used his administration to benefit himself and members of his family. Campaigning was colorful, using mass meetings, torch-light parades, and every possible way of catching popular interest. This succeeded so well that fist-fights and disturbances became common, though violence never got out of hand. The government forces had as their war-cry "E o Padre" and as symbols a green flag and a clenched fist with thumb upraised; it nicknamed Mariz "O Fechador" in reference to his alleged plans to shut down public works started by Alves. The opposition countered with "E o velho", a red flag, and a V-for-victory sign, and tried to take over the opposition slogan by using a key as a symbol. By election time almost every house in Rio Grande do Norte displayed a green or red flag, and even small children were making the sign of their parents' favorite candidate.

The religious issue was used widely by both sides. The government forces sought to suggest that "The Monsignor" was sent by God to be Governor of the State; the opposition hinted that the Vatican would never allow him to serve. The Revolution was not a campaign issue, though Clovis Motta has not concealed his general opposition to it. Motta, in fact, was quite inactive. Presumably, however, he attracted the left-wing vote into the government camp. The opposition attacked Governor Alves for participating personally, and using state resources, in the campaign. It sought to have him suspended by the Regional Electoral Tribunal (which was friendly to the opposition). The Tribunal, however, though severely

CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED

Authority NND 959 000

criticizing the Governor, declined competence to suspend him. Governor Alves denied participating in the campaign except in a private capacity, and at one point announced his intention to take leave until after the election; on this he quickly changed his mind. He campaigned continuously and vigorously, to the point of physical exhaustion.

Of the three daily newspapers in Natal, Tribuna do Norte and Correio do Povo are owned respectively by Alves and Mariz. Neither even pretended any impartiality and both contained only virulent rhetoric during the campaign. Diário de Natal (Diarios Associados) remained neutral and provided fairly objective coverage. The church weekly, A Ordem, was also neutral--it was the only paper to attempt thoughtful analysis of the campaign, or to solicit detailed interviews from the candidates.

Toward the end of the campaign there emerged, briefly, a "third force" which had been brewing, amid much expectation, for some time. This consisted of Federal Deputy Odilon Ribeiro Coutinho (PDC), Mossoro's Mayor Raimundo Soares, and Recife columnist (and Aluizio's one-time Secretary of Education) Calazans Fernandes. This group finally came out with a very weak ("lesser of two evils") endorsement of Dinarte Mariz, which proved ineffective. Responsible elements in the church were also disturbed by the vehemence and invective of the campaign, and by the use of Gurgel's cloth as a campaign tool. A Ordem, the weekly newspaper of the Archdiocese, took both sides to task for their campaign methods, and called repeatedly for calm and rationality. Its editorial staff appears to have wanted a Mariz victory, if only because of the abuse of Gurgel's religious status.

Analysis of Election Results

The results of the election showed a margin of victory for Gurgel greater than the Government had anticipated. He had expected to carry 64 of the state's 150 municipalities; instead it carried 96 of them, including Mariz' own stronghold of Mossoró (see Enclosure 1). Despite the enthusiasm and vigor of the campaign, the total percentage voting was only 76%, the same as in Paraíba where the election was much calmer. The bulk of Gurgel's majority came from Natal, where he carried three of the four districts by margins of 2-1, but he carried the interior as well. Of major towns, Gurgel's highest percentage (77% of the vote) was in Angicos, Governor Alves' home town, where the Mayor is Alves' brother and the state has spent disproportionately large sums on public works during the Alves administration. Mariz' only major success was in Caicó, where both he and Gurgel were born and in which the opposition obtained 62% of the votes. A cursory comparison of the results with those of Paraíba suggests that fewer towns in Rio Grande do Norte were evenly

CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED

Authority NND 959 000

divided between the candidates, but that, on the other hand, fewer (21 out of 150, compared with 37 out of 171) went to one candidate or the other by margins of better than 2-1; this would seem to reflect both the intensity of the campaign and less strength on the part of local political bosses.

The Campaign in Natal

The campaign for Mayor of Natal was distinctly subsidiary to the campaign for Governor, as both candidates were identified with the gubernatorial candidates. The last elected Mayor of Natal, leftist Djalma Maranhão, was ousted and deprived of his civil rights after the Revolution of March 31, 1964. He is now living in exile in Uruguay. He was replaced after the Revolution by Admiral Tertius Rebello, a career naval officer who had resigned shortly before the Revolution to work for the state government. Rebello worked hard to provide an honest administration; his major achievement was a thorough reorganization and rationalization of the Natal city government through a project financed by USAID. But he was severely hampered by shortage of funds and complained bitterly that Natal had been forgotten since the Revolution (the Maranhão administration had received heavy aid from the Goulart regime).

The Cruzada de Esperança picked as candidate Alufzio's brother, Agnelo Alves. Agnelo has served as Chief of Civil Household to the Governor, and as head of the state housing program (FUNDHAP). He has little of the brilliance of his brother, however, and his nomination was generally considered pure nepotism. As running mate, Agnelo picked Ernani Silveira, who had been Secretary of Planning in the Maranhão regime.

The opposition picked State Deputy Pedro Lucena (PTN), a much respected doctor in Natal, as their standard bearer, with State Deputy Dary Dantas (UDN) as his running mate. It was hoped that responsible supporters of Gurgel would split their tickets and back Lucena; the results indicate that a few, but not enough, did so.

The Campaign Aftermath

The campaign in Rio Grande do Norte left the state exhausted; the atmosphere immediately after the election was one of total lassitude, which efforts at victory celebrations could not altogether overcome. Mariz has launched a campaign to cancel the election on the ground that Alufzio Alves improperly took part in it and used state resources to back Gurgel. Although the State Regional Electoral Tribunal (which had censured Alves during the campaign) is favorable to Mariz, it presently seems unlikely that the election will be reversed. A number of moderates

CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED

Authority NND 959 000

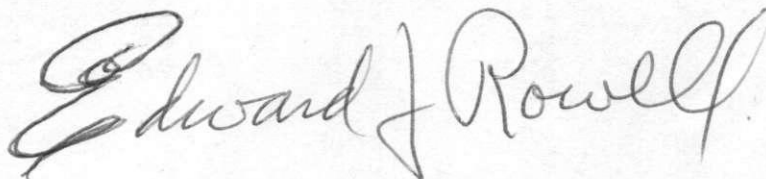
who had backed Mariz, including Raimundo Soares, have condemned the effort to reverse Gurgel's decisive majority as sour grapes.

The Outlook for the New Administration

Walfredo Gurgel has not as yet been very specific as to his intended program, except that he will continue the active development programs of his predecessor. He has promised a non-political government, staffed with technicians, and says he will appoint no one who is going to be a candidate for election in 1966 (this would seem to point especially to Aluizio Alves, who is expected to run for the Senate; but it would apply equally to a number of other politicians).

Gurgel has announced the following specific aims: In education, to construct 750 new elementary classrooms and 25 new ginásios (junior high schools) in the interior. In electrification, to provide current to 55 more towns. In roads, to pave 500 kilometers of road, build 1,200 meters of bridges (including a new road bridge across the Potengi at Natal), and improve 2,000 kilometers of state roads. In agriculture, to improve credit facilities for small farmers, supply technical assistance through "mechanized patrols" in the principal regions of the state, and increase cotton production. In industry, to create a state Industrial Park using energy from Paulo Afonso. In health, to build new hospitals, maternity centers, and health posts. Gurgel considers the priority needs of the state to be: education, health, roads, electrification, and industrialization. He has promised to work closely with SUDENE, with the Alliance for Progress, and other entities which can aid in these programs.

The big question mark remains Walfredo Gurgel himself, and his relations during the next few years with Aluizio Alves. Certainly, it is Alves' hope that he will prove a docile stand-in to keep the Governor's chair warm during the next five years; Gurgel was chosen with this in mind, and his past career does not indicate that he is likely to rebel. Nevertheless, nobody really knows whether Gurgel may not seek to make a name for himself independent of Alves. The only indication of this, so far, is his announcement of a program of government austerity, something for which Alves was never noted; reportedly he plans immediately to close down the Palace restaurant, a government operation which has been under regular attack by the opposition press.



Edward J. Rowell
Minister Consul General

CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED

Authority NND 959 000

UNCLASSIFIED

p. 1

Election Returns
Rio Grande do Norte
October 3, 1965

Municipality	Electors	%	Votes Cast		%
			Gurgel	Mariz	
+Natal (1st District)			6990	3509	
(2nd District)			6549	5248	
(3rd District)			10082	5220	
(4th District)			10164	4790	
Total	70689	76	33685	18767	63
Assú	6962	76	2174	2965	41
+Arês	1696	78	691	595	52
+Apodí	4422	85	2162	1539	57
+Acari	3937 ?	94	2130	1510	58
+Angicos	3104	80	1908	526	77
Água Nova	242	84	51	148	25
Alexandria	3851	73	1242	1521	44
+Areia Branca	6472	75	2415	2355	50
+Almino Afonso	1704	87	975	493	66
+Afonso Bezerra	2177	86	1029	792	55
+Augusto Severo	2724	75	1033	974	51
Antonio Martins	1669	71	448	702	38
Alto do Rodrigues	1361	85	569	573	50
+Barreto	1121	67	491	240	65
+Brejinho	1432	39	336	221	60
+Barcelona	1283	85	662	417	61
+Boim Jesus	776	93	526	186	73
Baía Formosa	664	67	193	247	43
+Barra de Maxaranguape	1920	74	759	636	54
Caico	8726	82	2686	4350	38
Cruzêta	2024	84	769	897	46
Caraubas	3938	78	1426	1607	46
Carnaubais	2947	74	964	1161	44
+Cerro Cora	1668	68	734	364	65
+Ceara Mirim	8383	69	3135	2556	54
+Currais Novos	5553 ?		3466	2181	60
+Canguaretama	3781	50	1094	727	58
Campo Redondo	1369	78	414	632	39
Coronel Ezequiel	785	85	291	355	44
Coronel João Pessoa	759	79	272	317	46

UNCLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

Authority NND 959 000

UNCLASSIFIED

Enclosure 1, A-49
from RECIFE

p. 2

Carnauba dos Dantas	1481	84	518	706	42
+Caiçara do Rio do Vento	590	78	395	55	86
Doutor Severiano	1092	75	323	470	39
Encanto	981	86	206	618	24
Equador	792	?	65	725	8
+Extremoz	1962	80	808	692	52
Eloi de Souza	1464	42	176	422	29
+Espírito Santo	842	72	440	162	72
+Florania	1808	93	1013	636	60
+Felipe Guerra	1153	80	619	270	68
+Francisco Dantas	717	83	413	163	69
+Guamare	400	78	193	112	62
+Grossos	1795	79	796	592	56
+Galinhos	359	73	155	104	60
+Goianinha	1494	77	640	483	55
Gov, Dix Sept Rosado	2601	84	871	1259	40
Itau	808	74	162	430	27
Ipueira	355	74	57	200	22
Ipanguassú	3100	76	897	1400	38
+Ielmo Marinho	1288	61	566	203	72
Japí	439	85	160	209	43
+Junco	1027	85	463	388	53
Jaçaná	307	?	143	211	40
Janduis	1366	86	525	627	45
Jucurutu	2725	84	794	1450	35
+Jandaira	366	85	233	67	75
João Dias	618	77	219	241	46
+João Camara	3985	76	1937	1031	64
José da Penha	1187	81	344	585	36
+Januario Cicco	1863	39	394	317	54
+Jardim do Seridó	2521	88	1662	505	75
+Jardim de Angicos	833	78	551	80	85
Jardim de Piranhas	1994	79	710	856	45
+Lages	2067	84	1281	416	74
Lucrecia	579	78	188	259	41
+Lagoa Nova	607	84	364	123	72
Luiz Gomes	2109	72	479	973	31
+Lagoa D'Antas	786	67	310	197	59
Lagoa Salgada	928	75	328	354	47
+Lages Pintada	694	94	383	243	59

UNCLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

Authority NND 959 000

UNCLASSIFIED

Enclosure 1, A-49
from RECIFE

P. 3

+Lagoa de Pedras	793	66	368	141	70
+Lagoa de Velhos	709	66	292	166	62
Macau	6107	74	2127	2304	47
+Martins	3500	77	1542	1126	57
Mineiro	1051	75	329	443	42
+Mossoró	26725	77	10238	10162	50
+Macaiba	4589	68	1739	1343	56
+Montanhas	1385	52	454	300	63
+Monte Alegre	1809	70	879	343	70
Marcelino Vieira	1879	80	649	823	43
+Monte das Gamaleiras	1301	?	157	77	66
+Nova Cruz	7004	48	1848	1483	55
+Nisia Floresta	2169	77	1090	539	65
+Ouro Branco	1299	85	782	313	71
+Ôlho D'Água do Borges	980	86	509	306	61
Patú	3422	73	1112	1362	44
Paraú	1381	79	427	632	39
+Pilões	664	70	252	209	54
+Parana	878	74	323	296	51
+Pureza	1207	63	463	268	61
Parelhas	4397	83	1063	2559	29
Passagem	993	49	211	268	44
+Parasinho	473	76	223	126	58
+Portalegre	1517	85	696	533	55
+Parnamirim	3620	73	1612	957	61
+Pendencias	3300	61	1124	878	55
+Pedra Preta	864	79	535	133	79
+Pedro Velho	2465	67	814	808	50
Poço Branco	1540	81	425	791	34
+Pedra Grande	562	69	242	142	62
+Passa e Fica	1159	75	432	403	50
+Pedro Avelino	2513	78	1161	770	54
Pau dos Ferros	3124	80	1027	1420	41
Presidente Juscelino	1311	63	398	405	49
+Riachuelo	2083	72	808	675	54
+Rui Barbosa	872	69	429	155	72
+Riacho da Cruz	544	82	235	217	52
+Rafael Fernandes	617	81	249	235	50
+Riacho de Santana	884	77	395	265	58
Rodolfo Fernandes	565	86	192	286	40

UNCLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

Authority NND 959 000

Santana	428	89	142	236	37
+Serrinha	733	?	612	237	70
+São Tome	2862	70	1274	664	64
+São Pedro	1347	76	631	383	62
+Sitio Novo	1583	50	434	334	55
Santa Cruz	3139	79	1222	1216	49
Salamandra	567	89	227	268	45
São Miguel	3721	70	954	1579	37
+São Rafael	2326	79	1025	789	56
+São Vicente	1140	78	521	342	58
+São Fernando	718	89	355	275	56
+Santo Antonio	2984	60	1345	406	75
Severiano Melo	1196	85	451	545	45
+Santana do Matos	5562	68	2017	1696	53
Sao João do Sabugi	1360	83	500	614	45
+Serra de São Bento	1290	68	482	370	55
São Bento do Norte	1608	74	515	662	43
+São José do Seridó	494	92	245	205	54
+São José do Mipibu	2838	83	1465	852	62
São Bento do Trairí	627	82	244	261	47
+São Paulo do Potengi	2002	87	1019	698	59
Serra Negra do Norte	1711	81	381	968	28
+São José de Campestre	2496	79	1011	926	51
+São Gonçalo do Amarante	3739	71	1334	1230	50
+Sen. Georgino Avelino	211	84	95	76	54
+Taipú	1800	69	793	410	64
+Touros	4086	50	1102	873	55
+Tangará	1916	69	741	530	56
Tibau do Sul	920	77	322	367	46
+Tenente Ananias	2043	81	952	673	57
+Taboleiro Grande	654	84	350	195	64
Timbauba dos Batistas	449	88	150	245	38
Upanema	1682	84	583	793	41
+Umarizal	1587	72	814	301	71
Varzea	1110	70	308	454	40
+Viçosa	234	84	122	74	62
+Vila Flor	206	70	83	57	58
+Vera Cruz	1186	65	443	301	57
+Varzea da Caatinga	667	77	359	147	54
TOTAL	375416	75	151349	124119	54

UNCLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

Authority NND 959 000

Biography of Monsignor Walfredo Gurgel, Governor-elect of Rio Grande
do Norte

Monsignor Walfredo Gurgel was born in Caicó, Rio Grande do Norte, on December 2, 1908. Of a poor family, he received his secondary education in Natal, and then spent six years at the Gregorian Pontifical University in Rome. He was ordained priest in 1931 and returned to Brazil the following year to become Professor of Theology and Canon Law at the São Pedro Seminary in Natal, and later became its Rector. From 1935 to 1943 he was Vicar in the parishes of Acari and later Caicó, at the same time continuing to teach.

Always interested in politics, Monsignor Gurgel was elected Deputy in the Brazilian Constituent Assembly of 1945 on the Social Democratic (PSD) ticket, but was defeated for re-election in 1950 and returned to Caicó to direct a local high school sponsored by the Archdiocese. He returned to politics in 1960, being elected Vice-Governor of Rio Grande do Norte on the ticket headed by Aluizio Alves. In 1962, however, he ran for and was elected to the Senate, where he concentrated his activities on measures dealing with education and culture. On October 3, 1965, he was elected Governor of Rio Grande do Norte, with the backing of Governor Aluizio Alves, and is due to take office in January 1966.

Though considered personally honest, Gurgel's leadership qualities are unproven. Chosen as candidate, and elected, as a stand-in to Governor Aluizio Alves, it is not yet clear whether he will leave effective leadership of the state to Alves.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

DECLASSIFIED

Authority NND 959 000

Biography of Clovis Coutinho Motta, Vice-Governor Elect of Rio Grande do Norte

Clovis Motta was born on June 21, 1928 in Campina Grande, Paraíba, the eldest of 13 children of a Rio Grande do Norte politician who was a long-time supporter of Getúlio Vargas and head of the state PTB. Motta graduated from the University of Recife in chemical engineering in 1951 and is also a lawyer. He entered politics as a state deputy in 1954, and was elected a Federal Deputy (PTB) in 1958 and re-elected in 1962. Originally allied with the Rosado Maia family of Western Rio Grande do Norte, broke with the UDN after a dispute with UDN leader Dix Sept Rosado Maia. He is now or was before the Second Institutional Act state chairman of the PTB though his control of it is only partial. Motta has long been eager to run for Governor of the state, and at one point said he would not accept a Vice Governor nomination, but changed his mind to run with Gurgel in this election.

Motta is a sincere and dedicated politician who has belonged to the leftist-nationalist wing of the PTB, and was a member of the Nationalist Parliamentary Front. He is however, an outspoken opponent of Communism, at home and abroad, and favors close collaboration between Brazil and the United States on a basis of mutual interest and equality. He is reportedly exceptionally well informed about the United States, though often critical in a constructive way. He is independently wealthy as a result of the family tannery business (Cortumes Motta of Natal), of which he is Director, but which is actually run by his brother João.

Motta is married and has several children. He speaks English, and visited the United States as a member of a Brazilian Congressional group in 1962. He suffers from diabetes. He is reportedly a sharp dresser and something of a rake, with a pleasing personality subject to occasional piques of temperament.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

DECLASSIFIED

Authority NND 959 000