


Series
All About the TFP

Tradition Family Property:
Half a Century
of Epic
Anticommunism

A red flag with a yellow lion rampant on a black pole against a blue sky with clouds and a bright sun. The flag is flying and the sun is shining brightly, creating a lens flare effect. The lion is a stylized yellow silhouette with a red outline, facing left.





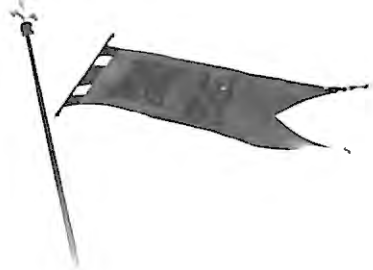


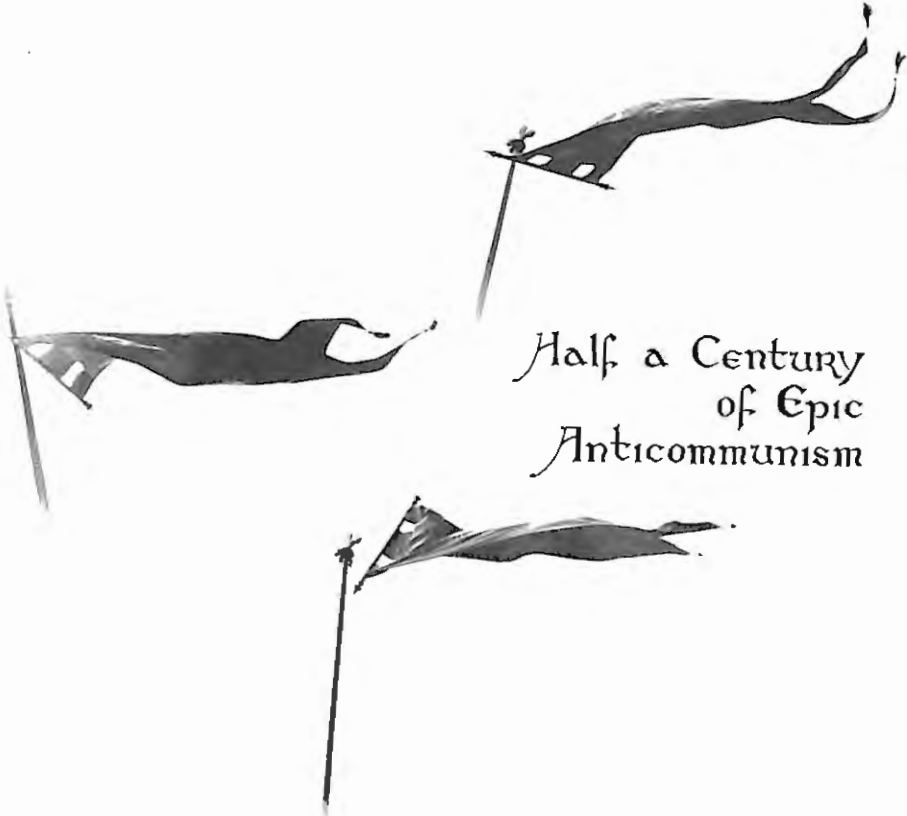
When still very young
I marvelled at the ruins of Christendom
Gave them my heart -
Seemed my fate on all I could expect
And made of that past full of blessings
My future

Feast of the Immaculate Heart
-1980-

Glenn Corrie & Oliveira

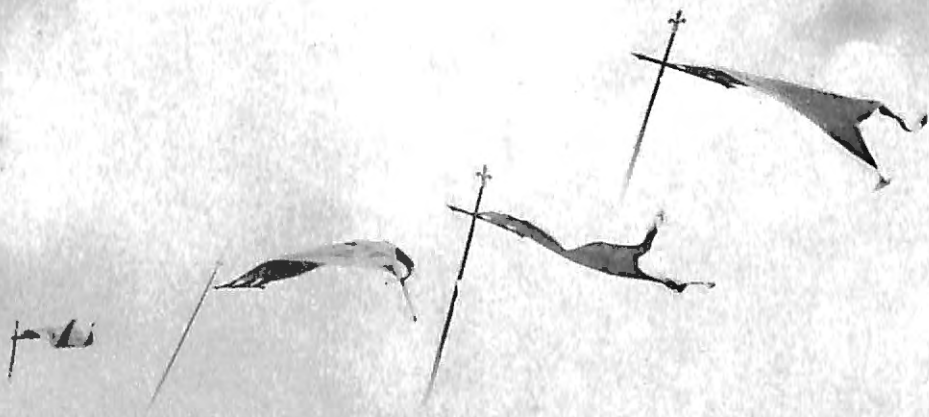


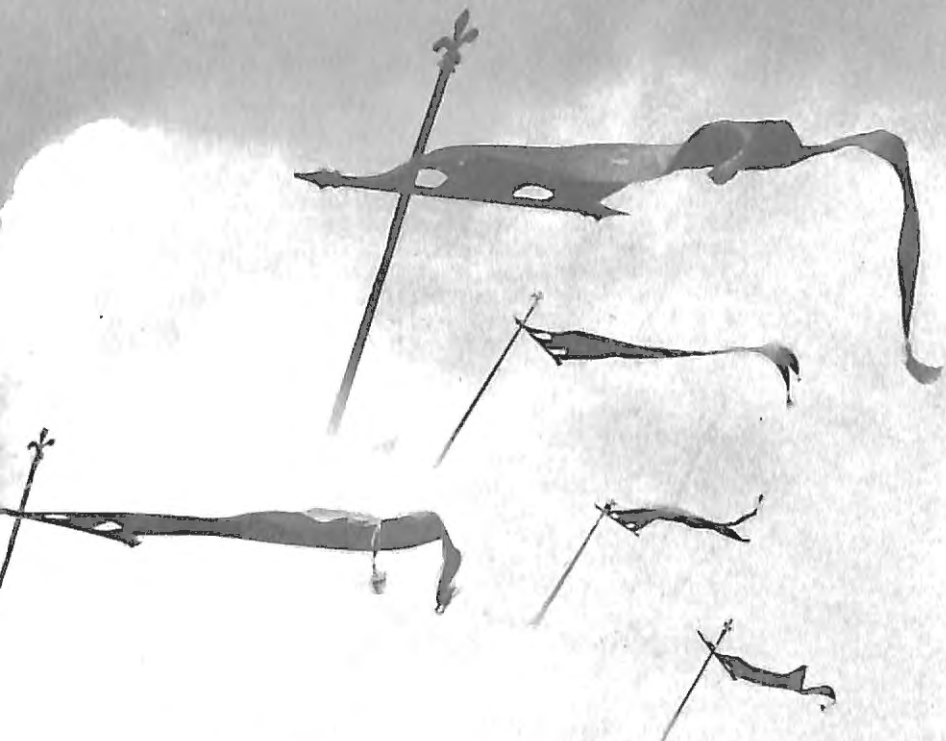




Half a Century
of Epic
Anticommunism

Tradition Family Property:





Half a Century of Epic Anticommunism

A great apprehension:

"...Russia will spread its errors throughout the world"

A great hope:

"...Finally, my Immaculate Heart will triumph"

*Series
All About the TFP*

■ In the preparation of this book, the following works were extensively consulted: Books by various authors, promoted by the TFP, especially the Pastoral Letters and Instructions of His Excellency Dom Antonio de Castro Mayer, Bishop of Campos, and the works published by Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira; the manifestos, declarations, communiques, open letters and other documents of the TFP, all of them authored by Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira; the weekly articles of Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira in the *Folha de S. Paulo*; the collection of *Legionario*; the items and news stories published by *Catolicismo* on the campaigns and other activities of the TFP; reports on the TFP by newspapers and magazines collected by the Society's Press Service.

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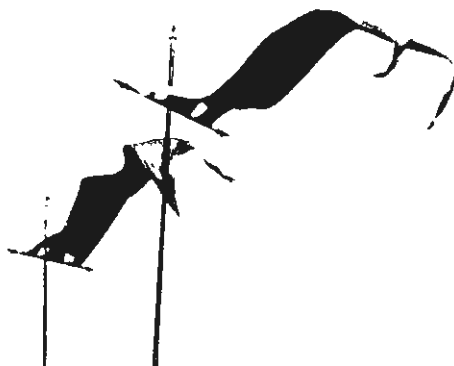
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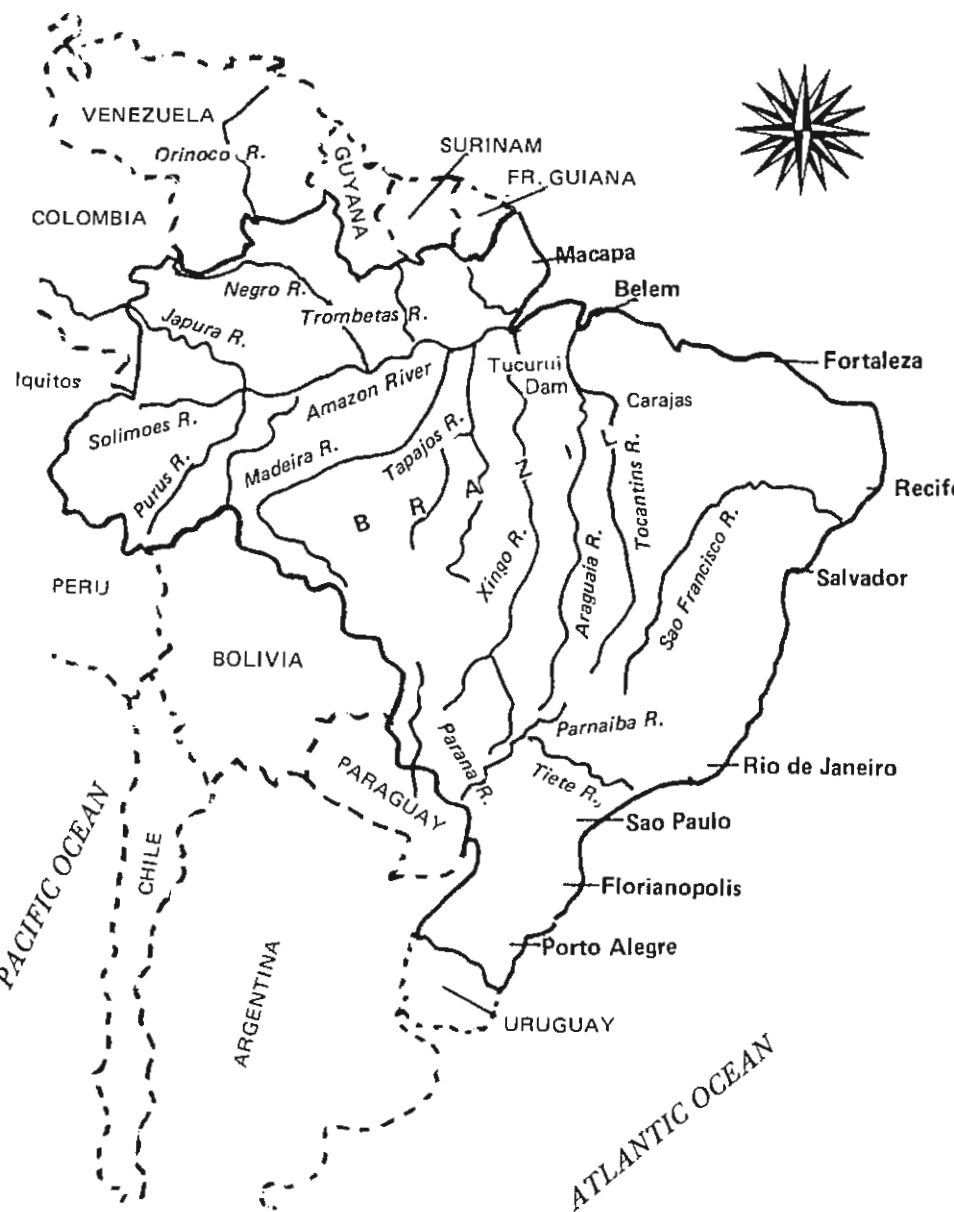
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ATLANTIC OCEAN



Introduction to the American Edition

The various autonomous Societies for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property (TFPs) and similar organizations in 12 countries constitute the largest network of anticommunist associations in the world today. The Brazilian Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property stands out among them as the oldest, largest, and the one which has the most influence in its own country.

In order to gauge the significance of the existence of the Brazilian TFP and the fifty years of epic ideological struggle against Communism led by its founder and President of its National Council, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, it is necessary to consider the geopolitical and strategic importance of Brazil, and indeed of all South America, to the West.

South America: The fourth largest continent in the world, with a young, large, and growing population and enormous natural resources; a continent of endless physical and cultural contrasts, but one whose massive unity in Catholicism makes it the largest Catholic bloc in the world and a natural ally of the United States in resisting communist imperialism.

The profound and manifest importance of this great continent to the United States is becoming more and more apparent. An analysis of its strategic geographical position, natural resources, and energy potential clearly demonstrates that it is a real "prize" in the ideological battle between the East and the West — a fact that has not gone unnoticed by the communists. Indeed, for decades now, the Soviet Union has been endeavoring to conquer South America through psychological warfare, infiltration, and violence.

Sitting astride this giant continent is a colossus — Brazil. With its 3,286,470 square miles and 120,000,000 inhabitants, this prodigious land has been called a continent in itself. In area, it is the fifth largest country after Russia, Canada, China, and the United States (including Alaska); and it ranks sixth in population.

Brazil has two states larger than Texas: Amazonas and Pará. The State of Maranhao is the size of Italy and the territory of Amapa is as big as France. Bananal, on the great Araguaia River, is the largest fluvial island in the world; and Marajo, at the mouth of the Amazon, is an island as large as Switzerland or Belgium. Half the country is still jungle. The 1.5 million square mile Amazon rain forest (an area larger than the United States west of the Mississippi River) produces over 20% of the world's oxygen.

Brazil encompasses nearly one-half of South America. It is three times the size of Argentina, the next largest country on the continent.

In relation to the continent and the South Atlantic, Brazil's geographic position is a most strategic one. Its 14,000 miles of continuous frontiers touch every other country in South America except Ecuador and Chile — a significant factor from the viewpoint not only of continental defense but also of trade and communication with its neighbors. It has 4,600 miles of coastline on the South Atlantic and its swollen hump stretches out into the Atlantic to a point only 1,600 miles from Africa.

* * *

It was in considering factors such as the country's geographic position and population as well as its economic strength, military capacity, and national will, that Dr. Ray S. Cline, in his work *World Power Trends and U.S. Foreign Policy for the 1980's* (Westview Press, Inc., Boulder, Colo., 1980), ranked

Brazil third in his Final Assessment of Perceived Power among the nations of the world (*).

Dr. Cline pointed out in his work that "The big four countries in the world as calculated on the basis of population and possession of land are the USSR, the United States, Brazil and China. These four are prima facie of consequence or certainly of so much potential consequence that any assessment of the international balance of power must pay special attention to them" (p. 48).

In Mr. Cline's evaluation of nations, "national power" is a mix of strategic, military, economic, and political strengths and weaknesses. It is determined in part by the military forces and the military establishment of a country, but even more so by the size and location of the territory, the nature of the frontiers, the populations, the raw material resources, the economic structure, the technological development, the financial strength, the ethnic mix, the social cohesiveness, the stability of the political process and decision-making, and finally, the intangible quality usually described as national spirit.

Summing it up, Mr. Cline states: "What the people of a country have actually accomplished, or could presumably accomplish in short order, with their material and spiritual wealth, is a critical factor in their own and others' perceptions of their power." (p. 53).

Actually and potentially, then, Brazil's role among the great nations of the world is extremely important. It can, in the true sense of the word, be called "rich." It ranks as the first nation in the world in terms of coffee production; second in corn, sugar, and cocoa. Although known to be predominately agricultural, for the past several years the country has been undergoing an impres-

(*) Dr. Ray S. Cline, Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS); Director of Intelligence and Research, Department of State (1969-1973); former Deputy Director of Intelligence for the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

sive urban boom as evidenced by the many office complexes and high-rises mushrooming in the principal cities. The country contains one-third of the total iron ore reserves in the world and is uncommonly well-stocked with other minerals from gold to nickel. It has sixteen percent of the world's forest lands, the world's greatest hydroelectric potential, the largest steel industry in South America and an uncounted wealth in semi-precious stones.

The following brief review of the current status and projected plans in the key areas of agriculture, energy, hydroelectric power, and mineral resources throws light on the vital importance of this nation to the security of the United States and the Western world.

Agricultural

In the fiscal year 1979-80, Brazil produced 60 million tons of grain according to estimates of the Brazilian Department of Agriculture. Presently, the country still imports some agricultural products (especially wheat). However, there is a good possibility that the country will be self-sufficient in wheat in the near future.

In addition to intensifying production in the Southern states that have a more developed agriculture, Brazil is expanding its agricultural frontiers to the North, to the West, and to the Northwest.

Important possibilities of agricultural production have been discovered in the Amazon and in neighboring hot, humid areas. Until recently, the whole agricultural policy of Brazil had been developed on the basis of its European heritage, all of whose products, techniques, and research were suitable to temperate climates. Now, however, after a considerable effort to discover and select new seeds adaptable to the climate of the Northwest, that area shows possibilities for enormous expansion. Experi-

mental plantations of rice in the estuary city of Belém have already shown that this region alone would be able to supply all the rice necessities of the country.

Fuel and Energy

Considering the fact that Brazil is heavily dependent on foreign sources for oil (presently some 850,000 barrels a day) to run its expanding industries and six million cars, any analysis of the country must ask this question: What perspectives does Brazil have to come through the storm caused by the worldwide oil crisis and emerge even stronger?

If one looks at Brazil's situation strictly from the standpoint of shortage and dependency on foreign sources for energy such as petroleum, one sees that it is different from that of the great industrialized nations which depend on oil to manufacture their products.

In spite of the great expense imposed on the country by the importation of oil (Brazil imports some 80% of its oil), it would be a mistake to call the current situation an energy crisis. Imported oil is used mainly for transportation. Therefore, the crisis is a problem of the availability of liquid fuels for automotive transport rather than an energy crisis as such.

In view of the effects of the continuing oil shortages, the Brazilian Government has taken steps to provide for alternate fuel sources. The most widely known of these is alcohol.

Some 250,000 all alcohol-powered vehicles were produced in Brazil in 1980. A plan signed by the Government and the National Association of Car Manufacturers provides for a gradual increase in that number until 1985. By that time, the Government foresees that there will be some 2 million alcohol-powered vehicles on Brazil's highways.

By using a mere 1.7 percent of its lands to cultivate sugar, cassava, and other fuel-producing crops, Brazil will be able to replace all of the oil it presently

imports for fuel. By planting 3.5 percent of its territory with such crops, it could, in a few years, be in a position to export one million barrels of fuel alcohol per day.

Alcohol

The oil crisis led Brazil to discover the possibility of keeping its whole chemical industry going on the basis of alcohol and to extract from it basic products like ethylene, p.v.c.; polyethylene, etc. which had formerly been obtained from oil. Many existing factories are being transformed to use alcohol rather than petroleum.

Replacing Diesel Oil in Transportation

In addition to converting diesel motors to be run on just alcohol, other experiments have shown the possibility of diesel motors operating on a mixture of 50% oil and 50% alcohol.

Coal

The current energy program aims at achieving an annual production of 25 million tons of coal by 1985.

Hydroelectric Power

Brazil has at its disposal a potential of 216 million kilowatts, a calculation based just on the use of large hydroelectric projects. Calculations including smaller hydroelectric projects that can be constructed using the network of rivers flowing into the principal river basins (the Amazon, the Sao Francisco, and the Paraná basins) raise the figure to 350 million kilowatts. The series of hydroelectric projects now being constructed should furnish Brazil with 41 million kilowatts from hydroelectric sources by 1990.

Mining

A large industrial complex is being constructed in the Amazon to mine bauxite and produce alumi-

num. Brazil's bauxite reserves are among the largest in the world (second only to South Africa and Jamaica). The Amazon region alone has 3 billion tons of bauxite, a third of which are in the Trombetas River valley.

Another great mining undertaking in the Amazon is the Carajas project, which will exploit the world's largest known iron ore deposits — 18 billion tons. Mining operations are scheduled to start in 1984 and are expected to produce 35 million tons of iron ore for export every year.

The Brazilian Government has a wide-ranging plan for the whole eastern zone of the Amazon. In addition to the estimated 18 billion tons of iron ore, government studies call for the development of copper (1 billion tons), manganese (56 million tons), nickel (47 million tons), cassiterite (tin ore: 25 million tons), and gold (30,000 tons worth over 600 billion dollars at current market prices).

Navigable Waterways

The Government has released a plan showing that by 1984 the country will have a system of waterways and highways that will benefit the whole Center-West of Brazil. This system will connect Sao Paulo (the principal industrial and agricultural state) with the city of Belém in the far North using the Tiete, Parnaíba, Araguaia, and Tocantins Rivers (see map on p. XXIX). As a result of the construction of the Tucuruí hydroelectric dam in the State of Pará, the Araguaia river will become navigable for more than 1,375 miles.

To grasp the overall picture, consider that seagoing vessels of up to 12,000 tons may sail up the Amazon all the way to Iquitos, Peru. Some engineering work on the Rio Negro, a tributary of the Amazon extending to the north toward Venezuela, would permit an inland waterway extending from Brazil all the way to the Atlantic coast of Venezuela. This network of rivers makes Brazil potentially independent of the Atlantic Ocean for trade with Argen-

tina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, and Venezuela; that is, with all the South American countries except Chile.

Nuclear Energy

An agreement with West Germany is providing for the initial construction of six nuclear plants and a complete transfer of the whole cycle of nuclear technology. Known uranium reserves in the country are 215,300 tons, enough to supply 35 standard nuclear plants for the whole period of their life expectancy.

Military Industry

Brazil's military industry, with a 15% annual growth rate, is the fastest growing in the West.

Today there are about 300 companies producing military equipment, all privately owned. It is calculated that from 1979 (when Brazil sold 700 million dollars in armaments) until 1981, the country will have sold 3 billion dollars worth.

Against such a background, the reader may judge for himself the importance of South America, and particularly Brazil, to the security of the West.

The singular role played by the *Brazilian Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property* since its inception in 1960, and the foresight and action of its founder, Professor Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, who began his public ideological action against the forces of Facism and Communism by 1929, is referred to in the writings of dozens of American specialists in Brazilian and Latin American studies. However, extensive research in public and university libraries in the metropolitan areas of New York, St. Louis, New Orleans, Kansas City, and Dallas-FortWorth shows that there is not available to the public, nor to

specialists as far as we can ascertain, any orderly or at all complete history of the Brazilian TFP or of the extraordinary career of its founder, Professor Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira.

Since persons knowledgeable in recent Latin American History, ranging from thousands of ardent admirers to the most passionate of leftist critics, agree on the enormous importance of the influence and action of the Brazilian TFP and of its founder, we present this first English edition of *Tradition, Family, Property: Half a Century of Epic Anticommunism*, as a contribution to the general understanding. The orderliness, depth of documentation, and clarity of the text make it invaluable for specialists as well as for cultured observers of the world scene.

This book has proven a great success in Brazil, where it has already gone through three editions totalling 32,000 copies in the period running from May to November 1980. The statistical data on sales of books promoted by the TFP are considered unusually large for Brazil, even though they are relatively small by American standards. Indeed, the Brazilian people are so acute at, and so much given to observation of persons and situations, that it is difficult for an American to imagine how they are if he has not spent time in Brazil. In that country, whose population is much smaller than ours (120 million), remarkably intelligent and preponderantly Latin both ethnically and culturally, books dealing with ideas usually sell much less than others.

It our desire that the reading of this work will provide encouragement, principles and methods of action for leaders in the defense of the West. We also believe it is required reading for all who wish to understand the History of the last twenty years of ideological struggle between the sectaries of Communism and the heirs of the great legacy of Christian Civilization.

Estate of Our Lady of Good Success
National Headquarters of
The Foundation for a Christian Civilization, Inc.
Bedford, New York
January, 1981

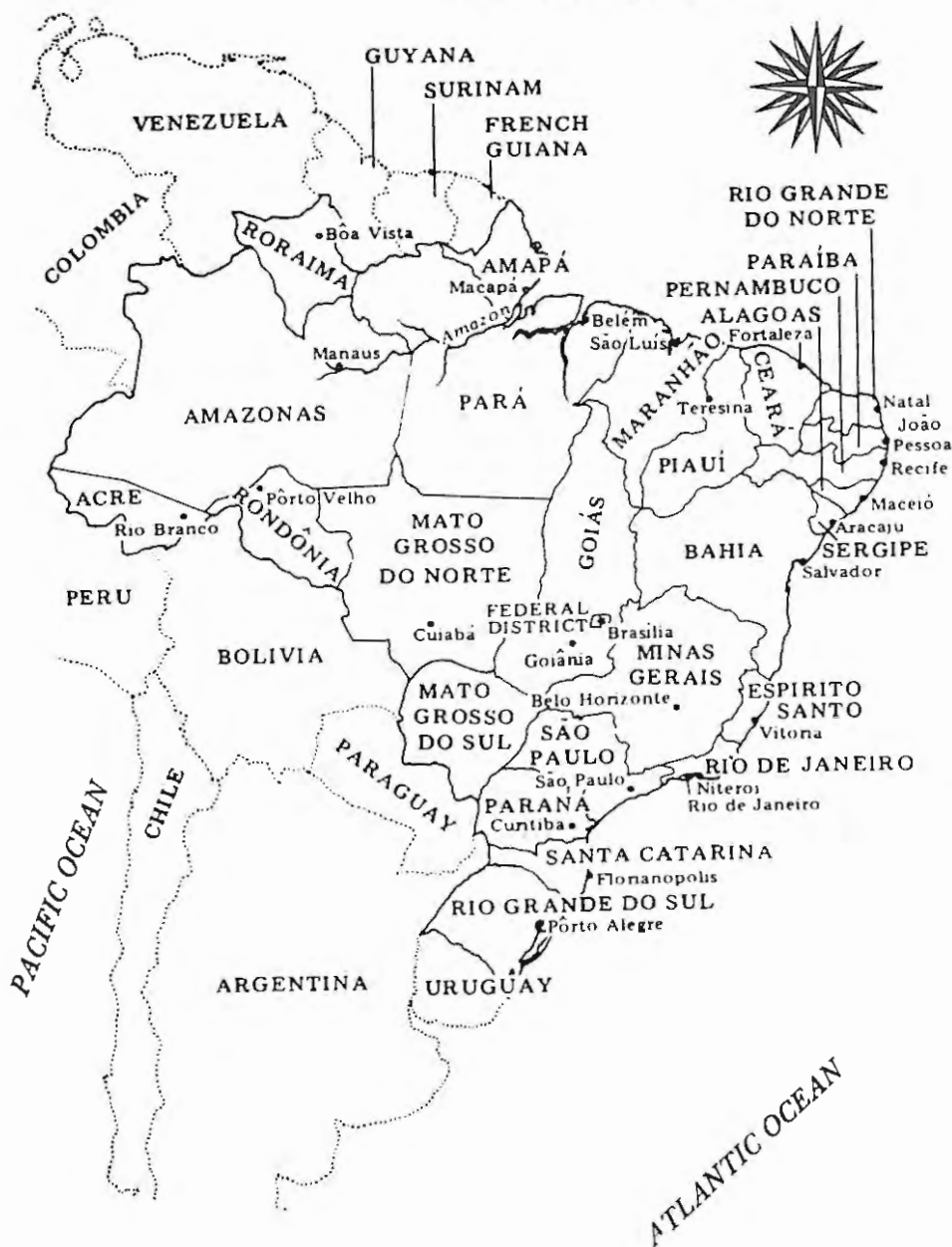
Names of Brazilian States with Respective Abbreviations and names of State Capitals

National Capital: Brasilia, in the
Federal District

State	Abbr.	Capital
Acre	AC	Rio Branco
Alagoas	AL	Maceió
Amazonas	AM	Manaus
Bahia	BA	Salvador
Ceará	CE	Fortaleza
Espirito Santo	ES	Vitória
Goiás	GO	Goiânia
Maranhao	MA	Sao Luis
Minas Gerais	MG	Belo Horizonte
Mato Grosso do Norte	MT	Cuiabá
Mato Grosso do Sul	MS	Campo Grande
Pará	PA	Belém
Paraíba	PB	Joao Pessoa
Pernambuco	PE	Recife
Piauí	PI	Teresina
Paraná	PR	Curitiba
Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Rio de Janeiro
Rio Grande do Norte	RN	Natal
Rio Grande do Sul	RS	Porto Alegre
Santa Catarina	SC	Florianópolis
Sergipe	SE	Aracaju
Sao Paulo	SP	Sao Paulo
Territories		
Amapá	AP	Macapá
Fernando de Noronha	FN	Fernando de Noronha
Rondonia	RO	Porto Velho
Roraima	RR	Boa Vista

Note: Recently, the State of Mato Grosso (abbreviated MT) was divided into Mato Grosso do Norte and Mato Grosso do Sul. Since this division does not affect the narrative of this book, for the sake of simplicity we have maintained the original name and abbreviation of the State as it was prior to the change.

ATLANTIC OCEAN





■ *Sao Paulo: a booming city of some 13 million people in the greater metropolitan area.*





Prologue

to the

Brazilian Edition

The 60's was to be a decade in which Brazil would pass through the most profound transformations. Even before this decade arrived, the ground had been carefully prepared — in the Church as well as in temporal society — for the forces of leftism and progressivism to carry out a combined agitation against the political, social, and economic structures in force in the country.

At that moment in history, what was needed in order to meet the grave crisis that would be brought about by this combined action of leftism and progressivism? In view of the fact that this was a threat against the temporal sphere having a doctrinal thrust and involving members of the clergy, there was a need for a civic action of religious inspiration, of an essentially doctrinal character, carried out with the most scrupulous respect for the laws. Obviously, it would have to be an action having diverse cultural aspects and requiring the use of specific promotional resources.

Providentially, there was a group of men on the scene in Brazil with a long and distinguished history of action in the Catholic movement which

The Brazil of the 60's: combined agitation by leftism and progressivism

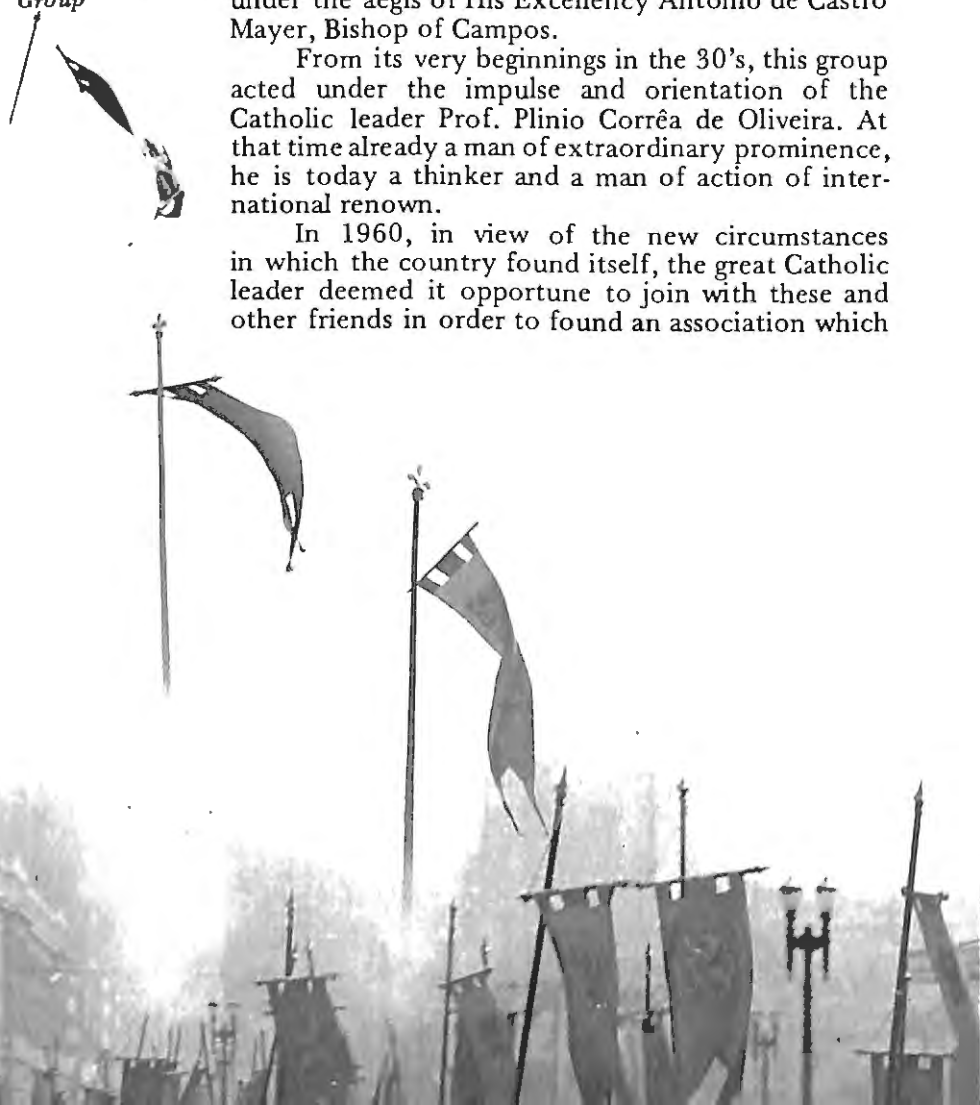
*Legionario
Group's distin-
guished action
in the Catholic
movement*

*The Catholicismo
Group*

qualified them to undertake such an action. At first, this group had gathered around *Legionario*, the monthly paper of the Marian Congregation of the Parish of Santa Cecilia in Sao Paulo. Later that publication became the semi-official weekly of the Archdiocese of Sao Paulo. After a number of years, the members of this group formed the editorial staff of the cultural monthly *Catholicismo*, which is edited under the aegis of His Excellency Antonio de Castro Mayer, Bishop of Campos.

From its very beginnings in the 30's, this group acted under the impulse and orientation of the Catholic leader Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira. At that time already a man of extraordinary prominence, he is today a thinker and a man of action of international renown.

In 1960, in view of the new circumstances in which the country found itself, the great Catholic leader deemed it opportune to join with these and other friends in order to found an association which



would have a clearly defined nature in relation to the need of the time. It would be a civic and cultural association — with philanthropic objectives as well — that would be designed to face, in the temporal sphere, the twofold leftist-progressivist onslaught soon to be unleashed in Brazil with all its thrust.

In July of that year, the Brazilian Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property was founded, having the characteristics described above.

Thus, at the very moment of its founding, the TFP already had behind it a long record of services rendered to the Church and the country by the group of idealists Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira had gathered together and trained for combat in the realm of ideas.

Furthermore, the group that founded the TFP was at that time in a period of frank expansion. In other words, there were many groups with the same ideal and with the same spokesman (*Catolicismo*) that had already formed in various places in Brazil, comprising a widespread family of souls.

The foundation of the TFP was an important stage in the process of maturation of this family of souls. But like every living organism that develops under the impulse of its own dynamism, the transition from the *Catolicismo* group to the TFP would be made organically, as we will subsequently see.

It is not possible, therefore, to begin the history of the TFP without telling the story of the great battle in which this expanding family of souls was already engaged.

Accordingly, we invite the reader to take a trip backward and picture the panorama of Brazil as it was at the beginning of the 60's. The hottest issue at the time was a nationwide debate over a

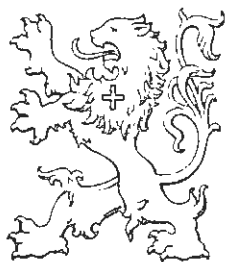
At the moment of its foundation, the TFP already had a long record of services rendered to the Church and to the country

Committed to a great struggle against land reform

confiscatory land reform bill. Our narrative begins with this subject (*).

(*) The historical narrative in this book focuses especially on the various activities of the TFP. Consequently, it emphasizes their effects on different contemporary events. It would go far beyond the limits of this work if we were to enumerate and analyze the other factors that contributed to the outcome of these events. The book's silence about these other factors by no means amounts to underestimating, let alone excluding them.

■ The notes marked with a star are explanatory notes. The numbered notes indicate the sources used or provide documentary references for the material in the text.



Chapter I ***1960-1964***





*The Confrontation Between "Leftist Catholics"
and Catholics Faithful to Tradition
Becomes Evident to the Whole Country
—The Polemics Over Confiscatory Agrisocialism*

■ October 29, 1961 – *Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira enters the auditorium of the School of Engineering of the University of Minas Gerais, where he lectured on land reform at the invitation of the State Union of Students.*

1. *Wiles and Guiles of Agrisocialism*

In Brazil in the troubled 60's, the farmlands became the target of the combined action of leftism and progressivism. An agitation for agrarian reform — made almost entirely in the cities — quickly spread throughout the country. As the press, radio, and TV busied themselves with the problem, it became the current topic in the courts, in political circles, in the universities . . . and also in the sacristies. Incendiary texts designed to fan the flames of agitation were published in newspapers of the communist-progressivist wing, such as the weekly *Brasil, Urgente*, directed by Friar Carlos Josaphat, O.P. An example of such an inflammatory text is the poem by Vinicius de Moraes, which was published in that same newspaper and is cited below:

*Rural agitation
spreads*

*"Ye lords of the land
Prepare your shrouds*

*For ye have enjoyed the land
And the land is his who tills it
As well as the fruits it bears. . . .*

*The time of war has come
There is no saint who can help ye. . . .*

*We want the land to be
Ours as much as it is yours
For the land has no owner
Ye lords of the land. . . .*

*Not a sickle against a sword
Nor gunfire against stones
Nor the rifle against the hoe:
— Grenade against grenade!
— Gunfire against gunfire!*

*And our war is sacred!
Our war will not fail!" (1)*

Side by side with the agitation being pumped into the minds of the people, clearly confiscatory and socialistic land reform bills were being processed through the federal legislature. Accordingly, it can be seen that the threat to the landowners was real. Naturally, a debate began to develop.

(1) *Brasil, Urgente*, 5-12-63.



■ *A demonstration of the Peasant Leagues in the State of Pernambuco. Wooden sticks symbolizing rifles give evidence of the incendiary climate threatening to engulf the nation.*

homens da terra



Revolução brasileira de hoje
 é uma guerra contra o latifúndio
 e a defesa do trabalhador
 que tem o direito de possuir
 a terra que ele cultivou
 e a defesa do trabalhador
 que tem o direito de possuir
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 a terra que ele cultivou

There were some doctrinal and practical problems that either were brought to the surface in this debate or were underlying it:

Some doctrinal problems

- Was it legitimate and in conformance with justice for farmers to own the land and for rural workers not to own it but to be obliged to live on wages? The communists claimed that it was not. What was the position of the owners? What was the position of the rural workers?
- The communists claimed that the suppression of private property in the country would not harm agricultural production. What was the position of the landowners? What did the farmworkers say?
- Some socialists maintained that the demands of justice and the needs of agricultural production dictated that there should be no large properties but only medium-sized and small ones. Other socialists who were more radical and closer to Communism claimed that there should be only small holdings. What did the owners and farmworkers have to say about this?
- Furthermore, what did Brazilians from all

professions and all walks of life have to say about all these important questions?

It is easy to understand that faced with problems of such import — in which philosophical and religious convictions as well as multiple rights and interests were all mixed together — the opinions of people would be divided. Given the emotionalism being fanned by certain sectors and this division of opinions, subversion found a perfect culture medium in which to spread. Indeed, in the tumultuous and restless era of Jango Goulart, President of Brazil at that time, agitators of all kinds came forth.

As the agitators entrenched themselves, a publicity ploy was skillfully orchestrated by the enemies of the socio-economic order in force. This ploy consisted primarily in placing a minority of hot-headed leftists in the vanguard of the revolutionary movement. Sometimes insinuating and at other times proclaiming with great uproar the imminence of terrorist attempts, class warfare, and revolts, these hot-headed leftists unleashed movements which made the most outrageous demands. They sought at every turn to unsettle and frighten the country into submission. This minority of agitators created the illusion that the masses of urban and rural workers all over the country supported their extremist program and would very

Publicity ploy of leftist minorities:

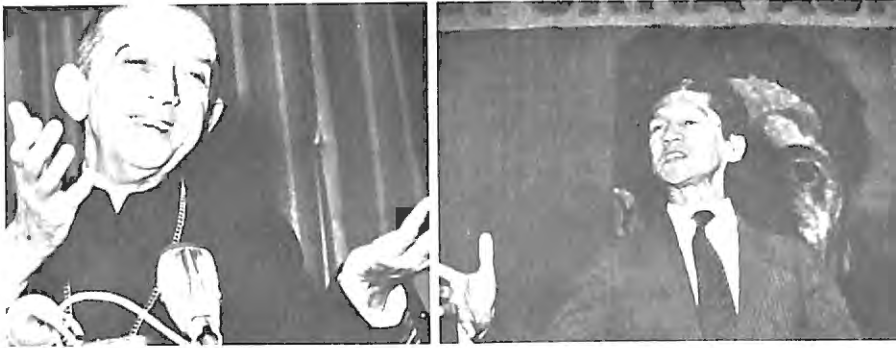
a) Intimidation

b) Inhibitory illusion

■ *A typical front page of Brasil, Urugente: "Landowners Arm Bandits to Slaughter Peasants!"*



soon resort to violence. This was done by means of thunderous statements or even shows of agitation to intimidate public opinion.



- Archbishop Helder Câmara makes himself the principal herald of the confiscatory and socialist "basic reforms."
- Francisco Juliao incites the Peasant Leagues to armed insurrection.

There were many in the great centrist majority, the really decisive force in the country, who naively believed the show to be real and who consequently went on the defensive. But due to the rather placid temperament inherent to centrism, its defense against this maneuver hardly ever consisted of a counterattack. It consisted, instead, in making concessions to the adversary in the hope of placating him. At the same time, the slogan of discouraged centrists was: "Give in some in order not to lose all." Given these conditions, the victory of the left was almost inevitable; because through that maneuver they had deprived large centrist sectors of the most important factors needed for victory, which are:

c) Paralyzation of the adversary

- a) the initiative of the attack;
- b) the hope of resisting successfully;
- c) and consequently, their very determination to resist.

The successive intimidating ploys of the left were of such a nature as to produce nearly fatal results. To make this easier to appreciate, we will clearly set forth how an escalation of leftist intimidations led to increasing centrist concessions. The process is outlined below:

- a) The left makes propaganda for land reform through the media, publishes news of agitations, and forecasts acts of violence, etc.

- b) The fearful center makes only partial concessions, which only partially placate the discontent of the leftist minority.

- c) Before long, however, these concessions give rise, by skillful instigation among the leftists, to a conviction that even greater concessions can be obtained by threatening new upheavals.

- d) The whole show is then repeated: new threats are made, the center goes through more panic, and finally makes new concessions.

If some sizeable reactions unexpectedly arise in the center, the left can obviously carry out new attacks, rampages, and assaults, thus scaring the centrist majority to death. Then they can easily neutralize hesitating centrists by labeling them as imprudent and fanatical, thereby isolating them within the very bosom of the panicked centrist majority.

The process that we have just described was undoubtedly present in most of the movements which were involved before 1964 in pushing for and demanding agrarian reform, and it continued to serve as a background for those that appeared later.

*d) Neutralizing
the resistance*

2. *The Land Reform Bluff of the "Catholic Left"*

The troublesome agitations of the early 60's helped to make manifest the exemplary attitude of the Armed Forces, which showed themselves patriotically and courageously determined to crush the agitations of the subversive minorities. Because of this factor, the danger of a convulsion in the first part of the 60's did not appear sufficiently grave and imminent to push the centrists irreversibly toward making the cascade of concessions that the communists desired.

Something new was needed. The Armed Forces had shown they could curb violent subversion. So the illusion had to be created among the centrists that another factor was dragging every level of society (and not merely the urban and rural working classes) irresistibly toward the acceptance of the various reforms (agrarian, urban, and business) which would open the way for a communist regime.

Accordingly, a new and peculiar factor was added to the agitations that disturbed Brazil and Latin America from 1960 to 1964, one that would continue to characterize the agitation of the continent for the whole decade. That new factor was an agitation in Catholic circles shrewdly calculated to give the public the impression that the Church was sliding all the way to the left. As a corollary of this image being created in the mind of the public, the agitators also conveyed the impression that in this

*A new factor:
agitation inside
the Church*

*The agents of
the new ploy*

slide the Church was taking with her the almost totally Catholic population as a whole.

Archbishop Helder Câmara was the pioneer figure in this new ploy, one that continued to be developed in various ways and in different fields right up to our days. He was supported by progressivist and Maritainist nuclei of Catholic Action, by leaders of the Christian Democratic Party, and by contingents of the Catholic *intelligentsia* in general.

At first, this maneuver had an enormous impact on rural centrists, that is to say, on the bulk of farmers and farm workers, nearly all peaceful and orderly.

*Massive media
coverage of new
leftist ploy*

The influence of this new ploy was strong because it was cleverly exploited. Indeed, the media gave great emphasis to the non-violent but tumultuously contestatory character of this religious-ideological subversion and inculcated the impression that "all was lost" for the cause of the institution of private property in rural areas. This impression was made even stronger because large sectors of the urban *intelligentsia* instilled, in their turn, the idea that nowadays men of culture must turn against the right of private property, which they derisively depicted as a vestige of the past.

*The right of private
property:
an outdated concept?*

*Farmers are given
guilt complexes about
owning land*

As a result, a number of the farmers began to feel scrupulous about owning land, whether they had inherited it from their ancestors or acquired it by their own work. So they were about to throw themselves onto the slippery slope of concessions. "Give in some in order not to lose all" was the motto that they imagined would save them. They were led to this state of mind by the propaganda made by certain leaders of the Christian Democratic Party (which, although founded in 1945, was already showing itself in the period of 1960-1964 to

be one of the main redoubts of the "Catholic left"). In addition, they were made to imagine that they were opposed by the clergy, the cultured people, and the masses.

Given the direction events were taking, one could foresee that immense convulsions would shake Brazil at the moment that a confiscatory agrarian reform was actually carried out. Such convulsions would undoubtedly play into the hands of Communism. Accordingly, for those who had just founded the TFP, it was a question of striving to prevent these convulsions from occurring.

* * *

In this critical emergency, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira conceived the idea of a comprehensive work that would deal with both the doctrinal and technical aspects of the agrarian problem. It was his conviction that only such a work could enlighten Catholic milieus and rural circles so as to bring to an end the ominously growing agitation.




He conceived for the book the title *Agrarian Reform — A Question of Conscience*. In order for the project to be accomplished, he requested the valuable collaboration of two Bishops who had been his friends and companions in the fight since the days of *Legionário*. They were Msgr. Antonio de Castro Mayer and Msgr. Geraldo de Proença Sigaud (then still Bishop of Jacarezinho, State of Paraná). He also requested and obtained the collaboration of the econ-

Gloomy perspectives for Brazil's future

As agitation grows, it becomes necessary to halt it; the book AR-QC is prepared



The history of a best seller: 7 editions, 39,000 copies in Brazil and abroad. Extensively commented upon, never refuted.



omist Luiz Mendonça de Freitas. The three of them worked with him on the preparation of the book.

Agrarian Reform — A Question of Conscience pointed out the absurdity of a confiscatory land reform wresting the already developed and highly productive farmlands from those who had pioneered them. *Two-thirds of Brazil's territory*, including vast undeveloped but highly fertile tracts, an area of unequalled opportunities for millions, *was in the hands of one great "latifundiario," the State.*

Brazil, the world's largest Catholic nation; is particularly sensitive to the voice of the Catholic Church. Consequently, the communists and socialists would be unable to bring about a land reform without the Church's support. In fact, the communists had fought for land reform ever since the early twenties without making any impact; land reform became a national issue only when Catholic progressivists began fighting for it. Since the progressivists used religious arguments for their propaganda, the book's authors — two Bishops, a famous Catholic leader and intellectual, and an economist — answered them with 400 papal texts. The authors analyzed the question from the standpoint of Catholic doctrine, considering the problems of socialist and communist economic egalitarianism, the right of inheritance, the legitimacy of the regime of salaries, and so forth. They showed how the right of private property, the fundamental principle at stake, is guaranteed by two Commandments of the Law of God. By demonstrating, in an overwhelmingly Catholic country like Brazil, that confiscatory land reform is clearly contrary to the Commandments and to the Papal Magisterium, *AR-QC* raised in the consciences of the great majority of the people an insurmountable barrier to agrisocialism.

3. Agrarian Reform – A Question of Conscience: *The Furrow of a Book in History*



On November 10, 1960, a large advertisement appeared on the front pages of the most important newspapers in the country, announcing the publication of *Agrarian Reform – A Question of Conscience* by the Vera Cruz Publishing House. Another ad was aired on a TV channel in Sao Paulo. This advertising campaign was preceded by an extensive article on the book by Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira in the October issue of *Catolicismo* (no. 118).

Since land reform was rapidly becoming the hottest issue of the day, the book spread quickly. A first edition of 5,000 copies sold out in the bookstores of the main cities of the country in 20 days. Three more editions followed, bringing the total sales to 30,000 copies. A survey by the newspaper *O Globo* (6-30-1961) revealed that *Agrarian Reform – A Question of Conscience* was among the most widely read books in Brazil. It had become a nationwide bestseller.

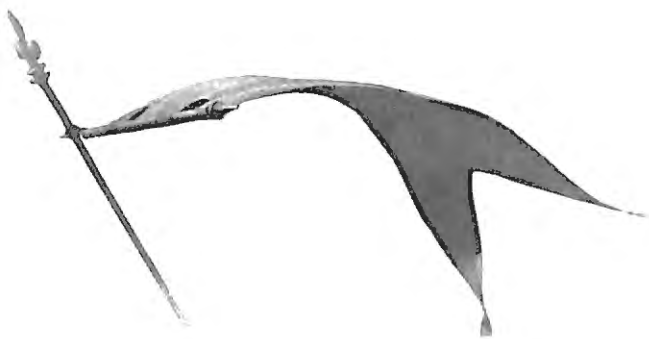
This success caused surprise. It was unusual for a doctrinal and technical book like *Agrarian Reform – A Question of Conscience* to go through an edition larger than 2,000 copies. Even today in Brazil, few indeed are the books (except textbooks) that go beyond 5,000 copies.

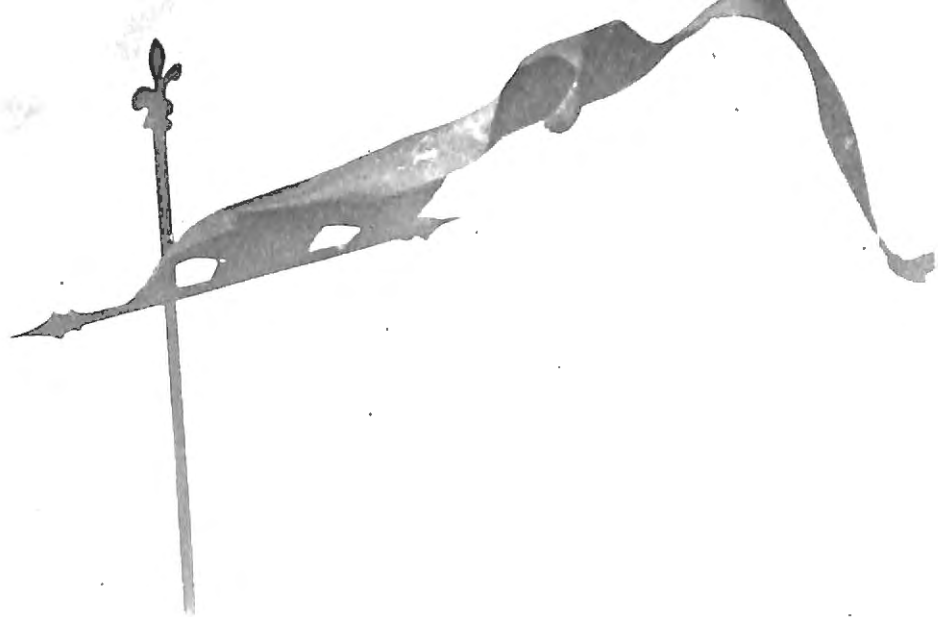
This best seller later had repercussions abroad. One edition came out in Argentina (1963), another

The book is advertised all over the country

A nationwide best seller in 20 days

International repercussions





Agrarian Revision, a "moderate" project?

on March 30, 1960 by the Governor of the State of Sao Paulo, Carvalho Pinto. The bill was presented as a "pioneer step" of a "moderate" agrarian reform.

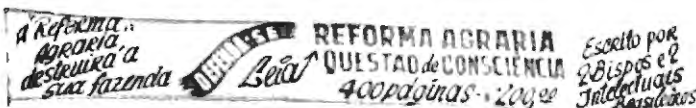
This bill, known as the "Agrarian Revision," seized the attention of the whole country. Various leftist sectors applauded the so-called "pioneer step" as the beginning of a swift march that would lead to the overthrow of the whole existing rural structure. Many centrists regarded the bill as a concession that would dampen the impetus of the land reformists, manifesting in this way another application of the defeatist tactic of "giving in some in order not to lose all."

In fact, the whole land reform propaganda gained strength and momentum all over Brazil from the moment the bill was introduced. Quite simply, it was this bill that attracted the attention of the public to the question of agrarian reform, which had previously been sputtering along in the federal legislature, somewhat unnoticed by the public at large. The bill's presentation made public interest in the matter twice as lively as it had been.

It so happens that some passages of *Agrarian Reform — A Question of Conscience* contained a vigorous argumentation against the bill. Accordingly, it was natural for the Legislative Assembly's Commission on Economics, which had the responsibility of giving an opinion on the bill, to want to know the full thinking of the authors of the book.

The session was held November 16, 1960 on the floor of the Sao Paulo Legislative Assembly, with State Assemblyman Ciro Albuquerque presiding. Many assemblymen were present and the visitors' gallery was filled to capacity. In an atmosphere of great interest, the authors of *AR-QC* discussed several aspects of the bill, giving special emphasis to its egalitarian and anti-Christian character. Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira spoke first, followed

The authors of AR-QC before the legislature



■ "Land 'Reform' will destroy your farm! Defend yourself! Read Agrarian Reform — A Question of Conscience."

by Bishop Geraldo de Proença Sigaud and Bishop Antonio de Castro Mayer. Then, the economist Luiz Mendonça de Freitas reviewed the technical aspects of the question. When their presentation was finished, a lively debate occurred (2).

4. *Shattering the Myth of the Omnipotence of the “Catholic Left”*

*Producers regain
their lost con-
fidence*

With the spread of *Agrarian Reform — A Question of Conscience*, fresh air began to make its way into the stifling atmosphere that was asphyxiating producers. In the hands of the farmers, the book proved to be a truly inexhaustible source of arguments to refute the leftist elements of the clergy, laity, and intelligentsia acting in the urban and rural areas. These elements were always strongly supported by a large part of the media.

*AR-QC shows:
Msgr. Câmara is
not the undis-
puted spokes-
man of the
Church*

Gradually, farmers and stockmen regained the understanding and sympathy that they had lost among an important part of the Brazilian public, and the public as a whole began to see that Msgr. Helder Câmara was not the undisputed spokesman of the Church as they were able to observe that he did not carry the great Catholic majority along with him. This realization, in turn, brought a great relief to Catholics and led them to the wholesome resolution of sticking to their traditional religious and socio-economic positions.

The combination of these results constituted a serious obstacle to Communism. This is so because

(2) Cf. *Catolicismo*, No. 121, January 1961.

once "Catholic leftism" — the nerve center of the propaganda in favor of agrarian reform — had been hit, the very march of Brazil toward the left was seriously hampered.

*Brazil's march
to the left is
hampered*

* * *

A constrained declaration by the man who was at that time Secretary of Agriculture of Sao Paulo is indicative of the state of spirit reigning in certain circles in regard to AR-QC. Mr. José Bonifácio Coutinho Nogueira considered the spreading of the book in this State, "*Inopportune, since it could cause an ideological trauma in the minds of Catholics. Only Archbishop Carlos Carmelo de Vasconcelos Motta (*) is authorized to speak in the name of the Church in Sao Paulo, and it is he who has the last word on the matter. We know that the opinion of His Eminence is favorable to the bill [of Agrarian Revision], according to a previous statement of his, as well as that of another Prince of the Church, Bishop Helder Câmara of Rio de Janeiro. The authors of the book in question. . . belong to a group of reactionaries attached to outmoded systems*" (3).

*A profound ma-
laise takes over
the land reform-
ist camp*

There was general surprise that the Secretary of Agriculture did not allege technical reasons in his field of competence to defend the agrarian reform but instead rose up as a zealous champion of what he considered to be good order in the Church. . .

(*) Cardinal Motta was at that time Archbishop of Sao Paulo. Since 1964, he has been Archbishop of Aparecida.

(3) *Ultima Hora*, Sao Paulo, 11-25-1960.

5. *The Bishops of Sao Paulo Enter the Fray in Favor of Agrisocialism*

Not even a month had gone by after the publication of *AR-QC* when the first episcopal reaction against the book came.

This reaction was both sensational and futile.

During the first few days of December, the newspapers began insistently announcing an upcoming meeting of the Bishops of the Ecclesiastical Provinces of the State of Sao Paulo. At the same time, they published an enigmatic advertisement: "*Agrarian Reform — A Question of Conscience*: watch channels 4, 5, and 7 on the 5th at 9:30 p.m."

Something unexpected happened on that evening of December 5th. The people of Sao Paulo were able to watch on television Msgr. Helder Camara, at that time Secretary-General of the National Conference of Bishops of Brazil and auxiliary Bishop of Rio de Janeiro; Msgr. Joao Batista da Motta e Albuquerque, the Archbishop of Vitoria; and five Bishops of Sao Paulo representing different ecclesiastical provinces in their State. The Bishops had come to tell the public the conclusions that had been reached at the meeting of the Episcopate of Sao Paulo which had closed that day.

According to his own words, Bishop Camara had been "*the secretary of the working sessions, only the secretary.*" Nevertheless, it was he who spoke "*in the name of the whole Episcopate of Sao Paulo,*" and who read the statement of those Bishops on television. Among other things, the statement said:

*On TV, Bishops
of Sao Paulo
condemn AR-
QC*

*Msgr. Helder was
"secretary, only
secretary"*

"We are happy to be able to affirm that it is a document [the Agrarian Revision bill] inspired by the principles of the social doctrine of the Church. Providence is permitting us [to obtain] by an evolutionary process what other countries have achieved only through bloody revolution."

Later, addressing the rural landowners in a tone of veiled threat, Bishop Camara read: *"Either you have the good sense to accept the Agrarian Revision Bill . . . or the agrarian revolution, of which there are already trial balloons in our country, will come."*

He went on: *"When they tell you that family and property are correlated terms [precisely one of the thesis strongly defended by AR-QC] and deduce from that argument in favor of your properties, think also of the very many families without property."*

This sybilline sentence insinuates a false alternative: that one either rises to the condition of landowner or one is doomed to marginalization and misery. Apparently, its author forgot that according to Catholic doctrine the salary system is in conformance with morality and law when the salary is a just, minimum family salary, that is, one that satisfies the necessities of a frugal worker and those of his family. And he also forgot that there are *very many* families that, while not exercising the right of property *over the land*, nevertheless enjoy the right to *their own*

Bishops warmly praise socialist agrarian revision. . .

. . . make a veiled threat to rural landowners . . .

. . . and indirectly "condemn" AR-QC



■ *In a sensational TV program, CNBB Secretary-General Bishop Helder Camara, and six more prelates announce the statement of the Episcopate of Sao Paulo in which Agrarian Reform - A Question of Conscience was indirectly "condemned."*



salaries, acquiring therein sufficient means for a decent existence. Many times they even acquire the means to build up a family patrimony that enables them to become landowners themselves.

As the program drew to an end, five bishops of the Episcopate of Sao Paulo and the Archbishop of Vitoria briefly expressed their opinions. All were in favor of the Agrarian Revision bill.

At that juncture, the bishops' statement amounted to an effort to strengthen the socialistic Agrarian Revision of the Sao Paulo State government by means of an ostentatious display of ecclesiastical support. It was also an indirect but clear condemnation of a book authored by two Catholic Bishops and two Catholic laymen.

Although this action of the Bishops was unprecedented in Brazil, it fell far short of making the impression on the public desired by its promoters. On the contrary, their statement was very ill-received by public opinion in general and *Agrarian Reform — A Question of Conscience* continued, unscathed, its already brilliant course.

* * *

*A correction to
be made for His-
tory's sake*

Bishop Camara had affirmed, during the interview, that he spoke "*with the express authorization of all the Archbishops and Bishops of Sao Paulo.*" This affirmation should be rectified, since it does not correspond precisely to the facts. For History's sake, it should be pointed out that Msgr. Henrique Gelain, at that time Bishop of Lins (SP) was not present at the meeting of the Episcopate of Sao Paulo and that there is no record of his having supported its conclusions. Furthermore, Msgr. José Mauricio da Rocha (the Bishop of Bragança Paulista) and Msgr. Germano

Vega Campon (the titular Bishop of Oreo, who also resided in Sao Paulo) not only did not appear at the meeting but publicly supported AR-QC.

* * *

The fact that the Episcopate of Sao Paulo took a stand in favor of Agrarian Revision caused great perplexity in many people. What position should a simple layman take when the shepherds disagree with one another?

*Bishops' dissen-
sion perplexes
faithful*

To resolve such perplexities, Fr. J. Bloes Netto, the Secretary of the Bishopric of Campos, published a communique in the local paper(4) entitled, *Clarification*. This document reviewed the teachings of Sacred Theology on the Magisterium of the Bishops. Although every Bishop speaks on his own authority, conferred on him by Christ himself — “*He who hears you, hears Me.*” (Luke 10,16) — his teaching does not have the privilege of infallibility that assists the Sovereign Pontiff. Therefore, when doctrinal differences arise among Bishops, the faithful must seek to know the Pontifical teaching in order to follow it. In short, they must follow the example of Saint Paul, who after years of apostolate went to Jerusalem to check his gospel with that of Peter.

*Secretary of the
Bishopric of
Campos issues
communique*

The communique of the Secretary of the Bishopric of Campos was also published by other newspapers around the country (5) and was included as an appendix in the third edition of AR-QC. Thus it was widely circulated in rural areas to the great re-

(4) *Monitor Campista*, Campos (RJ) 12-20-1960.

(5) *O Jornal*, Rio de Janeiro, 12-29-60, *Diario de S. Paulo*, 12-30-60.



lief of those who could not understand the position adopted by the Episcopate of Sao Paulo in favor of a frankly socialist land reform.



Shortly after the Episcopate of Sao Paulo "condemns" AR-QC, the Holy See makes one of its authors Archbishop of Diamantina

On December 31, 1960 (50 days after the publication of *Agrarian Reform – A Question of Conscience* and 25 days after its indirect "condemnation" by the Episcopate of Sao Paulo), the promotion of Msgr. Geraldo de Proença Sigaud from the Bishopric of Jacarezinho to the Archbishopric of Diamantina was announced. This promotion appeared to everyone to be a sign of the Holy See's personal confidence in that Prelate, reflecting favorably on the book which he co-authored.



6. *Some Singular Combats in the Great Battle of Agrireformism*

A. *Writer Gustavo Corcao Attacks*

Not a single important article appeared in the press opposing AR—QC thesis for thesis and argument for argument with the straightforwardness and vigor proper to an upright intellectual battle. Instead, brief notes loaded with personal invectives or gratuitous imputations sprang up here and there. Since they were completely lacking in substance, they were not worthy of — and in fact not even susceptible to — any reply.

In an attempt to create conditions for a high level debate, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira wrote an article in the *Diario de S. Paulo* (Jan. 11, 1961) entitled, "Jules Verne, Homer, and Agrireformism." In it, he invited those who opposed AR—QC to change the tone of their attacks by making them less personal and giving them more intellectual content.

Meanwhile, rumors were circulating that Mr. Gustavo Corção was preparing a series of "smashing" articles against AR—QC. Mr. Corção was an outstanding journalist and a lucid and efficient polemicist. Being endowed with a solid intelligence and good culture, he would undoubtedly raise the debate to the level hoped for.

Attacks on AR—QC: merely personal invectives or gratuitous imputations

Gustavo Corção promises "smashing" articles



Gustavo Corção
enters the arena

Finally a series of three articles came out in *O Estado de S. Paulo* (Jan. 22 and 29 and Feb. 5). In spite of the author's cultural talents, however, they were another set of disappointments for those following the polemics over *AR-QC*.

A first disappointment was the aggressive note of the attack. One would have hoped that such a tone would not be present in Mr. Corção's articles or that they would at least mirror something of his talent by being concise, brilliant, and penetrating. Instead they were dull, wordy and heavily insulting, without really making any breach in the opposing position.

AR-QC, the
book that Mr.
Corção did not
read

Most disappointing of all, however, was the fact that one could perceive at first glance the fiery critic had failed to read *AR-QC* seriously.

Answering Mr. Corção in the name of the book's authors, Prof. Plínio Corrêa de Oliveira remarked: "*It pains me to have to affirm this publicly about an intellectual with whom I have often disagreed. He does not merit the intemperate fury with which he treated us but a real consideration. Indeed, what could be less fitting for a critic than to make accusations, above all violent ones, against a book without even taking the trouble of first reading it attentively?*" (6)

Mr. Corção had not gauged the violence of his words: "*I disagree with the book totally and overall, precisely to say [sic] that I repudiate it as a whole, and not that I impugn one or another of its propositions. . . It is not, as I see it, a work having this or that shortcoming, with these or those accidental errors, but rather a massively erroneous work, false as a whole, in its spirit, in the mentality that it expresses, and with which diverse affirmations were*

(6) *Catolicismo*, No. 124, April 1961.

put together, some true, some holy, in an ensemble that appears monstrous to me" (article no. 1). On reading the work, he adds, his "first impulse was to go into the streets with hastily painted posters as on the day of the invasion of Hungary" (article no. 3). So, the occupation of the land of Saint Stephen by the hordes of atheistic Communism did not irritate the vigorous polemicist more than the publication of *AR-QC*.

A book as odious as the invasion of Hungary?

These samples of the impassioned and aggressive character of his attack show well the temperamental state in which his articles were written. Because of this, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira observes in his answer, "the immediate impulses of the well-known journalist to go shouting through the streets" were "such that he did not even have enough calm and time left to read the work. He just leafed through it. This is the shocking fact that an analysis of the three articles makes clear" (7).

A passionate and temperamental attack

Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira answered with three articles in the daily press entitled: "What a Distinguished Critic Did Not Read in *Agrarian Reform — A Question of Conscience*;" "*Agrarian Reform — A Question of Conscience*: A Serene Answer to the Comments of an Indignant Critic," and "*Agrarian Reform — A Question of Conscience*, a Book That Mr. G. Corção Does Not Know" (8).

Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira responds with a series of three articles

Mr. Corção made no rejoinder.

(7) *Catolicismo*, no. 124, April 1961.

(8) *O Jornal*, Rio de Janeiro, March 17, 18 and 19, 1961; *Diário de S. Paulo*, March 18, 21 and 23, 1961; *Correio de Ceará*, Fortaleza, 3-27-61; *Diário do Paraná*, Curitiba, May 10, 11, 12, 14, 17, 18, 19, and 23, 1961; *Diário de Notícias*, Porto Alegre, May 11, 19, and 26, 1961; *Folha de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, June 21, 23, 27 and 28, and July 1,

B. The Polemics with Msgr. Fernando Gomes, Archbishop of Goiânia

*The Archbishop
of Goiânia makes
a new onslaught
against AR-QC*

*Bishop Mayer
answers*

While the waves were still being felt from the attacks and counterattacks described above, Msgr. Fernando Gomes, Archbishop of Goiânia, attacked AR-QC in an article published in the *Review of the Archdiocese* (February 1961). Bishop Antonio de Castro Mayer took charge of answering the Goiâni-an Prelate in the pages of *Catolicismo* (9). Shortly thereafter, Archbishop Gomes attempted to make a rejoinder in the *Review of the Archdiocese* (August 1961). But *Catolicismo* showed in December of 1961 (no. 132) that his rejoinder failed to destroy the solid arguments of the Bishop of Campos. Archbishop Gomes did not take up the matter again (9).



2 and 7, 1961; *Catolicismo* published the first article under the title "Agrarian Reform - A Question of Conscience - A Book as Odious as the Invasion of Hungary?" (no. 124, April 1961) and the second, together with the third, under the title "Agrarian Reform - A Question of Conscience, The Book That Mr. Corção Did Not Read" (no. 125, May 1961).

(9) *Catolicismo*, no. 126, June 1961

C. *The Statement of Cardinal Motta, Archbishop of Sao Paulo*

Cardinal Motta, at that time Archbishop of Sao Paulo, also made a pronouncement against the book in a statement to the progressive French magazine *Informations Catholiques Internationales* (no. 158, 12-15-61).

Cardinal Motta's statement about AR-QC

The Prelate affirmed that "*The Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops of Brazil*" were agreed "*on the timeliness and the urgency of an agrarian reform worthy of the name,*" in spite of "*the dissonant opinion of two bishops who co-authored a widely circulated book which is, rather, favorable to the status quo.*"

The Brazilian press published these declarations a month later.

In response, the communique, "*The Book Agrarian Reform - A Question of Conscience and the Brazilian Episcopate,*" was published in the newspapers in March, 1962. In it, Bishop Antonio de Castro Mayer and Archbishop Geraldo de Proenca Sigaud demonstrated, with ample documentation, that among the 187 bishops in Brazil at that time only 49 had made declarations which differed, in some cases more clearly, in other cases less clearly, with the theses of *AR-QC*. They brought to the attention of public opinion that the remaining two Brazilian Cardinals, those of Rio de Janeiro and Salvador, had not made pronouncements on the matter. Furthermore, they pointed out that the book advocated a wholesome agrarian reform so

Bishop Mayer and Archbishop Sigaud reply: "The Book, Agrarian Reform - A Question of Conscience and the Bishops of Brazil"

that one could not affirm that it was purely and simply "favorable to the status quo" (10).

Cardinal Motta did not answer this communique.

* * *

Le Monde's
testimony

As the repercussions of the debate vibrated in public opinion, Paris' *Le Monde* (November 16, 1961) observed that *Agrarian Reform — A Question of Conscience* was achieving "a great success in Brazil and stirring up numerous debates between specialists and members of the clergy."

There was indeed a clash of opinions inside the Church, something common and even banal today, but unheard of in those days still impregnated with the order and peace of previous eras.

7. *Wanted: An Economist in Favor of Land Reform*

Nobody dared
to debate the
agrarian ques-
tion on econom-
ic grounds

While the doctrinal part of *AR—QC* provoked, if not refutations, at least contestations — however empty and intemperate they may have been — the portion of the book devoted to the economic aspects of the question sailed along in clear skies. Nobody dared to touch the economic question.

(10) The full text of the document was published in *Catolicismo*, no. 136, April 1962; *A Estrela Polar*, Diamantina, March 18 and 25, 1962; *Bulletin of the Clergy*, Campos, March 1962; *Monitor Campista*, Campos, 4-6-62; *O Estado de S. Paulo* 4-10-62; *O Globo*, Rio de Janeiro, 4-10-62; *Diário de S. Paulo*, 4-10-62; *O Jornal*, Rio de Janeiro, 4-10-62; *O Norte Fluminense*, Bom Jesus do Itabapoana, 5-20-62; *O Estado*, Florianópolis, June 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 26 and 27, 1962.

This question was, however, an essential part of the agrarian question.

Indeed, since in thesis the legitimacy of land expropriations for a just and grave cause (a legitimacy that is founded in the common good) cannot be denied, the problem becomes a practical rather than a doctrinal one. What has to be proved is that the expropriation is necessary. In the concrete case of agrarian reform, this proof must be made above all from an economic standpoint.

The proponents of agrarian reform had this clear duty, but they faced a special difficulty in discharging it. The book AR—QC showed that the expropriations inherent to every confiscatory agrarian reform were not only unnecessary but that they would also be counterproductive from the economic point of view. Therefore, the advocates of agrarian reform would have to disprove the economic analysis made in AR—QC if they wanted to demonstrate their position was true. Now it was precisely this that no one ventured to do.

It was advisable to make this serious gap in the agrireformist offensive clear to the public. For this purpose, Engineer Plinio Vidigal Xavier da Silveira, one of the directors of the TFP, wrote a biting article for the daily press challenging the partisans of the reform to enter the fray. It was entitled, "*Wanted: An Economist in Favor of Agrarian Reform.*"

The article stated, among other things:

"On the doctrinal plane, AR—QC has found opponents. . .

"On the plane — extremely base, unfortunately — of verbal calumnies, malicious hearsay, and sophisms the book has had plenty of opponents. But their lack of arguments and seriousness has been such as to make them unworthy of commentaries.

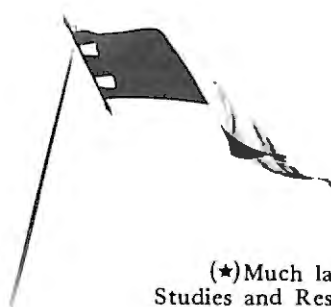
"On the economic plane. . .there has been only

*A challenge to
economists . . .*

silence. The book shows that there are no economic data proving that agrarian reform is necessary. Go and look, dig out, at least invent data that show its necessity. You technicians and economists of agrireformism, speak out! The cause of socialist and anti-Christian land reform is calling you!" (11).

... falls on deaf ears

This appeal, like so many others, fell on deaf ears. The economists fomenting land reform kept silent (★).



(★) Much later, in 1964, the IPES (Institute for Social Studies and Research) published the book *Agrarian Reform: Problems—Grounds—Solutions*, which was intended to be a scientific justification for agrarian reform. In articles published in *Catolicismo* (no. 162, June 1964), the economists Luiz Mendonça de Freitas and Antonio Delfim Netto (later a Cabinet Minister) demonstrated that the book was no more than "a superficial and trivial analysis of the nation's agrarian problem that gets lost in an orgy of charts and tables which remain virginally aloof from all analysis." These last words are from the article, "A Cabalistic Formula at the Service of Agrireformism," by Delfim Netto, the future Cabinet Minister. The article by the economist Luiz Mendonça de Freitas was entitled, "A Beautifully Bound Agrireformist Book."

(11) Cf. *Agrarian Reform - A Question of Conscience*, Vera Cruz Publishers, Sao Paulo, fourth edition, 1962, pages 493-496; *Folha de S. Paulo*, 8-6-61; *O Jornal, Rio de Janeiro*, 9-24-61.



8. *The Agrireformist Polemics Spills Over Into Other Fields*

It was only natural for the controversy around land reform, which involved several doctrinal points, to spill over into other fields, as in fact it did.

A case in point was the debate on Sao Paulo's Tupi TV in the program *The Grand Jury* (10-24-61) between Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira and Mr. Paulo de Tarso Santos (mayor of Brasilia under the Janio Quadros Administration and, at the time of the debate, a Christian Democrat Congressman). At issue was the position of the Church regarding capitalism and socialism.

The public had rather confused notions about the matter. The televised debate helped to make things clear. The Christian Democrat Congressman maintained that socialism is compatible with the doctrine of the Church and that capitalism is condemned by it. Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira demonstrated that the truth is quite the contrary: He showed that the Church does not condemn capitalism in itself but only in its abuses, but that it does indeed condemn socialism in itself and even in its mitigated forms. Furthermore, according to Pius XI, the expression *Christian socialism* is a contradiction in terms: "No one can be a good Catholic and at the same time call himself a true socialist" (12).

During the debate, the Christian Democrat

*A momentous
debate on Tupi
TV: Plinio Cor-
rêa de Oliveira
vs. Paulo de
Tarso*

*Capitalism vs.
Socialism: Where
does the Church
stand?*

(12) Encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*, May 15, 1931, apud Actes de S.S. Pie XI, Bonne Presse, Paris, tome VII, p. 156.

A very revealing debate

Congressman, adroitly led on by Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, manifested convictions of his that clearly clashed with Catholic doctrine, convictions that were until that moment still unknown to the public.

The population of Sao Paulo was greatly impressed upon seeing the ideological tendencies of "Catholic leftism" exposed in their true colors (13).

9. AR—QC Reaches Rural Grassroots — 27,000 Farmers and Ranchers Reject "Cubanization" of Our Countryside

The first promotional caravans set out: the book is spread through the Brazilian hinterland

While these polemics were taking place in the media, members of the TFP and others of the *Catolicismo* Group, most of whom had joined only recently, assumed the responsibility of promoting *Agrarian Reform—A Question of Conscience*. They traveled through many different states, visited county fairs and contacted thousands of farmers and ranchers. Thus, they extended the influence of the best seller all over Brazil's hinterland, reaching its vast rural milieu right down to the grassroots. Their dynamic and courteous public action in the cities helped to undo the widespread myth that the youth as a whole had joined the ranks of subversion.

The deep penetration of *AR-QC* and the action of the promoters of *Catolicismo* helped greatly to strengthen the farmers' determination not to give in to the threats of the land reformists. From then on, the reaction of the rural classes gained in strength and organization, and began to spread.

(13) *Catolicismo*, no. 132, December 1961.

In July 1961, cattlemen in Bagé (State of Rio Grande do Sul) decided to promote a petition to the nation's Congress. The petition rejected the confiscatory and socialist land reform and affirmed the country people's firm support of the theses defended in AR-QC.

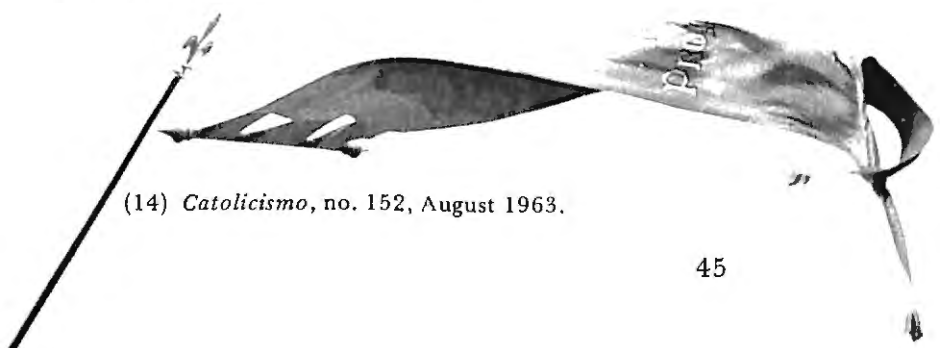
Later, with the help of members of the *Catolicismo* Group, this petition spread all over the country. Equipped with a jeep pulling a trailer full of promotional material, they traveled from one end of Brazil to the other. Ultimately, they collected the impressive total of 27,000 signatures from farmers and ranchers, who were joined by mayors and city councilmen. It should be pointed out that many of those who signed the document did so as representatives of rural associations.

On July 18, 1963, three of the authors of the book — Bishop Antonio de Castro Mayer, Archbishop Geraldo de Proença Sigaud, and Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira — went to Brasilia to present the petition to the members of Congress. In the House, Congressman Ranieri Mazzilli, the Speaker, received the visitors. Shortly afterwards, Senator Nogueira da Gama, the President of the Senate, received them and introduced them at the tribune of honor on the Senate floor. The President of the High Chamber then delivered a speech emphasizing the public stature of the three authors of AR-QC who were there present (14).

27,000 farmers
reject agrisocial-
ism and support
AR-QC

Authors of AR
-QC deliver pe-
tition in Brasilia

(14) *Catolicismo*, no. 152, August 1963.



10. *The Political Crisis of September, 1961: The Goulart Era Begins*

The September crisis: Janio resigns, the Goulart era begins

In September, 1961 a political convulsion shook the country from top to bottom. The crisis flared up with the sudden resignation of President Janio Quadros. After various incidents, the abnormal situation — which caught Vice-President Joao Goulart in the middle of a visit to communist China — ended with his accession to the Presidency.

Thenceforth, leftist sectors had a free hand to plunge the country into further convulsions. This was done by means of strikes and unrest in political, student, and union circles. Such agitation was supported, and sometimes instigated, by activists of the "Catholic left."

Working in unison with the communists, these activists created a psychological climate favorable to the development of subversion. They did this by making their agitations echo as much as possible in the universities, in the media and in every ambience where they had influence or access.

* * *

Alarming news in the State of Rio de Janeiro: The police were to close their

The climate of the new era beginning in Brazil was revealed in October when the press reported that the Governor of the State of Rio had decided the police were to ignore the illegal invasions of lands already being carried out by rebel squatters.

The news was especially perplexing to many rural landowners who found themselves faced with the possibility of having to protect their properties with their own hands in legitimate self-defense.

Accordingly, Msgr. Antonio de Castro Mayer, the Bishop of Campos, wrote to Governor Celso Peçanha pointing out that this decision, if it had indeed been made, would place the landowners in an emergency situation. In such circumstances, they would have the legitimate right to offer armed resistance to the invasions of their properties. This in turn would lead the State of Rio into a regime of private wars and vendettas favorable to the maneuvers of Communism.

In a kind letter to Bishop Mayer, the Governor assured him that the Attorney General had express orders to protect the right of private property and was keeping an eye on the actions of armed individuals against rural properties. With the acquiescence of the Governor, the Bishop of Campos published on December 13, 1961, a communique entitled "The Church and the Invasion of Lands in the State of Rio," which contained his exchange of correspondence with the Governor. Thus, the illustrious Prelate strove to undo the harm that the circulation of the report mentioned above was causing (15).

eyes to squatter invasions

Bishop Mayer to the Governor: Such a decision will force people to take the law in their own hands

The Governor offers guarantees

(15) The whole communique was published in *Catolicismo*, no. 134, February 1962, and in *Correio do Povo*, Porto Alegre, 1-31-62. Summaries were published in *Alvorada*, Sete Lagoas (MG), 3-4-62; *Tribuna do Ceará*, Fortaleza, 3-7-62; *Folha do Povo*, Campos (RJ), 3-9-62; *Jornal do Comércio*, Rio de Janeiro, 3-9-62; *Voz do Povo*, Olimpia (SP), 3-10-62; *Friburgo Jornal*, Nova Friburgo (RJ), 3-10-62; *O Lábaro*, Taubaté (SP), 3-11-62; *O Operário*, Sao Paulo, March 11 to 17, 1962; *Guia Serrano*, Lages (SC), 3-17-62; *O Taquaryense*, Taquari (RS), 3-17-62; *Folha de Jacarezinho*,

11. Authors of AR—QC to Jango: “Private Property Is A Sacred Right”

The attempts to undermine the institution of private property were becoming more and more intense. Indeed, the Government itself showed that it was earnestly committed to them.

On May 13, 1962, speaking in Santos, President Joao Goulart called for an amendment of article 141, § 16, of the Constitution in force at that time. He asked that the amendment be such as to make possible the expropriation of lands at prices less than their fair market value to be paid with public bonds redeemable only after many years.

On June 9, the authors of AR-QC, having weighed the grave dangers posed by such a reform, published an open letter to the President in the main newspapers of the country. This open letter was entitled “Agrarian Reform and the Sacred Character of the Right of Property.” The document warned Joao Goulart of the damages which such an amendment could entail for Brazil and of its dire moral and economic consequences (16).

Jacarezinho (PR) 3-18-62; *Diario do Paraná*, Curitiba, 3-21-62; *O Democrata*, Jaboticabal (SP), 4-21-62; *Cidade de Barretos* (SP), 4-29-62; *O Ideal*, Crato (CE), 5-10-62; *Mensageiro do Coração de Jesus*, June 1962; *O Imparcial*, Araraquara (SP) 8-2-62.

(16) The full text of the document was published in *Catolicismo*, no. 139, July 1962; *Diário do Comércio*,

12. *The Government Insists on the Constitutional Amendment; the Authors of AR—QC Protest*

President Goulart, counting on the support of Bishop Helder Câmara (at that time Secretary-General of the CNBB) and on that of the "Catholic leftist" current of Catholic Action and the Christian Democratic Party, thought he could safely venture onto the risky path of reforms. Early in 1963, he announced that he would present to the Congress — against the will of the whole nation — a bill amending article 141, § 16, as well as article 147 of the Federal Constitution. These amendments were the starting point of the "basic reforms" he had in mind.

Therefore, on March 21, 1963, the authors of AR-QC sent the President a categorical telegram affirming that those articles of the Constitution contained "*basic principles of Christian doctrine and*

Joao Goulart sets out on a risky road

A categorical telegram to President Goulart

Niteroi, 6-14-62; *O Globo*, Rio de Janeiro, 6-15-62; *O Estado de S. Paulo*, 6-16-62; *Jornal do Comércio*, Rio de Janeiro, 6-17-62; *Jornal do Dia*, Porto Alegre, 6-26-62; *O Pao de Santo Antonio*, Curvelo (MG), 7-1-62; *Folha de S. Paulo*, 7-15-62; *Correio do Ceará*, Fortaleza, 9-22-62; Summaries were published in *Correio Brasiliense*, Brasilia, 6-21-62; *Unitário*, Fortaleza, 6-24-62; *O Dia*, Sao Paulo, 7-3-62; *A Gazeta*, Sao Paulo, 7-14-62; *Diário da Noite*, Sao Paulo, 7-26-62; *Diário de S. Paulo*, 7-22-62. The document was transcribed in the Congressional Record at the request of Congressman Medeiros Neto (cf. *Diário do Congresso Nacional*, 8-10-62).

civilization that no human power may licitly revoke" (17).

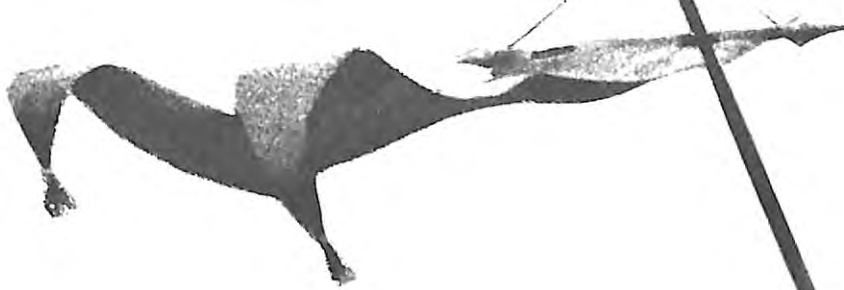
Bishop Câmara and the CNBB come out in favor of Jango's reforms

The Central Commission of the CNBB, powerfully influenced by Bishop Câmara, hastened to the support of the government's leftist initiative. Early in May 1963, it issued a communique affirming the legitimacy of expropriations made by the government to be paid partially or even totally with federal bonds redeemable in twenty years.

This move of the Central Commission of CNBB understandably caused perplexity and uneasiness in very large sectors of Brazilian opinion. It also caused rejoicing in land-reformist circles in Congress and in the "Catholic left." In an impassioned speech a Christian Democrat Congressman went so far as to affirm that "*the least that should be demanded of those against agrarian reform, when they oppose payment with public bonds — which is the only way to do it — the least that should be demanded of them is that they refrain from citing Catholic social doctrine. Let them give their own*

A Christian Democrat speaks against AR-QC

(17) The whole telegram was published in *Catolicismo*, no. 149, May 1963; *Correio da Manhã*, Rio Janeiro, 3-27-63; *A Gazeta Esportiva*, Sao Paulo, March 27 and 31, 1963; *O Globo*, Rio de Janeiro, 3-28-63; *Diário Popular*, Sao Paulo, 3-28-63; *Folha de Brasília*, 3-28-63; *Folha de S. Paulo*, 3-29-63; *Unitário*, Fortaleza, 3-30-63; *Estado de Minas*, 3-31-63; *O Nordeste*, Fortaleza, 4-2-63; *Diário do Comércio & Indústria*, Sao Paulo, 4-2-63; *Correio do Povo*, Porto Alegre, 4-3-63; *Gazeta Mercantil*, Sao Paulo, 4-3-63; *Folha do Comércio*, Campos (RJ), 4-5-63; *A Notícia*, Campos (RJ), 4-5-63; *A Tarde*, Salvador, 4-5-63; *O Taquaryense*, Taquari (RS), 4-6-63; *Semana Católica*, Salvador, 4-7-63; *O Pao de Santo Antonio*, Curvelo (MG), 4-14-63; *O Dia*, Rio de Janeiro, 4-16-63; *Correio da Serra*, Barbacena (MG), 4-20-63; *Diário de Sorocaba*, Sorocaba (SP), 4-20-63; *Correio do Sul*, Irati (PR), 4-21-63; *A Cruz*, Rio de Janeiro, 4-21-63; *Diário de Notícias*, Rio de Janeiro, 4-21-63; *O Norte Fluminense*, Bom



opinions, but let them not involve the Church in their erroneous vision of agrarian reality in our country. Anything beyond this is sophistry" (18).

On May 9, 1963, Bishops Antonio de Castro Mayer and Geraldo de Proença Sigaud, in the face of the declarations from CNBB and "leftist Catholic" laymen so opposed to Catholic doctrine and so closely aimed at them, published a communique. It was entitled "Doctrinal Clarifications on Constitutional Reform and the 'Basic Reforms.'" The two Prelates reaffirmed the positions they had previously taken, showing how they were founded on Catholic doctrine. They stressed that the declaration of the Central Commission of the CNBB — according to Divine Law and Canon Law — was neither

Doctrinal clarifications to dispel unfounded attacks

Jesus do Itabapoana (RJ), 4-21-63; *Correio Sul-Grandense*, Caxias do Sul (RS), 4-24-63; *Auto Paulista*, Sao Paulo, April 1963. — Summaries were published in *Tribuna da Imprensa*, Rio de Janeiro, 3-29-63; *Jornal do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, 3-29-63; *O Jornal*, Rio de Janeiro, 3-29-63; *Jornal do Comércio*, Rio de Janeiro, 3-30-63; *Gazeta do Povo*, Curitiba, 3-31-63; *O Estado do Paraná*, Curitiba, 4-21-63; *Mensageiro do Coração de Jesus*, Rio de Janeiro, June 1963; State Assemblyman Carlos Megale read the summary from *O Jornal* of Rio de Janeiro on the floor so that it would be recorded in the minutes of the State Assembly of Minas Gerais (*cf. Diário da Assembléia*, Belo Horizonte, 4-25-63).

(18) *O Estado de S. Paulo*, 5-3-63.

a definitive pronouncement of the Church nor was it binding on the Bishops, Clergy, and faithful of Brazil (19).

13. *A New Threat: The Alternate Bill of Afranio Lages*

The Alternate bill by Afranio Lages: "Give in some in order not to lose all"

The approval of the Constitutional Amendment desired by President Joao Goulart was seriously hampered by the public rejection it received all over the country.

Nevertheless, the agrisocialists did not desist from imposing a land reform law on the country. This time they resorted to more subtle methods in order to win its approval by the legislature. For this purpose, they began to harp on old theme: *make some concessions in order not to lose everything*. It was as if they had said: *The Government is advocating a radical land reform. Let us strike a "terrible blow"*

(19) The entire communique was published in *Catolicismo*, no. 150, June 1963; *O Estado de S. Paulo*, 5-12-63; *Jornal do Comércio*, Rio de Janeiro, 5-15-63; *O Globo*, Rio de Janeiro, 5-16-63; *Jornal do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, 5-16-63; *Correio da Manhã*, Rio de Janeiro, 5-16-63; *O Jornal*, Rio de Janeiro, 5-16-63; *Diário de Notícias*, Rio de Janeiro, 5-16-63; *Ultima Hora*, Sao Paulo, 5-16-63; *Unitário*, Fortaleza, 5-17-63; *A Cidade*, Ribeirao Preto, 5-17-63; *Correio do Ceará*, Fortaleza, 5-18-63; *Diário de Pernambuco*, Recife, 5-19-63; *Estado de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, 5-19-63; *O Estado do Paraná*, Curitiba, 5-19-63; *Diário de Notícias*, Salvador, 5-19-63; *Correio Brasiliense*, Brasília, 5-21-63; *Gazeta do Povo*, Curitiba, 5-22-63. — Summaries were published in *A Gazeta*, Sao Paulo, May 22 and 23, 1963; *Diário da Tarde*, Curitiba, 5-24-63; *O Operário*, Sao Paulo, 7-27-63. — The communique was published in the Congressional Record at the request of Congressman Carvalho Sobrinho (cf. *Diário do Congresso Nacional*, 5-17-63).

against it by making a "moderate" reform. We must give in a little in order not to lose everything.

This was the spirit of the bill prepared by Congressman Milton Campos, one of the most outstanding figures in the House, and of the alternate bill by Congressman Afrânio Lages, which was presented immediately afterwards. The text of the proposed legislation which at that moment began to come under discussion, included measures that would seriously mutilate the right of property in the countryside and bring about a real agrarian totalitarianism. In July 1963, the press reported that its approval was imminent.

The authors of AR-QC rose up in opposition to it. On July 19 of that year they published the manifesto "Brazilian Agriculture on the Brink of a Socialist Debacle — An Appeal to the National Congress." The document showed that the alternate bill of Afrânio Lages would mutilate the right of property in rural areas by investing the Executive with powers to carry out the "*distribution and redistribution of lands according to norms based on programs studied region by region*" (article 2, letter "a" of the alternate bill). At the same time, the alternate bill would place the rural population under the tutelage of the State through an immense bureaucratic machine, the SUPRA (Superintendence of Agrarian Policy). Brazilian agriculture would thus be immolated as a holocaust to socialist statism.

"Obviously" — the authors of AR-QC stated — "*the day that this project is approved the office of President of Brazil will inevitably become institutionalized as that of Dictator of Brazil by virtue of the reform whose approval is being sought . . .*"

"*It is supremely paradoxical that the opposition parties themselves have joined together in order to place such an amount of power in the hands of*

On the brink of a socialist debacle: an appeal to the nation's Congress

the Head of State, imagining that in this manner they are striking a monumental political blow against Dr. Joao Goulart! How curious Brazilian politics are . . . ”

The manifesto was published in the press and distributed to the members of Congress (20). Afrânio Lages' alternate bill was approved in the Senate but defeated in the House.

14. On the Way From Catholic Action to Communism

*JEC and JUC
arise as the
driving forces of
leftism in stu-
dent circles*

While these events were already engaging outstanding personalities in the highest civil and ecclesiastical spheres of the nation, a vigorous leftist agitation was working intensely in student circles. Two movements that were a part of Catholic Action played a key role in this leftist agitation among students. These two movements were known as JEC (Catholic Student Youth) and JUC (Catholic University Youth). They emerged as the most active promoters of leftism in student milieus.

JUC was already quite well-known in 1960, both inside and outside university ambiances. Along with JEC, it exercised an important influence on student organizations.

*In the UNE
elections: a scandalous
alliance
between Jucists
and communists*

In 1961, JUC member Aldo Arantes took over the presidency of UNE (National Union of Students), the country's most important organization of university students. This was accomplished by

(20) The whole text of the document was published in *Catolicismo*, no. 152, August 1963; *Diário de S. Paulo*, 7-21-63; and *O Globo*, Rio de Janeiro, 7-26-63.

means of a scandalous alliance between JUC members and communists.

Thus Jucists and communists collaborated in perfect harmony. It was the "policy of the extended hand" applied in the student sphere.

Shortly afterwards, the newspaper *Ação Popular* (*People's Action*) appeared in Belo Horizonte, giving rise to a movement with the same name. In the movement's leadership were well-known JUC militants as well as Fr. Francisco Lage, notorious leader of teachers' and students' strikes in the Jango era (*).

*People's Action:
going all the way*

People's Action was an advance column of JUC, from which it finally separated to take an extremely leftist position to the point of declaring itself Maoist and favorable to Fidel Castro. At that point, several Bishops charged by the CNBB with certain regional responsibilities deemed it opportune to advise Jucists not to participate in that movement . . . unless they joined it "with the intention of substantially changing *People's Action* toward a really Christian line"! (21)

The route followed by the members of Catholic Action, who allowed themselves thus to be carried over to Communism, was not surprising. Back in the 40's, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, in the book *In Defense of Catholic Action*, had already denounced such latent tendencies in that organization of the lay apostolate. The author had written, then, that one

*Just what In De-
fense of Catho-
lic Action had
foreseen*

(*) Jango: Sobriquet of Joao Goulart.

(21) Cf. Cunha Alvarenga, "Catholic Elites Promote Sensuality, Class Warfare, and Social Subversion," *Catolicismo*, no. 171, March 1965; "People's Action and Catholic Action," (*Catolicismo's* reply to a letter from His Excellency the Archbishop of Porto Alegre), *Catolicismo*, no. 175, July 1965; also cf. Aloizio Barbosa Torres Pereira, "People's Action, A Deplorable Chapter in the History of Catholic Brazil," *Catolicismo*, no. 183, March 1966.

was "faced with an idea on the march, or rather, a current of men on the march after an idea, growing more and more rooted in this idea, and becoming more and more intoxicated with its spirit" (op. cit., page 338) (★).

The essential condition for success of the whole process was to cover up its ultimate goal. The wordy and sybilline leftist founders of JUC cleverly avoided presenting their whole doctrine and their ultimate goals. They said very briefly that they were partisans of a non-communist and non-capitalist "third position." What did this third position consist of? Enigma! Promoting it, however, most of the time consisted of setting in motion a process to intoxicate student ambiances with Marxist principles.

University students from Catholicism organize wholesome reaction within student circles

University students from the *Catholicism* Group earnestly committed themselves to the task of unmasking that maneuver. In April 1961, they published a manifesto repudiating the action of communist-progressivist nuclei in several universities in Brazil. Their manifesto — which included an act of solidarity with the anticommunist heroes that fought the Cuban regime — was signed by 1,200 university students in Sao Paulo and 470 in Curitiba.

(★) Herbert José de Souza, one of the founders of People's Action and coordinator of its National Secretariat, stated: "Some of us began our apprenticeship in the student movement as members of Catholic Action. In the beginning it was a JEC filled with animation by enthusiastic young participants. It was the germ of a . . . revolution in the historic and social plain, a germ that did not die in JEC but which for many bore fruit only in JUC" (*Cristianismo, Hoje*, University Edition, 1962, apud Eustaquio Gallejones, S.J. *Acao Popular — Socialismo Brasileiro*, Centro de Informaçao Universitária, Rio de Janeiro, 1965, p. 8).

15. Catholic University Students Interpellate JUC: What Is This "Third Position" of Yours?

In June of 1962, in the pages of *O Sao Paulo* (which had replaced *Legionário* as the semi-official paper of the Archdiocese of Sao Paulo), JUC leaders published a manifesto reaffirming their ambiguous third position, which was "neither capitalist nor Marxist" (22).

The occasion was right for a call requesting clarification. In July 1962, six hundred Catholic university students of Belo Horizonte interpellated JUC requesting that it explain that mysterious "third position." The interpellation, promoted by university students of the *Catolicismo* Group in Belo Horizonte, received the support of students from all over the country.

The message was published in several state capitals with great repercussion. But in spite of the great publicity it received, JUC preferred to take refuge in an uncomfortable silence, so certain it was that it would be worse for it to try to explain the inexplicable (23).

600 university
students inter-
pellate JUC:
"clarify your
third position"

(22) *O Sao Paulo*, 6-10-62.

(23) The full text of the interpellation was published in *Catolicismo*, no 140, August 1962; *Estado de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, 7-6-62; *O Estado de S. Paulo*, 7-12-62; *Jornal Universitário*, Rio de Janeiro, 7-15-62; *O Diário*, Santos (SP) 7-15-62; *O Pao de Santo Antonio*, Curvelo (MG),

16. The "Anti-Strike Committee" of 1962 Deflates the UNE Myth in Belo Horizonte

A new Jucist-Communist alliance: the "Big Group"

Meanwhile, the Jucists and the communists made once again a shameful alliance for the purpose of selecting the new president of the National Union of Students (UNE). Their coalition was called the "Big Group." JUC militant Vinicius Caldeira Brandt was elected president in July 1962.

Strikes break out; the universities are paralyzed

In the first semester of 1962, under the presidency of Aldo Arantes, UNE had already promoted a tumultuous general strike in the universities all over the country. Accordingly, the examinations were postponed until August when the July vacation would be over. But UNE, now under the presidency of V. Caldeira Brandt, demanded that no one appear for the exams and incited the students to stir up riots. In addition, UNE encouraged them to demand student participation in the running of the universities and to insist that there be one

7-22-62. -- Summaries were published in *Diário de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, 7-6-62; *Folha de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, 7-6-62; *Diário de S. Paulo*, 7-12-62; *Ultima Hora*, Sao Paulo, 7-12-62; *O Dia*, Sao Paulo, 7-13-62; *Jornal do Comércio*, July 14 and 15, 1962; *Tribuna da Imprensa*, Rio de Janeiro, 7-14-62; *A Tribuna*, Santos, 7-14-62; *Correio da Manhã*, Rio de Janeiro, 7-15-62; *O Jornal*, Rio de Janeiro, 7-15-62; *Diario Carioca*, Rio de Janeiro, July 15 and 16, 1962; *O Globo*, Rio de Janeiro, 7-16-62; *Jornal de Campinas*, Campinas (SP) 7-17-62.

student for every two professors on the boards of directors.

Students from Belo Horizonte's *Catolicismo* Group with their colleagues set up an "Anti-strike Committee" to frustrate this maneuver of UNE and its lieutenants and to thwart their subversive strike movement in that State capital.

*The Antistrike
Committee*



Beginning on August 1, the anti-strike students showed up for their tests. Overcoming the barrier of boos, mockeries, insults, and attempted assaults coming from UNE pickets, they managed to enter their respective colleges and to take their scheduled tests.

This went on for a few days. Other students, encouraged by the example of the *Catolicismo* Group, also went to take their tests. As the number of students breaking the strike grew day by day, the movement began to lose momentum. Finally, on August 9, the UNE announced the suspension of the strike. UNE leaders alleged that the suspension was necessary in order to maintain the unity of

*Unintimidated
by boos and
threats, Catolicismo
students
break UNE's
subversive strike*

*The strike is
halted; the UNE
myth is deflated*

the movement, which they said was "under divisionist pressure" (24). The UNE myth had been deflated (25).

* * *

Student resistance to leftism grows: The Ten Anticommunist Affirmations

When student unrest in the country ended, the *Catolicismo* students at Largo de S. Francisco Law School in Sao Paulo issued the manifesto "Ten Anticommunist Affirmations." In it they proclaimed their doctrinal position concerning the recent developments and other issues shaking Brazil in those days. As the manifesto was spread in that famous Law School, resistance to leftism became increasingly solidified in student circles.

17. An Interpellation Addressed to Prof. Franco Montoro

A year later, an interview given by Prof. André Franco Montoro, a Christian Democrat Congressman, rekindled the debates about JUC's nebulous "third position."

On July 4, 1963, stating his position on the book *Agrarian Reform - A Question of Conscience*, the Christian Democrat leader took the same stand that JUC defended in Sao Paulo: "I am against the capitalist structure. I do not accept the communist solution. I fight for a Christian Democrat Brazil."

(24) *Diário da Tarde*, Belo Horizonte, 8-9-62.

(25) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no. 148, April 1962.

In response, students from the *Catolicismo* Group in Belo Horizonte, future members or collaborators of the TFP, interpellated Professor Montoro. They asked him to do what the Sao Paulo JUC had refused to do, that is, to clarify his "third position." The interpellation was signed by 7,400 university students in Belo Horizonte, Sao Paulo, Curitiba, Rio de Janeiro, Fortaleza, and Porto Alegre (26).

The Christian Democrat Congressman's answer in the papers was vague. On November 26, 1963, *Catolicismo* students in the Law School of the University of Sao Paulo published a document (27) signed by 100 of their fellow students asking Prof. Montoro to skip the evasive answers and go right to the core of the matter. This time, Congressman Montoro preferred to keep silent.

Once and for all, what is this "third position"? Catholic students ask Congressman Montoro

(26) The full text of the interpellation was published in *Catolicismo*, no. 154, October 1963; *Estado de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, 9-15-63 and 11-7-63; *Diário de S. Paulo*, 9-23-63; *A Gazeta*, Sao Paulo, 10-3-63; *A Noticia*, Campos, 10-14-63; *Diario do Paraná*, Curitiba, 11-15-63; *Gazeta de Noticias*, Fortaleza, 11-17-63; *O Povo*, Fortaleza, 11-17-63. Summaries were published in *O Estado de S. Paulo*, 9-15-63; *Diário de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, 9-15-63; *Diário da Noite*, Sao Paulo, 9-18-63; *Diário de S. Paulo*, 9-18-63; *O Globo*, Rio de Janeiro, 10-4-63; *O Jornal*, Rio de Janeiro, 10-4-63; *Correio do Paraná*, Curitiba, 10-18-63; *Diário de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, 11-8-63.

(27) The entire document was published in *Catolicismo*, no. 157, January 1964 and *O Estado de S. Paulo*, 11-29-63. — Summaries were published in *Diário de S. Paulo*, 11-26-63; *Estado de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, 12-1-63; *O Jornal*, Rio de Janeiro, 12-1-63; *Jornal do Dia*, Porto Alegre, 12-1-63; *Diário do Paraná*, Curitiba, 12-3-63; *Diário da Tarde*, Florianópolis, 12-3-63; *Gazeta do Povo*, Curitiba, 12-4-63; *O Estado*, Florianópolis, 12-13-63; *A Gazeta*, Florianópolis, 12-20-63.

18. Promoting Three Outstanding Works – the *Catolicismo* Group Inaugurates Its System of Direct Sales to the Public

During this period, the action of the TFP members and of others in the *Catolicismo* Group was not restricted to campaigning against confiscatory and socialist land reform and to the doctrinal decontamination of student circles. Another kind of action had already begun. This form of action, which later would become characteristic of the TFP, was the direct sale of books and other publications to passers-by in public places.

Bishop Mayer's Pastoral Letter on the Communist Sect

Archbishop Sigaud also wrote a Pastoral Letter against Communism

The development of this mode of action was greatly encouraged by the publication of three important works. On May 13, 1961, Bishop Antonio de Castro Mayer brought out his incisive *Pastoral Letter Warning the People of the Diocese Against the Snares of the Communist Sect* (*). And on January 6, 1962, Archbishop Geraldo de Proença Sigaud opportunely published *Pastoral Letter on the Communist Sect, Its Errors, Its Revolutionary Action, and the Duties of Catholics in the Present Hour* (**).

(*) First published in *Catolicismo*, no. 127, July 1961, it later went through three editions as a book for a total of 11,500 copies. It was translated into Italian and published in two editions totalling 8,000 copies by Cristianita Publishers of Piacenza, Italy.

(**) First published in *Catolicismo*, no. 135, March 1962. Later the Vera Cruz Publishers published two editions of the work totalling 13,000 copies.

In addition, Archbishop Sigaud condensed the doctrine in his Pastoral Letter into simple questions and answers easily understood by the general public, thereby creating his substantial *Anticommunist Catechism* (*).

The *Catolicismo* Group disseminated these outstanding documents by the system of direct sale to the public described above. This promotion, which was made in all the cities where the group had members, began in 1962 and continued until the end of 1963. It was influential in bringing about the great upsurge of anticommunist feeling in the public that ultimately changed the course of events in the country.

Archbishop Sigaud's Anticommunist Catechism

The Catolicismo Group takes up the promotion of these works

19. The CUTAL Congress

And so we come to the threshold of 1964. During the three months preceding the fall of Joao Goulart, Brazil was simmering as a result of the growing number of strikes and agitations promoted by the left in every field. But the number of anticommunist counter-demonstrations was also growing. Within this context of demonstrations and counter-demonstrations, an anticommunist crystallization of public opinion was beginning to take shape.

Subversion simmers throughout the country

(*) First published in *Catolicismo*, no. 140, August 1962, the *Anticommunist Catechism* was a great success. It went through five editions totalling 110,000 copies.

■ *TFP delegation on its way to Brasilia to deliver petition against holding of CUTAL Congress.*





■ A TFP delegation made up of university students from the State of Minas Gerais, walking towards the Presidential Palace in Brasilia. There they delivered a petition containing 30,000 signatures against the holding of the CUTAL Congress.

A clearly communist gathering: CUTAL Congress scheduled to take place in Belo Horizonte

A clearly communist-oriented congress – The Congress of CUTAL (Exclusive Latin American Central Workers Union) – had been set for January 24-28, 1964.

The choice of Belo Horizonte, the capital of the State of Minas Gerais, as a site for this Marxist show provoked a strong reaction among the people there.

30,000 signatures in two days

The anticommunist demonstrations of protest against the CUTAL Congress culminated with a campaign promoted by university students in the city, some of whom already were or soon would be TFP members. Beginning January 23, 30,000 signatures were collected in only two days on a document opposing the holding of this congress, whether it be in Belo Horizonte or “anywhere in Brazil.”

The Congress site is transferred

Since the climate in Belo Horizonte would not permit the holding of the Congress there, it was transferred to Brasilia. Accordingly, the students promoting the campaign organized a caravan to the nation’s capital on January 25. The President being absent, they delivered the petition to his official representative, who promised to forward it to Mr. Joao Goulart’s personal secretary.

Signatures collected in Rio and Curitiba as well

Meanwhile the petition spread to Rio de Janeiro and Curitiba, where 32,000 more signatures were collected.

Repudiated by the whole nation, the communist congress was finally held in Brasilia's Hotel Nacional in an atmosphere of great isolation (28).

20. *The "Basic Reforms": New Clashes and Yet Another Unanswered Interpellation*

During these days, anticommunist feeling was running high in Minas Gerais. Nevertheless, Leonel Brizola, ex-governor of Rio Grande do Sul, and some Jangoist Congressmen, including two Christian Democrats (Paulo de Tarso and Plinio de Arruda Sampaio) chose this ill-timed moment to hold a public session in Belo Horizonte to propagandize the Jangoist "basic reforms." One of these, incidentally, was agrarian reform.

On February 25, the day set for the meeting, an event occurred that will forever be recorded in the history of Brazil: the popular discontent that initiative provoked in one of the most conservative states in the country overflowed into heated demonstrations. At the hour of the meeting, the auditorium was already filled. . . with a large crowd opposed to the "basic reforms." Women praying their rosaries had even taken over the speaker's table. The speakers departed.

Brizola tries to push the "Basic Reforms" in Belo Horizonte

The people of Minas Gerais stop the meetings

* * *

The next day, February 26, Catholic Action of Belo Horizonte issued an extensive pronouncement.

(28) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no. 159, March 1964



■ 209,000 Brazilians interpellate Catholic Action of Belo Horizonte regarding its strange affirmations about the "basic reforms."

Catholic Action cries the blues over Brizola; says there is no question of conscience

The Archbishop's "greenlight"

ment on the events of the previous day. This document was published by the press on February 29 and distributed as a flyer on March 1. In it, Catholic Action cried the blues over the fiasco of Brizola and the Christian Democrats, and bitterly criticized the courageous attitude that the people had taken on the 25th. Sticking its neck out even further, Catholic Action affirmed in the document that Catholics, as Catholics, had no reason to oppose the "basic reforms." And finally, laying all of its cards on the table, Catholic Action declared that it actually desired such reforms. It thus roundly denied the question of conscience raised by the book *AR-QC*.

The climate of confusion was aggravated even more because the Catholic Action communique bore the approval of the local Archbishop on the top of the page: "*I gladly authorize this publication, 2-28-64 - signed † Joao, Archbishop-Coadjutor*" (*).

That was a bombshell in the Catholic capital of Minas Gerais.

* * *

Yes, indeed, it was a smoke bomb that threw the people into profound perplexity.

(*) The document with the placet of Msgr. Joao Rezende Costa, at that time Archbishop-Coadjutor (later the titular Archbishop) of Belo Horizonte, was published in *O Diário* of that city on 2-29-64.

The way to dispel this confusion was to interpellate Catholic Action. A commission of Catholics from Minas Gerais took the initiative. With the support of the TFP, a petition was circulated in Belo Horizonte asking Catholic Action to clearly define its ideological position and show what basis it had for making the strange affirmation that no question of conscience was involved in accepting the "basic reforms" (29).

The TFP extended the campaign to several cities in other states and the collection of signatures ended in April with a grand total of 209,000.

As for Catholic Action, it has kept, ever since, a most constrained and uninterrupted silence.

*Interpellating
Catholic Action*

*209,000 Brazilians
proclaim:
the "basic reforms"
are a question of
conscience indeed*



21. On the Eve of the 1964 Revolution, The Question of Conscience

In this way, the dramatic controversy over the "basic reforms" was reaching its apex. At the very

(29) The entire text was published in *Catolicismo*, no.

*The decisive days
draw closer: at
the heart of the
controversies,
the question of
conscience*

center of the controversy, the *question of conscience* stood out more and more clearly, three years after it was pointed out in *AR-QC* as the most sensitive point of the whole issue.

Little by little, all of these doctrinal battles — added to other initiatives coming from different sectors of society committed to the anticommunist struggle — generated a growing rejection of leftism in broad sectors of the country's public opinion. This rejection finally took the form of an immense wave of indignation rising from the most wholesome sectors of the country against the crypto-communist policies of the Joao Goulart Government. The ideological and psychological climate that constituted the decisive factor of the Revolution of 1964 had thus been created.



160, April 1964; *Estado de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, 3-7-64; *Correio de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, 3-7-64; *O Globo*, Rio de Janeiro, 3-9-64; *O Estado de S. Paulo*, 3-10-64; *Diário de Notícias*, Rio de Janeiro, 3-10-64; *O Jornal*, Rio de Janeiro, 3-10-64; *Diário Popular*, Sao Paulo, 3-10-64; *Diário de S. Paulo*, 3-13-64; *Gazeta Mercantil*, Sao Paulo, 3-13-64;

■ *Family Marches with God for Freedom: the TFP enthusiastically participated in these victorious demonstrations of patriotic inconformity.*



On March 19, the great and memorable *Family Marches with God for Freedom* began attracting immense multitudes into the streets. The members and collaborators of the TFP participated enthusiastically. They rejoiced at having made a singular contribution to the creation of the ideological and psychological climate that was finally expressed in such demonstrations of patriotic inconformity. The sentiments of the Brazilian people were made so clear by the succession of these marches that no one could hold back the course of events any longer.

In his last televised speech, the day before his fall, an exasperated Goulart bitterly vituperated those fighting against his "Catholic leftist" allies and the "basic reforms":

"This reactionary minority's veto of my government...grew stronger when I affirmed that the Basic Reforms are an imperative of the hour in which we live..."

"They went as far as to accuse not only the President of the country, but also the very Cardinal of Sao Paulo, of being anti-Catholic. At an hour

Joao Goulart's last speech

Semana Católica, Salvador, 3-15-64; Monitor Campista, Campos (RJ) 3-15-64; A Gazeta, Florianópolis, 3-15-64;

when the Social Encyclicals of John XXIII still resound, too great is the audacity of these adventurers in daring to speak in the name of the Church. It is not for me, however, to combat this usurpation, for the Catholic Action of Minas and Sao Paulo have already taken that initiative" (30).

It was too late. One day later, Brazil removed the pro-communist President from the nation's highest post (*).

Diário da Tarde, Florianópolis, 3-16-64; *Democracia Crista*, Sao Paulo, 3-27-64. — Summaries were published in: *Diário da Tarde*, Belo Horizonte, 3-7-64; *Jornal do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, 3-8-64; *A Gazeta Esportiva*, Sao Paulo, 3-8-64; *Diário de S. Paulo*, March 11 and 25, 1964; *Gazeta Mercantil*, Sao Paulo, 3-11-64; *Tribuna da Imprensa*, Rio de Janeiro, 3-13-64; *O Debate*, Santo Angelo (RS) 3-29-64; *O Estado*, Florianópolis, 3-31-64; *Folha de S. Paulo*, 4-14-64; *Diário de Sorocaba*, Sorocaba (SP), 4-15-64.

(30) *O Globo*, 3-31-64.

(*) On the Jangoist era and the TFP's action during that period, see also Plínio Corrêa de Oliveira's, *The Church in the Face of the Rise of the Communist Threat — An Appeal to the Silent Bishops*, Vera Cruz Publishers, Sao Paulo, 4th edition, pp. 53 to 62.



Chapter II
1964 - 1970



*Brazilian Public Opinion
Relaxes, Thinking
the Communist Danger
Is Gone Forever;
The TFP Grows
and Becomes a
Leading School of Thought
in the Nation*





■ *September 12, 1968: Gala session closing the TFP petition campaign asking Paul VI for measures against leftist infiltration in Catholic circles. The petition was signed by 1,600,368 Brazilians.*

1. Land Reformers at it Again

Right after the 1964 Revolution, Brazilian attitudes changed. Although this change was understandable, it still caused concern in the TFP.

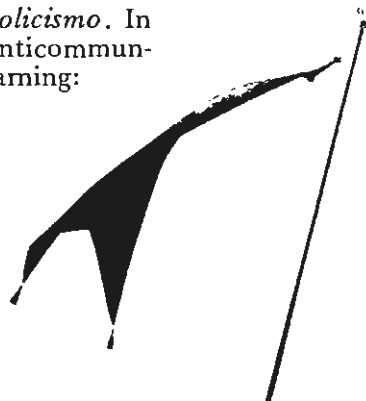
The people, who had been under great tension until the Revolution, now felt a profound relief. They quickly and happily shook off the tension of the fight. Each one went back to his own activities to enjoy the tranquillity that had returned, and almost nobody worried about the possibility of new crises occurring.

In many centrist circles, the illusion was established that the communist danger would never come back. But that illusion created just the right conditions for it to enter the stage again.

Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira tried to shake this lethargy through the pages of *Catolicismo*. In the very article in which he praised the anticommunist Revolution of 1964, one reads this warning:

After the March 31 Revolution, a psychological change

"The communist danger will never return"



*A cry of alert
amid general
unconcern*

"It seems to us that the measures that have been taken are not enough. The nation has to be vigilant with the people whose support of leftism had worried it in the days of Jango."

Subsequently, in a clear reference to highly placed churchmen involved with subversion, the article emphasizes: *"There are figures — and not merely those in civil life, it should be noted — who in the minds of Brazilians are like the ghosts of bygone days. It seems to us neither prudent nor useful to put them once again in the center of events, nor to keep them there"* (1). It is necessary to keep them in a prudent political quarantine (★).

* * *

The call for vigilance did not elicit the response the circumstances demanded.

*Comeback of
the left . . .*

The result was that the left reorganized in a few days after March 31. Then, presumably taking advantage of the unwariness of Congressmen generally regarded as moderates, the leftists managed to have the House approve a very statist land reform bill. The new law, approved in April 1964, seriously mutilated the right of property.

for a new defeat

The authors of AR—QC moved swiftly. In a short while they prepared the study, "The Aniz Badraiva Luz Land Reform: Jangoism Without Jango."

(1) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no 161, May 1964.

(★) Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira extensively analyzes the communist counterattack after the '64 Revolution, its goals and the psychological climate that it exploited in *The Church in the Face of the Rise of the Communist Threat — An Appeal to the Silent Bishops*, Vera Cruz Publishers, Sao Paulo, 4th edition, 1977, pp. 62 to 68.

In it they affirmed that the approval of the new law would amount to a victory of Jangoism right after Jango himself had been overthrown. The study, with a cover letter, was hand-delivered to every Senator and Congressman. It received widespread publicity in the press (2). The proposal, which had already been approved in the House on April 7, was stopped in the Senate.

2. *Agricultural Policy, Yes; Confiscation, No*

The advocates of land reform still insisted that the only solution for Brazilian agriculture was a compulsory redistribution of the land and the elimination of large and medium-sized properties.

For the problems of the countryside, the TFP wanted a thoroughgoing solution that would not disfigure the existing rural structure. It considered a reform of this structure unnecessary, inopportune, and unjust.

In October 1964, the TFP began distributing the *Declaration of Morro Alto* (Vera Cruz Publish-

A positive program for agriculture: The Declaration of Morro Alto

(2) The entire document was published in *Diário de S. Paulo*, 4-8-64, and in the *Estado de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, 4-11-64. Summaries were published in *Catolicismo*, no. 161, May 1964; *O Globo*, Rio de Janeiro, 4-8-64; *Jornal do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, 4-8-64; *A Gazeta Esportiva*, São Paulo, 4-8-64; *Folha de S. Paulo*, 4-9-64; *Diário de Notícias*, Rio de Janeiro, 4-9-64; *Correio de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, 4-11-64; *Diário de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, 4-12-64; *A Gazeta*, Florianópolis, 4-25-64; *Estado de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, 4-26-64; *Diário de Sorocaba*, (SP) 4-26-64; *Tablóide de Nova Paulista*, Olímpia (SP), 5-1-64; *Voz do Povo*, Olímpia (SP), 5-2-64.

ers, Sao Paulo, 1964, 32 pages) throughout Brazil. The book was prepared with the assistance of respected farmers and agricultural experts. In it the authors of AR—QC presented a positive program of agricultural policy designed to protect and stimulate production, thus benefitting landowners, farmworkers, and the nation as a whole. The book's two editions totalled 22,500 copies.

3. *The TFP and the Land Statute*

TFP takes a stand on new bill

Toward the end of 1964, there was a great apathy in public opinion and, surprisingly enough, even in rural circles. In that atmosphere, the Congress hastily approved, after only 22 days of debate, two measures: (1) Constitutional Amendment no. 10 and (2) the Land Statute.

Before the two measures had been approved, the authors of AR—QC sent all the Congressmen and Senators a document entitled "Consequences of Constitutional Amendment no. 5/64 and the Proposed Land Statute on the Right of Ownership and Free Enterprise." The document, dated November



■ *The declaration of Morro Alto, which the TFP began distributing in October 1964, presents a positive program of agricultural policy designed to thoroughly resolve the problems of the countryside without, however, disfiguring the existing rural structure.*

4, 1964, analyzed the strongly confiscatory and socialist features of the proposed Constitutional Amendment and the proposed Statute (3).

On December 24, the TFP recorded for History its consternation at the promulgation of the two laws in its "Manifesto to the Brazilian People on Land Reform." It was a frank and courteous position paper in which the TFP pointed out that "By approving the Constitutional Amendment and the Land Statute, the representatives of the currents that overthrew Jango carried out the reform that he wanted." The manifesto was published in the country's main newspapers (4).

*Land Reform:
A Manifesto to
the Brazilian
people*

(3) The entire text was published in *Catolicismo*, no 168, December 1964. Summaries were published in *Diário de Notícias*, Rio de Janeiro, 11-15-64; *Diário de S. Paulo*, Nov. 15, 19, 1964; *Diário Popular*, Sao Paulo, 11-16-64; *O Globo*, Rio de Janeiro, 11-17-64; *Folha de S. Paulo*, 11-17-64; *Estado de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, 11-17-64; *A Gazeta*, Florianópolis, 11-18-64; *Diário do Paraná*, Curitiba, 11-19-64; *O Estado do Paraná*, Curitiba, 11-22-64; *Diário Popular*, Curitiba, Nov. 24, 28, 30, 1964; *Liberal*, Santa Vitoria do Palmar (RS), 11-28-64; *Unitário*, Fortaleza, 11-29-64. Interviews of Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira on the topic were published in *A Nação*, Blumenau (SC), 11-19-64; *Jornal do Comércio*, Rio de Janeiro, 11-22-64; *A Cidade*, Campos (RJ), 11-22-64.

(4) The full text of the document was published in *Catolicismo*, no. 169, January 1965; *Diário de Notícias*, Rio de Janeiro, 12-25-64; *Diário de S. Paulo*, 12-27-64; *O Estado de S. Paulo*, 12-30-64; *Diário do Rio Doce*, Governador Valadares (MG), 12-30-64; *O Globo*, Rio de Janeiro, 1-5-65; *Diário de Notícias*, Porto Alegre, Jan. 8, 9, 10, 1965; *Estado de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, Jan. 10, 12, 1965; *O Diário*, Ribeirão Preto, 1-10-65; *A Nação*, Blumenau (SC), Jan. 14, 15, 16, 17, 1965; *Jornal da Manhã*, Ponta Grossa (PR), Jan. 16, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 1965; *Diário da Região*, Sao José

Only the common sense shown by the Federal Government kept these laws from having catastrophic effects. Supported by a public opinion strongly opposed to the confiscation of land, the Government has not put the laws into practice except in a token fashion.

4. The TFP Is Organized; It Expresses Deep Rooted Sentiments of the People

While the struggle against land reform was proceeding, the TFP was being organized. Beginning in the second half of 1963, the TFP assumed the activities which until then had been carried out by Prof. Plínio Corrêa de Oliveira in his own name (and

do Rio Preto (SP), 1-17-65; *A Notícia*, São José do Rio Preto (SP), 1-17-65; *O Comércio*, Amparo (SP), 1-17-65; *Correio do Ceará*, Fortaleza, 1-18-65; *A Notícia*, Campos (RJ), 1-20-65; *Voz do Povo*, Olímpia (SP), 1-23-65; *Gazeta de Notícias*, Fortaleza, 1-24-65; *A Tribuna*, Blumenau (SC), Jan. 25 and Feb. 1, 8, 15, 22-65 and March 1, 8, 1965; *O Estado do Paraná*, Curitiba, 1-31-65; *Folha do Comércio*, Campos (RJ), 2-20-65; *O Pao de Santo Antonio*, Curvelo (MG), 2-21-65 and 3-17-65. Summaries were published in *A Gazeta Esportiva*, São Paulo, 12-27-64; *Diário Popular*, São Paulo, 12-28-64; *Estado de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, 12-31-64; *O Dia*, São Paulo, 12-31-64; *Unitário*, Fortaleza, 1-10-65; *A Gazeta*, Florianópolis, 1-11-65; *Diário de Notícias*, Salvador, 1-17-65; *Tribuna do Ceará*, Fortaleza, 1-19-65; *Gazeta Comercial*, Juiz de Fora (MG), 2-9-65; *Diário Mercantil*, Juiz de Fora (MG), 2-10-65; *Cidade de Barretos*, Barretos (SP), 3-18-65.

at his own expense) and by the group he had gathered around *Catholicismo*. Some members of this group became officers and members of the board of directors of the TFP, while others participated in the Society's campaigns and activities as collaborators having no juridical links to it.

It had been a long journey from the little group that had first gathered around *Legionário* in the

early 30's to the Brazilian Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property. Through a natural process of growth and development, the Society finally arose in the public view as the expression of Tradition, Family and Property. Through a natural process of growth and development, the Society son, the Society would, with the passage of time, increasingly reveal itself to be one of the leading currents of thought in the ideological panorama of the nation.

With the Pyrrhic victory of the advocates of land reform, the controversy had come to a dead end. New fields of action opened up for the TFP, giving it the opportunity to manifest its thinking on important current issues in Brazil and the world.

5. *Is Agreement With the Communist Regime the Hope of the Church or Its Self-Destruction?*

*Contradiction in
the Council*

The Second Session of Vatican Council II, which had been opened on October 11, 1962 by John XXIII, was now coming to an end. During the proceedings, the Council officially declared itself to be pastoral, not dogmatic. The meaning of this declaration was that the Council had not been convened to define truths of the Faith but to find practical solutions to the great questions afflicting the Church. Nevertheless, the paramount problem for the Church, Communism, thus far had not even been raised. It was even rumored that all reference to the topic had been prohibited to fulfill a condition imposed by the Soviet government for the participation of Russian schismatic churchmen as observers at the Council.

The problem could not, however, be ignored. Communism is, par excellence, the enemy that the Church has to face on both sides of the Iron Curtain. It is the most radical adversary in the doctrinal sphere, the best organized and most efficient one from a tactical point of view, and the most universal enemy that the Church has had to face in her 2,000 years of history.



Nevertheless, after waging a long and atrocious persecution, the communists realized that they had to dampen Catholic opposition. This was necessary not only to expand their dominion over the rest of the world but also to consolidate the regimes that they had already imposed.

The carrot and the stick

On April 17, 1936, French communist leader Maurice Thorez made a first offer of collaboration to Catholics in a famous speech on Radio Paris. In his speech, he inaugurated the "*politique de la main tendue*," that is, the "*policy of the extended hand*" to Catholics.

A first try: the "policy of the extended hand"

In his celebrated allocution *Siamo ancora*, of May 12, 1936, Pius XI reacted strongly by alerting the faithful to the fallacy of this maneuver. A year later, he devoted a whole Encyclical to the matter. In this Encyclical of March 19, 1937, entitled *Divini Redemptoris*, he categorically affirmed: "*Again, without receding an inch from their subversive principles, they [the communist leaders] invite Catholics to collaborate with them in the realm of so-called humanitarianism and charity; and at times even make proposals that are in perfect harmony with the Christian spirit and the doctrine of the Church. Elsewhere they carry their hypocrisy so far as to encourage the belief that Communism, in countries where faith and culture are more strongly entrenched, will assume another and much milder form. It will not interfere with the practice of religion. It will respect liberty of conscience. There are some even who refer to certain changes recently introduced into Soviet legislation as proof that Communism is about to abandon its program of war against God.*

The Church says no: Pius XI publishes Divini Redemptoris

"See to it, Venerable Brethren, that the Faithful do not allow themselves to be deceived! Communism is intrinsically evil, and no one who would

save Christian civilization may collaborate with it in any undertaking whatsoever. Those who permit themselves to be deceived into lending their aid towards the triumph of Communism in their own country will be the first to fall victims of their error" (5).

In progressivist circles, rapprochement with the left goes on undercover

Pius XI's strong measures helped restrain the incipient communist infiltration in Catholic circles to a large degree. It now had to continue undercover, incubated in the progressive groups that were stealthily gaining ground.

With Yalta, the problem rises again; Pius XII condemns collaborationists

In the collaborationist climate created by the Yalta Conference at the end of World War II, the problem flares up again even more virulently. In 1949, Pius XII approved the famous decree of the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office blasting once again all collaboration with communists under pain of excommunication.

Pius XII dies; John XXIII is elected

In 1958, Pius XII dies, and John XXIII is elected. By this time, the progressivist crisis was already working in the depths of the Church. It managed to weaken the certainty, in innumerable Catholics, that the Catholic Religion and Communism are fundamentally incompatible.

On the eve of Vatican II, a new ploy: peaceful coexistence

Just prior to the Second Vatican Council, the leaders in the communist-dominated countries began very discreetly to encourage hopes that religious persecution would be softened if Catholics stopped fighting the regime.

The first symptoms of this thaw immediately attracted the attention of Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira. He discussed the question with some Prelates in Rome during the First Session of the Council. They agreed that it was not licit for Catholics to

(5) Paulist Press, Glen Rock, N.J.

stop combating the socio-economic regime of Communism in exchange for a promise of a certain freedom of worship. But the Prelates thought this would be rather difficult to demonstrate.

This gave rise to the essay, *The Freedom of the Church in the Communist State* (6). In his simple and elegant style, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira described the problem very clearly and demonstrated irrefutably that Catholics must reject any agreement with the communists entailing a renunciation of the defense of the 7th and 10th Commandments. These Commandments are the foundation of private property and are diametrically opposed to communist collectivism. Catholics cannot abandon the principles embodied in these two Commandments of the Law of God even under the threat of renewed persecution or a world war with a thermonuclear hecatomb.

The essay was immediately translated into English, Spanish, French, and Italian and distribu-

A cry of alert: Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira publishes The Freedom of the Church in the Communist State

Catholics must reject any agreement with the communists

(6) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no. 152, August 1963.

■ During the Council, the Baron of Montagnac, an outstanding figure in Italian Catholic circles, invited a group of distinguished ecclesiastical and lay personalities to Rome's historic Ranieri Restaurant. Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira (second from the right) was invited to sit in the place of honor. At center photo is Msgr Gregorios Thangalathil, Archbishop of Trivandrum, India, a Prelate of the Malabar Catholic rite.



The book is distributed to 2,200 Fathers of the Council

... and to 450 journalists from all over the world

In the Council: 213 Bishops call for the condemnation of Communism.

ted to the 2,200 Fathers of the Council in Rome. The distribution was carried out by the special TFP Secretariat established in Rome on the occasion of the Council (7).

The document was also distributed to the 450 journalists from all over the world who were covering the Council. It is quite possible that this distribution contributed to the impact that the *Freedom of the Church in the Communist State* had later behind the iron curtain, as we shall see subsequently (*).

On January 4, 1964, *Il Tempo*, Rome's largest daily, published Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira's whole essay. It thus raised, in the very heart of Christendom, the problem that the Council apparently did not want to consider.

* * *

The distribution of Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira's essay was related to initiatives of Bishop Mayer and Archbishop Sigaud which also touched on the problem of Communism.

On December 3, 1963, Bishop Antonio de Castro Mayer delivered to the Vatican Secretary of State a petition signed by 213 Fathers of the Council from 54 countries. It called for the Council to condemn Marxism, socialism, and Communism in their philosophical, sociological, and economic aspects. It also asked the Council to warn Catholics against the men-

(7) Cf. *Catolicismo*, No. 157, January 1964.

(*) The TFP Secretariat in Rome distributed an enlarged edition of the book during the Third Session of the Council.

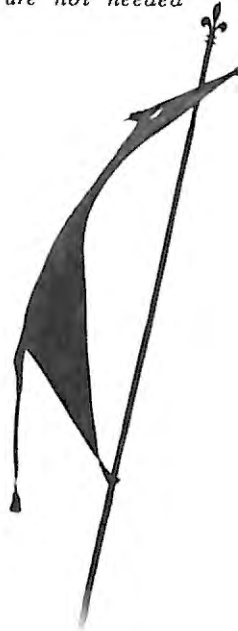
tality that was preparing people to accept these false systems.

Archbishop Geraldo de Proença Sigaud personally handed Paul VI another petition on February 3, 1964. This petition, which carried the signatures of 510 Prelates from 78 countries, urged the Pope to heed the appeal of Our Lady of Fatima. It is well known that the Most Holy Virgin appeared at Fatima, Portugal, in 1917 to three little shepherds and warned them of the punishment that would come to the world if men did not convert. The instrument of this chastisement — according to Our Lady's words — was going to be Russia, which "*will spread its errors (Communism) all over the world.*" In spite of being the scourge with which God will punish men, Russia will finally convert. The pledge of this conversion — according to a later revelation to Sister Lucy, one of the seers of Fatima still alive today — was the consecration of Russia and the world to the Immaculate Heart of Mary to be made by the Pope in union with the Bishops of the whole world (8). The Council afforded an excellent occasion for this consecration to be made. Accordingly, the petition of the 510 Prelates referred to above was presented at a very opportune moment.

Unfortunately, it must be said that neither of the two petitions was duly heeded by Paul VI. The consecration of Russia and the world to the Immaculate Heart of Mary was not made. And the Council closed its works without using the word Communism even once in its long and numerous documents. The only exception was in a brief reference — *in a footnote* — to previous documents of the

Consecration of Russia to the Immaculate Heart of Mary: 510 Prelates beg the Pope to heed the requests of Our Lady at Fatima

The petitions are not heeded



(8) Cf. Antonio Augusto Borelli Machado, *As Aparições e a Mensagem de Fátima Conforme os Manuscritos da Irma Lucia*, Vera Cruz Publishers, Sao Paulo, 13th edition, 1979, pages 77 to 86.

Pontifical Magisterium that had condemned atheistic communism (*).

Meanwhile, *The Freedom of the Church in the Communist State* had been making its own way, and not merely in the free world. It even reached behind the Iron Curtain. The communist-“Catholic” Pax movement of Poland attacked it violently in its newspapers *Kierunki* (no. 8, 3-1-64) and *Zycie i Mysl* (no. 1-2, 1964). This gave rise to a polemics between Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira and the journalist Z. Czajkowski, a leading member of the Pax movement.

“Our argument” – “comrade” Czajkowski affirmed in one of his articles – “stirred up great interest in Poland, as is shown among other ways, by the news items and reports published about it in other Polish periodicals which, by the way, take the same stand that I have regarding your theses.”

This polemics attracted international interest, involving the well-known French Catholic paper, *L’Homme Nouveau* (5-3-64), which came out in favor of the work. The extremist French communist-progressive publication *Témoignage Chrétien* (no. 1035, 1964) and the magazine *Wież* (no. 11-12, November-December 1964) both came out in support of the Pax movement’s position.

* * *

In May 1964, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira published an enlarged edition of the work in *Catolicismo* (no. 161, May 1964). In this new edition

(*) The Pastoral Constitution *Gaudium et Spes*, in a footnote referring to the problem of atheism, cites the Encyclical *Divini Redemptoris* by Pius XI and some other documents of

he developed certain arguments more fully. This was done in response to a suggestion of many prominent figures who had read the first version of the book and had shown a lively interest in it.

While the book's tenth Brazilian edition was being prepared for publication in August 1974, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira changed its title to *Is Agreement with the Communist Regime the Hope of the Church or Its Self-Destruction?* This change was made for the sake of clarity.

The work was translated into seven languages (German, English, French, Hungarian, Spanish, Italian, and Polish). It went through 36 editions totalling 168,000 copies. In addition, the whole text of the book was reproduced in more than 30 newspapers and magazines in 13 countries. Summaries of the book as well as commentaries on it were published in innumerable publications.

* * *

A resounding approval was given to the work by an important Congregation of the Holy See. On December 2, 1964, the Sacred Congregation for Seminaries and Universities (now the Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education) sent a letter to Msgr. Antonio de Castro Mayer, the Bishop of Campos, in which it praised Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira. The letter declared the writer to be "*deservedly famous for his philosophical, historical, and sociological knowledge.*" The Sacred Congregation wished

Is Agreement
With the Com-
munist Regime
the Hope of
the Church
or Its Self-
Destruction?

*"Most faithful
echo of the Su-
preme Magiste-
rium of the
Church"*

the Pontifical Magisterium which, among other errors, condemn Communism as well. That footnote has been used as an argument to affirm that the Council did not entirely neglect the condemnation of Communism. This is not the place to go further into this matter.

“the widest circulation for this extremely meaningful booklet, which is a most faithful echo of all the Documents of the Supreme Magisterium of the Church, including the luminous Encyclicals Mater et Magistra of John XXIII and Ecclesiam Suam of Paul VI.”

The letter was signed by Cardinal Giuseppe Pizzardo, the Prefect of that Congregation, and countersigned by its Secretary, the future Cardinal Dino Staffa. It is a valuable testimony to the author's adroit judgment in demonstrating the delicate thesis expounded in his work and of the fidelity of his doctrine to Catholic orthodoxy.

6. Fighting for Free Enterprise in Urban Housing

*Socialistic rent
freeze = housing
crisis*

A socialistic and demagogic rent control law dating back to the beginning of World War II had frozen rents on urban real estate in Brazil, creating



■ The Freedom of the Church in the Communist State had an impact far beyond the borders of Brazil. The Communist -“Catholic” newspaper Kierunki published an open letter to the author attacking the book on its front page. Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira answered, and the Polish paper attacked once again (in the picture, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira holds a copy of that edition). Kierunki failed to publish the author's second rejoinder.

a grave housing crisis. As a consequence of a galloping inflation, the total rent on some buildings was not sufficient to pay their property taxes.

This absurd and unjust situation caused people to stop investing in housing to look for better markets. As a result, construction declined and the housing crisis became worse every day, especially in the large cities whose populations were growing rapidly.

The solution advocated for this crisis was to make rent controls, the very cause of the problem, even tighter.

In a message to the authorities, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira called for the Rent Control Law to be revoked. In July 1964, his study, "The Proposed Rent Control Law, or the Mutilation and Death of Private Property," was published in daily newspapers of Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo, Belo Horizonte, Fortaleza, and Goiânia (9).

In October of that same year, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira sent President Castello Branco and all of the Senators and Congressmen another document

Capital holds back; the crisis worsens

The typical socialist "solution": tighter controls

"Mutilation and Death of Private Property"

(9) The document was published in its entirety in *Folha de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, August 15, 16, 19, 20, 22, 1964; *Diário de S. Paulo*, Sept. 11, 12, 13, 1964; *Diário de Notícias*, Rio de Janeiro, 9-13-64; *Estado de Minas*, Belo Horizonte (MG) Sept. 17, 24, 25 and Oct. 3, 6, 16, 1964; *Diário do Comércio*, Belo Horizonte, (MG) Sept. 19, 20, 22, 1964; *Correio do Ceará*, Fortaleza (CE) Sept. 22, 23, 25, 30, 1964; *Folha de Goiás*, Goiânia, (GO) Oct. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 1964. A summary was published in *A Tarde*, Salvador (BA) 11-5-64. Interviews by Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira on the matter were published in *O Estado*, Florianópolis (SC), 8-11-64; *Diário do Paraná*, Curitiba (PR), 8-8-64; *Jornal do Dia*, Goiânia (GO), 8-14-64; *A Tarde*, Salvador (BA), 8-23-64; *Diário Popular*, Sao Paulo, 8-24-64; *Diário do Comércio e Indústria*, Sao Paulo, 8-26-64; *Unitário*, Fortaleza (CE), 9-6-64; *A Cidade Campos* (RJ), 9-25-64.

which he had prepared. It was entitled "Amendments and Suggestions for the Proposed Rental Law" (10).

Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira proposes decontrol

In both studies the President of the National Council of the TFP showed that in the medium and long run the rent freeze would harm both lessors and lessees. He proposed that rents be deregulated.

The advocates of socialistic rent controls reacted furiously. They predicted that decontrol would open the way for the landlords to exploit renters, that millions of people would be left without a roof over their heads, and that the urban masses would revolt.

Loosened controls benefit all

In November 1964, the bill Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira had criticized was approved in Congress with some of the changes he had suggested. In a new victory for common sense, all new urban construction, whether residential or not, was deregulated between November 1965 and October 1966.

As foreseen, capital rapidly flowed into the real estate market once again. Consequently, the index of new residential and commercial construction shot up in the urban centers of Brazil. And, in time, all social classes, including laborers, began to have a growing number of dwellings within their reach.

Accordingly, the socialist harbingers of doom faded into silence.

In spite of the fact that problems in urban housing still remain, the tranquil and sensible Brazilian people are now more conscious than ever of the advantages that they have reaped from the victorious struggle against rent controls.

(10) The full text was published in *Diário de Notícias*, Rio de Janeiro, 11-1-64. Interviews by Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira on the subject were published in *Estado de Minas*, Belo Horizonte (MG), 11-5-64; and *Diário Popular*, Curitiba (PR), 11-8-64.

7. The Graduates of '64: "No to Leftist Orators"

In October and November 1964, there was a movement to choose Mr. Tristao de Athayde (well-known leader of the "Catholic left") and Mr. Santiago Dantas (an equally notorious leftist) as orator and sponsor, respectively, of the graduating class of 1964 at the Largo de S. Francisco Law School in Sao Paulo. Similar efforts were made in other universities, where names of leftists connected with Jangoism were pushed.

The TFP members and collaborators who were graduating in the class of '64 in Sao Paulo distributed a manifesto among their classmates opposing the leftists. Tristao de Athayde and Santiago Dantas were rejected, and two distinguished professors of the Law School were chosen as orator and sponsor.

*A victory of
the TFP stu-
dents*

* * *

During their commencement ceremonies at the

■ *In 1965, the TFP takes its red standards with the golden lion into the streets for the first time: a promotional success. They distributed the third edition of The Freedom of the Church in the Communist State.*



Sao Paulo Opera House, the TFP graduates distributed a proclamation to their classmates entitled "Review and Commitment." In the document, they recalled the great moments that had occurred during their five years of polemics against leftism in scholastic life. At the same time, they made a commitment to continue defending the basic values of Christian Civilization in the new stage of life which they were entering.

8. Something New in the Heart of Sao Paulo: The Standards of the TFP

In its first street campaigns, the TFP used the methods commonly employed by anyone seeking to attract the attention of the public: megaphones, posters, slogans, etc.

From 1965 on, however, the Society brought a new resource onto the street: its red standards with the golden rampant lion and the words "Tradition, Family, Property" in golden letters.



The TFP style

The occasion for their appearance was a campaign selling *The Freedom of the Church in the Communist State* at Sao Paulo's busy *Viaduto do Chá*. The standards of the TFP waved for the first time on March 30, 1964 at the four corners of that bust-







ling artery. Thenceforth, they would always be the characteristic mark of the public action of the Society. Today, there is practically no corner in Brazil where that symbol of the TFP is unknown. Wherever it appears, it immediately indicates to every good Brazilian a legal and courteous action in the realm of ideas to defend some principle of Christian Civilization threatened by Communism, progressivism, or some other enemy of Brazil.

9. "Dialogue, Dialogue, Dialogue": A Magic Lullaby for the Masses

*Dialogue, a new
artifice of com-
munist psycho-
logical warfare*

The Second Vatican Council closed on December 8, 1965. As the Council Fathers were returning to their countries, the word "dialogue" flew from mouth to mouth stirring up certain ambiances all over the world.

The word was quickly acquiring a new meaning and beginning to sparkle as something "modern" and "up-to-date." *To dialogue* was to be "with it;" to refuse *to dialogue* was backward. *Dialogue* seemed to be the magic wand for dissolving all prejudices; it was the simple and irresistible way to change everybody's convictions, even those of the communists.

*Ecumenism, co-
existence, and
peace, other ex-
amples of "mag-
ic words"*

Other words such as *ecumenism*, *peaceful coexistence*, and *peace* were likewise magnetized with the same "magic" effect.

In the ambiances being penetrated by that state of mind, one could notice a very gradual psychological demobilization in relation to Communism. This gradual demobilization predisposed people who would naturally resist the explicit preaching of com-

munist doctrine to become favorable to the doctrine and tactics of Communism, Whence the suspicion arose that the slanted use of words such as "dialogue" was part of a new tactical artifice employed by Communism in its unrelenting revolutionary psychological warfare against the West and the Church.

The new tactics main goal: demobilize in order to win over

A succinct description of the essential elements of this process should be able to transform the suspicion that many already had into a certainty, putting the incautious on guard against this subtle new communist tactic.

Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira unmasked this process in the book *Unperceived Ideological Transshipment and Dialogue*, first published in *Catolicismo* (no. 178-179, November-December 1965).

Unmasking the process

The TFP circulated the first edition of the work in book form throughout the country. Since 1966 it has gone through five editions in Portuguese, four in Spanish, one in Italian and one in German, for a total of 63,500 copies. The entire work has also been published in five periodicals in Spain, Argentina and Chile.

Editions in Brazil and abroad

* * *

Unperceived Ideological Transshipment and Dialogue also penetrated the Iron Curtain.

Profound discomfort behind the Iron Curtain

In the Polish weekly *Kierunki* (nos. 51-52 and 53, 1967), "comrade" Z. Czajkowski, the same one who had attacked *The Freedom of the Church in the Communist State*, wrote a rather singular article. He gave it the title "In the Circle of a Psychological Mystification, or Rather, the Continuation of a Polemics With Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira. In it, the "Catholic-communist" writer simply adulterated several passages of Prof. Plinio Corrêa de



Oliveira's essay in order to be able to refute them. Who was trying to mystify whom, we ask?

The fact that a leading member of *Pax*, a docile instrument of the Polish communist government, deemed it opportune to alert intellectual circles in Poland against Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira's new book is striking. Why would he do this unless he feared that *Unperceived Ideological Transshipment and Dialogue* could harm the reds right in their own domain? (11).

10. The TFP's First Campaign to Prevent the Destruction of the Family

In 1966, the TFP carried out its first great campaign to defend the family against the threat of divorce.

The question of divorce involves a grave doctrinal problem and a complex psychological one.

Matrimony is by its nature an indissoluble contract. By raising it to the dignity of a Sacrament, Our Lord Jesus Christ gave this indissolubility a supernatural foundation. Christian Civilization was born and has prospered on the basis of the indissoluble Christian family.

It is easy to see, however, that in our society, worked over by an intense neopagan fermentation, the disorderly passions have been brought to a boil by certain media, thereby making those passions

*The sacredness
of matrimony*

(11) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no. 244, April 1971.

violently tend to eliminate from our laws the venerable and austere principle of indissolubility.

Whence there have appeared, in nearly all countries, and in Brazil as well, currents favorable to divorce, in contrast to others favorable to indissolubility.

Although the intensity of the controversy between these two currents has increased or diminished depending on the circumstances, the leftists took advantage of it. Of course, it would be an exaggeration to say that every divorcist is thereby a communist. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that the subversive agitation for divorce was another element designed to bring about an upheaval in the country. After all, the left only stands to gain by the breakdown of the family.

Pro-divorce campaign beneficial to the advance of Communism

* * *

In 1966, a government proposal for a new Civil Code virtually legalizing divorce was being considered in the House. At the same time, agitation for divorce was spreading everywhere to the manifest joy of the leftists.

Divorce Bill in the House

In the media, many partisans of divorce made furious onslaughts against indissolubility. Their shifty, modern and impressive propaganda techniques sharply contrasted with the few reactions against divorce, which were usually inhibited, clumsy, and unimpressive.

Agitation in the media

■ *One million Brazilians sign TFP petition against divorce.*



*The Bishops:
mostly mute or
whispering while
pro-divorce wave
grows*



*The TFP calls
on authorities
to protect the
family*



With rare exceptions, the Bishops were disconcertingly mute. Their silence seemed to mean that the Church, discouraged by a rising tide in favor of divorce, was giving up the defense of the marriage bond.

Accordingly, Brazilians who were opposed to divorce, though they constituted a strong majority, now had the impression that the whole nation had swung around and favored divorce. Because of this, they lost their hope of victory and their will to fight.

Therefore, the thing for the TFP to do was to show this silent majority how strong they were, thereby restoring their spirits and discouraging the pro-divorce forces. It was the way to preserve Brazil's threatened family.

* * *

On June 2, 1966, the Society took to the streets not only in the main cities but in the smaller ones as well in order to collect signatures on a nationwide "Appeal to Civil and Ecclesiastical Authorities in Favor of the Brazilian Family," which was threatened by the proposed new Civil Code (12).

(12) The appeal was published in *Catolicismo*, no 187 July 1966; *Correio do Paraná*, Curitiba (PR), 6-3-66; *Diário Popular*, Sao Paulo, June 3, 13, 1966; *Diário de S. Paulo*, June 5, 8, 1966; *Diário da Noite*, Sao Paulo, 6-6-66; *Tribuna do Ceará*, Fortaleza (CE), 6-6-66; *O Popular*, Goiânia (GO) 6-7-66; *A Nação*, Florianópolis (SC), 6-7-66; *A Nação*, Blumenau (SC), 6-7-66; *A Nação*, Itajai (SC), 6-7-66; *Diário dos Campos*, Ponta Grossa (PR), 6-7-66; *Jornal da Manhã* Ponta Grossa (PR) 6-9-66; *Estado de Minas*, Belo Horizonte (MG), 6-11-66; *Jornal do Povo*, Itajai (SC), 6-11-66; *Voz do Povo*, Olímpia (SP), 6-11-66; *Liberal*, Santa Vitória do Palmar (RS), 6-11-66; *Diário de Notícias*, Rio de Janeiro, 6-12-66; *Folha de S. Paulo*, 6-12-66; *O Norte Fluminense*, Bom Jesus do Itabapoana (RJ), 6-12-66; *O Globo*, Rio de

The people against divorce, who constituted the immense majority, began to sign en masse. Lines formed in front of the tables that the TFP had set up to collect signatures.

On the eleventh day of the campaign, as the number of signatures on the Appeal reached 500,000, the President withdrew the proposed Civil Code for reexamination. Nevertheless, on that same day, Congressmen Nelson Carneiro and José Maria Ribeiro reintroduced in the House the same proposal as their own.

On June 25, the TFP responded with a manifesto that applauded the President's action, urged all Brazilians to be vigilant, and announced its campaign was continuing in view of the lingering threat. The manifesto was entitled, "The TFP and the Pro-divorce Onslaught" (13).

In June and July, along with the petition campaign, the Society organized a series of lec-

*First victory:
Proposed Civil
Code withdrawn*

*Danger persists;
campaign con-
tinues*

Janeiro, 6-13-66; *A Gazeta*, Sao Paulo, 6-13-66; *Noticias Populares*, Sao Paulo, 6-13-66; *A Tribuna*, Blumenau (SC), 6-13-66; *Diário da Regiao*, Sao José do Rio Preto (SP), 6-17-66; *Tribuna da Fronteira*, Mafra (SC), 6-18-66; *Jornal do Comércio*, Rio de Janeiro, 6-19-66; *Semana Religiosa*, Pouso Alegre (MG), 6-19-66; *Diário da Manhã*, Recife (PE) 6-20-66; *Diário do Povo*, Campinas (SP), 6-24-66; *Diário de Pernambuco*, Recife (PE), 6-26-66; *Lar Católico*, Juiz de Fora (MG), 6-26-66; *Diário de Noticias*, Salvador (BA), 6-26-66; *Lume*, Blumenau (SC), 6-29-66; *Gazeta Pebeana*, Blumenau (SC), June 1966; *A Noticia*, Joinville (SC), 7-5-66; *Folha de Londrina*, Londrina (PR), 6-7-66. Summaries were published in *Diário Mercantil*, Juiz de Fora (MG), 6-8-66; *Diário de Pernambuco*, Recife (PE), 6-12-66; *Voz do Paraná*, Curitiba (PR), 6-12-66.

(13) The document was published in *Catolicismo*,



■ *Prof. Plínio Corrêa de Oliveira expounding the topic, Family Continuity and Tradition in the Proposed Brazilian Civil Code during a series of lectures on divorce.*

Lecture series in Sao Paulo and Belo Horizonte

tures against divorce in Sao Paulo and Belo Horizonte. There were speeches by outstanding figures from the Federal Supreme Court, the Court of Justice, and the Circuit Court of Sao Paulo; the Court of Justice of Minas Gerais; by university professors of that State as well as TFP representatives (14).

* * *

The conduct of the Central Commission of the CNBB (National Conference of Bishops of Brazil) on that occasion was absolutely disconcerting.

In its communique of June 17, 1966 — in which one could scarcely find any censure of divorce —

no 187, July 1966; *Folha de S. Paulo*, 6-26-66; *Diário de Notícias*, Rio de Janeiro, 6-26-66; *A Voz do Povo*, Bom Jesus do Itabapoana (RJ), 7-2-66; *O Globo*, Rio de Janeiro, 7-5-66. Summaries were published in *A Nação*, Florianópolis (SC), 7-16-66; *O Estado*, Florianópolis (SC), 7-18-66; *Correio do Ceará*, Fortaleza (CE), 7-21-66; *Folha*, Sao Carlos (SP), 7-24-66; *Jornal do Comércio*, Recife (PE), 7-24-66; *A Notícia*, Sao José do Rio Preto (SP) 7-24-66; *Diário de Pernambuco*, Recife (PE), 8-7-66.

(14) Cf. Chapter IV, 7.

the Central Commission of the CNBB sought to caution Catholics in regard to the activities of the TFP. At the same time, it made amenable and benign references to the proposed Civil Code surreptitiously introducing divorce into Brazilian legislation and to the MEB (Movement of Basic Education). In spite of its high-sounding name, the MEB was widely known in Brazil as a subversive and communizing movement.

At first the TFP avoided publicity. On June 24, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira sent a letter to His Eminence Cardinal Agnello Rossi, then President of the CNBB Central Commission, expressing all the surprise the communique had caused. He added that he was aware of no facts that could have led the Bishops' organization to come out publicly against the Society and asked His Eminence for a private clarification.

The TFP waited more than twenty days before taking a public stand.

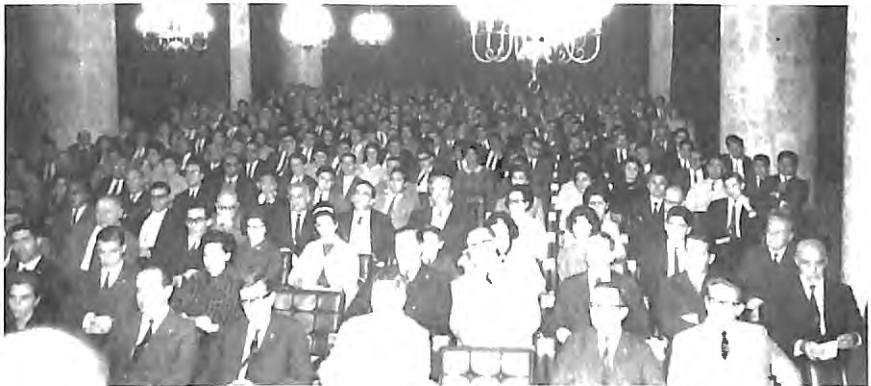
Having received no answer by July 23, the TFP then published an extensive document in the main newspapers of the country, entitled "A Respectful Defense in Response to a Communique of the Venerable Central Commission of the National Conference of Bishops of Brazil — a Filial Invitation to Dialogue." The document's solid argumentation made clear

Disconcerting CNBB communique: unrestricted praise of MEB and Civil Code establishing divorce; warning against the TFP

Letter to Cardinal Rossi

The letter is not answered; the TFP makes a respectful and filial defense

■ *Auditorium of the Federation of Commerce in Sao Paulo filled to capacity during every session of TFP-sponsored series of lectures against divorce.*





■ Celebrating its victory against divorce, the TFP paraded down the Viaduto do Chá in São Paulo (above) and held a demonstration at Independence Monument Square, in the same city.

how unjust the attitude taken by the top commission of the CNBB had been (15).

Having no answer to make to the well-founded document of the TFP, the Central Commission maintained absolute silence.

* * *

One million signatures on TFP lists

On July 22, 1966, after 1,042,359 Brazilians in 142 cities signed the Appeal, the TFP closed its 50-day campaign against divorce. It was, at that time, the greatest number of signatures ever collected on any petition in the history of Brazil.

(15) The document was published in *Catolicismo*, no. 188, August 1966; *Diário de Notícias*, Porto Alegre (RS), 7-24-66; *O Estado de S. Paulo*, 7-26-66; *Diário de Pernambuco*, Recife (PE), 7-26-66; *O Jornal*, Rio de Janeiro, 7-26-66; *Estado de Minas*, Belo Horizonte (MG), 7-26-66; *Diário de Notícias*, Salvador (BA), 7-26-66; *Diário do Paraná*, Curitiba (PR), 7-26-66; *Correio do Ceará*, Fortaleza (CE), 7-26-66;

This record was broken two years later by another TFP petition, this time against communist infiltration in Catholic circles.

On August 12, the members and collaborators of the Society held a victory parade on the *Viaduto do Chá* in Sao Paulo, followed by a civic celebration in Patriarca Square.

Two days later, the Society made a long motorcade of buses and automobiles to the historic Independence Monument at Ipiranga. There, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira and other members of the National Council signed a prayer to Our Lady Aparecida, the Patroness of Brazil. Placing the success of the campaign at her feet, they made a supplication to her that divorce never be implanted in Brazil (16).

Victory celebration on the Viaduto do Chá

At the Monument of Independence, a prayer to the Nation's Patroness

Jornal do Commercio, Recife (PE), 7-26-66; *O Estado*, Florianópolis (SC), 7-26-66; *A Nacao*, Blumenau (SC), 7-26-66; *A Nacao*, Itajai (SC), 7-26-66; *Folha de Goiás*, Goiania (GO), 7-26-66; *O Popular*, Goiânia (GO), 7-28-66; *Diário dos Campos*, Ponta Grossa (PR), 7-28-66; *Monitor Campista*, Campos (RJ), 7-29-66; *Diario da Regiao*, Sao José do Rio Preto (SP), 7-31-66; *Diario da Manhã*, Recife (PE), 8-1-66; *Tribuna da Serra*, Sao Bento do Sul (SC), 8-7-66; *Correio da Serra*, Barbacena, (MG), 8-13-66.

(16) *Catolicismo*, no. 189, September 1966.



11. Positive Action in Universities

UNE: root of student unrest

A clearly subversive organization, the National Union of Students (UNE), worked very closely with sectors of Catholic Action such as JUC (Catholic University Youth). Although the UNE had been banned after the 1964 Revolution, it managed for a while clandestinely to take over the leadership of a number of university organizations.

Police dissolve UNE congress; Dominicans and Franciscans receive delegates

The UNE had planned to hold a student congress in Belo Horizonte in July 1966. Because it was obviously going to be a gathering of communist inspiration, the congress was prohibited by the competent authorities, and the police prevented it from being held. To the great perplexity and anger of the people, the Dominicans and Franciscans received the delegates to the forbidden congress into their monasteries in Belo Horizonte. People were so upset by this event that in August of that year 221 community leaders wrote an open letter of protest to the Priors of the two religious houses. They affirmed that this action of the Religious could not fail to be seen as "yet another step of the only too well known Catholic left."

A new try in Sao Paulo

The dust had hardly settled in Belo Horizonte when, in September, the UNE tried to assemble another subversive and clandestine congress in Sao Paulo. Moving quickly, the DOPS (Department of Political and Social Order) dissolved the gathering, making many arrests and seizing an abundant supply of subversive material.

Agitations begin

Immediately thereafter, protest strikes followed by tumults and rows flared up in universities in various parts of the country.



First stage: an apparently innocent movement

The agitation followed a perfectly structured plan. In a *first phase* discussions were stirred up among students about matters whose scope was limited to the campus. Nevertheless, this movement had, from the very beginning, a certain feverishness and morbid agitation about it that provided a clue to its artificial character.

Student followers of the TFP strove to nip this subversive effort in the bud. They were active in student assemblies in different universities in Sao Paulo, Belo Horizonte, and Curitiba. On September 9 they distributed a first manifesto in which, while deploring possible police excesses, they defended the principle that public authorities have the right and duty to repress communist propaganda. Therefore, the manifesto continued, students had no grounds to protest the arrest of classmates who really were communist agitators.

TFP students: "Let us stick to principles"



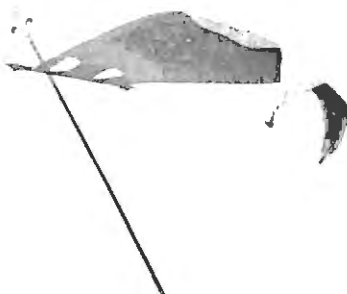
After September 17, the strikes took on an even greater subversive accent. Accordingly, the TFP students, followed by many of their colleagues, went through striking pickets, breaking the unity that strikers were trying to establish.

In a *second phase*, the cleverly manipulated student movement began to show its true colors. Various demonstrations were held with banners sharply rebuking the Government.

Second stage: the movement begins to show its true colors

With a close eye on the direction the crisis was taking, the TFP students published on November 19 a second manifesto entitled: "Legal Normalcy Or Chaotic Dictatorship by Small Groups?" In it, they denounced puppeteers outside the universities who were trying to use the students for untold political purposes. The document further showed how this political distortion of university movements was playing the game of Communism. They called the at-

TFP declares: Outside puppeteers manipulate students for untold purposes



tention of their colleagues to the rather curious coincidence between the growing wave of agitation in Brazil and another wave of agitation that was sweeping the whole South American continent at the time. Interestingly enough, the document stated, the latter was applauded or even promoted by well-known communists.

Third stage: Jangoist jargon inciting Bolshevik revolution

As the crisis reached its peak, the student movement entered a revealing *third phase*. A typically communist-Jangoist jargon began to show up in the declarations made in the name of the students. They violently attacked current social structures based on the right of private property. They made harangues calling for socialist confiscation through "basic reforms." This language clearly showed their intention to stir up the workers in the city and the countryside to act in union with them to overthrow the Government. The next step would be to turn the whole socio-economic order of the country upside down, replacing it with a communist syndicalist regime along the lines of Cuba.

Unmasking the process: a third TFP manifesto

The TFP students intervened once again toward the end of September. In a third manifesto to their classmates, they revealed that the manipulators of the university crises were driving the students in a direction very contrary and foreign to their true interests.

The manifesto gave an overall view of the various stages of the student agitations. It pointed out that the students participating in them were being inadvertently led into committing themselves to a deceptive process of Bolshevik insurrection.

Strikes are deflated, subversion recedes

The document was a decisive blow to the plans of the leftist agitators. Once spotlighted in this manner, they could no longer pull the majority of the students after them. Gradually, the strikes were deflated.

ted, and college subversion began to recede all over the country.

The dust of demagoguery having settled, it became clear to all that these agitations had been no more than a huge bluff by communist minorities, a bluff designed to throw all of Brazil into chaos.

Predictably, the action of TFP members and collaborators during the crisis stirred up furious reactions among academic leftists. Such reactions were systematically organized by groups of hotheads supported by a minority of leftist sympathizers. A majority of the students, however, were always cordially responsive to their TFP classmates. Frequently, they manifested their support of the courage that the TFP members revealed in the face of the demagogic arrogance of the agitators (17).

12. *President Castello Branco's Friendly Attitude*

In 1967 the TFP acted in favor of a press law reconciling the indispensable repression of abuses — so frequent in this field — with the just and adequate freedom necessary for the good performance of the journalistic mission.

While the new Press Law was being debated in Congress, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira wrote a letter to President Castello Branco dated January 13, 1967. He asked that the bill “*undergo substantial modifications so that while repressing licentiousness, it would afford the responsible media the freedom necessary for their activities.*”

*Press Law: the
TFP writes Presi-
dent Castello
Branco*

(17) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no. 191, November 1966.



■ *President Castello Branco receives Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira and other members of the National Council of the TFP*

*President invites
TFP National
Council to an
audience*

While visiting Sao Paulo on January 25, 1967, the Head of State invited the National Council of the TFP to an audience in the Campos Elíseos Palace. The President expressed to them his satisfaction upon receiving their "chivalrous and kind" letter. He added he had sent it to the Minister of Justice with a recommendation that it be given all attention.

A special point should be made regarding this audience. The Society had often taken stands opposing bills presented by the Government, such as the Land Statute and the Civil Code legalizing divorce. By his kindly reception of the TFP National Council, the President showed how perfectly he understood that this disagreement — always expressed with dignity and respect — was rooted in the high principles orienting the Society rather than being a vulgar opposition for its own sake (18).

13. Tradition, Family, Property: An Ideal on the Go in America and Europe

*TFP: An ideal
whose time has
come*

In time, the ideals of the Brazilian Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property spread beyond the frontiers of Brazil. In 1967, societies sim-

ilar to the Brazilian TFP began to form in nearly all the sister nations of South America, united by ties of mutual friendship.

Although autonomous, they are united around a single ideal and common struggle. Their ideal is the restoration of Christian Civilization in today's world. Their struggle is a strictly legal and peaceful combat against Communism and progressivism in the realm of ideas. This combat is inspired by Catholic doctrine, with special emphasis on the values of tradition, family, and property.

These associations have adopted the essay *Revolution and Counter-Revolution* by Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, as the handbook of their principles and methods of action.

Autonomous TFPs successively appeared in Argentina (1967), Chile (1967), Uruguay (1967), Ecuador (1973), Colombia (1973), Venezuela (1974), the United States (1974), and France (1977).

Revolution and Counter-Revolution also inspired the formation of other organizations similar to the TFPs: In Spain, the Covadonga Cultural Society (1971); in Bolivia, the Young Bolivians for a Christian Civilization (1973); and in Canada, the Young Canadians for a Christian Civilization (1975).

Revolution and Counter-revolution, inspiring youths all over the world

In France, the newest TFP

(18) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no. 194, February 1967.

■ *The American TFP held a public act of reparation to Our Lady on 7th Avenue in New York City. Planned Parenthood had been circulating an abortionist pamphlet blaspheming the Most Holy Virgin. Planned Parenthood presented, in writing, an "unqualified apology" before the act was over.*





■ TFPs and similar organizations in action:

■ Argentina: Interpellates OAS for its double standard — prating about human rights while failing to combat the worst violator, Communism.

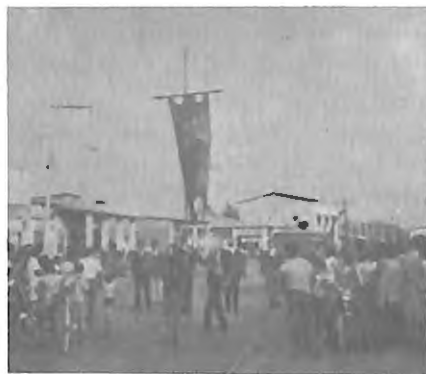
■ Chile: Enlightening Catholic opinion on the communist danger.



■ Uruguay: Distributing the best seller, *Leftism in the Church: Fellow Traveler of Communism in its Long Itinerary of Failures and Metamorphoses*.

■ Colombia: Street sale of the Colombian TFP's magazine *Cruzada*.





■ Ecuador: Spreading the manifesto on the 1978 referendum regarding the new Constitution.

■ Venezuela: Circulating TFP university students' bulletin, *Resistencia*.

■ Spain: Petitioning the *Cortes* to eliminate an article of the new Constitution that would permit the introduction of divorce.



■ Bolivia: Spreading the series entitled *Social Dialogues*.

■ Canada: Public act calling for the banning of a play blaspheming *Our Lady*.



The Ufficio Tradizione, Famiglia, Proprietà in Rome

In 1977, the *Ufficio Tradizione, Famiglia, Proprietà* was installed in Rome, at the heart of Christendom. It serves as a center for spreading the thinking and news of the activities of the great family of TFPs scattered across the American and European continents.

The action of the TFPs in the Americas and in Europe

In the course of time, an intensive exchange of publications and visits has been made by the TFPs and similar entities in order to facilitate the study of one another's methods, successes, and above all their common ideal, thereby greatly stimulating the vitality of these associations.

A detailed description of the actions carried out by the different TFPs and similar organizations in their respective countries would go far beyond the limits of the present work. Only passing references will be made to these activities in this volume.

14. A Prophetic Book:

Frei, the Chilean Kerensky

TFP director is "expelled" from Chile

While visiting Chile, Fabio Vidigal Xavier da Silveira, a director of the Brazilian TFP, faced unexpected circumstances. On September 1, 1966, he received an order from the Christian Democrat Government of Eduardo Frei to leave the country within 72 hours. In support of its action, the Government

■ *The newest TFP flies its standards near Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris, while distributing two manifestos on the French elections of March, 1978.*



alleged that the distinguished Brazilian was involved in subversive activities! What actually happened, however, was simply this: a meeting of the farmers was held on August 29 in the Chilean city of Temuco. Mr. Fabio V. Xavier da Silveira was invited to speak about the land reform in Brazil at the time of Joao Goulart. The topic was strictly limited to the Brazilian case.

However, the Christian Democrat leadership governing Chile considered that speaking about pre-1964 days in Brazil was harmful to them in 1966 Chile. The reason for this was that they also were treading the slippery paths of social reforms. Quite revealingly, the Christian Democrat Government in that Andean country interpreted the exposition and analysis of the struggle over *land reform in Brazil* as an indirect intervention in Chile's internal affairs.

Mr. Fabio V. Xavier da Silveira left Chile as required. However, he did not do so without first obtaining an audience with Bernardo Leighton, the Minister of the Interior. He presented Mr. Leighton with a most forceful protest over the violent and arbitrary measure taken against him (19).

* * *

During his stay in Chile, Fabio V. Xavier da Silveira became thoroughly acquainted with the regime established there. A sharp observer, he quickly perceived the sad outcome toward which that sister nation (★) was headed. During his trip, he recorded interviews, gathered clippings, and assembled a number of publications that enabled him, in less

Forbidden topic in Frei's Christian Democratic Chile: land reform in Brazil

In Chile, Fabio observes and documents

(19) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no. 190, October, 1966.

(★) Term very commonly used in Latin America to ex-

than a year, to write a book about the Chilean situation. Its title would brand Eduardo Frei as the "Chilean Kerensky."

In fact, the youthful and brilliant director of the Brazilian TFP wrote a work of socio-political observation and analysis of impressive clarity. It showed how the Christian-Democrat President was preparing the way for the rise of a Marxist minority to power in Chile. This was being done in the same way that Alexander Kerensky in analogous circumstances had prepared the rise of Lenin to power in Russia.

The July denunciation: Frei is the "Chilean Kerensky"

As soon as it was ready, in July 1967, the book was published in *Catolicismo* as *Frei, the Chilean Kerensky*. Shortly thereafter, Vera Cruz Publishers launched the first edition in book form. The work quickly became a success in street sales carried out by members and collaborators of the TFPs and similar associations in nearly all South American countries. Six editions were published in Argentina; three in Venezuela; and one each in Colombia, Ecuador, and Italy. These plus the four Brazilian editions make 16 editions totalling more than 120,000 copies.

* * *

A forbidden book

The book had a profound impact in Chile. As soon as the Chilean Government learned of its publication in Brazil, it forbade its entry and circulation in Chilean territory.

The work, however, pierced the blockade in an unexpected way. Chilean tourists bought the re-

press the bonds of affection linking those nations. Curiously, American observers traveling in Latin America have observed that a similar regard is extended to the nations of Western Europe and North America as well.

cently published Argentine edition in Buenos Aires and returned home carrying it in their luggage. Naturally, this trickle was too small to satisfy the enormous demand. Everybody in Chile wanted to read the book. People vied with one another to pick up second hand copies of it from the lucky few who had them, causing the price of the book to skyrocket.

The book really shook Chile. Indeed, although the facts pointed out by Fabio V. Xavier da Silveira were very well known to the public there, no one had put them together in such a way as to form an expressive — and impressive — overall picture of the situation. Fabio's impartiality and vantage point from outside the events enabled him to discover the logic behind Christian Democrat policies in Chile and determine their probable upshot.

Such was the embarrassment of the Christian Democrat Government at being caught red-handed in the glare of this publicity that they were not satisfied with dictatorially forbidding the circulation of the book in their own country. At the request of the Chilean ambassador, the book was also banned in Brazil. But 20,000 copies of the *Catolicismo* edition and 5,000 copies in book form had already been sold.

The TFP obeyed the unheard-of decision of the Brazilian authorities. This, however, was not done without protest, for they were giving in to an absurd demand of the Chilean Christian Democrat Government.

■ *This picture was published by a Chilean magazine to illustrate its article, "The Forbidden Book," reporting the banning of Fabio V. Xavier da Silveira's book by Chile's Christian-Democrat Government. The book, priced at only one dollar in Argentina, sold for as much as \$20 on the black market in Chile.*



Christian Democracy is shaken in Chile and in all of South America

It should be noted that the goal of the TFP in publishing the book in Brazil had already been attained. It was to alert Brazilian public opinion to what was going on in Chile. The future would confirm much more rapidly than many supposed the timeliness and rightness of this sound of alert.

Indeed, when Frei handed the Government over to Marxist Allende three years later, a shout arose in unison all over Latin America: *Frei, the Chilean Kerensky*, had been a prophetic book. Yes, that shout arose all over Latin America, for the Christian Democrat experiment carried out by Frei had literally hypnotized many influential sectors of public opinion and now that spell was broken.

By undoing the Christian Democrat myth, the book made a marked contribution in steering the course of events in the continent toward new horizons (20).

With Allende's rise in 1970, another chapter would be added to the story of *Frei, the Chilean Kerensky*. We will see it in Chapter III.

(20) Cf. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, "Fabio, the Christian Iberian-American," in *Folha de S. Paulo*, 1-2-72.



■ *Fabio V. Xavier da Silveira predicted, three years before, that Frei would be the Chilean Kerensky. In the lower photo, the Christian Democrat leader effusively hugs Marxist Allende as he hands him the Presidency of Chile.*



15. *On the 50th Anniversary of the Communist Revolution*

On November 1, 1967, the TFP had the manifesto "On the 50th Anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution" published in the country's main newspapers.

The TFP addresses the nation

Defeatism and apathy pervaded national and international news commentaries on the 50th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution. Moreover, there were even sporadic traces of sympathy for Communism.

A worldwide orchestration was organized about the anniversary. It seemed to instill a naive optimism regarding the "democratic" intentions of the Kremlin leaders and the possibility of a "liberalization" of the communist regimes from within.

The TFP manifesto showed how little basis there was for these hopes. It urged the West to maintain a watchful defense of its Christian heritage of beliefs, principles, traditions, and cultural values.

The TFP therefore was warning the country against an enormous capitulation to Communism. To our knowledge, this was the first cry of alert against the dangers of the incipient *detente* which was later to have such dire consequences for the Church and the non-communist nations (21).

The TFP's first cry of alert against the dangers of detente

(21) The manifesto was published in *Catolicismo*, no. 203, November 1967; *O Estado de S. Paulo*, 11-1-67; *Jornal de Curitiba*, Curitiba (PR), 11-1-67; *Diário Popular*, Curitiba (PR), 11-5-67; *O Globo*, Rio de Janeiro, 11-7-67;

16. *Homage and Prayer for the Victims of Communism*

*Masses for the
Victims of Com-
munism*

In November 1967, the TFP had Masses said in eighteen Brazilian cities for the souls of all the victims of the assaults, revolutions, and wars caused by Communism and terrorism since 1917. The Masses were celebrated in nine state capitals and eight other cities. Special mention was made of the souls of the Brazilians who had fallen to acts of terrorism while defending our institutions and Christian Civilization. The Holy Sacrifice was also offered for the liberation of the peoples enslaved by Communism.

In subsequent years, the TFP had Masses said a number of times for the same intentions in Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Belo Horizonte, Brasilia, and other cities where the Society has youth centers. The Masses were usually celebrated in November, attended by large crowds. Participating in the ceremonies

Diário do Paraná, Curitiba (PR), 11-7-67; *A Nação*, Itajaí (SC), 11-7-67; *A Gazeta*, Florianópolis (SC), 11-9-67; *O Progresso*, Lins (SP), 11-9-67; *Estado de Minas*, Belo Horizonte (MG), 11-11-67; *Diário dos Campos*, Ponta Grossa (PR), Nov. 19, 21, 22, 23, 26, 1967. Summaries were published in *Diário do Paraná*, Curitiba (PR), 11-4-67; *Gazeta do Povo*, Curitiba (PR) 11-5-67; *O Globo*, Rio de Janeiro, 11-6-67; *Correio do Povo*, Porto Alegre (RS), 11-7-67; *Diário dos Campos*, Ponta Grossa (PR), 11-8-67; *Jornal da Manhã*, Ponta Grossa (PR) 11-11-67; *A Voz do Povo*, Bom Jesus do Itabapoana (RJ), 11-11-67; *Tribuna de S. José*, Sao José dos Pinhais (PR), 11-25-67. The document was also published in the annals of the Legislative Assembly of Minas Gerais at the request of Assemblyman Navarro Vieira (Cf. *Diário da Assembléia*, Belo Horizonte (MG), 11-15-67.



were wounded soldiers, high civil and military dignitaries, representatives of the diplomatic corps, as well as families mourning members lost to terrorist action. Delegations from the Captive Nations contributed their note of sadness and heroism.

After the Masses in the Cathedral of Sao Paulo in 1969 and 1973, everyone paraded to the *Pátio do Colegio*. There, at the historic site of the founding of Sao Paulo and the former home of the Venerable Fr. José de Anchieta, its founder, the TFP held a public session in repudiation of Communism and paid homage to its victims over the years. In 1972, TFP members, collaborators, and a large part of the congregation paraded from the Cathedral to the Shrine

■ *Authorities present at the TFP-promoted Mass for the Victims of Communism in the Church of Our Lady of Paradise in Sao Paulo in 1969. In middle, front: General Milton Tavares de Souza, Commander of II Army; to his right, Prof. Plínio Corrêa de Oliveira; to his left, Col. Carlos Sérgio Torres; on the extreme left, High Court Justice Italo Galli; and front right, Col. Murilo Fernando Alexander. Also present were Generals Henrique Beckman Filho, Commander of the 2nd Division, and Leo Guedes Etchegoyen, II Army Chief of Staff, as well as other civil and military authorities.*





■ *Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira speaks before the large crowd in the Pátio do Colégio after the 1973 Mass for the victims of Communism.*

of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception, Victim of Terrorists. At the shrine, set up at the Society's headquarters on Martim Francisco St., they prayed that the Virgin Mother of God turn the scourge of Communism away from Brazil.

17. 1,600,000 Brazilians Ask Paul VI to Take Measures Against Communist Infiltration in the Church

The psychological panorama of Brazil in 1968

Many people consider the media a faithful reflection of public opinion. For this reason, the more publicity a current of opinion receives, the greater is the impression that is conveyed of its strength of numbers and influence. This impression, in turn, exerts a singular power of persuasion over modern men,



for they are prone to accept the opinions of the majority as dogma, even in matters having nothing to do with statistics.

In 1968, the publicity given to the "Catholic left" was once again reaching a peak. When student convulsions shook Brazil as a reflection of the May 1968 Sorbonne Revolution in France, "marching priests," "mini-skirted nuns," and communist-progressive laymen joined the uproar. Archbishop Helder Câmara filled the pages of the newspapers with declarations in favor of the recently founded "Movement of Liberating Moral Pressure." It aimed to "conscientize" (read "agitate") Brazil from one end to the other. Its slogan was "Action, justice, and peace, the last legal resort."

The whole of Brazil seemed traumatized once again at the spectacle of progressivist clerical support of the agitations. The country was being carried away by the impression that the Church was going over to the left en masse (*).

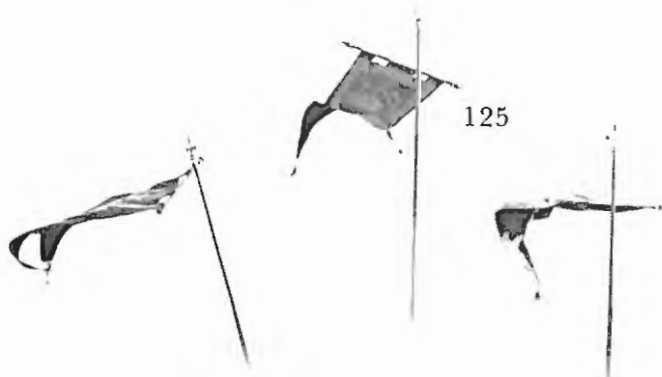
The best service that the TFP could render Brazil and Christian Civilization in this emergency was to ask the competent ecclesiastical authorities for measures against the leftist infiltration in the Clergy. This had to be done in such a way as to show the country that contrary to the impression given by the media, the immense majority of Catholics were

Leftist propaganda at a new peak: "marching priests" and "mini-skirted" nuns

Msgr. Helder Câmara's "Liberating Moral Pressure"

A bluff traumatizes a nation

(*) Regarding the attitude of the CNBB, the Clergy, and the laity toward this situation, see also Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, *The Church in the Face of the Rise of the Communist Threat - An Appeal to the Silent Bishops*, Vera Cruz Publishers, Sao Paulo, 4th edition, 1977, pp. 69 to 79.





strongly opposed to leftism. The appearance of the scandalous *Comblin Document* furnished just the right opportunity.

* * *

The edge of the veil is lifted: the Comblin Document

Nobody knows to this day how the bombshell document authored by Fr. Joseph Comblin ever came into the hands of the press. Although it was allegedly not intended for publication, the fact is that it came out. And once published, it appalled the nation.

Fr. Comblin, a Belgian-born professor in the Theological Institute (Seminary) of the Archdiocese of Recife, made himself quite clear in his document. He advocated revolution in the Church, subversion in the country, the overthrow of the Government, the elimination of the Armed Forces, and the establishment of an iron-fisted socialist dictatorship buttressed by people's tribunals and equipped to reduce recalcitrants to silence through terror.

Respect for the sacred priesthood, a fact inhibiting disturbed Catholics

The Brazilian public realized, although in a vague way, that the communist danger was growing thanks to the continuous agitation of a minority of churchmen and laymen who proclaimed themselves Catholics. There was, however, in that vague realization, a rejection — but one that had not yet been expressed. Now the fact that this rejection had not yet been expressed permitted “Catholic leftists” to brag, without being contradicted, of having the immense Catholic majority of the country behind them.

This brings us to the importance of the *Comblin Document*. It presented with absolute clarity in one single panorama and one sole thesis the subversive tendencies, opinions, and propositions that until then had merely popped up here and there in communist-

"Catholic" circles. And in so doing, it made what had been a vague realization become a clear perception.

Just the document itself, however, did not break the collective inhibition mentioned above. In order to show that "Catholic leftists" were bluffing, it was necessary to prove clearly that innumerable Brazilians were unwilling to go where they wanted to take them. This is what the TFP set out to do.

On June 21, 1968, Prof. Plínio Corrêa de Oliveira sent a letter to the Archbishop of Olinda and Recife asking that the subversive priest be expelled from the Theological Institute and the Archdiocese of Recife.

"The nation is alarmed and indignant to see that such an agitator has managed to steal into the faculty of the Theological Institute that Your Excellency founded precisely to study the Brazilian situation and to mobilize the people for civic and political action," the letter said.

"Therefore, the Brazilian Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property is convinced that it expresses the longings of millions of Brazilians by asking Your Excellency to expel this agitator who takes advantage of the priesthood to stab the Church in the back and abuses Brazilian hospitality to preach Communism, dictatorship, and violence in Brazil, from the Theological Institute of Recife and the illustrious Archdiocese in which the glorious memory of Dom Vital still shines."

The letter was published in the main newspapers of the country (22) and the TFP distributed 500,000 copies of it directly to the people.

(22) The letter was published in *Catolicismo*, no. 211, July 1968; *Folha de S. Paulo*, 6-23-68; *Diário de Pernambuco*, Recife (PE), 6-23-68; *O Globo*, Rio de Janeiro, 6-24-68; *Diário da Manhã*, Recife (PE), 6-24-68; *O Estado de S.*

Breaking the inhibition to overcome the bluff

TFP asks measures against subversive priest: Prof. Plínio Corrêa de Oliveira's letter to Archbishop Câmara

Archbishop Helder Câmara was not pleased at receiving the letter. His evasive and constrained comment, printed in the papers, was: "After all, every-

Paulo, 6-25-68; *Correio Brasiliense*, Brasília (DF), 6-25-68; *Correio do Povo*, Porto Alegre (RS), 6-25-68; *Diário do Paraná*, Curitiba (PR) 6-25-68; *Diário da Noite*, Recife (PE), 6-25-68; *O Estado*, Florianópolis (SC), 6-25-68; *Jornal de Curitiba*, Curitiba (PR), 6-25-68, *A Gazeta do Povo*, Curitiba (PR), 6-25-68; *Estado de Minas*, Belo Horizonte (MG), 6-25-68; *Diário de Pernambuco*, Recife (PE), 6-26-68; *Tribuna de S. José*, São José dos Pinhais (PR), 6-26-68; *O Povo*, Fortaleza (CE), 6-26-68; *Folha do Comércio*, Campos (RJ), 6-27-68; *Diário Fluminense*, Niterói (RJ) 7-27-68; *Diário dos Campos*, Ponta Grossa (PR), 6-27-68; *Gazeta de Rio Negro e Mafra*, Rio Negro (PR) e Mafra (SC), 6-27-68; *A Tarde*, Salvador (BA), 6-28-68; *A Nação*, Florianópolis (SC), 6-29-68; *Tribuna da Serra*, São Bento do Sul (SC), 6-29-68; *A Cidade*, Ribeirão Preto (SP), 6-30-68 and 8-4-68; *Diário da Região*, São José do Rio Preto (SP), 6-30-68; *A Semana*, Olímpia (SP), 6-30-68 and 7-7-68; *O Município*, Muqui (ES), 6-3-68 and 7-7-68; *Tribuna do Ceará*, Fortaleza (CE), 7-1-68; *Diário da Manhã*, Ribeirão Preto (SP), 7-2-68; *Correio de Barretos*, Barretos (SP), 7-4-68; *Monitor Campista*, Campos (RJ), 7-7-68; *A Fortaleza*, Fortaleza, 7-7-68; *Cidade de Barretos*, Barretos (SP), 7-7-68; *Jornal de Maringá*, Maringá (PR), 7-11-68; *Tablóide da Nova Paulista*, Olímpia (SP), 7-12-68; *A Voz do Povo*, Bom Jesus do Itabapoana (RJ), 7-13-68; *A Cruz*, Rio de Janeiro, 7-14-68; *Diário da Noite*, São Paulo, 7-15-68; *Tribuna Rural*, Rio de Janeiro, 7-15-68; *Gazeta da Baixada*, Cabo Frio (RJ), 8-1-68; *A Comarca*, Pacaembú (SP), 8-3-68; *A Cidade*, Ribeirão Preto (SP), 8-4-68; *Arauto*, Cachoeira do Itapemirim (ES), 8-6-68. Summaries were published in *Diário Popular*, Curitiba (PR), 6-25-68; *Diário de Notícias*, Salvador (BA) 6-26-68; *Diário do Comércio & Indústria*, São Paulo, 6-26-68; *O Diário*, Londrina (PR), 6-30-68; *Correio Brasiliense*, Brasília (DF), 7-4-68; *Correio de Lins*, Lins (SP) 7-4-68; *Diário Fluminense*, Niterói (RJ), 7-5-68; *Jornal do Comércio*, Recife (PE), 7-6-68; *O Popular*, Goiânia, 7-6-68; *O Norte Fluminense*, Bom Jesus do Itabapoana (RJ), 7-7-68; *A Tribuna*, Blumenau (SC), 7-8-68;

body has a right to criticize, and I simply listen to them, answering them when necessary" (23).

On June 23, 1968, Bishop Antonio de Castro Mayer and Archbishop Geraldo de Proença Sigaud jointly sent a similar letter to Cardinal Agnelo Rossi, at that time Archbishop of Sao Paulo and President of the CNBB. After summarizing Fr. Comblin's subversive program, the two Prelates affirmed:

"Your Eminence will understand that if we were to let the unheard of attitude of Fr. Comblin go without protest, we would run the risk of appearing, in the eyes of the faithful, to be admittedly guilty of promoting a communist social revolution. . .

"We therefore take the liberty of asking Your Eminence to take measures to purge Catholic circles of these nefarious doctrinal influences that have been causing so much devastation in them" (24).

The Prelate answered in the newspapers: *"People have given to Fr. Comblin's report an official value that it has never had, since it is only a study like so many others that have been presented" (25).*

Whether official or not, the fact is that this

What was his answer?

O Globo, Rio de Janeiro, 7-16-68; *Folha Gaúcha*, Santo Angelo (RS), 8-10-68; *Alagoins Journal*, Alagoins (BA), August 1968.

(23) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no. 211, July 1968.

(24) Cf. *Catolicismo* No. 211, July 1968.

(25) *Ibidem*.



■ 1,600,368 Brazilians support the message of the TFP to Paul VI asking for measures against leftist infiltration in Catholic circles.

“study” preaching revolution in the Church and subversion in the country was unjustifiable.

Since nothing more could be expected from such appeals, it was necessary to go higher.

* * *

TFP appeals to Paul VI: the public joins en masse

Therefore, on July 17, 1968, the TFP started a nationwide campaign collecting signatures on a message to Paul VI. It respectfully asked for efficacious measures against leftist infiltration in Catholic circles (26).

The days of that campaign were memorable. The people crowded around to sign the petition. Catholic Brazil, showing its fidelity to the Church,

(26) The message to Paul VI was published in *Catolicismo*, nos. 212-214, August and October 1968; *Folha de S. Paulo*, 7-18-68; *Correio do Povo*, Porto Alegre (RS), 7-18-68; *Folha de S. Paulo*, 7-18-68; *Correio do Povo*, Porto Alegre (RS), 7-18-68; *Diário da Noite*, Sao Paulo, 7-18-68; *Estado de Minas*, Belo Horizonte (MG), 7-18-68; *Gazeta do Povo*, Curitiba (PR), 7-18-68; *Diário Popular*, Curitiba (PR), 7-18-68; *Diário Popular*, Sao Paulo, 7-18-68; *O Povo*, Fortaleza (CE), 7-18-68; *O Estado*, Florianópolis (SC), 7-18-68; *Diário de S. Paulo*, 7-18-68; *Tribuna de S. José*, Sao José dos Pinhais (PR) 7-20-68; *A Voz do Povo*, Bom Jesus do Itapaboana (RJ), 7-20-68; *Diário dos Campos*, Ponta Grossa (PR), 7-21-68; *Gazeta de Goiás*, Goiânia (GO), July 23, 29, 1968; *Diário de Sorocaba*, Sorocaba (SP), 8-1-68; *Tribuna da Serra*, Sao Bento do Sul (SC), 8-17-68. Summaries were published in *O Globo*, Rio de Janeiro, 7-18-68; *Diário do Paraná*, Curitiba (PR), 7-18-68; *Jornal de Curitiba*, Curitiba (PR) 7-18-68.



■ Many churchmen signed the petition of the TFP against communist infiltration in the Church.

called on the Supreme Shepherd to drive away the wolf seeking to devour the sheep.

The petition also impressed ecclesiastical, civil, and military authorities. It was signed by 15 Archbishops and Bishops, 5 Cabinet Ministers, 2 State Governors, 4 Field Marshals, 5 Admirals, 8 Generals, 2 Senators, 2 Lieutenant Governors, 12 State Secretaries, as well as by many judges, congressmen, state assemblymen, mayors, and city councilmen.

At the same time, many prominent figures made public statements in support of the campaign. Their declarations clearly showed that the silence that Brazilians had been keeping about the matter was hiding a profound concern about the danger posed by the leftist infiltration in the Clergy. In that critical juncture, such a silence could be explained only by the people's deep loyalty to the Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church.

The campaign ended on September 12, 1968. The final count of signatures showed that 1,600,368 Brazilians from 229 cities in 21 states had signed the message of the TFP in only 58 days.

The well-known American magazine, *Time*, concluded with chagrin: "The ease with which TFP collected the signatures reflects the fact that a

Important public figures also signed

1,600,368 signatures in only 58 days: greatest petition in Brazil's history

■ *At street fairs also, no to communist infiltration in the Church.*





■ Solemn session in the overflowing auditorium of the House of Portugal in Sao Paulo celebrating success of the TFP petition campaign. Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira opens the session; Bishop Antonio de Castro Mayer's speech followed.

majority of Latinos either approve or at least tolerate [sic] Catholic conservatism" (27).

* * *

In Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay as well

Microfilmed signatures delivered to Vatican Secretary of State

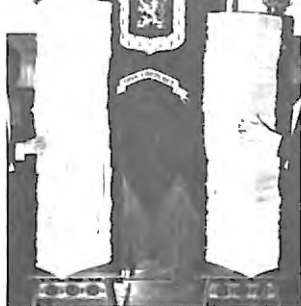
It was, indeed, the majority of Latin Americans that had spoken, for the TFPs of Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay were holding a similarly successful campaign at the same time. After a meticulous count, the impressive total of 2,038,112 signatures collected in the four nations was delivered to the Vatican on microfilm on November 7, 1969. The delivery was made by a special envoy of the TFPs who received a formal acknowledgement (28).

(27) *Time*, 8-23-68.

■ *View of the audience at the House of Portugal.*



■ *The lists of signatures stacked up together would make a pile nearly ten feet high.*



On September 12, 1968, the TFP held a solemn session closing its campaign in the auditorium of the House of Portugal in Sao Paulo. More than 2,000 people, including many dignitaries, were present.

* * *

A sad final word still has to be uttered about the reception of the Vatican to these messages. A cold and absolute silence was the answer given to the filial, respectful, submissive, anguished, and ardent plea of over two million Latin American Catholics . . .

The Sacred Hierarchy as a whole, even after all of this, did nothing to heal the huge "communist-Catholic" sore in Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, or any other part of the Iberian-American world.

Plea of over 2 million Catholics meets total silence

18. *The "Folha Articles"*

Toward the end of 1967, in a conversation with a representative of the TFP Press Service, the Secretary General of *Folha de S. Paulo*, the newspaper with the largest circulation in the State, mentioned

(28) Cf. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira "SOS From Millions," in *Folha de S. Paulo*, 11-30-69. See also *Catolicismo*, no. 229, January 1970.

Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira begins syndicated column: the Folha articles

Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira's 380 articles in the Folha de S. Paulo

that the paper intended to inaugurate a special page of debates on current issues. He invited Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira to contribute to it. And around the middle of the next year, the management of *Folha* renewed the invitation. It was accepted.

Thus, on August 7, 1968, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira began contributing to that newspaper regularly until his work was interrupted by a very grave car accident that he suffered in February, 1975. For several reasons he began to write the articles again only in November 1976. As of this writing, some 380 articles have been published.

The TFPs distribute these articles to the press in Brazil and in other countries. They are published in several newspapers and magazines in North and South America, as well as in Europe.

All over Brazil, in the vast TFP family of souls, these writings are known as the "*Folha* articles." They are particularly cherished by innumerable Brazilians because of that special depth of doctrine, consistency, and penetration with which Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira treats the most diverse questions. Of course, they stir up impassioned criticisms in circles inclined to complacency with or sympathy for Communism.

19. The TFP Press Service

The TFP Press Service was specifically organized to distribute the Society's communiques, declarations, and news items to the media.

Until 1969, the Society distributed its news through ABIM (Good Press News Agency), owned by the Fr. Belchior de Pontes Publishing House,

which produces *Catolicismo*. (By agreement with the publishers, both of these publishing activities were and still are operated by the TFP.)

In 1969, the TFP felt the need of setting up its own Press Service to meet the growing public interest in its activities. Newspapermen, especially from Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, frequently look for the TFP Press Service representatives to find out how the Society stands on this or that issue. Naturally, the Press Service furnishes all kinds of information about the TFP to the interested public. It is common for college students writing term papers to seek help from the TFP. The Press Service gladly assists them.

Large foreign newspapers and TV stations have also asked for interviews. In Sao Paulo, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira gave interviews on the TFP to the German TV (1970), Swiss TV (1971), and French TV (1972). In 1970 he was interviewed by *Le Monde's* Henri Fesquet; in 1971 by a representative from *Newsweek*; and in 1976 by journalist Hugh O'Shaughnessy of London's *Financial Times*.

Interest in the TFP is also attested to by the great number of news stories referring to the Society: the average in the 70's was about 1,700 news items per year, or nearly 5 per day. These calculations include only the clippings the Society actually receives from newspapers all over the country.

Even more significant than the volume of news about the TFP as such is the number of commentaries alluding to the Society in passing while dealing with entirely unrelated topics. Although these passing references are not always fair, they serve to show that the TFP is a reference point that authors use to identify the most traditional position favoring good order in society. This fact is symptomatic in that it

*A Press Service
to satisfy public
desire*

*Interviews to
foreign media*

*An average of
1,700 news items
per year (nearly
5 a day) about
the TFP*

ABIM News Agency

proves how deeply established the TFP is in the national consciousness.

The TFP-operated ABIM News Agency specializes in short articles for newspapers of the smaller cities. Some 130 periodicals in 14 States regularly publish ABIM material. These articles analyze contemporary events from the standpoint of their effects on Christian Civilization. They also discuss historical topics of general interest.



Radio programs

The TFP also produces *The Week In Focus*, a 15-minute radio program reporting and commenting on current national and international events. These radio programs are professionally recorded in a specially equipped TFP studio. Their liveliness and high quality cause them to rank high among those most cherished by the audiences of some 20 radio stations around the country. Some programs have been broadcast by as many as 80 stations.

20. TFP Denounces the Red Archbishop

The Archbishop's international lecture tours

The restless Archbishop of Olinda and Recife found that the ground in Brazil was not too favorable to his "Liberating Moral Pressure." Accordingly, he retreated and closed his movement down. Then he cunningly departed from Brazil to make a series

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of leftist talks in various cities of Europe and America.

Along his way, well-organized progressivist reception committees guaranteed him plenty of applause and publicity. In this manner, his speeches resounded in the media all over the world, with an echo in Brazil.


For example, on January 27, 1969, he delivered the closing speech at the 6th Annual Conference of the Catholic Program for Inter-American Cooperation (CICOP) in New York City. In this conference, he declared that the struggle between Communism and anticommunism was in the final analysis a secondary matter. As part and parcel of this logic, he suggested the neutralization of the United States. He also advocated Communist China's admission into the U.N. and the consolidation of Fidel Castro's regime by the readmission of Cuba into the inter-American community. From beginning to end, his declarations called for a policy that would hand the world, and particularly America, over to communist influence.

Therefore, on February 1, 1969, the TFP published in the country's major newspapers a communique entitled "The Red Archbishop Opens the Gates of America and the World to Communism" (29).

Msgr. Helder Câmara's shocking New York speech

TFP declares: Red Archbishop opens gates to Communism

(29) The document was published in *Catolicismo*, no 218, February, 1969; *O Estado de S. Paulo*, 2-1-69; *Folha de S. Paulo*, 2-1-69; *Gazeta do Povo*, Curitiba (PR), 2-2-69; *Diário do Paraná*, Curitiba (PR), 2-2-69; *Diário Fluminense*, Niterói (RJ), Feb. 2, 3, 1969; *O Globo*, Rio de Janeiro, 2-5-69; *Monitor Campista*, Campos (RJ), 2-5-69; *Jornal de Curitiba*, Curitiba (PR), 2-5-69; *A Notícia*, São José do Rio Preto (SP), 2-6-69; *A Tribuna*, Santos (SP), 2-7-69; *Jornal da Manhã*, Ponta Grossa (PR), 2-7-69; *Jornal de Joinville* (SC), 2-7-69; *Diário Catarinense*, Florianópolis (SC), 2-7-69; *Estado de Minas*, Belo Horizonte (MG) 2-8-69;



The communique pointed out that a Bishop of the Holy Church was using the prestige of his high position to try to demolish some of the most precious bastions of Western defense against Communism. It went on to note the affinity between the international policy advocated by Archbishop Câmara and the policy proposed for Brazil by the leftist agitator Fr. Comblin.

In view of this affinity, the TFP communique said that it was "*impossible not to fear that an ecclesiastical mechanism was being set up in Recife to obtain the support of Brazilians for a policy that would ultimately bring about the ruin of the country and the world, by exploiting their faith.*" It appealed to those in the Hierarchy who represented Catholic thinking, to the nation's authorities, and to public opinion as a whole to put an end to this danger. It would be childish to ignore such a danger, the document continued, especially since it came "*from one whom public opinion is accustoming itself to call the Red Archbishop of the Northeast.*"

The document was written and signed by Prof. Plínio Corrêa de Oliveira as President of the National Council of the TFP.

Diário da Região, São José do Rio Preto (SP), 2-9-69; *Unitário*, Fortaleza (CE), 2-9-69; *Jornal do Comércio*, Recife (PE), 2-9-69; *Jornal Pequeno*, São Luís (MA), 2-9-69; *Correio da Manhã*, Recife (PE), 2-10-69; *Correio do Ceará*, Fortaleza (CE), 2-10-69; *Tribuna da Serra*, São Bento do Sul (SC), 2-15-69; *Tribuna de S. José*, São José dos Pinhais (PR), 2-15-69; *A Cruz*, Rio de Janeiro, 2-16-69; *Correio do Povo*, Porto Alegre (RS), 2-20-69; *O Clarim*, Cachoeira do Itapemirim (ES), 2-23-69; *Jornal de Maringá*, Maringá (PR), 2-26-69; *Correio da Serra*, Barbacena (MG), 3-8-69; *Cidade de Barbacena*, Barbacena (MG), 3-8-69; *Gazeta Comercial*, Juiz de Fora (MG), 3-16-69. Summaries were published in *O Globo*, Rio de Janeiro, 2-3-69; *Correio do Ceará*, Fortaleza (CE) 2-10-69; *A Gazeta de Umuarama*, Umuarama (PR), 2-16-69.

21. Progressivism and "Catholic Leftism"

The action of Archbishop Câmara was not, however, the only cause for apprehension. The progressivist crisis sapping the Church from within was advancing like a gnawing worm, leaving large numbers of Catholics more and more perplexed.

Let us recapitulate.

Priestly support for all kinds of subversives during the student convulsions from 1966 to 1968 had shocked the public enormously. The Comblin document did not merely shock: it set people's hair on end. A little later, stunned Catholics were to see nuns of a certain religious congregation allowing themselves to be photographed for a widely circulated magazine in shorts and extremely scanty bathing suits. Then came the news of the imprisonment of three notorious French priests in Belo Horizonte in whose possession much subversive propaganda was found.

As though all of that were not enough, news also came from Chile that the Cathedral of Santiago had been occupied by contestatory laymen of the so-called "Young Church" while Cardinal Silva Henriquez looked on complacently. There was also news of whole episcopates taking a new line toward Communism, one contrary to the Church's traditional stand against it.

Catholics looked in vain for any effective action by the ecclesiastical Hierarchy that would set straight the disorders revealed by all of these facts. At best, they encountered only silence. In many cases, moreover, they found themselves pushed to accept progressivist reforms in the name of Vatican

Uneasiness in the Church

An omissive Hierarchy



Council II; in the eyes of progressives, the conciliar renewal meant eliminating altars and statues and abandoning pulpits and cassocks.

The "self-destruction of the Church" and the "smoke of Satan": spontaneous generation or an organized plot?

Accustomed as they had been to live in the Church of God as in their own father's house, Catholics felt uneasy and even anguished at the whole situation. Puzzled, many asked themselves what could be behind this mysterious process of "self-destruction" in which the "smoke of Satan" seemed to have penetrated the Church. In fact, these expressions of Paul VI were to become common parlance in Catholic circles (30).

Shrewder persons carried this question farther: had all these things just happened, or were they perhaps the result of a very well organized plot?

* * *

As a consequence of long years of analyzing what was taking place in Catholic circles, the TFP had already reached a solid conclusion regarding this question. But it lacked the means to present such a complex matter to the public in a simple and concise way. Then, in early 1969, two studies of paramount importance reached the Society's Documentation Service.

Bombshell articles go off in Madrid and London

These studies had been published in two responsible European publications: the Catholic review *Approaches* of London and the well-known Catholic magazine *Ecclesia* of Madrid.

What is IDO-C?

Approaches denounced the activities of a huge network based in Rome with ramifications all over the world. Its rather inconspicuous central nucleus cleverly managed a worldwide network of progres-

(30) Allocutions of 12-7-68 and 6-29-72.

sivist propaganda. It was IDO - C (★). It had a way of using the press to create artificial popularity, spread sophisms, seduce, and defame. Working by written propaganda, its organization embraced important Catholic publishing houses and periodicals and controlled the religious sections of influential newspapers all over the world. Its principal mentors were almost all priests. . . or “ex”-priests.

Ecclesia disclosed the existence of a superpower that did not specialize in written propaganda but rather in carrying on a very peculiar process of oral propaganda. This superpower was made up of tiny groups encysted in the Church, forming the so-called *prophetic current*. These are the *prophetic groups*.

Both IDO-C and the *prophetic groups* aimed to transform the Catholic Church into a New Church – an atheistic, desacralized, demythified, egalitarian New Church at the service of Communism.

The deleterious action of IDO-C and the *prophetic groups* made itself felt all over our country. By affecting the Church, this action indirectly shook the very foundations of civil society. But since they kept themselves out of the public eye, while skillfully carrying on their propaganda, the nation at large knew nothing about them.

Once he had this valuable documentation in his hands, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira denounced these two organizations in a series of five articles in the *Folha de S. Paulo*: “Progressive Propaganda: A Discreet Dinosaur,” 3-26-69; “A Few More Facts on the Dinosaur,” 4-2-69; “Bombshell Article Goes Off in Madrid,” 5-7-69; “From Infiltration to Sub-

What about the
“prophetic
groups”?

(★) IDO - C: International Center of Information and Documentation on the Conciliar Church.

version," 5-14-69, and "The 'Prophetic Groups' at the Service of the New Church and of Communism," 5-21-69.

Meanwhile, the *Catolicismo* staff translated and published the material from *Approaches* and *Ec-clesia*, with articles analyzing it, in a special issue (nos. 220-221, April-May, 1969). Grasping fully the magnitude of the matter, the TFP prepared a great campaign to spread that issue of *Catolicismo*.

* * *

On the eve of the campaign, a terrorist bomb blasts TFP headquarters

It was the eve of the day that had been scheduled for the beginning of the campaign, June 20, 1969. At 3:00 o'clock in the morning on that date, a terrorist bomb set by unknown hands exploded in the offices of the TFP National Council at 669 Martim Francisco St. in Sao Paulo. The blast, which could be heard very far, destroyed a good part of the building's facade. It also damaged an ancient statue of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception. At the site, the TFP built a shrine in reparation, where the statue is venerated today (31).

Terrorist action in Brazil was then in full swing. Mr. Nelson Rockefeller's visit to the country was used as a pretext for a series of bombings.

* * *

The TFP was not intimidated. On June 23, members and collaborators took to the streets on

(31) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no. 223, July 1969.



■ On June 20, 1969, a terrorist bomb went off in the TFP headquarters on Martim Francisco St. in Sao Paulo.

■ *Bishop Antonio de Castro Mayer, Prof. Plínio Corrêa de Oliveira, and Dr. Paulo Barros de Ulhôa Cintra at the opening of the TFP campaign against IDO-C and the prophetic groups.*



the campaign. This time they inaugurated a new symbol of the TFP: the red capes conceived by Prof. Plínio Corrêa de Oliveira as a promotional device.

Much has been written and said all over Brazil about these capes. Along with the crimson standards, they set off the presence of the TFP in the most far-flung corners of our vast territory. Reactions to the cape vary. Enthusiastic friends lavish praise on the "stroke of genius" with which it was designed. Enemies, realizing how deeply it impresses the public, vituperate it in vain. In their own way, friends and enemies recognize that the symbols of the TFP express perfectly well what they are meant to represent: the high-spirited courtesy and pugnacity of vigorous Catholic men waging a combat, in the realm of ideas, against the enemies of Christian Civilization and their country.

* * *

The campaign to spread the special issue of *Catholicismo* on IDO-C and the "prophetic groups" proceeded, as other TFP campaigns, through direct contact with the public in the large cities and the countryside. This time, however, its effect was

A new symbol, a new promotional resource: the red capes of the TFP



Opposing the "prophets" of communist progressivism

doubled. The considerable growth in the number of collaborators made it possible to send out 19 caravans, each of them having 9 youthful TFP promoters. In only 70 days, they sold 165,000 copies of the special issue of *Catolicismo* in 514 cities of 20 States.

The TFP members and collaborators were very warmly received in most of the cities and towns they covered. The people frequently showed their support by giving them meals, lodging, and gasoline and sometimes even by repairing their vans.

Such demonstrations of support — which later became routine — have made it possible for the TFP to carry on its continuous and methodical ideological action against Communism and progressivism all over Brazil.

There were, of course, some attempts to hamper the campaign. Indeed, brawlers, following the classic methods of communist agitation and often incited by leftist clergymen, frequently attempted to turn the campaigns into fights and tumults. These attempts were in vain thanks to the always peaceful and restrained conduct of the TFP promoters, who avoided fights by outmaneuvering their adversaries or by calming them down.

* * *

Brawlers and provocateurs

What's a "toad"?

Not all the provocations came from common brawlers, however. Cars — and sometimes very fine



▪ *TFP Directors in the campaign alerting the public to IDO-C and the "Prophetic groups." From left to right, Fabio Vidigal Xavier da Silveira, José Carlos Castilho de Andrade, and Luiz Nazareno Teixeira de Assumpcao Filho.*

■ *Members and collaborators of the TFP visited 514 cities in 70 days distributing the special issue of Catholicismo on IDO-C and the "prophetic groups."*



ones — would brush by TFP promoters at a prudent speed as their occupants shouted communist-inspired insults. In one of his articles in the *Folha de S. Paulo*, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira compared these people to toads croaking in a swamp. Thenceforth, in TFP circles, "toad" has been the sobriquet applied to such useful idiots of Communism who curiously enough live in ease, abundance, and luxury (32).

* * *

Studies on IDO-C and the "prophetic groups" like the one in *Catholicismo* appeared in various publications in Europe and the Americas: the magazines *Crusade for a Christian Civilization* (Vol. V. no. 6, November 1975) of the American TFP; *Tradición, Familia, Propiedad* (no. 4-5, June-July 1969), of the Argentine TFP; *Fiducia* (no. 29-30, June-August 1969), of the Chilean TFP; *Lepanto* (November 1969), of the Uruguayan TFP; *Credo* (no. 6, March 1969 and no. 8, June-July 1969), of the Traditionalist Group of Young Christian Colombians, which later became the Colombian TFP; *Tradición y Acción* (no. 2-3, Sept.-Oct. 1971) of the movement Tradition and Action for a Greater Peru; *Covadonga* (no. 4-6, June 1972, Jan. 1973), of the Venezuelan TFP; *Reconquista* (no. 4, July 1972), of the Ecuac-

(32) Cf. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, "The Bomb, the Star, and the Toad," in *Folha de S. Paulo*, 6-25-69.

dorian Tradition, Family and Property Nucleus; and the bulletin of the Covadonga Cultural Society in Spain.

These associations also promoted campaigns in their respective countries to distribute these articles.

22. *The TFP vs. Terrorist Dominican Friars*

The "Marighela case"

A few months after the TFP denounced the communist-progressivist plot, its existence was proved by a terrifying event. A shootout and the subsequent publicity revealed how deep the tumor of terrorist infiltration in the Brazilian Clergy had gone by showing the involvement of Dominican priests in the "Marighela case." This event made clear that sacred persons were actually involved with Communism of the worst stripe, that which systematically slaughters, kidnaps, and loots.

On November 4, 1969, terrorist leader Carlos Marighela was shot to death by police on a street in Sao Paulo as he approached two priests of the monastery of Sao Domingos, with whom he had a rendezvous. Marighela had phoned the Dominican-run Duas Cidades Bookstore to set up the meeting.

Public opinion was tremendously shaken by the priests' involvement with terrorism. Radio and



TV spread the news all over the country and people talked about it everywhere.

Taken by surprise, the top leadership of the CNBB seemed suddenly paralyzed. Instead of opening a far-flung ecclesiastical investigation to discover the full extent of the tumor that had popped to the surface, they took refuge in silence, reserve, and delay. It seemed as though they had hopes that new information would enable them to deny the obvious.

Voices were raised, inviting the Bishops Conference to avail itself of that momentous opportunity to take measures to protect itself and Brazil from the extremely grave danger surrounding them.

One of these voices was that of the TFP. On November 5 it published a manifesto stressing the imperious and pressing need for official negotiations between the Brazilian Foreign Ministry and the Holy See. The purpose of these negotiations would be to work out a formula whereby the ecclesiastical authorities, or failing this, the civil authorities, could by adequate measures put an end to the communist fermentation scandalously working in Catholic circles (33).

In an article entitled "A Surprising Surprise" (*Folha de S. Paulo*, Nov. 16, 1969), Prof. Plinio

The CNBB is taken by surprise: strange silence

TFP deems negotiations between Ministry of Foreign Relations and the Vatican one of the viable solutions

(33) The manifesto was published in *Catolicismo*, no. 228, December 1969; *Folha de S. Paulo*, 11-6-69; *O Estado de S. Paulo*, 11-6-69; *Gazeta do Povo*, Curitiba (PR), 11-7-69; *Diário de Notícias*, Rio de Janeiro, 11-7-69; *Diário da Tarde*, Curitiba (PR), 11-7-69; *Jornal Pequeno*, São Luís (MA), 11-11-69; *Tribuna de S. José*, São José dos Pinhais (PR), 11-12-69. Summaries were published in *O Jornal*, Rio de Janeiro, 11-7-69; *Diário Fluminense*, Niterói (RJ), 11-8-69; *Folha do Comércio*, Campos (RJ), 11-11-69; *O Imparcial*, São Luís (MA), 11-11-69; *Correio da Serra*, Barbacena (MG), 11-15-69.

Another solution: an ecclesiastical investigation by the CNBB itself. But once again it fails to act

Corrêa de Oliveira suggested that the CNBB open the ecclesiastical investigation the situation demanded.

Once again, however, the CNBB failed to do anything. Its neglect amounted to giving free rein to infiltration within the Church. Clearly, the communist advance in Brazil had nothing to fear from the National Conference of Bishops and those who followed them. On the contrary, as later became clear, they would favor that advance even more.

23. Where the Terrorist Bomb Exploded, the TFP Erects a Shrine

Terrorist blast site becomes fountain of graces: the TFP shrine

For the TFP, the 60's closed on a golden note. When terrorists detonated a bomb in the TFP headquarters on Martim Francisco St. in Sao Paulo (cf. Chapter II, 21), they thought they were striking a rude and intimidating blow. As it turned out, Divine Providence took advantage of the fact to create, in that very place, a fountain of graces.

On November 18, 1969, the TFP opened there the Shrine of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception, Victim of Terrorists, where the statue of the Virgin that had been damaged by the bomb was exposed for public veneration.

Right after the explosion, the statue had been taken to the headquarters of the National Council of the TFP then at 50 Pará Street. Once the serious damage in the Martim Francisco house had been repaired, and the shrine was ready, some 200 members and collaborators of the TFP formed a procession in which they carried the statue to the shrine,

Statue of Our Lady damaged by the bomb is solemnly enthroned



■ Many people frequent the Shrine of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception, Victim of Terrorists. On certain feasts of Our Lady, the TFP promotes celebrations here which attract considerable crowds. In the photo, Bishop Antonio de Castro Mayer begins one of these ceremonies by unveiling the statue. Beside him are Prof. Plinio Correa de Oliveira and Fray Jeronimo von Hinten, O. Carm.

where it was solemnly enthroned and is venerated to this day.

At all hours of the day and night, people stop to pray before the shrine. The constantly increasing number of those who have received graces there is attested to by the great number of flowers that they bring to the feet of the Virgin.

Since May 1, 1970, TFP members and collaborators have maintained an all-night vigil of prayer every day of the year. The vigil runs from 6:00 p.m. til 8:00 a.m. During the vigils, TFP members and collaborators always pray for Holy Church, for Brazil, and for everyone targeted for violence or communist psychological warfare. They also pray

In the solitude of the night, members and collaborators of the TFP pray for Holy Church and for Brazil





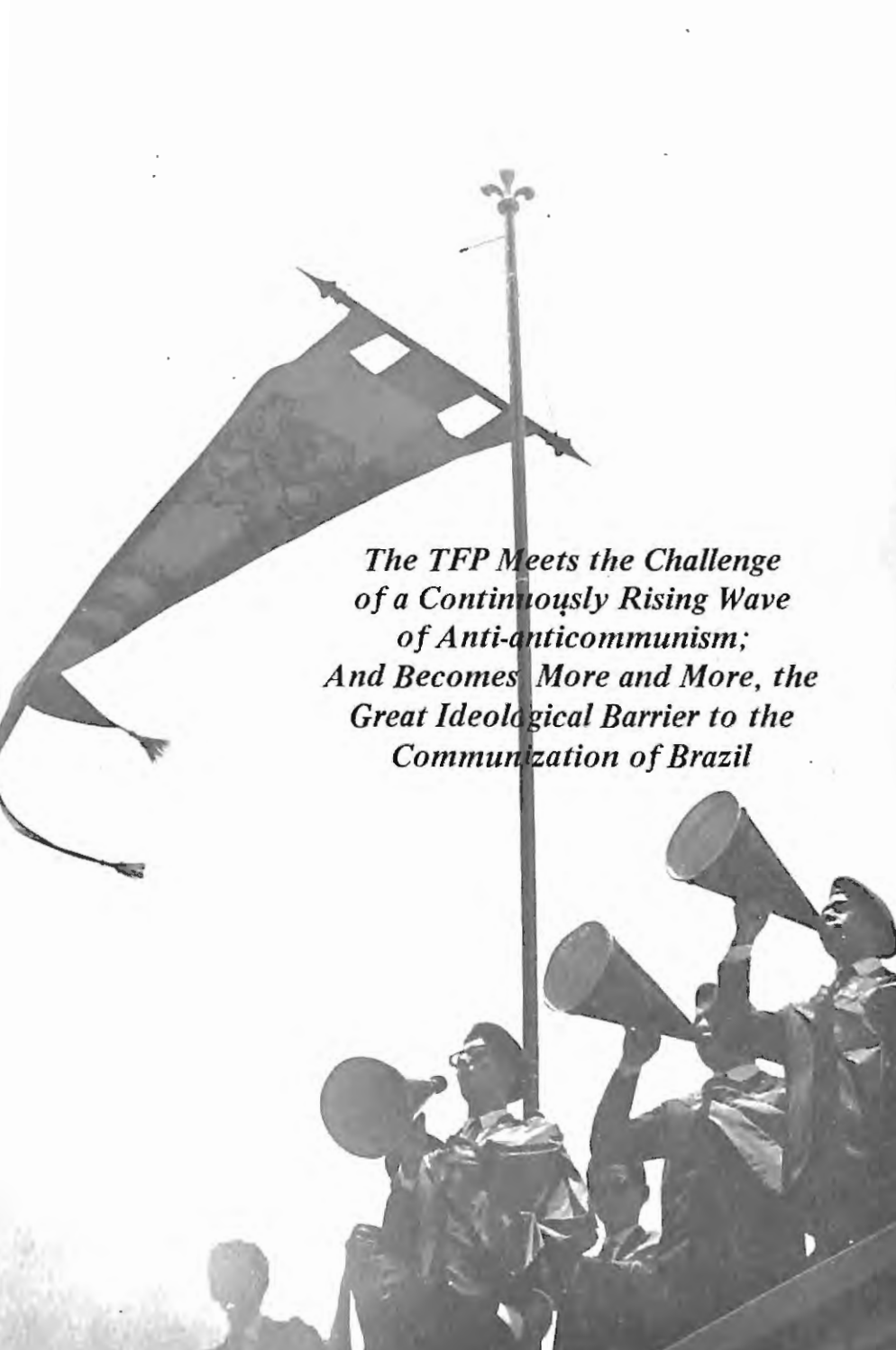
for all those who sin, suffer, or run any moral or material risk (34).

(34) Cf. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, "May 1970: Two Young Men Are Praying for You" in *Folha de S. Paulo*, 4-26-70; and "Our Lady Will Smile on Brazil" in *Folha de S. Paulo*, 6-14-70. See also *Catolicismo*, no. 229, January 1970, and no. 234, June 1970.



Chapter III
1970 - 1979





*The TFP Meets the Challenge
of a Continuously Rising Wave
of Anti-anticommunism;
And Becomes More and More, the
Great Ideological Barrier to the
Communization of Brazil*

1. The Communist Strategy for Brazil in the 70's: Producing Anti- anticommunism on a Grand Scale

"The first condition for the success of a conspiracy is to discredit those who denounce it" (Suzanne Labin, *Political Warfare, Arm of International Communism*, Presença, Rio de Janeiro, p. 35).

Once the waves of agitation of the 60's had been overcome, the communists had few possibilities for *overt* action in the Brazil of the early 70's. Now since this is still true today to a large degree, the communist masterminds feel a need to discredit those who denounce their plots.

Suzanne Labin, the well-known French specialist in communist techniques of action, continues: *"One of the main efforts of the communist apparatus is to denigrate vigorous anticommunists by all means. Never has a group of men had to suffer such*

constant waves of calumnies so odious and intimidations so cynical. Unfortunately, this witch hunt carried out by Moscow's inquisitors has managed to spread in many milieus the idea that it is censurable to combat totalitarian communism, the very communism that attacks freedom so systematically. Indeed, one of the principal arms of the Soviet conspiracy is to prevent us from defending the only front that interests them by creating a climate of animosity toward anticommunist propaganda. And so great is their success in this domain, that we in the free countries have reached the unheard-of situation in which anticommunism is looked down on more than communism itself. When one camp waging a deadly persecution against another camp manages to make it seem improper, in the latter, to pay it back in the same coin, it has already won a major victory; a victory which, in propaganda, amounts to the intellectual intimidation of the adversary" (1).

Communism mobilizes its auxiliary columns against the anticommunists

The TFP bears the first impact of nascent anti-anticommunism

At the same time that communism resorted to surreptitious maneuvers of revolutionary psychological warfare for the conquest of Brazil, it tried to spread suspicion and unbelief all around the anti-communists by means of its auxiliary columns of cryptocommunists and useful idiots.

Accordingly, successive and growing waves of anti-anticommunism characterized the whole decade. The TFP had the honor of bearing the impact of these offensives every time and of resisting them gallantly, thus becoming more and more recognized as the great ideological barrier to the implantation of Communism in Brazil.

(1) *Op. cit.*, pp. 35-36.



2. *For Chile, Our Sister Nation: Mourning, Struggle, and Prayer*



The first symptoms of *anti-anticommunism* began to appear clearly in our country during the campaign in which the TFP shed light on Allende's electoral victory in Chile.

The rise of Salvador Allende to the Presidency of Chile was the first time in the history of the red sect that an officially Marxist candidate rose to power through the mechanism of free elections.

In the wake of this ascension, a Marxist orchestrated international propaganda was spreading the impression that Communism had made a great advance in Chile. This advance supposedly indicated a profound change in the hitherto anticommunist attitude of the masses of Latin Americans. In other words, the idea was being inculcated that the victory of the leftist coalition in Chile presaged similar victories of Communism in Brazil and in the other nations of the continent.

Now since this idea was spread in such a way as to discourage anticommunist action, a serene and objective analysis of what had happened in the Andean country was indispensable. The most urgent thing to be done in order to enlighten Brazilian public opinion was to make it clear that the result of the Chilean elections represented not an advance but rather a step backward for Communism.

This was the truth of the matter. The figures proved that the Popular Unity candidate (representing a coalition of communists, socialists, radicals, and dissident Christian Democrats) had failed to win a

*Allende wins
Chilean elections:
a real advance
of the left or
only a show?*

Article -manifesto of the TFP circulated all across Brazil: "The Whole Truth About the Elections in Chile"

majority by a long shot. He received only 36.3% of the votes. Now, in the previous elections he had also run for President, receiving 38.7% of the votes. Therefore, his vote had fallen off 2.4%. Furthermore, in the latest elections he had the laughable advantage of 1.4% more votes than the second of the three candidates for President. His victory was only a show.

This is what Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira demonstrated in his article "The Whole Truth About the Elections in Chile," in *Folha de S. Paulo*, September 10, 1970.

Acting quickly, the TFP placed this article in the main newspapers of the country (2). And on September 11, it began a public campaign which was carried on simultaneously in 50 cities; 550,000 copies of the article were distributed to the public.

(2) The article was published in *Catolicismo*, no. 238, October, 1970; *Folha de S. Paulo*, 9-10-70; *Gazeta do Povo*, Curitiba, (PR), 9-13-70; *Diário de Notícias*, Salvador (BA), Sept. 18-19, 1970; *Tribuna da Serra*, Sao Bento do Sul (SC), 9-19-70; *Correio do Povo*, Porto Alegre (RS), 9-20-70; *A Cruz*, Rio de Janeiro, 9-20-70; *Diário do Campos*, Ponta Grossa (PR), 9-20-70; *Diário da Região*, Sao José do Rio Preto (SP), 9-24-70; *Diário Catarinense*, Florianópolis (SC), 10-2-70; *Cidade de Blumenau*, Blumenau (SC), 10-2-70; *Jornal Pequeno*, Sao Luis (MA), 10-4-70; *Correio do Ceará*, Fortaleza (CE), 10-6-70; *Jornal do Comércio*, Recife (PE), 10-6-70; *Diário do Norte*, Jacarezinho (PR), 10-25-70 and 11-1-70. Summaries were published in *Diário da Noite*, Sao Paulo, 9-11-70; *Diário de Notícias*, Rio de Janeiro, 9-11-70; *Diário do Comércio & Indústria*, Sao Paulo, 9-11-70; *Diário de S. Paulo*, 9-13-70; *O Estado do Paraná*, Curitiba (PR), 9-13-70; *Diário do Paraná* Curitiba (PR), 9-13-70; *Correio Brasiliense*, Brasília (DF), 9-15-70; *O Fluminense*, Niterói (RJ), 9-15-70; *A Gazeta*, Florianópolis (SC), 9-15-70; *Diário da Tarde*, Belo Horizonte (MG), 9-15-70; *Diário da Região*, Sao Jose do Rio Preto (SP), 9-15-70; *Folha do Comércio*, Campos (RJ), 9-16-70; *Correio Lageano*, Lages (SC), 9-18-70; *Diário Popular*,



This was also the opportune moment for a new promotion of Fabio V. Xavier da Silveira's book, *Frei, the Chilean Kerensky*, which many were already calling "prophetic." The remaining copies of the second edition were sold out in a few days. Then *Catolicismo* published the whole work again, together with Prof. Plínio Corrêa de Oliveira's article about the Chilean elections. The TFP members and collaborators sold 30,500 copies of this issue of *Catolicismo* in only 23 days.

The TFP promotes once again the "prophetic book," Frei, the Chilean Kerensky

■ *After Mass celebrated by Bishop Antonio de Castro Mayer, Prof. Plínio Corrêa de Oliveira opens campaign enlightening public opinion about the victory of the Marxist candidate in Chile. To his right, Fabio V. Xavier da Silveira, author of the best-seller Frei, the Chilean Kerensky, and Assembly-woman Dulce Salles Cunha Braga.*



This campaign stirred up admiration even in circles ideologically opposed to the TFP. This admiration — mixed with ill-contained fury — is shown in

Curitiba (PR), 9-19-70; *O Popular*, Goiânia (GO), 9-19-70; *Cidade de Barretos*, Barretos (SP), 9-20-70; *A Cidade*, Ribeirão Preto (SP), 9-22-70; *Diário da Manhã*, Ribeirão Preto (SP), 9-26-70; *A União*, João Pessoa (PB), 9-30-70; *Tribuna de S. José*, São José dos Pinhais (PR), 10-3-70; *A Cidade*, Campos (RJ), 11-25-70.

an anonymous handbill circulated on a university campus in Sao Paulo:

"Sao Paulo was assaulted by medieval angels. Science fiction? Dantesque hallucination? Sheer reality. Suddenly, rising from the dark depths of mythology, they invade the streets, dominate the squares, form up in battle array . . . We cannot deny that there is a certain immemorial beauty in those standards that call to mind golden lions in red fields. But it is absolutely incomprehensible that they still wave in our skies, gallantly raised by paladins whose mental stature reminds one, because of its sectarianism, of medieval narrow-mindedness . . ." (3).

"It's incomprehensible for the standards of the TFP to be still waving in our skies. . ." Yes, it was precisely the psychological effect of those standards that the communists wanted to curb. Something had to be done.

The orchestration of the left-ist media

The Society was then made the target of a left-ist media orchestration that produced an anti-TFP "bang" designed to intimidate its members, collaborators, and friends. The obvious purpose was to chill their enthusiasm, paralyze their dynamism, and break up their unity. But this new attack was a flop. Rather, we should say, it was counterproductive, because it only increased the dedication of the members and collaborators in the campaign (4).

(3) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no. 240, December 1970.

(4) Cf. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, "The Aged, the Im-



■ TFP starts campaign on Marxist show victory in Chile with a parade on Viaduto do Chá, in Sao Paulo (preceding page).

■ The campaign's closing was marked by a parade on Afonso Pena Avenue in Belo Horizonte, capital of the State of Minas Gerais (right).



The action of street pinks and young folks fanaticized by the progressivist Clergy also made itself felt. In some places they tried, without much success, to disrupt the campaign (5).

Progressivist clergy tries to hinder the campaign

The most subtle and well-organized action to hinder the campaign, however, came from circles inside the very centrist camp. Some of the well-to-do who had been bitten by the fly spreading anti-anti-communism (called "toads" in TFP circles) would drive or walk through the area of the campaign. They went by with a discreet scowl, moving along with their eyes gazing off into the distance as if they neither saw nor heard the TFP promoters in action.

The well-organized opposition of the "toads"

The uniformity of the "toads" attitude gave them away. Such uniformity did not come from a temperamental attitude that had suddenly become generalized, but reflected a real, though somewhat concealed doctrine. This "toad" doctrine was expressed more or less clearly, nevertheless, by certain newspapers or by word of mouth and was as follows:

a) The communists, after all, have been brought under control by the forces of law and order.

b) Therefore, there's no more need for police repression against them.

prisoned, Nuns, Christmas, and Polemics" in *Folha de S. Paulo*, 10-18-70.

(5) Cf. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, "The Toads, the Epopée and the Operetta," *Folha de S. Paulo*, 9-20-70.

c) Now if nobody stirs them up with controversies, the communists will gradually adjust to their defeat and ultimately disperse and blend into the crowds. If they are given professional jobs, they will even help in the process of economic development. In this way, they will work against Communism itself without realizing it.

d) Indeed, Communism is not an ideological phenomenon, but primarily a result of economic factors. Its culture medium is poverty; let Brazilians dedicate themselves exclusively to production in order to increase the country's material well-being and make a better distribution of wealth. With this, the communist problem will *ipso facto* disappear.

e) Therefore, a polemic action such as the TFP's is unnecessary and even counterproductive. It just irritates the communists, provoking them to create disorders. Furthermore, it really would be better to close the TFP... after all, it beckons toward a very much outmoded world of cultural and moral values to which we by no means want to return!

This, in general, was the "toad" doctrine. It found a pretext for its position in the so-called Brazilian "economic miracle," which was then at the height of its prestige.

It is easy to see how perfectly this doctrine explains the frowning features, the hurried pace, and the distant gaze with which the "toads" passed by the TFP promoters.

TFP members and collaborators did not allow themselves to be discouraged by this deceptive maneuver of well-to-do anti-communists. And they were right. Time would take charge of proving that the red agitators, although reduced for the moment to furtive action, were busier than ever. Moreover,

*The TFP advances undis-
mayed; the facts
take charge of
unmasking anti-
anticommunism*

the TFP perceived the true nature of the "toad" doctrine. The affirmation that the communist problem is above all an economic one, and not mainly a religious and moral one, is absolutely false (*). As to the Christian traditions, namely, the universe of spiritual values towards which the TFP beckons, they are not dead, but live in the deepest recesses of the Brazilian soul. The proof of this is the toads' fear that the TFP will manage to give such values a new boost. Nothing could be more inconsistent with democratic principles than the design to curtail a group's freedom of expression so that the people may not adhere to its position. Where is their much-trumpeted "sovereignty" of the people?

Accordingly, the TFP imperturbably continued on its course, "not seeing" those who did not wish to "see it."

* * *

After having resisted bourgeois anti-anticommunism, the TFP faced the onslaught of its ecclesiastical version.

In fact, at the very moment that the TFP was

(*) In the Encyclical *Graves de Communi* of Jan. 18, 1901, Leo XIII affirmed: "Some profess an opinion which has become quite common, that the 'social question,' as it is called, is solely 'economic'; on the contrary, however, the truth is that it is mainly moral and religious" (Pontifical Documents, Vozes Publishers, Petropolis, fascicle 18, 3rd. edition, 1956, p. 10).

In an allocution of September 12, 1948, Pius XII declared in turn: "The social question, beloved sons, is undoubtedly also an economic question, but it is a question that has much more to do with the orderly regulation of human relations; and it is, in its most profound sense, a moral, and therefore religious question" *Discorsi e Radiomessaggi di Sua Santità Pio XII*, Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, vol. X, p. 210.)



■ *In an open letter to Cardinal Sales, at that time Archbishop of Salvador, the TFP showed that it was easy "to perceive all that united the Cardinal-Primate to the thinking and work of Archbishop Câmara and impossible to discern what really separated him from it."*

Ecclesiastical anti-anticommunism joins its bourgeois counterpart: Cardinal Eugenio Sales comes out against the TFP

Cardinal Sales' strange opinion: to distrust Archbishop Câmara is to distrust the Church

The TFP answers

making a herculean effort to annul the bad effects of Allende's victory, Eugenio Cardinal Sales, then Archbishop of Salvador, issued a statement against the Society that aimed at demolishing its standing with Brazilians. Now, Allende was the only one to profit from the demolition of his demolishers. There you have it: anti-anticommunism.

But the Prelate did not stop at that. He chose just this occasion to make a fiery defense of the Red Archbishop and to heap lavish praise upon him. In fact, Cardinal Eugenio Sales went so far as to say that the wave of suspicion around the country regarding the Archbishop of Olinda and Recife amounted to an attack on the Church itself. In this way, the Cardinal-Primate of Brazil pledged the whole prestige of his high position in an effort to smother Brazilian reaction to the Red Archbishop's outrageous positions.

Obviously, the TFP could not remain silent in the face of such an unjust attack. Accordingly, on October 5, 1970, it published an open letter to Cardinal Eugenio Sales in the newspapers. The document was entitled, "Analysis, Defense, and a Request for Dialogue." In addition to pointing out how one-sided and unjust the Cardinal's statements were, the document showed that it was easy "*to perceive all that united the Cardinal-Primate to the thinking and work of Archbishop Câmara and impossible to discern what really separated him from it*" (6).

(6) The open letter was published in *Catolicismo*, no.

A painful episode for the TFP coincided with these events and deserves to be mentioned here. It was the departure of a Prelate who in the past had played an important role, as we have shown, in the struggles of the TFP against Communism. He is Msgr. Geraldo Sigaud, the Archbishop of Diamantina.

Archbishop Sigaud and the TFP: a parting of the ways

For some time, a process of separation had been under way between Archbishop Sigaud, on the one side, and Bishop Antonio de Castro Mayer and the TFP directors and members on the other. This separation had to do with doctrinal questions and matters concerning Church discipline.

On April 27, 1969, a statement of Archbishop Sigaud was published in *Estado de Minas*, of Belo Horizonte (MG), affirming that "*the methods of expropriation established in Institutional Act no.9*" had created a "*climate favorable to the execution of land reform.*"

Prelate's declarations cause perplexity

This affirmation openly clashed with the whole line of thinking that had made the TFP, side by side with the illustrious Prelates of Campos and

239, November 1970; *Folha de S. Paulo*, October 9 and 10, 1970; *O Globo*, Rio de Janeiro, 10-14-70; *Diário Catarinense*, Florianópolis (SC), 10-18-70; *Monitor Campista*, Campos (RJ), 10-20-70; *A Tarde*, Salvador (BA), 10-22-70; *Equipe*, Vitória da Conquista (BA), 11-3-70; Summaries were published in *A Voz do Povo*, Bom Jesus do Itapaboana (RJ), 10-24-70; *Jornal da Manhã*, Ponta Grossa (PR), 10-25-70; *A Gazeta*, Florianópolis (SC), 10-25-70; *Diário de Petrópolis*, Petrópolis (R), 10-21-70; *Jornal Pequeno*, São Luis (MA), 10-29-70; *Imprensa do Sul*, Tubarão (SC), 10-30-70, 11-28-70, 12-5-70, and 12-12-70; *Tribuna da Serra*, São Bento do Sul (SC), 10-31-70; *Correio Lageano*, Lages (SC), 11-6-70; *Diário Catarinense*, Florianópolis (SC), 11-10-70; *A Folha*, São Carlos (SP), 11-19-70; *Diário*, São José dos Campos (SP), 11-28-70; and *O Imparcial*, Araraquara (SP), 12-1-70. Cf. also Plínio Corrêa de Oliveira, "Inside and Outside Brazil," in *Folha de S. Paulo*, 10-11-70.

Diamantina, outstanding in the struggle against confiscatory land reform.

The facts are confirmed; the TFP keeps a respectful silence

Although the TFP found Archbishop Sigaud's declaration perplexing, it preferred to attribute it to some slip of the press. However, the publication two days later of another declaration in the same vein in *Jornal do Brasil* made it necessary to contact the Prelate about the matter.

Dr. Antonio Rodrigues Ferreira, of Belo Horizonte, President of the TFP Section in the State of Minas Gerais, was charged with this mission. Carrying a respectful but frank letter from Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira on the subject, he travelled to Diamantina, where he had a long meeting with the Prelate. Archbishop Sigaud confirmed his declarations in favor of land reform thereby bringing a longstanding collaboration to an end.

In view of their old friendship, their past cooperation, and the respect that the Archbishop merited, the TFP avoided publicity about these facts as long as it could.

Archbishop Sigaud goes public

Archbishop Sigaud, however, took the initiative in making them public. This happened, coincidentally, just when the Society found itself deeply committed to revitalizing anticommunist public opinion, which had been discouraged by Allende's victory in Chile. The Prelate came out publicly in harsh terms, moreover, affirming that the members of the TFP "*have already done much for Brazil but now they are becoming harmful*" (7).

The TFP defends itself

Since his declaration had received wide publicity, creating a risk that some sectors of national opinion would be turned against the anticommunist activities of the TFP, it became imperative that the

(7) *Jornal do Brasil*, 10-3-70.

Society make a public defense. The Archbishop of Diamantina had affirmed that his departure from the TFP was due to the support he was giving to the Government's land reform, which he deemed just and Christian, as well as to the liturgical reform prescribed by the Holy See. He lamented the dissension, but "*because of a problem of conscience [I] could not fail to support the government, nor [could I] be against the Pope.*"

On October 7, 1970, the TFP called to mind in a press communique that its position on the land reform question was established in the book *Agrarian Reform—a Question of Conscience*, published in 1960, and in the *Declaration of Morro Alto*, of 1964. The fact that the TFP remained faithful to its positions was a requirement of conscience that by no means implied an opposition to the present Administration, whose mandate had begun long after the publication of those two works.

As far as liturgical reforms are concerned, it is true that some of them caused perplexity in TFP members. But this perplexity was shared by respectable Bishops and theologians all over the world. The TFP took pride in affirming that this attitude by no means amounted to any transgression of the laws of the Church concerning the submission the faithful owe to the Supreme Pontiff.

The Society offered these clarifications sadly, but it was obliged to do so in order to prevent any shadow of doubt about its complete compliance with civil and ecclesiastical law (8).

Once the Marxist government had been installed in Chile, a veil of shadow and ruin fell over that

(8) The communique was published in *O Estado de*

The "Chilean experiment": the tragedy goes on

From exile: a cry of denunciation and warning

country, producing, however, no sense of general consternation in the press. In fact, the so-called "Chilean experiment" was sung in prose and verse by the media, making leftist circles all over the world euphoric. But the Brazilian and other Latin American TFPs followed with desolate apprehension the process of deterioration into which their sister nation was being sunk.

Although the Chilean TFP was in exile, it did not give up the fight. In a series of manifestos published in its magazine, *Fiducia*, it analyzed the gradual destruction of the country, pointing out the disconcerting collaboration that the Hierarchy and Clergy gave to this process. Today it is a recognized fact in Chile that these firm and enlightening declarations served to encourage many Chileans in their doctrinal resistance to the implantation of Communism. The Andean TFP thus contributed toward the creation of the generalized attitude of rejection that took over the nation's opinion and culminated with the removal of the Marxist president in September, 1973.

S Paulo, Sao Paulo, 10-7-70; *Folha da Tarde*, Sao Paulo, 10-7-70; *Correio da Manha*, Rio de Janeiro, 10-8-70; *Correio do Povo*, Porto Alegre (RS), 10-9-70; *Tribuna do Ceara*, Fortaleza (CE), 10-9-70; *A Cruz*, Rio de Janeiro, 10-11-70; *O Diário*, Ribeirao Preto (SP), 10-14-70; *O Taquaryense*, Taquari (RS), 11-17-70; *Diário da Regiao*, Sao José do Rio Preto (SP), 10-18-70; *Diário do Povo*, Campinas (SP), 10-18-70; *Jornal Pequeno*, Sao Luis (MA), 10-22-70; *A Folha*, Sao Carlos (SP), 10-29-70; *O Imparcial*, Araraquara (SP), 12-4-70; *A Comarca*, Matao (SP), 12-25-70. Summaries were published in *Diário Popular*, Sao Paulo, 10-7-70; *O Globo*, Rio de Janeiro, 10-8-70; *Diário de Minas*, Belo Horizonte (MG), 10-8-70; *Tribuna da Bahia*, Salvador (BA), 10-8-70; *O Jornal*, Rio de Janeiro, 10-11-70; *A Gazeta*, Florianópolis (SC), 10-13-70; *Folha de S. Paulo*, 10-13-70; *O Lutador*, Manhumirim (MG), 10-17-70.

The Brazilian TFP echoed *Fiducia's* statements by publishing them in *Catolicismo* (9) and spreading them all over Brazil. In turn, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira continuously alerted the Brazilian people to the sad reality of the "Chilean experiment" in his syndicated articles. So he had every reason to sing a "Magnificat for Chile" (★) when Marxism was finally swept from that country on September 11, 1973.

Then, a team of reporters comprised of representatives of the Brazilian, Argentine and Chilean TFPs went on a fact-finding mission to Chile. They interviewed prominent figures, businessmen, farmers, workers, and people on the street in Santiago and other cities. They collected impressive testimonies about the unjust, miserable, and bloody situation of the country under Allende. Their extensive in-depth report on the fiasco of the Marxist "experiment" in Chile was published in *Catolicismo* and distributed all over Brazil. The magazines and newspapers of the TFPs and similar associations in eight countries also published this report. In this way, they recorded the most significant aspects of the "Chilean experiment" for History. (10).

*Recording the
fiasco of Com-
munism in Chile
for History*

(★) Title of an article by Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira in *Folha de S. Paulo*, September 16, 1973.

(9) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no. 245, May 1971; no. 256; April 1972; and no. 267, March 1973.

(10) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no. 274-276, October-December 1973; *Crusade for a Christian Civilization*, New York, special issue, September 1974; *Tradicion, Familia, Propiedad*, Buenos Aires, February 1974; *Fiducia*, Santiago, March 1974; *Lepanto*, Montevideo, April 1974; *Cruzada*, Medellin, June-July 1974; *Covadonga*, Caracas, no. 7, July 1974; and *Cristiandad*, La Paz, May 1974. The Bureau Tradition-Famille-Propriété in Paris published the report as a book entitled *Allende and His Chilean Way to Misery*.



3. *From the River Plate to the Amazon, From the Atlantic to the Andes*

*An epic note
in the life of the
TFP: the permanent caravans*

*A unique and
most efficient
promotional system*

The Social Dialogues

The TFP campaign to encourage Brazilian public opinion in the wake of Allende's victory in Chile gave rise to a new initiative that thenceforth would mark the life of the Society with a quite characteristic epic note. When the campaign was over, a caravan of TFP promoters expressed the desire to continue to spread TFP-sponsored publications on a permanent basis. Thus started the first permanent caravan.

Gradually, TFP members and collaborators formed four more permanent caravans. Traveling from city to city, through the jungles, over mountains, along coastal areas, and even occasionally ferrying their vans long distances on river boats, these caravans spread the ideals of Christian Civilization to the furthestmost parts of the vast Brazilian territory.

Beginning in October 1970 when the first one was formed until the date of the publication of this book, these caravans have already traveled 2,403,746 kilometers, making 12,594 visits to cities and selling 1,500,000 copies of various publications. The distance they have covered is equivalent to 60 trips around the world or 3 round trips to the Moon.

One of the caravans' great successes started in December 1971 with the sale of the *Social Dialogues*, a series of three booklets analyzing current economic and social problems in the light of traditional Catholic doctrine. The easy, everyday language of the *Social Dialogues* makes them accessible to all. Original-





ly published by the Argentine TFP, they were translated and published in *Catholicismo*. Then, Vera Cruz Publishers came out with five editions of the three booklets totalling 300,000 copies, all of which were sold by the TFP caravans.

Beginning in August 1973, the caravans were equally successful in distributing the booklet *The Apparitions and Message of Fatima According to the Manuscripts of Sister Lucy*, by Antonio Augusto Borelli Machado, a TFP member and engineer. The booklet contains the text of the famous revelations made at the Cova da Iria in Portugal to the little shepherds, Lucia, Jacinta, and Francisco in 1917. There, at Fatima, Our Lady warned the world about the danger that would come through the spreading of communist doctrine. The booklet contains the text of the revelations, explanatory notes, and commentaries on the text that make the work a critical edition of the revelations of Fatima. It is prefaced by a luminous article of Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira on the topic. The TFP caravans have sold out 13 editions of the work, totalling 330,000 copies. It has been translated into English, Italian, and Spanish.

The profoundly positive impact of these caravans is attested to by the public's attitude. It is the people themselves who made the book sales an enormous success and who made the caravans possible by their generosity in providing free room and board and other necessities.

Spreading the message of Fatima on a large scale

The people's favorable response



The testimony of 2,426 mayors and police chiefs

In the course of this long promotional work, 2,426 mayors, police chiefs, and other municipal authorities have testified in writing to the orderly and peaceful character of the TFP caravans. Their testimony shows how the defamatory rumors gratuitously spread by communist-progressivist circles accusing them of disturbing the lives of the cities that they visit are really baseless.

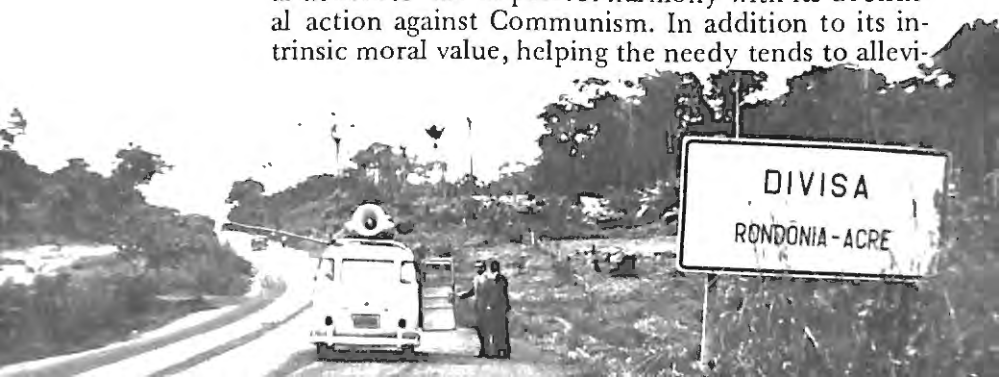
■ *TFP caravans have already traveled 2,403,746 kilometers, the equivalent of 60 trips around the world or 3 round trips to the Moon. They have made 12,594 visits to cities and sold over 1,500,000 publications.*

4. "I Was Hungry and Thou Gavest Me to Eat; I Was Sick and Thou Didst Visit Me. . ."

Although specialized in anti-communist action, the TFP also assists the poor

The TFP specializes in a positive action in favor of tradition, family, and property and therefore, in the defense of the country against its most efficient adversaries: progressivism, leftism, and ultimately Communism. However, the Society does not ignore the painful situation in which so many Brazilians belonging to less favored sectors of the population find themselves. Fulfilling express purposes of its statutes, the TFP lightens the burden of those suffering from physical or economic handicaps as much as it can.

The TFP's charitable works as well as its cultural activities are in perfect harmony with its doctrinal action against Communism. In addition to its intrinsic moral value, helping the needy tends to allevi-



ate social tensions. Communism, on the contrary, seeks to aggravate such tensions by all means in order to stir up class warfare.

What are the Christian-inspired philanthropic activities of the TFP?

* * *

In the Christmas season of 1970, the TFP offered Brazilians an occasion to help the less fortunate who live in poverty. It held a large scale campaign of donations for the Christmas of the poor.

TFP collects donations for Christmas of the poor

The campaign began with a parade through Sao Paulo's busiest thoroughfares. One could see hundreds of TFP members and collaborators with their standards and red capes going by proclaiming slogans such as, "Violence, no! Violence, no! Let the cross and charity prevail!" — "Violence resolves nothing; the solution is justice and charity." — "He who gives to the poor, lends to God."

In Sao Paulo

Struck by the sight of the standards and capes, the public paused on the sidewalks applauding the cortege as it went by. The parade proceeded to the Viaduto do Chá, where the 20-day collection of donations began.

* * *

That same year, the TFP held similar campaigns in three other important State capitals, Rio de Janeiro, Belo Horizonte, and Curitiba.

In Rio, Belo Horizonte, and Curitiba as well

■ *The TFP has received 2,426 letters from mayors, police chiefs, and other municipal authorities attesting to the orderly and peaceful character of its action all over Brazil.*





■ *Downtown Sao Paulo, December 1970: Parade opening TFP campaign for the Christmas of the poor; in the foreground, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, followed by the National Council.*

By the end of all these campaigns, money and objects worth CR\$105,000.00 cruzeiros (today the equivalent of CR\$1,100,000.00) had been collected. In Sao Paulo and Curitiba, the donations were distributed by the Association of the Ladies of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul; in Rio de Janeiro by the Sao Luis Home for the Aged; and in Belo Horizonte, by the Dom Orione Home (11).

* * *

The TFP in poor neighborhoods and slums

Since 1977, TFP members and collaborators have visited poor neighborhoods and slums of Sao Paulo several times. During the visits they have distributed money, clothes, shoes, blankets, groceries, medicines, furniture, household utensils and toys,

(11) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no. 241, 1971.

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as well as rosaries, medals, and pictures of Our Lady. The donations that the TFP made in poor neighborhoods were alms and used articles collected by them in well-to-do and middle class neighborhoods.

On January 1, 1977, they visited the slums in St. Raphael's Village and Edu Chaves Park in Sao Paulo. From February 2 to October 15, they made more visits in the Mimosa slum, located in the Edu Chaves Park. In 1979, visits were again made to St. Raphael's Village.

* * *

There is, however, another kind of poor: those who find themselves in hospitals on beds of pain, abandoned and forgotten sometimes even by their very own.

*Visiting the sick
in hospitals*

TFP members and collaborators have taken turns making periodic visits to the sick ever since 1975. Such visits of course are always made with the permission of the hospital authorities. Naturally, people in hospitals for dreadful diseases, including contagious ones such as leprosy and pemphigus foliaceus (commonly known as "wild fire"), were also visited. From 1975 to 1979, 983 visits were made to 11,541 patients in 877 hospitals of 620 cities in Brazil.





■ *The TFP arrives bringing donations collected in well-to-do and middle class neighborhoods to the needy.*

In addition to the personal consolation of comforting, kindly and stimulating conversation and of a cheering word of faith, the TFP also offers the patients rosaries, medals, holy cards and religious books, as well as used clothing, food, and small alms.



■ *Between 1975 and 1979, TFP members and collaborators made 983 visits to 11,541 patients in 877 hospitals of 620 cities in Brazil.*

At the end of the 1970 campaign for the Christmas of the Poor, the TFP received an expressive let-

ter from Mrs. Maria José Rangel Salgado, President of the Association of the Ladies of Charity of Sao Paulo.

From the Ladies of Charity: thanks and encouragement

"Edifying work!" said the letter. *"An example to be followed by our youth. A work that has won the sympathy of the public of our capital, resulting for this reason in such a large collection . . ."*

"The appearance of the TFP, with its standards, capes and symbols . . . the gallant way the young men paraded at the beginning of the campaign, as well as the breeding and distinction of those who participated in it, all contributed to its remarkable success."

These words expressed what people generally felt about the TFP campaign.



Not even this, however, was sufficient to halt a certain network of spoken, or rather whispered, defamations that was active in "toadish" circles throughout Brazil.

Defamatory whispers from the communist progressive "mafia"

This network, which had always worked against the Society, was branded in TFP circles as "the communist—progressive mafia." But now the atmosphere created by the wave of anti-anticommunism apparently favored an intensification of its activities. At any rate, reports from TFP collaborators and friends began coming in from around the country, telling of calumnies so foolish and so vile that it would have been a lowering of the Society to bother to refute them. Furthermore, the accusations were completely absurd and unsubstantiated, being mere

Identical smears from different areas at the same time



hearsay with neither proofs nor even clues. But the uniformity of the lies indicated that they must have come from a single, elusive source.

"Lie, lie, something has to stick"

Voltaire's advice, "*Lie, lie, something has to stick,*" was being applied against the TFP.

Certain, nevertheless, that these vaporous calumnies could only impress the ones spreading them, the TFP decided simply to ignore them. In fact, as it turned out, the majority of Brazilians turned their backs on these unjust defamations, trusting the Society as they always had (12).

* * *

Recrudescence of social agitation

The year 1979 saw a recrudescence of social agitation in Brazil. It was produced by a growing manipulation of socio-economic problems done by skillful propagandists of subversive doctrines.

The immediate goal of this manipulation was to foment class struggle, a condition the Marxists deem indispensable for the conquest of power.

Two aspects of class warfare:

a) between rich and poor;

In Brazil, as everywhere else, class warfare has two main aspects. In the first place, it aims to throw one class against the other. Thus it tries to make the rich or the well-to-do look odious by accusing them of doing nothing for those in need. It also makes the rich look askance at the poor as potential aggressors liable to destroy the prosperity of the nation.

b) between different regions of the country

In the second place, it tries to turn poor regions against rich ones and vice versa.

In these circumstances, the TFP held a new campaign in December, 1979, collecting donations to

(12) Cf. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, "Rightist Extremism, Onions and Winged Toads," in *Folha de S. Paulo*, 12-28-69; "Why?," in *Folha de S. Paulo*, 1-10-71.



assist the poor in the Northeast of Brazil. The essential purpose of the campaign was to help those in need. It also aimed, however, to make clear how false the communist vision of regional hostility is and how contrary class warfare is to the very mentality of the Brazilian people.

The campaign went from December 14 to 24 in 9 State capitals at the same time: Sao Paulo (including seven other metro area cities), Rio de Janeiro, Belo Horizonte (MG), Porto Alegre (RS), Curitiba (PR), Recife (PE), Fortaleza (CE), Joao Pessoa (PB), and Florianópolis (SC), as well as the cities of Campos (RJ) and Ribeirao Preto (SP).

The results were very expressive: Cr\$2,946,945.10, Cr\$1,424,189.48 in cash and Cr\$1,522,755.62 in kind (religious articles, foodstuffs, utensils, clothing, shoes, and toys).

In its appeal to the generosity of the Brazilian people, the TFP emphasizes that charity is at the very heart of our Christian *traditions*. In this regard, it is proper that the *family* should be a focus of goodness, with the families having more material goods helping those having less material goods. Private *property* is never so likeable as when the hand that has opened willingly to help those that have not.

Particularly noteworthy was the generosity shown by people in poor working class neighborhoods of Greater Sao Paulo and of the other capitals. They proved to be eager to help their poorer brothers in the Northeast. Even people living in shacks in slums, upon noticing the campaign, made a point of contributing. At times they actually ran after the TFP

■ In December 1979, the TFP collected nearly three million cruzeiros in cash and in kind for the poor of the Northeast.

The TFP campaign for the poor of the Northeast

Nearly three million cruzeiros collected in cash and in kind



So much for the myth of class struggle

collectors to give their mite. So much for the myth that the spirit of class struggle is sweeping the country!

As this book goes to press, the TFP is preparing to send the donations collected in the Central and Southern regions to the needy populations of the Northeast. Donations collected in Recife, Fortaleza, and Joao Pessoa will assist the poor of those three capitals.

5. Abortion: Subversion and Barbarity

The TFP Medical Commission addresses the Minister of Justice: ban abortion completely

In July 1972, during the debates about the new Penal Code, the TFP Medical Commission sent a memorandum to Prof. Alfredo Buzaid, the Minister of Justice, opposing any attempts to liberalize the laws concerning abortion.

The document stressed that any direct and voluntary abortion must be condemned as a crime, whatever its motives may be, and that abortion is both a cause of moral breakdown and a result of it. Accordingly, the TFP doctors called for its complete prohibition in Brazilian legislation and for a ban of IUDs as crypto-abortive instruments.

Fight against immorality – fight against “diffuse communism”

The memorandum emphasized that “*The Government, which proposes to combat these three facets of the universal revolutionary process (Communism, terrorism, and subversion), cannot close its eyes to the degradation of customs that is shown in signs such as the permissive attitude toward abortion, the generalized use of contraceptives, nudism and the shocking immorality in fashions invading all ambiances . . . , the free course of pornography in the media, and the drug traffic. Turning a blind eye to all of this by permitting the introduction of permissive*

legislation is to render an enormous service to the designs of international Communism regarding our country" (13).

The memorandum was also sent to all the Bishops of Brazil. Shortly thereafter, three of them sent letters praising it: Msgr. Antonio Maria Alves de Siqueira, Archbishop of Campinas; Msgr. Orlando Chaves, Archbishop of Cuiabá; and Msgr. Manoel Pedro da Cunha Cintra, Bishop of Petrópolis. We must also mention that Msgr. Antonio de Castro Mayer, Bishop of Campos, gave the document his lucid and courageous support (14).

*Memorandum
sent to Brazilian
Bishops*



In July 1977, the TFP took an action along similar lines. The Council for Social Development (CDS), in a meeting presided over by Gen. Ernesto Geisel, had decided to take wide-ranging measures favoring artificial birth control. The TFP deemed it an obligation in conscience to manifest its categor-

*TFP's categori-
cal statement
regarding birth
control*

(13) *Catolicismo*, no. 261, September 1972.

(14) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no. 263, November 1972.



ical disagreement with that decision. It did so in a press communique that was widely published all over the country (15).

6. *One More Defense of Family and Property*

Back in 1972, Prof. Alfredo Buzaid, the Minister of Justice, had ordered that a proposed new Civil Code be published for public examination before its promulgation.

*An extensive
and precise study
of the proposed
Civil Code*

Accordingly, the TFP sent an extensive and precise study of the proposed Civil Code to the Minister for his consideration. The study pointed out that the proposed Civil Code showed a general tendency to loosen the bonds holding the family together and an unjustifiable prejudice against the condition of ownership, favoring a collectivist conception of society. The Minister of Justice showed great interest in receiving the study prepared by Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira.

7. *A Great Bishop Denounces: Infiltration in the "Cursillos in Christianity"*

*Cursillists in a
hubub: the Pas-
toral Letter on
Cursillos*

Public opinion seethed on that Saturday morning of November 25, 1972, when the *Folha de S. Paulo* appeared on newstands. The paper's front page read:

(15) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no. 320, August 1977.

“LEFTIST TENDENCY IN THE CURSILLOS?
 — *‘There is a singular mixture of error and truth, of good and evil in the Cursillos,’* affirms Msgr. Antonio de Castro Mayer, the Bishop of Campos (State of Rio de Janeiro), who has just published a Pastoral Letter about the Cursillos in Christianity analyzing aspects of this movement.

A momentous interview of the Bishop of Campos

“*In an interview to this paper — which we shall publish in tomorrow’s edition — the Prelate affirms that one notes in the Cursillos ‘dangerous tendencies, and in some of its publications even errors, both in the doctrinal and the moral and socio-economic spheres.’*”

“*One must recognize a lefticizing tendency in Cursillo circles,’* says the Bishop of Campos.

“*Debate is thus opened about a movement that has broad penetration in Brazilian Catholic circles today. Bishop Antonio de Castro Mayer’s interview, which is certainly bound to have a great impact, naturally represents a personal point of view which will give rise to contestations and controversies.’*”

* * *

The surprise and commotion that the interview would cause, not only in Cursillo circles themselves but also in public opinion in general, was foreseeable; for previously the Cursillos had been practically uncontested.

The Cursillos in Christianity had spread all over the country. The movement claimed to be able to work spectacular and unexpected conversions, even of worldly persons who were a long way from the practice of religion. Coddled by large sectors of the Hierarchy and the Clergy, the Cursillos in Christian-

*Infiltration
amidst euphoria*

ity developed euphorically amidst almost unanimous applause. Now, that note of euphoria reminded one a great deal of the climate that surrounded the rise of Catholic Action in 1935 (See Chapter V, 5 and 6).

As in the case of Catholic Action, a strange infiltration began to take place in certain Cursillo circles. People would enter the movement attracted by its Catholic aspect. Then, little by little, they would be transhipped, unbeknownst to themselves, to accepting strange theological theses and avant-garde positions in the political, social, and economic fields. Thus they would slide from an anti-communist position (or at least a non-communist one) into an attitude of total unconcern regarding Communism. In some cases they would end by sympathizing with or even adhering to the communist mentality. At the same time, these people were led to adopt an attitude of suspicion of, antipathy toward, and rejection of any type of anticommunist action. When the Cursillos after a certain time had gained influence among the wealthy and the well-to-do, especially those who were "toadish," the movement showed itself to be one of the principal sources of the spread of *anti-anticommunism* in Brazil.

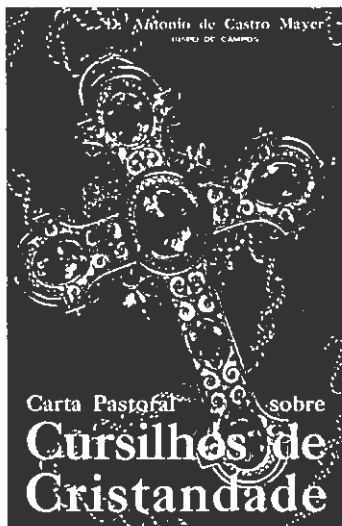
*Cursillo, one of
the main hotbeds
of anti-anticom-
munism*

*Catholics suspi-
cious of Cursillos*

It is no wonder that in many places where the Cursillos had been established, they began to cause concern and suspicion in many Catholics. There were, in fact, reasons for this: the occasionally strange attitudes on the part of some of the mem-



■ *The TFP made a campaign distributing the Pastoral Letter on Cursillos in Christianity by Bishop Antonio de Castro Mayer all over the huge Brazilian territory. They covered 1,238 cities and sold 93,000 copies of the book.*



bers, a certain secrecy that the movement tried to cast over its doctrines and activities, and the promulgation of a spirituality that in several points clashed with the traditional one.

* * *

In order to find out what was right and what was wrong in the movement, Bishop Castro Mayer, a theologian given to research and reflection, decided to study the official Cursillo publications themselves. The result of this work was the historic *Pastoral Letter on Cursillos in Christianity* (Vera Cruz Publishers, Sao Paulo, 1972). The study shed much light on the errors existing in the bosom of the Cursillo movement.

Bishop Mayer goes to the very sources

The news of the Pastoral Letter's publication spread like lightning all over the country. Attention was attracted particularly by the denunciation of leftist tendencies in Cursillo circles, for not even those suspicious of the movement had imagined that

the way could be open to communist infiltration in many Cursillo groups.

The TFP considered a widespread dissemination of the Bishop of Campos' Pastoral Letter to be in the general interest. Therefore it organized a great public campaign: 120 members and collaborators in 13 caravans traveled from December 1972 until March 1973, covering 1,238 cities in every part of the country.

Three consecutive editions of the book (21,000 copies) were sold out, in addition to four successive printings (totalling 72,000 copies) of an issue of *Catolicismo* (no. 264) containing the full text of the work.

Thus, 93,000 copies of the Pastoral Letter were sold all over Brazil (16).

Generally speaking, the campaign proceeded normally all over the country. But pro-Cursillo reaction came in an unexpected way. Although the movement itself kept a most constrained silence, certain unknown persons began to unleash a counteroffensive of insults and coarse language against the TFP through anonymous telephone calls. In addition, people shouting obscenities drove by TFP headquarters in luxurious automobiles, significantly speeding up as soon as they had uttered their insults.

Moreover, TFP caravanists faced provocations and even threats of aggression in some cities as they traveled in the interior. The tact and prudence of the TFP promoters, however, succeeded in preventing these episodes from degenerating into physical fights.

Declarations of Bishops in favor of the Cursillos or against Bishop Mayer's Pastoral Letter also appeared constantly in the press. None of them, how-

(16) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no 266, February 1973.

The adverse reactions: silence and insults

... and threats of aggression

Bishops lavish praise on Cursillos

ever, entered into the merits of the questions raised by the Bishop of Campos. The declarations were limited to affirming or reaffirming the confidence of the particular Bishop in the Cursillo movement (17).

In view of this fact, Bishop Antonio de Castro Mayer declared in a press conference that the criticisms that were being made of his Pastoral Letter were "*evasive and superficial.*" He added that no serious criticism had come to his knowledge, that is, no one had duly analyzed the documents and logically refuted the argumentation that he had presented about Cursillos (18).

Therefore, since it was made up of empty criticisms of the famous Pastoral Letter or favorable declarations by authorities unsupported by any valid argument, the defense of the Cursillos was worthless.

* * *

There was only one way out: train all batteries against the association that was spreading the Pastoral Letter all over the country.

In an article published in the *Folha de S. Paulo* on December 31, 1972, right at the beginning of the campaign, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira had raised this possibility: "*At times our promoters hear nothing but a threat, repeated over and over like a refrain: 'You're going to be sorry'.*"

"*Is that threat a bluff? Or just an expression of bad humor? Or is it perhaps a hint of a counter-*



A new media uproar against the TFP as usual?

(17) Cf. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, "Cursillism Seethes" in *Folha de S. Paulo*, 1-28-73.

(18) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no. 266, February 1973.



campaign against the TFP by means of the already discredited system of media uproars?

"It seems early to give any answer to these questions."

* * *

Did the surge of publicity against the TFP shortly afterwards have anything to do with these facts or not? It is hard to say.

Bishops meet: great expectations in the Cursillos

The fact is that in February 1973 the Thirteenth General Assembly of the Brazilian Bishops met in Sao Paulo. It was widely reported in the press that the CNBB was going to publish a resounding eulogy of the Cursillos, and an even more resounding condemnation of the TFP.

Faint praise for Cursillos, nothing on TFP

There was intense and jubilant expectation in leftist sectors of the Cursillos at the beginning. It faded somewhat when Cardinal Vicente Scherer, Archbishop of Porto Alegre, declared to the press that the TFP was not going to be condemned. He added that at most the Society might receive some censure at the end of the Assembly. But Cursillo expectations hit rock bottom when, in the final communique, people saw there was not a single reference to the TFP and only brief and faint praise of the Cursillos (19).

Sparing Cursillos complete desolation

Cursillo desolation would have been complete if it had not been attenuated by some of the Bishops as soon as the Assembly was over. Their words of

(19) Cf. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, "Opening for Dialogue," in *Folha de S. Paulo*, 2-18-73; "In the Post-Assembly Climate," in *Folha de S. Paulo*, 2-25-73.

bitter antipathy for the TFP — as usual, without any arguments — were very widely disseminated by the press.

* * *

While the Bishop's Thirteenth Assembly was still going on, the Sao Paulo *Jornal da Tarde*, published a five part series on the TFP. The series made a number of criticisms of the Society, without, however, any reference to the Cursillos. Since the series had no important effect on the public as a whole, the TFP didn't care to refute them.

Newspaper exposé, a dud

* * *

Shortly afterwards, the press made a big stir about an unheard-of position taken by Msgr. Clemente Isnard, Bishop of Nova Friburgo, State of Rio de Janeiro. He forbade his clergy to give Communion to members of the TFP when they came in as a group or to any individual member wearing any symbol. One of the reasons the prelate alleged for such a drastic measure was the "defamation" that the Society was supposedly making against the Cursillos in Christianity. The Bishop's accusations were refuted point by point by Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira in a series of three articles in the *Folha de S. Paulo*, (March 27 and April 3, 10, 1973). The Bishop, however, neither replied nor lifted his unjust and violent decree.

Bishop brandishes threat of canonical sanctions

* * *

After Bishop Mayer's publication of the Pastoral Letter on Cursillos and its widespread dissemination by the TFP, the publicity about Cursillos

Cursillos on the wane

dwindled considerably, and the movement lost most of its dynamism.

The great impression caused by the document in Cursillo circles themselves is shown by the fact that many of their members, realizing what they were involved in, left the organization. Their praiseworthy attitude showed how much Bishop Antonio de Castro Mayer's misgivings matched what they had been able to observe in the Cursillos while they were part of the movement.

* * *

Now, the BCCs

The Cursillos in Christianity are currently being replaced, to a large extent, by another organization like the IDO-C and the "prophetic groups": the so-called "Basic Christian Communities," which are proliferating all over Brazil (*).

8. *The Spiritual Saga of the Pilgrim Virgin*

Pilgrim Statue visits the TFP

On May 8, 1973, the TFP opened the doors of the headquarters of its National Council to receive the Pilgrim Statue of Our Lady of Fatima. This was the same statue whose photograph was published in the world press on July 21, 1972. She was shown

(*) See the excellent studies on this subject collected in the volume *Comunidades de Base y Nueva Iglesia* (Ediciones Acción Católica, Madrid, 1979). Direct documentation on the matter may be found in abundance in (among other sources) the book, *Comunidades Eclesiais de Base: Uma Igreja que Nasce do Povo* [*Basic Christian Communities: A Church That Rises from the People*] (Vozes, Petrópolis,



shedding tears while being venerated in New Orleans, Louisiana (USA).

By a special concession of the Blue Army of Our Lady of Fatima in the United States, she had come on pilgrimage to Brazil. In Sao Paulo she received fervent homage from all the directors, members, and collaborators of the TFP.

On May 13, the statue went on to Campos, gracing with her presence the celebrations of the Silver Jubilee of the episcopal consecration of Bishop Antonio de Castro Mayer. Then she returned to the United States.

The sacred statue left a furrow of enthusiasm, veneration, and tenderness in the souls of all those who had the grace to see it here. Therefore, the Blue Army of Our Lady of Fatima in Brazil contacted the American Blue Army and obtained custody of the

1975). This book contains texts and conclusions from the First National Encounter of Basic Christian Communities: "SEDOC," no. 95, October 1976 (Second National Encounter of Basic Christian Communities); and "SEDOC," no. 118, January-February 1979 (Third National Encounter of Basic Christian Communities).

■ *In the historic city, Congonhas do Campo, the Pilgrim Statue of Our Lady of Fatima was venerated alongside the famous prophets sculptured by the artist Aleijadinho. TFP members and collaborators donned gala clothing to accompany the illustrious statue in Brazil.*



*Statue returns
to Brazil*



■ *The Pilgrim Statue of Our Lady of Fatima was received in the Governor's Palace of Pernambuco with official honors by Governor and Mrs. Moura Calvacanti.*

venerable statue in order to promote continuous pilgrimages all over South America. On July 2, 1974, the Pilgrim Statue returned to Brazilian soil.

Thus began in Brazil and other countries of South America, "*The most fruitful of missions preached by the most eloquent of missionaries,*" as Bishop Antonio de Castro Mayer so well expressed it.

The TFP has opened its centers and given all support to this Blue Army initiative. TFP members and collaborators have constantly accompanied the sacred statue and are witnesses to all the good that, through the statue, Our Lady has done in Brazil.

"Most eloquent of missionaries"

TFP collaboration

■ *A great multitude came to venerate the Pilgrim Statue of Our Lady of Fatima in Cambuci (State of Rio de Janeiro).*




The miraculous statue moves souls by the continuous changes in the expression of its face, as even the most sceptical have noted. The face of the statue touches souls most profoundly and attracts multitudes. Many times it is sad, at other times it is serene, sometimes it manifests a discreet joy, and often it is profoundly serious. Charmed by this maternal look, thousands have gone to contemplate it.

Multitudes numbering tens of thousands of people have flocked to venerate her in the many countries where she went on pilgrimages organized by the Brazilian Blue Army. Such was the case in Uruguay, Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia, and Venezuela.

The TFP registers here its joy at having participated in such glorious journeys promoted by the Blue Army of Our Lady of Fatima in Brazil.

An excellent initiative of the Blue Army of Our Lady of Fatima in Brazil



9. *Vatican Ostpolitik* *Raises Question of Conscience*

Nixon's trips to China and Russia: psychological and moral defense of the West is cracked

The worldwide detente was inaugurated in 1972 by Nixon's trips to China and Russia. It was a great breach in the psychological and moral wall that defended the West against the psychological warfare waged by Moscow and Peking. Communism had not achieved a greater victory since the bolshevization of Russia in 1917.



Other fronts of detente: Willy Brandt's Ostpolitik and Lannusse's "dropping of ideological barriers"

This "relaxation of tensions" was the realization, on a worldwide scale, of a policy inaugurated by Argentina's President Lanusse in 1971 on the Latin American level. He announced this policy at a meeting with Chile's Allende in the Argentine city of Salta. He called it the "dropping of ideological barriers."

West Germany's Chancellor Willy Brandt also had preceded the United States by inaugurating, in 1969, his famous *Ostpolitik* (20).

Even graver than all of this, for Catholic countries, was the Vatican *Ostpolitik*, which had been developing ever since the Second Vatican Council. It consisted in a gradual thawing of relations between the Holy See and communist governments. The new climate this policy created inside the Church made it increasingly difficult for those who were openly

The Vatican Ostpolitik: More than a great breach, an overwhelming blow to Catholic resistance to Communism

(20) Cf. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, *The Church in the Face of the Rise of the Communist Threat - An Appeal to the Silent Bishops*, 4th edition, 1977, pages 65-67.

■ *Tito, the persecutor of Cardinal Stepinac, is received by Paul VI in the Vatican.*



■ *Paul VI receives Podgorny, head of the Soviet government.*



■ On March 15, 1974, Cardinal Mindszenty, the supreme hero of Hungarian anticommunist resistance, received a message of admiration and homage from the TFP. It was delivered to him by the Society's special envoy Mr. Martim Afonso X. da Silveira, Jr.



and fearlessly fighting Communism. And this while the power of Communism was clearly growing all over the world.

The celebrated Cardinal Mindszenty, Archbishop of Esztergom, Hungary, was one of the victims of the Vatican *Ostpolitik*. A direct decision of Paul VI, heeding the obvious desires of the Hungarian communist government, obliged him to leave his "exile" in the American Embassy in Budapest. The Cardinal having refused to voluntarily resign his post as Archbishop of Esztergom and Primate of Hungary, Paul VI summarily dismissed him. Such was the blow struck against the supreme hero of Hungarian anti-communist resistance, who made the communists so uncomfortable in his own country and throughout the world. In the eyes of the public, it was a victory of anti-anticommunism (21).

The TFP could not fail to convey to the glorious Cardinal an expression of its solidarity. A special envoy of the TFP delivered to the Cardinal in Vienna a message of admiration and homage for his unbreakable refusal to bow before Communism. The message was delivered by Mr. Martim Afonso X. da Silveira, Jr., in an audience granted by the Cardinal on March 15, 1974.

(21) Cf. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, "Tear-Wrenching Tendernesses," in *Folha de S. Paulo*, 10-13-74; and "As Budapest Wishes," in *Folha de S. Paulo*, 10-20-74.

Cardinal Mindszenty: a glorious victim of Vatican detente

TFP envoy delivers message to Cardinal in Vienna

TFPs in Venezuela and Colombia meet the Cardinal

Visiting Venezuela and Colombia a year later, the great confessor of the Faith met members and collaborators of the TFPs of these two countries. In Caracas as well as in Bogota, the eminent Cardinal made a point of meeting with the local TFPs. On both occasions he exhorted the members of those societies to courageously carry on the ideological struggle that they had been waging against Communism. Only a few days later, on May 6, 1975, the illustrious confessor of the Faith gave up his soul to God (22).

* * *

Vatican Ostpolitik advances; the climate becomes unbearable

Meanwhile, the Vatican *Ostpolitik* continued on its course. The number of direct and indirect contacts between Paul VI and heads of Marxist states increased sharply. In 1971, Cardinal Willebrands, President of the Secretariat for Christian Unity, visited Russia. His attendance at the installation of the patriarch of the Russian schismatic church, a docile puppet of the Kremlin despots, provoked numerous protests. During the 1971 Synod of Bishops in Rome, dramatic dissensions arose between the Holy See and Cardinal Slipyj, Major Archbishop of the Ukrainians. The quarrel brought to the surface previously unknown aspects of the negotiations between the Church and the communist countries. Finally, Msgr. Casaroli, Secretary of the Vatican's Council for Public Affairs, made a number of trips to Eastern European countries and to Cuba. The camaraderie between this Prelate and government officials of these Moscow satellites was shockingly scandalous.

(22) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no. 281, May 1974, and no. 296-298, August-October 1975.

*TFP proclaims
"state of re-
sistance" to
Paul VI's Ost-
politik*

For a long time, out of veneration for the Chair of Peter, the TFP was reluctant to take a public stand regarding this policy. However, the successive advances of the Vatican detente no longer permitted anticommunist Catholics to remain silent, for that policy made their existence more and more inexplicable in the eyes of the public. Therefore, pressed by these circumstances, the Society declared itself to be in a *state of resistance* to the *Ostpolitik* of Paul VI.

Beginning April 10, 1974, the *Declaration of Resistance* was published in 45 newspapers all over Brazil, with the title, "The Vatican Policy of Detente Toward the Communist Governments — For the TFP: Take No Stand? Or Resist?" (23). In this document, while manifesting its obedience to the Church and the Papacy according to the prescriptions of Canon Law, the TFP affirmed the right and the duty to resist the diplomatic orientation of the Vatican to

(23) The document was published in *Catolicismo*, no. 280, April 1974; *Folha de S. Paulo*, 4-10-74; *Folha da Tarde*, Sao Paulo, 4-10-74; *Diário da Noite*, Sao Paulo, 4-10-74; *Correio do Ceará*, Fortaleza (CE), 4-11-74; *Estado de Minas*, Belo Horizonte (MG), 4-16-74; *Novo Jornal*, Londrina (PR), 4-21-74; *A Tribuna*, Santos (SP), 4-21-74; *O Globo*, Rio de Janeiro, 4-23-74; *Folha de Londrina*; Londrina (PR), 4-23-74; *Correio do Povo*, Porto Alegre (RS), 4-23-74; *A Tribuna*, Sao Carlos (SP), 4-23-74; *Jornal de Santa Catarina*, Blumenau (SC), 4-27-74; *Jornal da Manhã*, Ponta Grossa (PR), 4-27-74; *Diário de Natal*, Natal (RN), 4-27-74; *Jornal de Hoje*, Maceió (AL), 4-28-74; *Diário da Regiao*, Sao José do Rio Preto (SP), 4-28-74; *A Cidade*, Ribeiro Preto (SP), 4-28-74; *Diário da Manhã*, Recife, 4-29-74; *O Estado do Paraná*, Curitiba (PR), 4-30-74; *Jornal dos Municípios Brasileiros*, Rio de Janeiro, April 1974; *Diário de Aracajú*, Aracajú (SE) (May 3,4,5,6, 1974; *A Tarde*, Salvador (BA), 5-4-74; *Diário de Pernambuco*, Recife (PE) 5-5-74; *O Popular*, Goiânia (GO), May 8, 9, 10, 1974; *Jornal da Cidade*, Olimpia (SP), 5-11-74; *A Uniao*, Joao Pessoa (PB), 5-12-74; *A Província do Pará*, Belém (PA), 5-12-74; *Comércio de Franca*, Franca (SP), 5-28-74; *Diário de Borbor-*

the degree that it clashed with the Church's traditional orientation regarding Communism. This resistance was to be carried out in the spirit with which Saint Paul resisted Saint Peter "to his face" (cf. Gal. 2,11).

* * *

Resistance goes international

The position of *Resistance* was also taken by the TFPs and similar organizations in Europe and in North and South America as well. They published declarations to the same effect in their respective magazines and in 21 newspapers in 10 countries: Argentina, Bolivia, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Spain, the United States, Uruguay, and Venezuela (24). Spain's Covadonga Cultural Society distributed

ema, Campina Grande (PB), 5-28-74; *O Jornal*, Manaus (AM), May 30 and June 1, 2, 5, 1974; *Centro Sul*, Barra do Piraí (RJ), 6-1-74; *Jornal da Paraíba*, Campina Grande (PB), 6-2-74; *O Estado do Maranhão*, São Luís (MA), 6-19-74; *Jornal Pequeno*, São Luís (MA), 6-22-74; *A Gazeta*, Vitória (ES), 8-7-74; *Correio Brasiliense*, Brasília (DF), 9-10-74. Summaries were published in *Folha do Comércio*, Campos (RJ), 4-14-74; *Correio do Povo*, Porto Alegre (RS), 4-16-74; *A Cidade*, Campos (RJ), 4-16-74; *Tribuna do Ceará*, Fortaleza (CE), 4-17-74; *Unitário*, Fortaleza (CE), 4-18-74; *A Nacao*, Blumenau (SC), 4-21-74; *Correio do Sul*, Cachoeira do Itapemirim (ES), 4-26-74; *O Social Democrata*, Cuiabá (MT), 5-1-74.

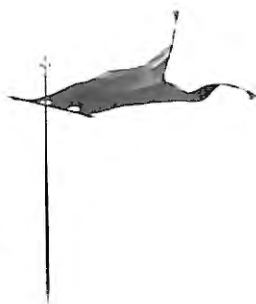
(24) The *Resistance* manifesto was published in: *Tradición*, *Familia*, *Propiedad* of the Argentine TFP; *Fiducia*, of the Chilean TFP; *Cristiandad*, of the Young Bolivians for a Christian Civilization; *Reconquista*, of the Ecuadorian TFP; *Cruzada*, of the Colombian TFP; *Covadonga*, of the Venezuelan TFP; and *Crusade for a Christian Civilization*, of the American TFP. In addition, the document was published in Argentina in *La Nacion* of Buenos Aires and *Voz del Interior* of Cordoba; in Bolivia, in *El Diálogo*, of La Paz; in Canada, in *Speak Up* of Toronto; in Chile, in *La Tercera*, of Santiago, *El*

300,000 copies of the declaration to the public. The Bureau Tradition-Famille-Propriété in Paris took charge of its dissemination in France as well as in German Catholic circles.



Although several ecclesiastical authorities in different parts of the world have manifested their personal disagreement with this position taken by the TFPs and similar associations, none of them have denied the legitimacy of the *State of Resistance* from a canonical point of view. Now, they would obviously have taken exception to the *Resistance* if it had the least flaw in this regard.

By providing anticommunist Catholics with adequate information and analysis, the *Declaration of Resistance* enabled them to maintain their noble position while preserving perfect peace of conscience regarding the doctrine and laws of the Church. Thus it gave them the comforting certainty that they remained absolutely firm in the consistency of their Faith.



Sur, of Concepción, *El Diario Austral*, of Temuco, *La Prensa*, of Osorno; in Colombia, in *El Tiempo* and *El Espectador*, of Bogota; in Ecuador, in *El Comercio*, of Quito; in Spain, in *Hoja del Lunes* and *Fuerza Nueva*, of Madrid, as well as *Región*, of Oviedo; in the United States, in *The National Educator*, of Fullerton, California; in Uruguay, in *El País*, of Montevideo; and in Venezuela, in *El Universal*, *El Nacional*, *Ultimas Noticias*, *El Mundo*, and *2001*, all of Caracas.

10. Should Red Cuba Return to the Inter-American Community? The TFP Says No!

*Rejection of
Red Cuba had
been practical-
ly unanimous*

On May 1, 1961, Fidel Castro declared Cuba an officially socialist state. He thus revealed to the world the true nature of the revolution he had made in his country. But not satisfied with having implanted a communist system on the island, he began exporting revolution all over the hemisphere. Therefore, in a meeting in Punta del Este, Uruguay, in 1962, all the nations belonging to the Organization of American States, except Mexico, voted to expel Cuba from the organization. They also agreed to set up an economic blockade against the island.

*Detente erodes
consensus*

Time went by. Gradually, the revolutionary psychological warfare craftily waged by Moscow eroded the ideological and psychological barriers against Fidel Castro. As the deterioration of minds and wills proceeded, these barriers became more and more flimsy. But when Paul VI and Nixon began their detente with the communist regimes, they turned into gelatin. By 1974, this situation had gone so far as to create a climate permitting the Foreign Ministries of Venezuela, Colombia, and Costa Rica to carry out a wide-ranging diplomatic offensive to have the Castroite viper reinstated in the peaceful bosom of inter-American relations.

*Foreign Min-
istries seek to
end Cuban
blockade*

As soon as these pro-Castro maneuvers began taking shape, the TFP tried to immunize Brazilian public opinion against them by distributing to the press a series of articles written by Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira (25). The articles showed that ending the

(25) "The Blood That Cannot Be Negotiated," 3-17-

embargo against Cuba would not only be a danger for the whole hemisphere but would also amount to favoring the perpetuation of the Marxist regime on the island-prison.

In August 1974, *Catholicismo* dedicated a special issue to a review of the background of the Castro revolution, including the maneuvers that led Fidel Castro to power and the means by which he holds on to it. That issue also listed a number of indications that the Cuban regime was just as despotic as it had always been.

The cover story, by engineer Pericles Capanema Ferreira e Melo, a TFP collaborator, expounded the reasons why Cuba should not be readmitted into the inter-American community: only violence keeps the Castro regime in power; the admission of Communist Cuba would not be a favor to the real Cuba but rather the acceptance of an anti-Cuba; it would not be receiving the true brother but rather his mortal enemy and oppressor.

This special issue of *Catholicismo* also featured an exclusive interview with Msgr. Eduardo Tomás Boza Masvidal, the former auxiliary Bishop of Havana, then living in exile in Venezuela. The Prelate denounced the lack of true religious freedom on the island even though some churches remained open.

The TFPs and similar associations (26) in Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, the United States, and

74; "About Cuba," 9-22-74; "No to Cuba," 10-27-74; "Cuba: Lifting the Veil," 11-17-74, all of them in *Folha de S. Paulo*.

(26) Cf. *Crusade for a Christian Civilization* (no. 3, September 1974), of the American TFP; *Cristiandad* (no. 2, November-December 1974), of the Young Bolivians for a Christian Civilization; *Cruzada* (no. 5, October-November 1974), of the Colombian TFP; *Reconquista* (no. 7, August-September 1974), of the Ecuadorian TFP; *Covadonga* (No. 7, July 1974), of the Venezuelan TFP.



Pro-Castro forces defeated

Venezuela reproduced in their magazines *Catolicismo's* series on Cuba.

The Ecuadorian TFP's dissemination of this study through their magazine *Reconquista* had a special impact, since the OAS Conference on Cuba was to be held in Quito in November, 1974.

The OAS Conference opened in a climate of some euphoria because of the general conviction that the suspension of the Cuban blockade would be approved. But the atmosphere changed unexpectedly in the second half of the Conference, culminating in the defeat of the pro-Castro resolution presented by Venezuela, Colombia, and Costa Rica.

It is legitimate to admit that the work of the TFPs and similar associations in spreading arguments against Cuba's readmission played a part in the final result of that OAS meeting.

11. The TFP Mourns the Fall of Cambodia and Vietnam

*Detente's bitter
fruits: Cam-
bodia falls, the
TFP mourns*

In 1975, the world harvested two bitter fruits of the detente of the White House and the Vatican with Moscow. On April 17 of that year, amidst general Western apathy, the Cambodian Capital, Phnom Penh, fell into the hands of the Communists; in all TFP centers, standards were hoisted half-mast as a sign of mourning. Two weeks later, on April 30, Saigon was taken over by the reds. TFP standards with a mourning stripe were again hoisted to half-mast for three days.

*Vietnam falls;
renewed mourn-
ing in the TFP*

At the same time, the Society held a triduum of prayers at the Shrine of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception, Victim of Terrorists, at 669 Mar-tin Francisco St. The prayers were offered for all

*Triduum of
prayers for Viet-
namese Cath-
olics*

those who had fallen in the defense of Vietnam and to obtain special graces from the Mother of God for Vietnamese Catholics, who now found themselves under the barbarous tyranny of Communism (27). In addition, the TFP widely distributed press communiques on the dramatic occasions of the fall of Cambodia and of Vietnam (28).

12. Another Victorious Campaign Against Divorce

In 1975, a new onslaught by pro-divorce forces began in Brazil.

Early that year, Senator Nelson Carneiro and

(27) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no. 293, May 1975, and no. 294, June 1975.

(28) The communique on the fall of Cambodia was published in *Catolicismo*, no. 293, May 1975; *Folha da Tarde*, Sao Paulo, 4-18-75; *Diário da Noite*, Sao Paulo, 4-19-75; *Diário de S. Paulo*, 4-19-75; *Correio do Povo*, Porto Alegre (RS), 4-26-75; Summaries were published in *A Gazeta*, Sao Paulo, 4-18-75; *Notícias Populares*, Sao Paulo, 4-18-75; *O Diário*, Sao Carlos (SP), 4-26-75; *Equipe*, Cuiabá (MT), 5-1-75; *O Taquaryense*, Taquari (RS), 5-3-75; *A Voz do Povo*, Bom Jesus do Itapaboana (RJ), 5-3-75; *Tribuna Lençoense*, Lençóis Paulista (SP), 5-11-75; The communiqué on the fall of Vietnam was published in *Catolicismo*, no. 294, June 1975; *Folha da Tarde*, Sao Paulo, 5-1-75; *Diário de S. Paulo*, 5-1-75; *Diário da Noite*, Sao Paulo, 5-2-75; *A Cidade*, Campos (RJ), 5-3-75; *Folha do Comércio*, Campos (RJ), 5-4-75; *O Liberal*, Belém (PA), 5-5-75; *Correio do Povo*, Porto Alegre (RS), 5-7-75; *A Nacao*, Blumenau (SC), 5-9-75; *A Nacao*, Brusque (SC), 5-9-75; *A Nacao*, Itajaí (SC), 5-9-75; *Diário Catarinense*, Florianópolis (SC), 5-9-75; Summaries were published in *Notícias*





■ *Plinio Vidigal Xavier da Silveira, a director of the TFP, delivers the Petition for Congressional Loyalty to Senate President Magalhaes Pinto. Photo on next page, Mr. Silveira hands the Petition to Congressman Celio Borja, President of the House.*

Congressmen Rubem Dourado and Airon Rios presented bills in both the Senate and the House introducing divorce in Brazil. Meanwhile, the media orchestration for divorce grew thunderous and uninhibited. Those in favor of divorce had a trump card: In Italy, the land of the Papacy, divorce had been introduced almost without any opposition from the Italian Hierarchy, giving the impression that the Church had worked out a detente with divorce.

Almost all those opposed to divorce, on the other hand, felt inhibited, hopeless, and overwhelmed. The victory of divorce seemed inevitable and was taken for granted by the media.

The situation began to change when Bishop Antonio de Castro Mayer published the *Pastoral Letter for Indissoluble Marriage* and the TFP set out to spread it. On April 14, the campaign began in the main cities. In one month of campaign, two editions totaling 100,000 copies were sold. The TFP action helped raise the spirit of the public. People against divorce began to raise their voices opposing it.

Populares, Sao Paulo, 5-1-75; *A Gazeta*, Sao Paulo, 5-2-75; *Diário da Manhã*, Recife (PE), 5-3-75; *O Diário*, Sao Carlos (SP), 5-4-75; *O Social Democrata*, Cuiabá (MT), May 10, 11, 1975; *Folha de Pirajú*, Pirajú (SP), 5-10-75.

Bishop Mayer intervenes, the TFP enters the arena: the Pastoral Letter for Indissoluble Marriage

Lightning campaign for open ballot in Congress: 13,716 signatures

Congressmen favoring divorce wanted their bills to be voted on by secret ballot. This maneuver was clearly aimed at preventing the public — whose great majority was opposed to divorce — from knowing which position their representatives took. In a “Lightning Petition for Congressional Loyalty,” the TFP gathered 13,716 signatures in the Diocese of Campos, calling for an open vote. Plinio Vidigal Xavier da Silveira, a Director of the Society, delivered the petition to Mr. Magalhaes Pinto, the President of the Senate, and to Mr. Célio Borja, the Speaker of the House (29).

Divorce defeated in heated session

Statements of Congressmen for and against the TFP during the debates of the divorce bills attested to the Society’s influence on the final outcome.

In fact, in one of the most well-attended and heated sessions of that Congress, the divorce amendments were rejected. The important decision was made by an open vote in a joint session of both houses of Congress.

Meanwhile a storm against the TFP was brewing on the horizon. . .

13. Has Brazil Ever Seen A Greater Media Uproar?

No sooner had the divorce amendments been defeated than a violent media uproar was unleashed against the Society. A number of calumnies, many of which were absolutely unbelievable, seemed to

Media uproar to destroy public image of the TFP

(29) Summaries of the petition’s text were published



come out of the ground all at once throughout the country. They were spread by numerous newspapers and magazines and made an impression in some political circles.

There were days when more than 50 reports and commentaries hostile to the TFP came from the newspapers, radio, or television networks. Thus began the first nationwide media uproar against the TFP.

* * *

What were the accusations?

In its first phase, the uproar falsely accused the Society of having Nazi-Fascist tendencies, of carrying on subversive monarchist activities, and of luring and training youths for the practice of violence, etc.

Given the impossibility of answering such a flow of accusations one by one at the moment of their appearance, the Society calmly waited for the full list of slanders to come out. It then answered them one by one in an extensive manifesto entitled, "The TFP In Legitimate Self-Defense." The manifesto was published as a paid ad in the daily newspapers of our main cities (30).

The TFP rebuffs cascade of unfounded accusations

in *Folha da Tarde*, Sao Paulo, 5-3-75; *Diário da Noite*, Sao Paulo, 5-3-75; *Diário de S. Paulo*, 5-3-75; *Notícias Populares*, Sao Paulo, 5-3-75; *Folha de S. Paulo*, 5-4-75; *A Gazeta*, Sao Paulo, 5-5-75; *Jornal do Comércio*, Recife (PE) 5-6-75; *Notícias Populares*, Sao Paulo, 5-7-75; *Diário da Noite*, Sao Paulo, 5-7-75; *Diário de S. Paulo*, 5-7-75; *A Gazeta*, Sao Paulo, 5-7-75; *O Popular*, Goiânia (GO), 5-8-75; *O Diário*, Sao Carlos (SP), 5-9-75; *Monitor Campista*, Campos (RJ), 5-9-75; *Correio do Ceará*, Fortaleza (CE), 5-10-75; *A Nação*, Blumenau (SC), 5-10-75; *A Nação*, Brusque (SC), 5-10-75; *A Nação*, Itajai (SC), 5-10-75; *Diário Catarinense*, Florianópolis (SC), 5-10-75; *A Cidade*, Campos (RJ), 5-10-75; and *Correio do Povo*, Porto Alegre (RS), 5-13-75.

(30) The whole document was published in *Catolicismo*, no. 294, June 1975; *Folha de S. Paulo*, May 21, 29, 30, 1975;

Quite understandably, the accusers changed the subject and the uproar was aimed at another area. The long combat was therefore resumed on a new front.

It is no wonder that the uproar gave rise to speeches defending and attacking the TFP in more than one Legislative Assembly. In the Legislative Assembly of Rio Grande do Sul, a Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry (PCI) was set up to investigate the activities of the TFP in that State.

On the basis of current legislation, the TFP could have asked for an injunction preventing the

Uproar broadens, new fronts open

Inquiry in Rio Grande do Sul

Diário da Noite, Sao Paulo, May 21, 30, 1975; *Correio do Povo*, Porto Alegre (RS), May 22, 30, 31, 1975; *Jornal do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, 5-23-75; *A Nacao*, Blumenau (SC), May 24, 31, 1975; *A Nacao*, Brusque (SC), May 24, 31, 1975; *A Nacao*, Itajaí (SC), May 24, 31, 1975; *Diário Catarinense*, Florianópolis (SC), May 24, 31, 1975; *Diário de Pernambuco*, Recife (PE) 5-25-75 and 6-1-75; *Provincia do Pará*, Belem (PA), 5-27-75 and 6-4-75; *O Estado*, Florianópolis (SC), May 27 and June 3, 4, 1975; *A Tribuna*, Sao Carlos (SP), May 29 and June 5, 6, 1975; *Folha de Londrina*, Londrina (PR), June 1, 3, 5, 1975; *A Cidade*, Ribeirao Preto (SP), June 1, 3, 4, 1975; *Jornal da Manhã*, Ponta Grossa (PR), June 3, 5, 6, 1975; *O Estado de S. Paulo*, 6-4-75; *O Jornal da Região*, Andradina (SP), June 7, 8, 10, 1975; *Voz de Nazaré*, Belém (PA), 6-8-75; *O Radar*, Apucarana (PR), 6-8-75. The first part of the document, entitled "A Call for Serene Dialogue in the Face of an Impassioned Polemic Aggression," was published in *O Social Democrata*, Cuiabá (MT), May 24, 25, 1975; *Diário da Região*, Sao José do Rio Preto (SP), 5-29-75; *O Diário*, Sao Carlos (SP), 5-29-75; *Correio do Ceará*, Fortaleza (CE), 5-30-75; *O Popular*, Goiânia (GO), 6-3-75; *O Povo*, Fortaleza (CE), 6-7-75; Summaries were published in *A Cidade*, Campos (RJ), 6-1-75; *A Tarde*, Salvador (BA), 6-5-75; *A Voz do Povo*, Bom Jesus do Itabapoana (RJ), 6-7-75; *O Social Democrata*, Cuiabá (MT) June 7, 8, 1975; *Echo/Um*, Várzea Grande (MT), June 6, 14, 1975; *Jornal da Cidade*, Vitória (ES), 12-30-75. At the request of Congressman Joao Alves, the first part of the document was written into the Congressional Record (cf. *Diário do Congresso Nacional*, 5-28-75).

formation of the PCI (*). But the Society preferred to appear before the investigative commission courteously offering its full cooperation to clarify anything the commission might consider to be of public interest.

It was to be expected that this attitude of the Society would have promptly calmed down the commotion that had been stirred up about it and that even the adversaries of the TFP would collaborate so that the truth could be searched out in a serene, impartial, and friendly atmosphere. On the contrary, promoters of the media uproar took advantage of even the most meaningless and harmless news about the PCI to feed their sensationalist stories against the TFP.

During the statutory period of three months, the PCI called and questioned witnesses, examined documents, and had a search and seizure operation

*The PCI found
nothing against
the TFP*

(*) The TFP was not obliged to submit to the PCI. Eminent jurists teach that only State agencies, State authorities, and State-owned companies and entities subsidized by the State are subject to Parliamentary Commissions of Inquiry. Now the TFP does not fall into any of these categories.

Furthermore, the Federal Constitution (article 37) as well as the Constitution of the State of Rio Grande do Sul (Article 27 § XXI) and Federal Law No. 1579 of March 18, 1952, regulating Parliamentary Commissions of Inquiry, clearly stipulate that they may be constituted only to probe a concrete case and that they cannot make random inquiries such as the Legislative Assembly of Rio Grande do Sul proposed to do in the case of the TFP. In fact, the very document requesting the setting up of the PCI shows clearly that they intended to go on a far-ranging fishing expedition: ". . . in order to carry out profound and ample investigations of the activities, purposes, financial support, methods employed to recruit its active members and to perform its work, among others which may become necessary, of the Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property in Rio Grande do Sul."

carried out (with a warrant) in the TFP regional headquarters in Porto Alegre. It should be noted that in these three months of work the PCI gathered enough material to fill 12 volumes (31). Nevertheless, it found absolutely no wrongdoing on the part of the Society.

The Commission called Col. Jose Paiva Portinho, at that time Attorney General of the State of Rio Grande do Sul, (*) to testify. He declared that he found no grounds at all for any of the accusations so fancifully raised against the TFP (**).

Attorney General's decisive testimony dispels suspicions

The statutory period having elapsed, the PCI

(31) Cf. *Folha da Tarde*, Porto Alegre, 12-15-76.

(*) For clarity and ease in reading, we have translated *Secretário da Segurança Pública* as Attorney General, its near equivalent.

(**) The Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry asked the Attorney General in writing: "*Is there, or has there been, in the law enforcement agencies of the State of Rio Grande do Sul any inquiry, probe, or investigation of the Brazilian Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property, and if so, what?*"

The Attorney General answered, also in writing: "*Yes, there has been an investigation of the activities of the TFP stemming from an interview between myself and State Assemblyman Rubi Diehl, in which the SSP (Secretariat for Public Security) committed itself to do so. Nevertheless, in spite of the effort spent on this matter, after checking all the sources and questioning the persons and organizations that might have pertinent information, nothing was found; therefore the accusations made against the TFP have turned out to be unfounded, including those regarding paramilitary regimentation of militant members, possession of arms and munitions, profession of neo-fascist ideologies or methods, as well as disturbing the peace or the public order or transgressing the National Security Law*" (cf. document appended to the PCI's "*Termo de Inquiricao*" about the TFP of October 8, 1975.

failed to reach a conclusion, for until now it has presented no report to the Legislative Assembly of Rio Grande do Sul.

* * *

A change of tactics: switching to personal attacks

Perhaps realizing that they would be unable to incriminate the Society as such, the mentors of the *media uproar* immediately turned to personal attacks against the Directors of the TFP Section of Rio Grande do Sul. Thus a third front of the uproar was opened. Trifling accusations were circulated about the Society's Directors regarding supposed irregularities in their administrative functions.

Let us review them. Mr. Joao de Menezes Costa, President of the TFP Section in Rio Grande do Sul, and Mr. Jacob Ireneo Weizenmann, a collaborator of the Society, worked in the Porto Alegre Department of Water and Sanitation. The Notary Office of the city of Caxias was run by Mr. Ildefonso Homero Gonçalves Barradas, Vice President of the TFP Section in that State, who handled deeds and notarizations of that department. These circumstances led the Porto Alegre Municipal Department of Water and Sanitation to initiate an inquiry into points raised by a member of the City Council. This inquiry resulted in the imposition of administrative penalties for insignificant faults imputed to Messrs. Joao de Menezes Costa and Jacob Ireneo Weizenmann. Both retain the right of appealing to the courts whenever they may deem it opportune.

At any rate, it should be noted that the reasons alleged for these administrative penalties were not of such a nature as to lend themselves to the final

exploitation desired by so many of those fanning the *media uproar*.

* * *

Because of the deeds and notarizations performed by the Notary Mr. Homero Barradas outside his circuit, there was an investigation by the office of the Inspector General of Justice. This gave rise to an admonishment to the Notary for a *slight infraction* of the Code of Judicial Organization (32).

The case of deeds and notarizations, not even a trace of criminal infraction

The Superior Council of the Magistracy then forwarded the case to the 4th Criminal Jurisdiction of the Circuit of Porto Alegre for whatever measures it might deem appropriate. After due examination, the case was closed by judicial decision at the request of the prosecutor himself, who declared that there was not even a "*trace of an infraction of the penal law*" on the part of Mr. Barradas.

In 1976, after a civil service exam, Mr. Homero Barradas was named head of the Third Notary Office for Title Protests of Porto Alegre. This promotion clearly shows the irrelevance of the whole case stirred up by the *media uproar*.

* * *

Also related with the Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry was the case of a minor who was allegedly "enticed" by the TFP in Rio Grande do Sul. The media made a great outcry about it. The PCI interrogated the minor's father and mother, the young man himself, and questioned Mr. Homero Barradas at length. Mr. Barradas, the regional Vice President

Guardianship of Minor: full compliance with the strictest requirements of the law

(32) Cf. *Folha da Manhã*, Porto Alegre, 10-29-75.

of the TFP, was being pointed out as the one immediately responsible for the "enticement." This time also the outcome was disappointing for the promoters of the *uproar*.

Because of denunciations made by some members of the Legislative Assembly, it was decided to probe the situation of the minor in question. The Judge of the 2nd Criminal Jurisdiction of the Circuit of Canoas ordered a police inquiry into the case. Having completed the probe, the Canoas Police Department sent its results to the above-mentioned Judge so that he could rule on whether the facts constituted crimes of "inducement to flight, reckless transfer, and concealment of minors" (article 248 of the Penal Code).

The investigation produced the following results:

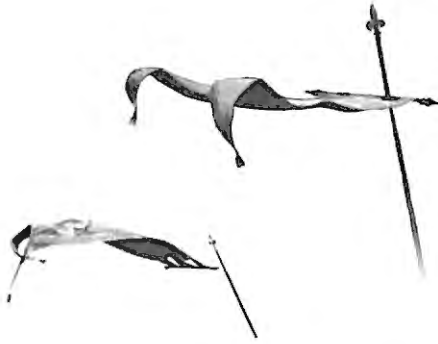
a) The young man had been entrusted to Mr. Barradas by the authorization of his parents, who had signed with Mr. Barradas a "Contract of Guardianship and Responsibility for a Minor" before the Judge of Minors of the Circuit of Canoas;

b) Mr. Barradas did fulfill the obligations incumbent on him, providing the minor with material support and moral and intellectual formation. To accomplish the two latter ends, he entrusted him to the TFP, in whose center the young man began to live;

c) The moral formation given to the minor was efficient, so much so that his father granted him emancipation as soon as the young man became 18 years old. This emancipation ended Mr. Barradas' obligations stemming from the "Contract of Guardianship and Responsibility for a Minor."

In the face of this picture, the First Public Prosecutor of Canoas asked that the police inquiry be shelved because of the inexistence of any of the elements characterizing the crime described in the already cited article of the Penal Code.

Approving the Public Prosecutor's request, the Judge of the Second Court ruled that the case be sent to the archives, thus closing the noisy affair.



From the beginning of the *uproar*, the TFP received important support. In contrast with the attacks against the Society, high-placed religious, civil and military authorities, prominent journalists, and prestigious non-governmental organizations raised their voices to express solidarity with the TFP. Some of them even pointed out a markedly communist note in the attacks unleashed against the Society.

Religious, civil and military authorities see communist inspiration behind uproar against the TFP

In the first place let us mention the illustrious Bishop of Campos, Msgr. Antonio de Castro Mayer, who sent a letter to Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira proclaiming, on his honor as a Bishop of the Holy Church, that he knew the TFP very well and that the accusations raised against it by the *media uproar* were absolutely groundless. The Archbishop of Cuiaba, Msgr. Orlando Chaves, publicly issued a courageous declaration in favor of the Society. The same was done by the Archbishop of Niterói, Msgr. Antonio de Almeida Moraes, Jr. and the Eparch

Words of illustrious Prelates...



. . .and prestigious military authorities

(Bishop) of the Ukrainians, Msgr. José R. Martenetz, the highest authority of that Catholic rite in the country.

Among outstanding military personalities who proudly came forth in defense of the TFP were Major General Paulo de Vasconcelos Sousa e Silva, then Director of the Air Force Documentation Service and Major General Tasso Villar de Aquino, then Vice-Chief of the Army's Department of Education and Research. General Adalardo Fialho and General Gastao Nunes da Cunha sent letters to newspapers protesting the campaign against the TFP.

A speech by the Commander of the Second Army who at the time was General Ednardo D'Avila Melo also weighed in favor of the TFP. In the auditorium of the Bandeirantes Palace in Sao Paulo, he stood before the State Governor, several civil and military authorities, and about a thousand students of the Superior School of War, and declared:

"A democrat is always like this. He expects someone else to do things for him. The worst is that many times, in not recognizing the enemy and their techniques, he innocently cooperates in campaigns that are apparently reasonable but that really are designed and directed by the red fascists. In this manner, they participate in what we call orchestration, that is, the constant repetition of slogans, words of order, suggestive innuendos, ideas, etc., throughout the country conveying the impression that the whole thing is being supported by nearly all of the population.

"Just now" — he continued — "we see all over Brazil an orchestration against entities that do not preach violence, do not preach racism, nor atheism, nor changes of regime, but preach only the fight against red totalitarianism in the defense of

democracy. Then there arises, against these institutions, that classic, worn-out and above all idiotic accusation: they are associations of the right.

"This question of right and left is one of the basic tools of the psychological action of the communists, of red action. And why? Because the so-called right is logically associated with Nazism and Fascism, which are totally discredited before world public opinion. And, thus, to be a Fascist or a Nazi is highly negative; it means violence, racism, radicalism, and, in the ultimate analysis, all that is evil. And I ask: where does democracy stand? Many people calmly and naively answer: in the center, of course. Here is our great error: to make Communism and Nazism into opposites and to situate democracy as an intermediary between the two extremes. This placement, in truth, predisposes people to sympathize with the left, because it is presented as the great opposer of the ideology execrated by all people, that which is presented as the apex of barbarianism." Later on, he asked: "How can one believe in the possibility of some Fascist movement existing in our our country?" And he continued: "If we went to fight [Fascism] in Italy, how can one believe such a thing? But this is part of the technique: to call someone a Fascist is the best thing there is" (33).

In parliamentary circles, Senator Benedito Ferreira (Arená-Goiás State) and State Assemblywoman Dulce Salles Cunha Braga defended the Society in speeches from the rostrums of their respective Assemblies.

Other State Assemblymen and Congressmen gave press interviews defending the TFP. Among

Legislators defend the TFP

(33) *O Estado de S. Paulo*, 7-19-75.

them are Arlindo Kunzler (Arena-Rio Grande do Sul), Msgr. Ferreira Lima (Arena-Pernambuco), Geraldo Freire (Arena-Minas Gerais), Cantídio Sampaio (Arena-Sao Paulo), Sebastiao Navarro Vieira (Arena-Minas Gerais), and Sérgio Cardoso de Almeida (Arena-Sao Paulo) (*).

At the request of Congressman Joao Alves (Arena-Bahia), the manifesto "The TFP in Legitimate Self-Defense" was entered into the annals of the National Congress. At the behest of Assemblyman Wandenkolk Wanderley (Arena), it was recorded in the annals of the Pernambuco State Legislative Assembly. Through the initiative of Councilwoman Maria Nazareth (Arena), the Cuiabá City Chamber entered into its record the declaration of His Excellency Orlando Chaves, the local Archbishop, in favor of the TFP. The City Chamber of Sao Carlos (State of Sao Paulo) sent an expressive letter of solidarity to Bishop Mayer and the TFP.

The TFP put together all of these declarations in a leaflet entitled "Personalities Defend the TFP Against *Media Uproar*," which it distributed widely among friends and sympathizers.

Assemblyman Wandenkolk Wanderley also performed a valorous and brilliant action in the Legislative Assembly of his State. His action brought about the rejection, by 19 votes to 7, of a motion by another Assemblyman calling on the Attorney General for an investigation of TFP activities.

The Legislative Assembly of the State of Ceará approved a request to the Minister of Justice to open an inquiry to probe the objectives of the TFP. The courageous journalist Temístocles de

(*) ARENA: Alliance for National Renewal, the majority party.

Castro e Silva gallantly defended the Society in the newspaper *Correio do Ceará*. He stressed the Society's clear and continued action against Communism, as opposed to the "very well-known and very suspicious" ideological behavior of its adversaries (34).

In the press, the TFP was also vigorously defended by the Brazilian-Hungarian journalist Istvan H. Varga of Sao Paulo (35), by Prof. Enio José Toniolo, of Maringá (36); by Mr. Saide Silva Netto, at the time editor of the *A Tribuna do Povo* of Umuarama (Paraná State) (37) and by Constantino Leman in the *Folha de Piraju* (Sao Paulo State) (38). The well-known journalist Gustavo Corção called the criticisms of the TFP "most violent and repugnant" (39).

The NCB news agency distributed a news dispatch entitled "The TFP Comes Out of the Fray Even Greater" (40).

Prof. Jorge Boaventura (41) journalist Lenildo Tabosa Pessoa (42) and journalist Alexandre von Baumgartem (43), while expressing varying degrees of reservation about the TFP, strongly denounced

Prominent journalists defend the TFP

(34) *Correio do Ceará*, Fortaleza, 5-30-75.

(35) Cf. *Folha da Tarde*, Sao Paulo, 6-16-75.

(36) Cf. *O Radar*, Apucarana (PR), June 22 and August 17, 1975.

(37) Cf. *A Tribuna do Povo*, Umuarama (PR), 6-15-75.

(38) Cf. *Folha de Piraju*, Piraju (SP), 6-7-75.

(39) Cf. *O Estado de S. Paulo*, 10-4-75.

(40) Dispatch of 6-15-75.

(41) Cf. *Diário de S. Paulo*, 6-19-75.

(42) Cf. *Jornal da Tarde*, Sao Paulo, 6-3-75.

(43) Cf. *Diário de Brasília*, Brasília (DF) 6-26-75.





the abusive campaign being waged against the Society.

Special mention should be made of an article published in the newspaper *Zero Hora* of Porto Alegre under the byline of A.J. de Paula Couto. That article, published even before the *media uproar*, had the merit of discerning the truth about the campaign of defamation that was being prepared against the TFP. The article, entitled "A Thief Shouting: Beware the Thief," denounced the way the communists were making the TFP a target so that they themselves would escape the repression they deserved (44).

* * *

*Other sectors
move in favor
of the TFP*

Other sectors of Brazilian society also acted to defend the TFP. The Association of Commerce and Industry of the State of Rio de Janeiro sent the Society a very warm message of solidarity.

Mrs. Marietta Fontoura organized a petition of 740 ladies from the city of Rio de Janeiro, protesting against a news story in a magazine of national circulation. In Belo Horizonte, 1,310 ladies signed and sent to the authorities a document manifesting their strong rejection of the campaign against the TFP.

* * *

*For the TFP, a
meaningful test
of cohesion*

What was the result of the *media uproar*?

Since the exacting investigations of the Society had found nothing to discredit it, the TFP — always gallant, serene, and courteous in its answers — emerged from the struggle with even greater prestige.

(44) Cf. *Zero Hora*, Porto Alegre (RS) 5-9-75.

In fact, the battle was, for the Society, a significant test of cohesion. Not even one member or one collaborator left it. The number of its donors was practically unaffected. The support of its friends did not diminish, but rather grew. And the TFP became even better known to the public at large.

The TFP collected in its files 1,923 news items and articles published about it in newspapers and magazines during the uproar, which lasted nearly eight months (from May to December, 1975).

14. "Don't Deceive Yourself, Your Eminence" – A Message of the TFP to Cardinal Arns

For one reason or another, as the *media uproar* against the TFP was developing, subversion – which for a time had seemed to be asleep – began to display signs of a surprising vitality. An obvious symptom, among others, was the discovery of clandestine communist printing shops working in high gear in Rio de Janeiro. They were promptly dismantled by the security forces (45).

This communist comeback became so evident that President Geisel considered it his duty to alert the nation, which he did in a celebrated speech on August 1 of that year. In his address, the President denounced communist infiltration in the most varied sectors of the country, including the two political parties existing at that time (46).

Seemingly asleep, subversion suddenly shows vitality

(45) Cf. *Jornal do Brasil*, 2-1-75.

(46) Cf. *Folha de S. Paulo*, 8-2-75.

One sector, however, did not seem to share the general apprehension.

* * *

A disconcerting document: CNBB's Southern Region I "Do Not Oppress Your Brother"

Indeed, at that moment, the General Assembly of Southern Region I of CNBB was being held in Itaici (SP) in an atmosphere of great excitement. On October 30, 1975, the regular days of debates having elapsed, the Archbishops and Bishops of the State of Sao Paulo, which comprised the above-mentioned Southern Region I, deemed it timely to publish the statement known as the Declaration of Itaici. The document, entitled "Do Not Oppress Your Brother" understandably astonished public opinion.

In this document, the Archbishops and Bishops directly interfered in the delicate situation of the country in an almost incendiary manner. On the one hand, they insisted, no doubt justly, on due respect for human rights. However, their censures of alleged excesses in the repression of Communism were one-sided, since they did not utter a word supporting such repression in principle. Furthermore, they harshly attacked the departments that carried it out. They acted as though they did not see that failing to repress subversive activities would open Brazil's doors to communist despotism, under which the violation of human rights is not an exception but the general rule (47).

The TFP addresses Cardinal Arns: "Don't Deceive Yourself, Your Eminence"

On November 13, 1975, the TFP published in the daily press the message entitled, "Don't Deceive Yourself, Your Eminence." In it, Prof. Plinio Corrêa

(47) Cf. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, *The Church in the Face of the Rise of the Communist Threat - An Appeal to the Silent Bishops*, Vera Cruz Publishers, 4th edition, 1977, page 74.

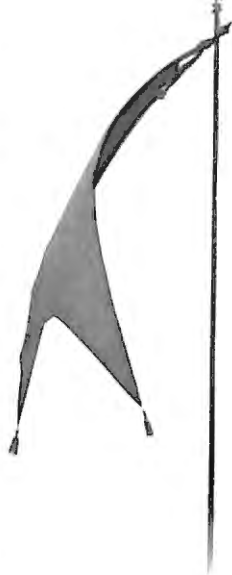
de Oliveira analyzed and deplored the Declaration of Itaici. Addressing the Cardinal Archbishop of Sao Paulo, he said:

"However, do not deceive yourself, Your Eminence. Our people continue to fill the churches and frequent the Sacraments. Nevertheless, let your Eminence not deduce from this the idea that they have given up the convictions and ideals that inspired them in their glorious action of 1964.

"Positions such as the one the signers of the Itaici document have taken are opening a wider and wider gap, not between Religion and the people, but between the Episcopate of Sao Paulo and the people.

"The more the Church Hierarchy neglects the combat against communist subversion, the more it isolates itself from the nation. And to us it seems indispensable that someone tell you that subversion is profoundly and unalterably unpopular among us, and that the more the Hierarchy of Sao Paulo favors subversion, the less venerated and cherished it becomes among us" (48).

The episcopate of Sao Paulo considered it better to give no answer to the TFP . . .



(48) The document was published in *Catolicismo*, no. 299-300, November-December 1975; *Diário da Noite*, Sao Paulo, 11-14-75; *Folha da Tarde*, Sao Paulo, 11-14-75; *O Estado de S. Paulo*, 11-14-75; *Diário de Brasília*, Brasília (DF),

15. *The Sudden Anticommunism of Some High Prelates*

Larger and larger sectors of public opinion were becoming shocked at communist infiltration in Catholic circles. The people inevitably asked themselves why so many Bishops were silent in the face of subversion.

As that question was posed ever more sharply and people's perplexity reached a dangerous apex, high Prelates suddenly came out with anticommunist statements. Perhaps these statements were useful for the restoration of their shaken prestige in centrist circles hostile to Communism or even in rightist circles. But in practice the Prelates did not

November 18 and 21, 1975; *Jornal de Minas*, Belo Horizonte (MG), 11-22-75; *A Tribuna*, Sao Carlos (SP), 11-27-75; *Correio do Povo*, Porto Alegre (RS), 11-27-75; *O Diário*, Sao Carlos (SP), 11-27-75; *Diário de Pernambuco*, Recife (PE), 11-28-75; *Jornal da Cidade*, Sao Carlos (SP), 11-30-75; *O Popular*, Goiânia (GO), 11-3-75; *A Cidade*, Ribeirao Preto (SP), 12-7-75; *Monitor Campista*, Campos (RJ), 12-7-75; *A Nacao*, Blumenau (SC), 12-9-75; *Diario Catarinense*, Florianópolis (SC), 12-9-75; *O Povo*, Fortaleza (CE), 12-9-75; *O Reporter*, Goiânia (GO), December 9, 15, 1975; *Correio do Ceará*, Fortaleza (CE), 12-10-75; *Equipe*, Cuiabá (MT), 12-12-75; *Eco/um*, Várzea Grande (MT), December 13, 20, 1975; *A Tarde*, Salvador (BA), 12-16-75; *O Estado*, Florianópolis (SC), 12-17-75; *Folha de Londrina*, Londrina (PR), 12-21-75; *O Fluminense*, Niterói (RJ), December 28, 29, 1975; *A Provincia do Pará*, Belém (PA), 1-18-76; *O Jornal*, Manaus (AM), January 20, 22, 1976; *Jornal do Comércio*, Manaus (AM), 1-20-76; *A Notícia*, Manaus (AM), 1-25-76; *Jornal de Debates*, Rio de Janeiro, January 26 and February 1, 1976; *Gazeta de Alagoas*, Maceió (AL), 2-12-76

even hint at taking the indispensable and urgent canonical measures against communist infiltration in the area of their jurisdiction, that is, in Catholic circles.

Then, in March of 1976, the TFP published the declaration "On the Sudden Anticommunism of High Prelates — Some Reflections of the TFP" in the country's main newspapers (49). With respectful frankness, the document expressed the conviction that after so many years of omission in that field, there was only one way Brazilians would take the Prelates' statements seriously. That would be if the Prelates accompanied their words with concrete measures against communist infiltration in Catholic circles.

The Bishops' declarations against Communism stopped as suddenly as they had begun.

The TFP takes a stand on the sudden anti-communism of high Prelates

(49) The communique was published in *Catolicismo*, no. 303, March 1976; *O Estado de S. Paulo*, 3-7-76; *Correio do Ceará*, Fortaleza (CE), 3-8-76; *O Povo*, Fortaleza (CE), 3-8-76; *Tribuna do Ceará*, Fortaleza (CE), 3-8-76; *A Cidade*, Ribeirao Preto (SP), 3-9-76; *Diário de Pernambuco*, Recife (PE), 3-9-76; *Diário do Paraná*, Curitiba (PR), 3-9-76; *Estado de Minas*, Belo Horizonte (MG), 3-9-76; *O Diário*, Sao Carlos (SP), 3-9-76; *O Estado*, Florianopolis (SC), 3-9-76; *O Estado do Paraná*, Curitiba (PR), 3-9-76; *Tribuna do Paraná*, Curitiba (PR), 3-9-76; *A Tribuna*, Sao Carlos (SP), 3-10-76; *Diário da Região*, Sao José do Rio Preto (SP), 3-10-76; *Folha de Londrina*, Londrina (PR), 3-10-76; *A Tarde*, Salvador (BA), 3-11-76; *Correio do Povo*, Porto Alegre (RS), 3-11-76; *O Popular*, Goiânia (GO), 3-11-76; *A Cidade*, Campos (RJ), March 12, 1976; *Tablóide da Nova Paulista*, Olimpia (SP), 3-12-76; *A Voz do Povo*, Bom Jesus do Itabapoana (RJ), 3-13-76; *Correio de Barretos*, Barretos (SP), 3-13-76; *Jornal da Cidade*, Olimpia (SP), 3-13-76; *Diário de Notícias*, Rio de Janeiro, 3-13-76; *O Globo*, Rio de Janeiro, 3-15-76; *Correio Popular*, Campinas (SP), 3-17-76; *Folha do Comércio*, Campos (RJ), 3-17-76; *A Notícia*, Campos (RJ), 3-19-76; *Monitor Campista*, Campos (RJ), 3-19-76; *Eco/um*, Várzea Grande (MT), 3-20-76; O

16. The TFP on the Escalation of the Communist Threat Within the Church

Infiltration grows, controversies increase: the case of Fr. Jentel

The controversy over communist infiltration in Catholic circles continued. The activities of the French missionary Father Francis Jentel, which had been covered up by his Bishop, Msgr. Pedro Casaldaliga, were considered subversive by the Federal Government. Fr. Jentel was expelled from Brazil by a decree of December 15, 1975.

Regional, Itaperuna (RJ), 3-20-76; *Comércio de Franca*, Franca (SP), 3-21-76; *O Repórter*, Goiânia (GO), March 23, 29, 1976; *O Imparcial*, Sao Luis (MA), 3-24-76; *Jornal Pequeno*, Sao Luis (MA), 3-25-76; *O Estado do Maranhão*, Sao Luis (MA), 3-25-76; *A Notícia*, Manaus (AM), 3-28-76; *O Democrata*, Jaboticabal (SP), 3-31-76; *Jornal da Cidade*, Bauru (SP), 4-7-76; *O Social Democrata*, Cuiabá (MT), March 10, 11, 1976; *Diário de Marília*, Marília (SP), 4-11-76; *A Comarca*, Araçatuba (SP), 4-15-76; *Correio de Garça*, Garça (SP), 4-14-76; *Diário de Birigui*, Birigui (SP), 4-14-76; *Atualidades*, Joao Monlevade (MG), May 14, 20, 1976; *O Comércio*, Niterói (RJ), May 1976; *O Noticiário da Fronteira*, Matra (SC), 8-29-76; Summaries were published in *Diario da Noite*, Sao Paulo, 3-12-76; *Diário de S. Paulo*, 3-12-76; *Correio do Estado*, Campo Grande (MT), 3-16-76; *Diário da Manhã*, Recife (PE), 3-17-76; *O Diário*, Sao Carlos (SP), 3-23-76; *A Comarca de Penápolis*, Penápolis (SP), 4-18-76



The left complained vociferously. Prominent members of CNBB spared no expressions of solidarity with the French priest that Brazil was rejecting as subversive, nor with the Bishop of Sao Felix do Araguaia, a Spanish citizen, whose possible expulsion from the country was also being aired in the press (50).

Many asked themselves how the state of affairs in the Church of God could have reached such a point!

A new book by Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, *The Church in the Face of the Rise of the Communist Threat — An Appeal to the Silent Bishops*, shed abundant light on the murky problem of communist infiltration in the Church.

* * *

However, in order for one to understand this book and the important role it played in Brazil, it is necessary first to consider yet another work that had a great impact in Chile five months earlier.

In February 1976, the Chilean Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property had published the book *The Church of Silence in Chile — The TFP Proclaims the Whole Truth*. The book showed how nearly the whole Episcopate of Chile and a very large part of its clergy had given decisive assistance to the policies of the late Marxist President Salvador Allende through thick and thin.

As the trauma of three years of Communism was still very lively in everyone's memory, the book was *the* topic of conversation all over Chile for

*The Church of
Silence in Chile
— The TFP Pro-
claims the Whole
Truth*

*The book's im-
pact*

(50) Cf. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, *The Church in the Face of the Rise of the Communist Threat — An Appeal to the Silent Bishops*, 4th edition, 1977, pages 28-29.

months. In this way, it became clear to all Chileans that Cardinal Silva Henríquez, followed by the majority of the bishops and a considerable part of the clergy, had been co-responsible for the tragedy of their country.

The right and the duty of resisting destructive work of certain Shepherds

The book reviewed those tragic events and documented them for History. It went even further by drawing the logical conclusion that the conduct of these churchmen was such that the authors could not see how not to regard it as favoring schism and heresy. And it pointed out that in the light of Catholic doctrine and Canon Law, the Chilean faithful, therefore, had the right and the duty to resist their Shepherds' socio-economic activities which were destroying Christian Civilization in their country.

The Chilean tragedy, a lesson for the whole world

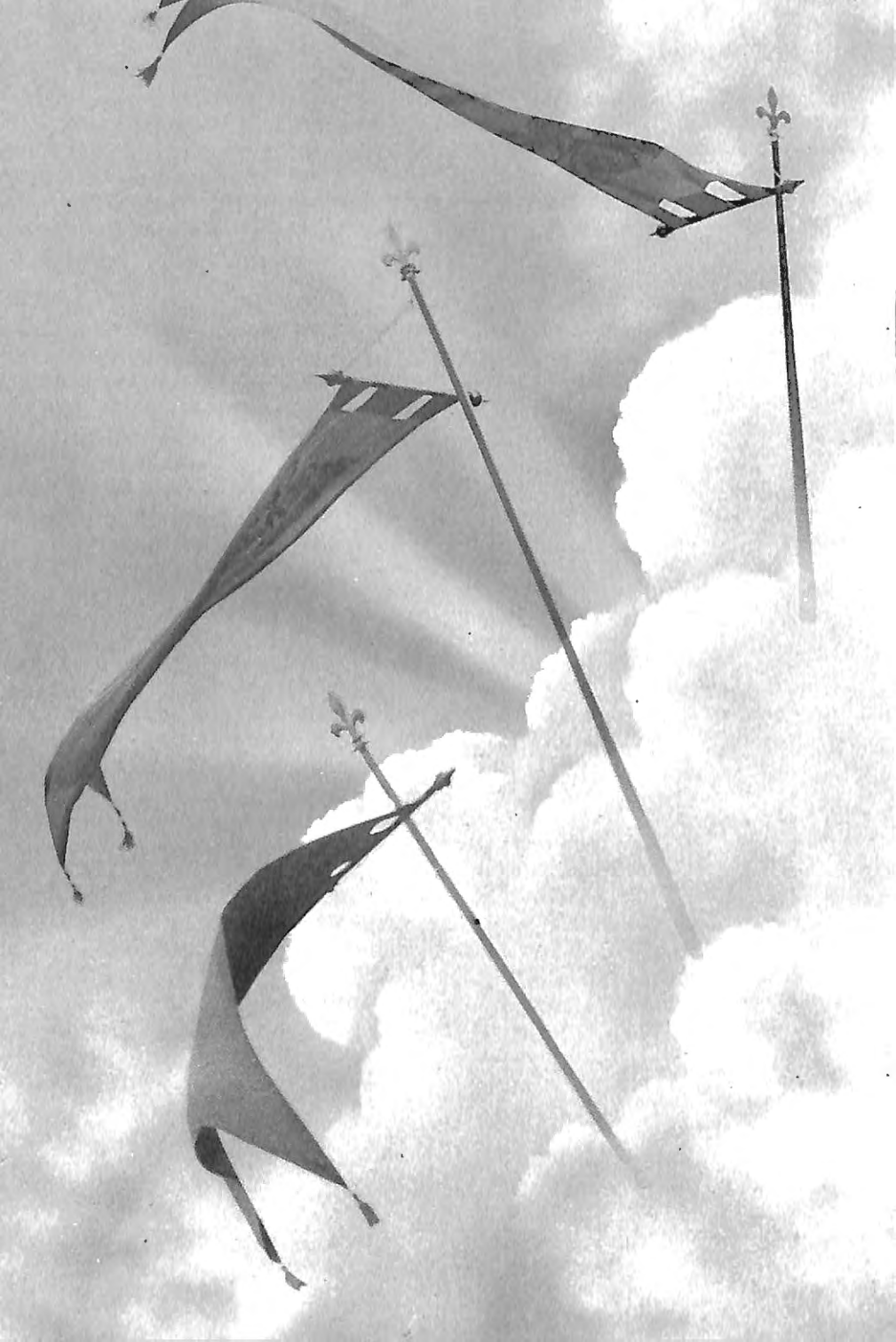
Since the Chilean tragedy was a lesson for the world and very much so for Brazil, the Brazilian TFP decided to promote the publication of a substantial summary of the work.

A history of communist progressivism in Brazil: The Church in the Face of the Rise of the Communist Threat

Vera Cruz Publishers took charge of publishing the book and invited Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira to write the prologue. He not only agreed but decided to go even further. There were marked analogies between certain aspects of the events in Chile and others that had occurred in Brazil. Because of this, he deemed it timely to publish in Brazil a history of the communist progressivist crisis that has grown continuously from 1940 to the present day. Thus, in June 1976, the book, *The Church in the Face of the Rise of the Communist Threat — An Appeal to the Silent Bishops*, was published. The work also contained a summary of *The Church of Silence in Chile*.

* * *

Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira's new book showed how communist infiltration had already be-



Bishop's scandalous pro-communist poetry

The shocking document of CNBB's Southern Region II

History of Catholic resistance to leftward slide

TFP campaign in state capitals and the countryside

The usual reactions. . .

First, acrimonious attacks from the Bishops

gun in Brazilian Catholic circles about forty years earlier and how that infiltration had reached its currently dramatic stage. The gravity of this situation could be seen, for instance, in the scandalous pro-communist poems of Bishop Pedro Casaldaliga. This Bishop's poems had originally been published in Spain and Argentina and first appeared in Brazil in Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira's book. The seriousness of the situation can also be gauged by reading the analysis — in the special appendix of the book — of the document in which the Southern Region II of CNBB, comprised of two Archbishops and seventeen Bishops of the State of Paraná, adopted toward Communism the defeatist and collaborationist attitude of the Church in Vietnam. In parallel, the book narrated the history of forty years, from the times of *Legionario* until now, of resistance by Brazilian Catholics to the Church's slide to the left.

* * *

On July 19, 1976, TFP members and collaborators went to the streets of the largest Brazilian cities to sell the book. Afterwards, they set out in caravans to distribute it in the cities of the interior. In this way, four editions of the book totalling 51,000 copies were sold in 1,700 cities in 22 states.

As can be seen from its successive editions and the exceptionally high number of copies sold, the book had a great impact.

At first, the work stirred up acrimonious and lamentably empty statements from the episcopate, without the slightest semblance of argumentation.

His Eminence Cardinal Paulo Evaristo Arns issued two communiques protesting against the book, one with his eight auxiliary Bishops on 7-29-76; and



■ 51,000 copies of Prof. Plínio Corrêa de Oliveira's *The Church in the Face of the Rise of the Communist Threat* were sold in 1,700 cities of 24 States in Brazil.



the other with the remaining Bishops of the Ecclesiastical Province of Sao Paulo on 9-30-76. The first communique was carried in the Portuguese edition of the Vatican's semi-official organ, *L'Osservatore Romano*.

Similar attacks were made by Msgr. Ivo Lorscheiter, Bishop of Santa Maria and Secretary-General of CNBB (8-11-76); by the CNBB General Secretariat (8-13-76); and in the Archdiocesan Bulletin of Msgr. Helder Câmara's Archdiocese of Olinda and Recife (8-13-76 and 10-1-76).

The TFP answered these attacks with its usual respectful language and logical argumentation. The Bishops did not reply (51). There followed a general silence about Prof. Plínio Corrêa de Oliveira's book in the progressivist fold.

Then, silence in the progressivist fold

* * *

In spite of this silence, the book continued on its course.

(51) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no. 309, September 1976. The TFP's communique about the statement of Cardinal Arns and his eight auxiliary Bishops was published in the *Folha de S. Paulo*, 7-31-76; *Folha da Tarde*, Sao Paulo, 7-31-76; *Diário da Noite*, Sao Paulo, 7-31-76; *Diário de S. Paulo*, 7-31-76; *Notícias Populares*, Sao Paulo, 7-31-76; *Diário de Notícias*, Rio de Janeiro, 8-3-76; *Correio do Povo*, Porto Alegre (RS), 8-5-76; *O Estado de S. Paulo*, 8-10-76; *Correio Popular*, Campinas (SP), 8-10-76. The communique in response to the Archdiocesan Curia of Olinda and Recife was published in two newspapers of Recife, *Diário de Pernambuco*, 8-17-76 and *Jornal do Comércio*, 8-17-76.



*"On the desks
of the Vatican"*

On the one hand, spread by the TFP caravans, it reached even remote areas of our huge territory.

On the other hand, it crossed our borders going as far as the "desks of the Vatican," according to journalist Rocco Morabito's report from Rome: *"Several times it was possible to find on desks in Vatican offices copies of Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira's The Church in the Face of the Rise of the Communist Threat, published in Sao Paulo, containing long quotations from the writings and poetry of Bishop Pedro"* (52).

* * *

*Plinio Corrêa de
Oliveira appeals
to the "Silent
Bishops;" the
answer is silence*

In his book, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira made a strong appeal to the "Silent Bishops" who comprise the majority of the Brazilian Episcopate: *"In the hands of the silent ones" — he said — "God has placed all the means that can still remedy the situation: they are numerous, they have positions, prestige, and posts.*

"Let them speak out, teach, and fight. For, if there are times to be quiet, there are other times when it is imperative that one speak; such times are, above all, situations of affliction like the one in which the Church and the country find themselves" (page 86).

Nevertheless, the silent ones. . .remained silent.

* * *

*The events be-
come graver*

Meanwhile, graver and graver events were coming one after the other. Indeed, in November 1976, taking a frankly leftist attitude, the CNBB promoted the distribution of a booklet entitled "Pastoral Com-

(52) Cf. *O Estado de S. Paulo*, 4-8-77.

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munication to the People of God." Written by CNBB's Representative Commission, the document stimulated class struggle and painted a distorted picture of Brazilian reality, presenting our country as a land where the police torture the poor and protect moneyed criminals. Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira blasted the document in an article in the *Folha de S. Paulo* (53).

*The "Pastoral
Communication to the
People of God"*

* * *

A week later, a new article by Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira castigated the Hierarchy's indefensible position regarding the case of Fr. Maboni in the State of Pará. This priest had accused his Bishop, Msgr. Estevao Cardoso de Avelar and the CNBB leadership of having induced him to carry out subversive activities. Progressive circles writhed with indignation: "It cannot be! It's absurd for a Bishop to be a communist! There can be only one explanation of Fr. Maboni's testimony: he had been tortured . . ."

*Fr. Maboni's
testimony*

In his article, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira stressed the inconsistency of such reactions:

"If the progressivist fold becomes so irritated because someone is saying that Fr. Maboni's Bishop, and above him the leadership of the CNBB, is crypto-communist, they must then be even more irritated with a book circulating throughout Brazil which has already sold about 35,000 copies, The Church in the Face of the Rise of the Communist Threat. It cites scandalously pro-communist poems of another Bishop, Msgr. Pedro Casaldaliga, of Sao Felix do Araguaia. Why is it, then, that this super-documented accusation circulates amidst the gener-

(53) Cf. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, "The CNBB and Class Warfare," *Folha de S. Paulo*, 11-20-76.

al silence of the progressivist fold, which pretends to know nothing of it?

"This same book cites a document in which Southern Region II of CNBB (made up of Bishops from the State of Paraná) already foresees a communist takeover of Brazil and recommends that its colleagues capitulate and even collaborate with the invader. What is modest Fr. Maboni compared to an episcopal organization as important as CNBB's Southern Region II? And why is it that, while trembling before Fr. Maboni's affirmations and while gravely accusing police authorities, the progressivists remain silent about a far more compromising document, that of the Bishops of Paraná?" (54).

Not even all of this could move the silent ones to open their mouths.

* * *

*Denunciations
coming from the
very Episcopate*

In February 1977, shortly after the closing of the Fifteenth General Assembly of CNBB in Itaici, the so-called "Sigaud affair" exploded.

His Excellency Geraldo de Proença Sigaud, the Archbishop of Diamantina, was now bringing against Bishop Pedro Casaldaliga the same accusations that Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira had documented eight months earlier in his book *The Church in the Face of the Rise of the Communist Threat - An Appeal to the Silent Bishops*. Msgr. Sigaud, however, added another accusation: the Bishop of Goiás Velho, Msgr. Tomás Balduino, was favoring Communism.

The Archbishop Coadjutor and Apostolic Administrator of Uberaba (MG), Msgr. José Pedro Cos-

(54) Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, "Brazil, the Great Orphan," in *Folha de S. Paulo*, 11-27-76.

ta, endorsed Archbishop Sigaud's denunciation of communist infiltration in the Church and even named two Prelates of the State of Goiás as implicated in it.

Interviewed about the case by the *Jornal do Brasil* (5-8-77), Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira asked whether the Holy See, in the face of the denunciations by the two Archbishops, would again display the same attitude of carelessness, inaction, and silence shown in 1968 when the TFP delivered to the Vatican a petition by 1,600,368 Brazilians requesting measures against communist infiltration in Catholic circles (★).

This time the Holy See did not consider it opportune to stay entirely out of the affair. According to reports in the press, it designated the Archbishop of Teresina (PI), Msgr. José Freire Falcao, to study the accusations of the two Prelates. However, nothing was disclosed about the report that the Archbishop of Teresina presumably sent to the Holy See. After giving rise to a wave of support for Bishops Pedro Casaldaliga and Tomás Balduino from many Bishops, the case died out (★★).

(★) Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira also took a position on the "Sigaud Affair" in the articles "A Disconcerting Disconcert" (4-26-77) and "It's Not, It's Not" (5-28-77), both in the *Folha de S. Paulo*.

(★★) Below are listed the Archbishops and Bishops who made pronouncements in favor of Bishops Pedro Casaldaliga and Tomás Balduino, thus implicitly or explicitly disagreeing with the declarations of Archbishop Geraldo Sigaud: Msgr. Paulo Evaristo Arns (Sao Paulo), Msgr. Vicente Scherer (Porto Alegre), Msgr. Adriano Mandarino Hipólito (Nova Iguaçu, RJ), Msgr. Afonso Niehaus (Florianópolis, SC), Msgr. Alano Pena (auxiliary Bishop of Marabá, PA), Msgr. Aldo Gerna (Sao Mateus, ES), Msgr. Angélico Bernadino (auxiliary Bishop of Sao Paulo), Msgr. Angelo Frosi (Abaeté, PA), Msgr. Angelo

The TFP takes a stand on the "Sigaud affair"

Among the Bishops, the same old refrain

Several of the Bishops making statements about the affair said that Bishop Casaldaliga and Bishop Balduino were not infected with Communism simply because it is impossible for a Bishop to be a communist. The great majority of the Prelates maintained silence. Quite a persistent silence, that of the Silent Bishops . . .

* * *

Bishop Mayer suggests a Joint Pastoral Letter against Communism

In August 1977, Bishop Antonio de Castro Mayer declared to the press that he did not understand how one could fail to see the communist meaning of certain poems by Bishop Casaldaliga. Hence, he suggested that his colleagues in the nation's Episcopate issue a joint Pastoral Letter teaching clearly and categorically the traditional doctrine of the Church against the dangers and snares of Communism and crypto-communism.

Mugnol (Bagé, RS), Msgr. Antonio Zattera (Pelotas, RS), Msgr. Benedito Zorzi (Caixas do Sul, RS), Msgr. Candido Padim (Bauru, SP), Msgr. Epaminondas José de Araújo (Anápolis, GO), Msgr. Fernando Gomes (Goiânia, GO), Msgr. Frederico Didonet (Rio Grande, RS), Msgr. Hélio Pascoal (Livramento, BA), Msgr. Hefrique Gelain (Vacaria, RS), Msgr. Ivo Lorscheiter (Santa Maria, RS), Msgr. Jaime Luis Coelho (Maringá, PR), Msgr. Joao Batista da Motta e Albuquerque (Vitória, ES), Msgr. Joao Resende Costa (Belo Horizonte, MG), Msgr. Joao de Souza Lima (Manaus, AM), Msgr. José Clemente Isnard (Nova Friburgo, RJ), Msgr. José Maria Pires (João Pessoa, PB), Msgr. Lamartine Soares (auxiliary Bishop of Olinda and Recife, PE), Msgr. Manuel Edmilson da Cruz (auxiliary Bishop of Fortaleza, CE), Msgr. Marcelo Carvalheira (auxiliary Bishop of João Pessoa, PB), Msgr. Mário Gurgel (Itabira, MG), Msgr. Moacyr Grechi (Acre and Purús), Msgr. Nivaldo Monte (Natal, RN), Msgr. Quirino Adolfo Schmitz (Teófilo Otoni, MG), Msgr. Silvério Albuquerque (Feira de Santana, BA), and the Curia of the Archdiocese of Olinda and Recife as well.

The TFP published his timely statement far and wide (55).

But nothing happened! The silent ones remained silent.

17. The "Unexpected" Finally Brings Victory for Divorce – CNBB Responsibility

The last, victorious drive for divorce in Brazil took place in 1977.

The quiet way the Constitutional Amendment eliminating the indissolubility of the marriage bond was being handled in Congress seemed to indicate that it was going to be defeated. As the mid-term recess approached, few congressmen were attending

The last pro-divorce onslaught

(55) The interview was published in *Catolicismo* no. 321, September 1977; *Correio Brasiliense*, Brasília (DF), 8-30-77; *Jornal do Comércio*, Rio de Janeiro, 8-30-77; *A Província do Pará*, Belem (PA), 8-30-77; *Diário de Notícias*, Salvador (BA), 8-30-77; *Diário de Aracajú*, Aracajú (SE), 8-31-77; *Diário de Pernambuco*, Recife (PE), 8-31-77; *Folha de Goiás*, Goiânia (GO), 8-31-77; *Diário de S. Paulo*, 9-1-77; *Correio do Ceará*, Fortaleza (CE), 9-3-77; *Unitário*, Fortaleza (CE), 9-4-77; *O Fluminense*, Niterói (RJ), 9-11-77; *Monitor Campista*, Campos (RJ), 9-18-77; *Diário Catarinense*, Florianópolis (SC), 9-25-77; *O Imparcial*, São Luís (MA), 9-29-77; *O Norte Fluminense*, Bom Jesus do Itabapoana (RJ), 10-23-77. Summaries were published in *A Notícia*, Rio de Janeiro, 8-30-77; *O Dia*, Rio de Janeiro, 8-31-77; *Estado de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, 8-31-77; *O Globo*, Rio de Janeiro, 9-9-77; *O Diário*, São Carlos (SP), 9-23-77; *Folha de Piraju*, Piraju (SP), 9-24-77; *O Imparcial*, Rio Pomba (MG), 9-25-77. *Correio do Ceará*, Fortaleza (CE), 9-26-77; *A Voz do Bairro*, São Paulo, 10-6-77; *Fernandópolis Jornal*, Fernandópolis (SP), 10-11-77; and *O Progresso*, Dourados (MT), 9-22-77.

the sessions. It even seemed probable that the amendment would fail for lack of a quorum.

However, at almost the last minute, pro-divorce congressmen unexpectedly flocked in from all over the country. The vote was held. On a first vote (June 14) the amendment won by 219 to 161; and on a second vote (June 15) it won 226 to 159. It should be noted that the constitutional reform decreed by President Geisel in April was a decisive factor in this victory. The reform lowered the requirement for constitutional amendments from a two-thirds majority to a simple majority. The certainty many people had that the amendment would not pass, a certainty apparently shared by large sectors of the Episcopate, quickly turned into an embarrassed disappointment.

The TFP had never had that "certainty." As a matter of fact, on June 14 it published a communique entitled "On the Imminence of a Pro-Divorce Vote." First published as a paid ad in the *Folha de S. Paulo*, the communique later came out in the daily press all over the country. In it, speaking in the name of the National Council of the TFP, Prof. Plínio Corrêa de Oliveira alerted anti-divorce circles to some "unexpected" factor that could suddenly enter the picture and bring about the approval of divorce (56).

This is what happened. And this victory of di-

(56) The communique was published in *Catolicismo*, no. 318, June 1977; *Folha da Tarde*, São Paulo, 6-8-77; *Diário de Brasília*, Brasília (DF), 6-9-77; *Correio do Povo*, Porto Alegre (RS), 6-10-77; *O Fluminense*, Niterói (RJ), 6-10-77; *Diário da Noite*, São Paulo, June 10, 14, 1977; *Diário de S. Paulo*, 6-10-77; *Estado de Minas*, Belo Horizonte (MG), 6-12-77; *Correio Brasiliense*, Brasília (DF), 6-13-77; *Tribuna do Ceará*, Fortaleza (CE), 6-13-77; *Correio do Ceará*, Fortaleza (CE), 6-13-77; *Folha de S. Paulo*, 6-14-77; *Jornal do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, 6-14-77; *Diário de Pernambuco*, Recife (PE), 6-14-77; *O Povo*, Fortaleza (CE), 6-14-77; and *O Diário*,

voice became known as the victory of the *unexpected* . . .

In three articles in the *Folha de S. Paulo*, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira analyzed how the unexpected happened and showed how the CNBB had been responsible for the catastrophe because of the spineless improvidence with which it had conducted the struggle in favor of the stability of the family (57).

* * *

For the sake of justice, we wish to list here the names of members of Congress who stood out most in the fight against the introduction of divorce: Senators Benedito Ferreira (ARENA-GO) (*), Vasconcelos Torres (ARENA-RJ), Ruy Santos (ARENA-BA), Mauro Benevides (ARENA-CE); and the Congressmen Geraldo Freire (ARENA-MG), Jorge Arbage (ARENA-PA), Antonio Bresolin (MDB-RS) (**), José Zavaglia (MDB-SP), Dayl de Almeida (ARENA-RJ), Ivahir Garcia (ARENA-SP), Navarro Vieira (ARENA-

Sao Carlos (SP), 6-15-77; Summaries were published in *Jornal do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, 6-10-77; *O Estado de S. Paulo*, 6-11-77; *Noticias Populares*, Sao Paulo, 6-11-77; *Jornal do Comércio*, Recife (PE), 6-11-77; *A Cidade*, Ribeirao Preto (SP), 6-14-77; and *A Tribuna*, Sao Carlos (SP), 6-21-77.

(57) "But the CNBB Didn't Want . . ." (5-16-77); "Firecrackers, not Mortars" (5-25-77); and "34-75-77" (7-27-77).

(*) ARENA: Alliance for National Renewal, the majority party.

(**) MDB: Brazilian Democratic Movement, the opposition party.



MG), Oswaldo Buskei (MDB-PR), Norberto Schmidt (ARENA-RS), Walber Guimaraes (MDB-PR), Cleverson Teixeira (ARENA-PR), José Alves (ARENA-AL), Oswaldo Zanello (ARENA-ES), Ruy Côdo (MDB-SP), and Cid Furtado (ARENA-RS). The TFP congratulates them for the position they took and extends its congratulations to the other senators and congressmen who voted against divorce (★).

* * *

Brazilian disregard for divorce

A final observation should be made on this controversial issue. It was thought that the courts would be jammed with requests for divorce as soon

(★) The senators and congressmen who voted against the introduction of divorce were:

Senators: ARENA: José Guiomard (AC), José Lindoso (AM), Henrique de la Rocque (MA), Helvídio Nunes (PI), Virgílio Távora (CE), Wilson Gonçalves (CE), Dinarte Mariz (RN), Augusto Franco (SE), Ruy Santos (BA), Vasconcelos Torres (RJ), Gustavo Capanema (MG), Magalhaes Pinto (MG), Benedito Ferreira (GO), Otair Becker (SC), Daniel Krieger (RS), Tarso Dutra (RS); — MDB: Mauro Benevides (CE) Ruy Carneiro (PB), Dirceu Cardoso (ES), Benjamim Farah (RJ), Danton Jobim (RJ), Itamar Franco (MG), Evelásio Vieira (SC), Paulo Brossard (RS).

Congressmen: José Bonifácio (leader of ARENA); *ACRE* — ARENA: Nossier Almeida; — MDB: Ruy Lino; *AMAZONAS* — ARENA: Rafael Faraco, Raimundo Parente; *PARA* — ARENA: Alacid Nunes, Jorge Arbage, Ubaldo Corrêa, Edison Bonna; *MARANHAO* — ARENA: Joao Castelo; *PIAUI* — ARENA: Paulo Ferraz; *CEARA* — ARENA: Flávio Marcílio, Furtado Leite, Januário Feitosa, Jonas Carlos, Mauro Sampaio, Parsifal Barroso, Paulo Studart; — MDB: Figueiredo Correia; *RIO GRANDE DO NORTE* — ARENA: Wanderley Mariz; — MDB: Pedro Lucena; *PARAIBA* — ARENA: Maurício Leite, Teotônio Neto; — MDB: Arnaldo Lafayette; *PERNAMBUCO* — ARENA: Gerardo Guedes, Gonzaga Vasconcelos, Marco Maciel:

as the law was approved. But in fact it has turned out that very few people have applied for divorces. Could anybody want a better proof of Brazilian disregard for divorce?



ALAGOAS — ARENA: Antonio Ferreira, José Alves; *SERGIPE* — ARENA: Celso Carvalho, Raimundo Diniz; *BAHIA* — ARENA: Djalma Bessa, Joao Alves, Jutahy Magalhaes, Leur Lomanto, Lomanto Junior, Manoel Novaes, Menandro Minahim, Odulfo Domingues, Vasco Neto; — MDB: Ney Ferreira; *ESPIRITO SANTO* — ARENA: Oswaldo Zanello, Parente Frota; *RIO DE JANEIRO* — ARENA: Alvaro Valle, Célio Borja, Darcílio Ayres, Dayl de Almeida, Eduardo Galil, Hydekel Freitas, José Haddad, Luiz Braz, Osmar Leitao; — MDB: Alberto Lavinias, Leônidas Sampaio, Mac Dowell Leite de Castro, Pedro Faria, Walter Silva; *MINAS GERAIS* — ARENA: Aécio Cunha, Altair Chagas, Batista Miranda, Bento Gonçalves, Francelino Pereira, Geraldo Freire, Homero Santos, Humberto Souto, Ibrahim Abi-Ackel, Jairo Magalhaes, Jorge Vargas, José Machado, Luiz Fernando Melo Freire, Murilo Badaró, Navarro Vieira, Nogueira de Rezende, Raul Bernardo, Sinval Boaventura, Francisco Bilac Pinto; — MDB: Carlos Cotta, Genival Tourinho, Jorge Ferraz, Padre Nobre, Renato Azeredo, Tancredo Neves; *SAO PAULO* — ARENA: A. H. Cunha Bueno, Amaral Furlan, Blota Junior, Diogo Nomura, Ferraz Egreja, Ivahir Garcia, Joao Pedro, Pedro Carolo, Salvador Julianelli; — MDB: Athiê Coury, José Zavaglia, Ruy Codo, Otávio Ceccato; *GOIAS* — ARENA, Helio Levy, Helio Mauro, Jarmund Nasser, Rezende Monteiro, Siqueira Campos; — MDB: Iturival Nascimento, Juarez Bernardes; *MATO GROSSO* — ARENA: Nunes Rocha, Ubaldo Barém, Valdomiro Gonçalves, Vicente Vuolo; *PARANA* — ARENA: Adriano Valente, Agostinho Rodrigues, Alipio Carvalho, Antônio Ueno, Ary Kffuri, Braga Ramos, Cleverson Teixeira, Igo Losso, Italo Conti, Minoru Miyamoto, Santos Filho; — MDB: Antônio Annibelli, Expedito Zanotti, Osvaldo Buskei, Paulo Marques, Walber Guimaraes; *SANTA CATARINA* — ARENA: Adhemar Ghisi, Angelino Rosa, Dib Cherem, Nereu Guidi, Wilmar Dallanhol; — MDB:



18. *The TFP and President Carter's Human Rights Policy*

Flagrant and brutal violations of human rights in the , communist world

On August 13, 1961, East German soldiers completed the "wall of shame" that divides Berlin to this day. The Berlin wall, however, is only a miniature of the "iron curtain" that divides Europe in two, imprisoning the Eastern section and depriving whole nations of their human rights. Furthermore, China, Cuba, Vietnam and other countries conquered by Communism have become the stage of the most flagrant and brutal violations of the most basic human rights. Nevertheless, Russia is not satisfied with this tragic expansion of its atheistic and egalitarian imperialism. It wages revolutionary psychological warfare all over the world, threatening South America as well.

Carter's disastrous human rights policy

In view of this whole situation, it was to be expected that President Carter and his staff, who base their policy on the defense of human rights, would turn their eyes first of all toward the tyrannical regimes in the communist countries.

Ernesto de Marco, Francisco Libardoni, Laerte Vieira, José Thomé; *RIO GRANDE DO SUL* – ARENA: Alberto Hoffman, Alexandre Machado, Arlindo Kunzler, Augusto Trein, Cid Furtado, Fernando Gonçalves, Mário Mondino, Nelson Marchezan, Norberto Schmidt; – MDB: Antônio Bresolin, Carlos Santos, Jairo Brum, José Mandelli, Magnus Guimaraes.

Senator Itamar Franco and Congressman Carlos Cotta, both belonging to the MDB (MG), voted against divorce because they disagreed with the reforms decreed during the congressional recess in April 1977, according to the declarations they made about their votes on June 15, 1977.

But this did not happen. Instead of putting pressure on the Marxist regimes, which violate all human rights, the White House unleashed a series of pressures, sanctions, and threats against the Latin American allies of the United States. This created serious frictions and difficulties between the United States and its main allies in South America, among them Brazil.

Serious difficulties with U.S. allies

The above and other arguments are contained in an important document of the American Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family, and Property entitled "Human Rights in Latin America: Carter's Democratic Utopianism Favors Communist Expansion." In April 1977, it was delivered in Washington to members of both Houses of Congress, to the Department of State, and to influential American personalities.

The American TFP document delivered to Congress and the State Department

The American TFP study observes: "*The Carter Administration has a curious theory about human rights. It has bestowed upon itself the right of defining dogmatically and with absolute validity to all peoples a great number of these controversial points — as if it were a kind of infallible Vatican defining the nature of the civil liberties which all nations have to accept.*"

Carter acts as if he were a kind of infallible Vatican in charge of civil liberties

The document maintains that while Washington applies pressures, sanctions and threats to its Latin American allies, it carries on friendly negotiations with its declared enemies who are, furthermore, flagrant violators of human rights, such as Cuba and Vietnam.

Pressure against friends, but friendly negotiations with enemies

A summary of the document was released to the main international news agencies and published in leading newspapers in the Americas.

Enlightening international opinion

The Brazilian TFP joined this effort to enlighten public opinion in the Americas by publishing the American TFP study in *Catolicismo* and spread-

ing it all over Brazil (58). A pamphlet containing the whole text of the document was also distributed to thousands of TFP sympathizers.

President Carter does not give up his policy, but softens it

Obviously, *post hoc* (after this) does not necessarily mean *propter hoc* (because of this). However, it should be noted that a number of Latin American foreign ministries soon began using several of the arguments found in the American TFP study to counter Carter's policy. And President Carter's human rights policy was considerably toned down.

19. The TFP Sends Telegram to Paul VI About Human Rights Policy

Paul VI's unusual allocution at reception of Brazilian ambassador

A sudden and unexpected attitude of Paul VI toward Brazil caused international repercussions. On July 4, 1977, the Pontiff received Mr. Espedito de Freitas Resende, the new Brazilian Ambassador to the Holy See, who was in the Vatican to present his credentials. After the Brazilian diplomat made the customary address, Paul VI delivered an allocution directly interfering in Brazil's internal affairs. He condemned human rights violations that, he had been told, supposedly occurred during acts of repression against communist agitators in Brazil.

In this way, Paul VI gave a new emphasis to the demagogic orchestration about human rights that communist-progressivist and "toadish" circles were developing throughout the country.

So much was this so that *L'Unità*, the newspaper of the Italian Communist Party, published

(58) No. 317, May 1977.

only two days later, on July 6, a news article frankly supporting the allocution. At the same time, it expressed the hope that the words of Paul VI, in conjunction with those of President Carter, would bring about "destabilizing effects" in Brazil (*).

On July 7, voicing the perplexity and discontent that the Pontiff's words had caused in large sectors of Brazilian public opinion, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, acting in the name of the TFP, sent a telegram to Paul VI.

In his telegram, the President of the National Council of this Society noted that the Pontiff had shown paternal concern over alleged violations of the human rights of subversives. In contrast, he also noted that he had failed to make any censure of the systematic violation of human rights that international Communism, directed from Russia, has been perpe-

The Italian Communist Party applauds

TFP sends Paul VI a telegram manifesting perplexity

(*) *L'Unità*, after depicting the Brazilian situation in a one-sided, simplistic, and tendentious way, affirmed that "in a situation fraught with so many reasons for tension, the words uttered by Paul VI... will easily become a matter for debate inside the ambiances of the dictatorship [this is how the communist paper designates Brazilian governmental circles] and also among those who oppose it."

L'Unità further said: "In the case of this declaration of the Pontiff, as well as others of a like tenor by Carter and his Secretary of State, one notes how the South American dictatorships, which are ideological orphans, see the source of their ideological and cultural raison d'être shrivel day by day. In the Catholic countries of the Americas, whose history is to a large degree made up of importations, the President of the United States and the Pope are symbols with whom the dominant power has always wished to identify itself. The fact that such symbols speak against the dictatorships, criticizing essential options of government, has destabilizing effects on the dominant classes."

On this matter, see also Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, "Rome's Communist Daily Applauds Paul VI," in *Folha de S. Paulo*, 7-16-77; and *Catolicismo*, no.320, August 1977.

trating in our territory through the instigation of class warfare and social revolution in blatant violation of our sovereignty.

Accordingly, Prof. Plínio Corrêa de Oliveira expressed the hope that, given the cordial relations existing between the Vatican and the Russian government, Paul VI would use his influence to bring to an end the subversive pressure that Moscow exerts upon Brazil and Latin America. And he asked Paul VI to display the same zeal by publicly expressing the Communist governments the horror that he felt regarding the atrocities committed behind the Iron Curtain.

Carried by thirty-six Brazilian newspapers (59), this telegram had wide repercussions in the Americas and in Europe. In Argentina, Bolivia, Canada,

(59) The whole telegram was published in *Catolicismo*, no. 319, July 1977; *Correio do Povo*, Porto Alegre (RS), 7-9-77; *Diário da Noite*, Sao Paulo, July 9, 12, 1977; *Diário de Brasília*, Brasília (DF), 7-9-77; *Diário de Pernambuco*, Recife (PE), 7-9-77; *Diário de S. Paulo*, 7-9-77; *Folha da Tarde*, Sao Paulo, 7-9-77; *Dia*, Rio de Janeiro, 7-9-77; *Estado de Minas*, Belo Horizonte (MG), 7-10-77; *O Diário do Norte do Paraná*, Maringá (PR), 7-10-77; *Correio do Ceará*, Fortaleza (CE), 7-11-77; *Folha de Londrina*, Londrina (PR), July 12, 17, 1977; *Folha de S. Paulo*, 7-12-77; *O Estado*, Florianópolis (SC), 7-12-77; *Tribuna do Ceará*, Fortaleza (CE), 7-12-77; *Diário de Cuiabá*, Cuiabá (MT), 7-13-77; *Dia e Noite*, Sao José do Rio Preto (SP), 7-13-77; *Gazeta do Povo*, Curitiba (PR), 7-13-77; *O Diário*, Sao Carlos (SP), 7-13-77; *O Popular*, Goiânia (GO), 7-13-77; *A Cidade/Folha do Comércio*, Campos (RJ), 7-14-77; *Correio Popular*, Campinas (SP), 7-15-77; *A Tarde*, Salvador (BA), 7-16-77; *Jornal da Cidade*, Olimpia (SP), 7-16-77; *A Cidade*, Ribeirão Preto (SP), 7-17-77; *Equipe*, Cuiabá (MT), 7-17-77; *Unitário*, Fortaleza (CE), 7-17-77; *O Repórter*, Goiânia (GO), July 18, 25, 1977; *A Tribuna*, Sao Carlos (SP) 7-20-77; *A Uniao*, Joao Pessoa (PB), 7-20-77; *Diário de Bauru*, Bauru (SP), 7-20-77; *A Notícia*, Rio de Janeiro, 7-23-77; *Jor-*

Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Spain, the United States, Uruguay, and Venezuela, the TFPs or similar entities had it printed in newspapers of their respective countries (60).

International repercussions of the telegram to Paul VI

nal do Brasil, Rio de Janeiro, 7-23-77; *Gazeta de Alagoas*, Maceió (AL), 7-26-77; *A Voz da Cidade*, Volta Redonda (RJ), 8-16-77; *Tribuna da Noroeste*, Araçatuba (SP), 8-19-77. Summaries were published in *O Fluminense*, Niterói (RJ), 7-9-77; *O Estado de S. Paulo*, 7-10-77; *Jornal de Minas*, Belo Horizonte (MG), 7-13-77; *Luta Matogrossense*, Campo Grande (MT), 7-16-77; *Diário Mercantil*, Juiz de Fora (MG), July 17, 18, 1977; *Fernandópolis Jornal*, Fernandópolis (SP), 7-21-77; *Tribuna Sul Paulista*, Itapeva (SP), 7-21-77; *Correio do Estado* Campo Grande (MT), 7-22-77; *A Cidade/Folha do Comércio*, Campos (RJ), 7-24-77; *Tribuna Lençoense*, Lençóis Paulista (SP), 7-24-77; *O Momento*, Corumbá (MT), 7-26-77; *Folha de Pirajú*, Pirajú (SP), 7-27-77; *O Diário*, São Carlos (SP), 7-27-77; *Fato Ilustrado*, Canoas (RS), 7-29-77; *O Taquaryense*, Taquari (RS), 7-30-77; *O Município*, Amparo (SP), 7-31-77; *O Imparcial*, Rio Pomba (MG), 7-31-77; *Jornal da Divisa*, Ourinhos (SP), July 1977; *Correio do Ceará*, Fortaleza (CE), 8-4-77; *A Luta*, Campo Maior (PI), 9-18-77.

(60) The telegram was also published in newspapers outside Brazil: In Argentina, *La Nación*, of Buenos Aires, *La Gazeta*, of Tucumán, *Los Andes*, of Mendoza, *El Tribuno*, of Salta, and *El Liberal*, of Corrientes; in Chile, *El Cronista* and *Ultimas Noticias*, of Santiago; in Uruguay, *El País*, of Montevideo, and *El Telégrafo*, of Paysandu; in Colombia, *El Espectador*, *El Tiempo* and *El Vespertino*, of Bogotá, *El Correo* and *El Colombiano*, of Medellín, *El País* and *Occidente*, of Cali, and *Vanguardia Liberal*, of Bucaramanga; in Venezuela, *El Nacional*, *El Universal*, and *El Mundo*, of Caracas, *Panorama*, of Maracaibo, and *El Impulso*, of Barquisimeto; in Ecuador, *El Comercio*, of Quito; *El Telégrafo Expreso*, and *El Universo*, of Guayaquil; in Bolivia, *El Diario* and *Voz del Pueblo*, of La Paz; in the United States, *Diário las Americas*, of Miami, and *The Remnant*, of St. Paul, Minn.; in Spain, *El Alcácer*, of Madrid; in Scotland, *The Day Light*, of Glasgow.

20. *To President Carter and Paul VI: Do Vietnamese Refugees Have Rights? Are They Also Human Beings After All?*

*Human rights:
a one-way pol-
icy*

While the Vatican and the White House were crying out against possible human rights infractions in Latin America, the communists violated these rights in the Far East on a broad scale without encountering the least protest from many of those emphatically expressing concern about the subject.

By withdrawing from South Vietnam without having put forward the necessary resistance to North Vietnamese and Vietcong troops, the United States surrendered its South Vietnamese allies to the beasts of prey.

*The epic odys-
sey of the
noble, non-
conformist
Vietnamese*

Red terror thus installed itself in Indochina and started imprisoning or even killing its victims. With noble inconformity, a huge number of Vietnamese families — many of them Catholic — decided to flee in flimsy boats. These victims of Communism hoped to find ships that would rescue them, ports that would open up for them, and people sensitive to the moral value of their epic odyssey to give them shelter.

But fear of displeasing the communist governments had already overwhelmed that vast area of the world and had begun to restrict the freedom of movement of nations and private shipping firms. Accordingly, most ports in that area were coldly and inexorably closed to the refugees. Ships flying all flags were refusing to receive them on board. Thus,



many families ended by perishing amid indescribable torments (61).

* * *

The TFP was afflicted by this succession of tragedies involving courageous Vietnamese who had refused to bend under the communist boot. It was therefore with great joy that the Society learned through the papers that the Brazilian ship, *Frota Santos*, owned by the company Frota Oceanica, had picked up 88 Vietnamese refugees whose boat was about to capsize.

At the same time, however, it was reported that the authorities in Hong Kong, where the ship was anchored, had refused to receive the refugees.

On July 18, 1977, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, in the name of the TFP, sent a telegram to Mr. Antonio Azeredo da Silveira, Minister of Foreign Relations, expressing his jubilation over the noble attitude of the *Frota Santos* and his apprehension over Hong Kong's refusal to receive the refugees. He asked the Minister to grant them entry into our territory and have the Government take care of their transportation expenses if Hong Kong persisted in not receiving them.

"It seems to us a point of honor for our country" — the telegram said — "to shelter in its vast territory the heroic victims of our common enemy, that is, communist world imperialism."

A few days later the Minister answered the telegram of the President of the TFP National Council informing him that *"Having sent instructions to the*

A Brazilian ship picks up 88 refugees

The TFP cables Foreign Relations Minister

The Minister answers

(61) Cf. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, "The Odyssey of the Noble Nonconformists," *Folha de S. Paulo*, 3-7-77.

Consulate General in Hong Kong, we made consultations with the authorities of that colony, and the 88 Vietnamese refugees . . . have disembarked there and are being assisted by the Immigration Service and the Red Cross" (62).

* * *

The tragedy goes on: The impressive declarations of Mr. Tran Van Son

Nonetheless, the odyssey of the unfortunate Vietnamese had even larger dimensions.

On September 13, 1977, the *London Times* published a statement on its front page by Mr. Tran Van Son, a former congressman and leader of the opposition in South Vietnam. Mr. Son estimated that only 8,000 Vietnamese had been rescued and given asylum in different countries and that 110,000 had perished on the Far Eastern seas.

In the face of these impressive declarations, the TFP decided to appeal to the highest powers on earth in favor of the unfortunate Vietnamese.

Telex to President Carter: Human rights campaign questioned

On September 19, 1977, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, in the name of the TFP, sent a telex to President Carter and another to Paul VI, pointing out that "*the continuation of the state of abandonment in which these our glorious and unfortunate brothers have found themselves so far, threatens to put in question the very authenticity of the world campaign for human rights.*"

Also to Paul VI

In his telex to Paul VI, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira expressed his certainty that, upon a request of the Pontiff, "*the governments of free peoples will hasten to send planes, ships, and help of every kind to those unfortunate Vietnamese.*" And he declared that the TFP, with this request, was voic-

(62) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no. 320, August 1977.

ing "the general desire of all those to whom the words 'human rights' had an elevated Christian meaning."

Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira sent an official letter to President Geisel and Foreign Minister Azeredo da Silveira informing them of the position taken by the TFP. The texts of the above-mentioned telexes were enclosed in each letter (63).

* * *

President Carter assigned Mrs. Patricia M. Derian, the Assistant Secretary of State for Humanitarian Affairs, to answer the message of the President of the National Council of the TFP.

*The White House
answers*

In her letter, Mrs. Derian affirmed that since the fall of Indochina the American government had taken a leading role in assisting those unfortunate victims, having received 146,000 Indochinese refugees.

In an article in the *Folha de S. Paulo* of November 25, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira mentioned with sympathy the kind tone of Mrs. Derian's reply. He pointed out, nevertheless, that her letter failed to include any reference to Communism, which was the true cause of the misfortunes of the Vietnamese. In passing, he also remarked that it did not provide precise data in respect to how many of the 146,000 "Indochinese" received by the United States were specifically Vietnamese. It was important to know this, since the immediate problem was to provide help especially for those victims of Communism.

(63) The documents were published in their entirety in *Catolicismo*, no. 321, September 1977. A TFP press release summarizing them was published in full, in *Folha da*

Moreover, since the United States had abandoned the Vietnamese people to the fury of the enemy, it was only natural for it to take the lead in assisting refugees coming from that unfortunate nation.

Has the United States done for the Vietnamese all that it could and should do?

It was, therefore, necessary to know the total number of refugees that the United States could shelter in its large and rich territory, since without this datum, no one could say whether Washington was doing for the Vietnamese all that it could and should do (64).

* * *

A new appeal to Carter: give total support to the Vietnamese

During President Carter's visit to Brazil in March 1978, the TFP took the opportunity to remind the American Chief Executive of the need to provide total and efficient help to the victims of

Tarde, Sao Paulo, 9-23-77; *Diário da Noite*, Sao Paulo, 9-23-77; *Diário de S. Paulo*, 9-23-77; *Correio do Povo*, Porto Alegre (RS), 9-27-77; *O Popular*, Goiânia (GO), 9-27-77; *Correio Popular*, Campinas (SP), 9-28-77; *O Diário do Norte do Paraná* Maringá (PR), 9-28-77; *O Diário*, Sao Carlos (SP), 9-29-77; *Gazeta do Povo*, Curitiba (PR), 10-2-77; *Correio do Ceará*, Fortaleza (CE), 10-3-77; *Monitor Campista*, Campos (RJ), 10-9-77; Summaries of the press release were published in *O Estado de S. Paulo*, 9-24-77; *Folha de S. Paulo*, 9-25-77; *Noticias Populares*, Sao Paulo, 9-25-77; *Jornal do Comércio*, Rio de Janeiro, 9-27-77; *A Tribuna*, Sao Carlos (SP), 9-27-77; *A Cidade/Folha do Comércio*, Campos (RJ), 9-29-77; *O Diário*, Sao Carlos (SP), 10-2-77; *Diário de Cuiabá*, (MT), 10-6-77; *Tribuna de Lavras*, Lavras (MG), October 8 and 9, 1977; *Correio do Sudoeste*, Guaxupé (MG), 10-9-77; *Correio do Ceará*, Fortaleza (CE), 10-14-77; *Jornal da Divisa*, Ourinhos (SP), 10-14-77; *O Diário*, Sao Carlos (SP), 10-20-77; *O Imparcial*, Rio Pomba (MG), 10-23-77; *O Município*, Amparo (SP) 10-23-77.

(64) Cf. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, "The White House Answers," *Folha de S. Paulo*, 11-25-77; see also *Catolicismo*, no. 325, January 1978.

the communist regime in Vietnam and Cambodia who are fleeing these nations by the thousands.

In a telegram to the President of the United States when he was in Rio, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira pointed out that *"these true heroes, of whom a considerable number have died on Far Eastern seas without support or help, have been brutally deprived of their human rights by the ignominious communist oppression. And a great number of those who have not perished continue traveling on the seas without certain destination, abandoned by Western nations which offer them an assistance far short of their real necessities."*

* * *

This total and efficient help to the victims of Communism in the Far East has absolutely not been provided. New and anguish-provoking cases of flight from Vietnam were recorded in the last months of 1978. These facts led the new Pontiff, John Paul II, to make an allocution on December 3 asking the faithful to pray for *"those who are concerned about helping our unfortunate brothers"* from Vietnam. A week earlier, John Paul II had sent a telegram to the UN Secretary-General interceding for the same refugees.

John Paul II intervenes; TFP, deeply moved, congratulates him

In the name of the TFP, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira sent a telex to the Pontiff, respectfully congratulating him for his action and expressing *"Its profound emotion upon learning of the paternal intervention of Your Holiness in favor of those unfortunate ones."*

* * *

On December 28, the Government of the Philippines urgently appealed to Brazil and nineteen

Philippine government appeals to Brazil; TFP sends telex to Foreign Minister

In view of the Brazilian Government's refusal, a new telex from the TFP

In 8.5 million square kilometers, 35 refugees...

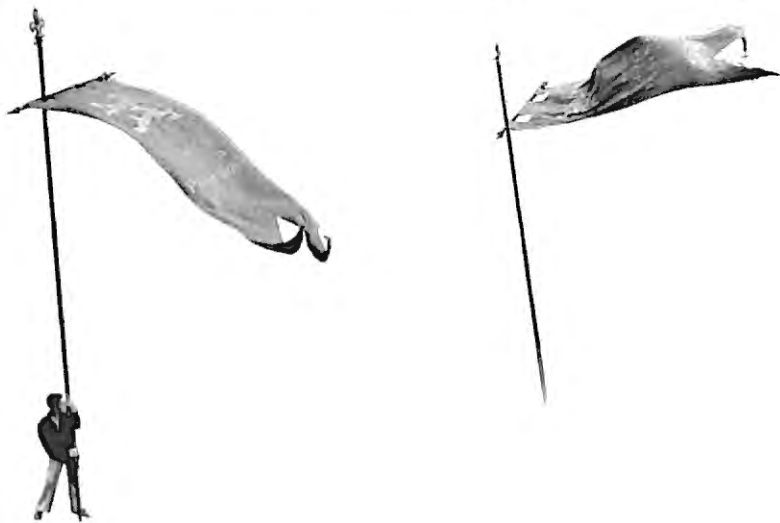
other countries to receive in their territory 2,300 Vietnamese refugees that had arrived in Manila that week.

In view of that request, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira sent a telex on December 29 to the Minister of Foreign Relations emphasizing the need for Brazil to open its doors to those glorious exiles fleeing from their communist-dominated country.

The next day, the newspapers reported that the Brazilian Government had denied the request of the Philippines.

On that same day, December 30, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira sent another telex to Minister Azeredo da Silveira expressing the disappointment of the TFP over the refusal. The document affirmed that such a refusal contradicts "*the profoundly Christian direction of Brazil's international policy, which is always prone to manifest, in its relations with other nations and peoples, the same kindness Brazilians show to their own countrymen and to foreigners in public and private life. This kindness is one of their most attractive qualities.*"

Later on, also taking into consideration some other voices raised in favor of the refugees, the Foreign Ministry reconsidered. It finally decided to admit, into our territory of 8.5 million square kilo-



meters. . . 35 Vietnamese refugees! This lack of proportion dispenses with any need for comment.

* * *

On May 30, 1979, the tanker José Bonifácio rescued 26 Vietnamese on the high seas (15 men, 4 women, and 7 children). According to instructions from the Brazilian Foreign Ministry, the refugees were provisionally left in Singapore entrusted to the local government and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees until their trip to Brazil could be arranged.

The news of the rescue came out on June 8. On the 10th, Prof. Plínio Corrêa de Oliveira, in the name of the TFP, sent a telex to Ambassador Saraiva Guerreiro, the Minister of Foreign Relations, congratulating him on his gesture which was so expressive of the Christian spirit and hospitality of the Brazilian people. At the same time, he suggested that the Minister authorize studies to determine the maximum number of Vietnamese refugees that could be received by Brazil in the vast unoccupied areas of its territory. "Such a gesture would be a glorious milestone of your term in office," the TFP message suggested.

The TFP congratulates Minister Saraiva Guerreiro

21. Indigenous Tribalism:

A Communist-Missionary Ideal for Brazil in the Twenty-first Century

Without a doubt, one of the most disconcerting aspects of the crisis in the Church is the permeability of large sectors of the Clergy and laity to

communist influence and propaganda. This fact is generally acknowledged today.

Few had realized, though, that such an openness to Marxism could reach the point of allowing entrance into the Church of something that the red sect generated as a refinement of itself, that is to say, *structuralism*.

*Levy Strauss's
structuralism*

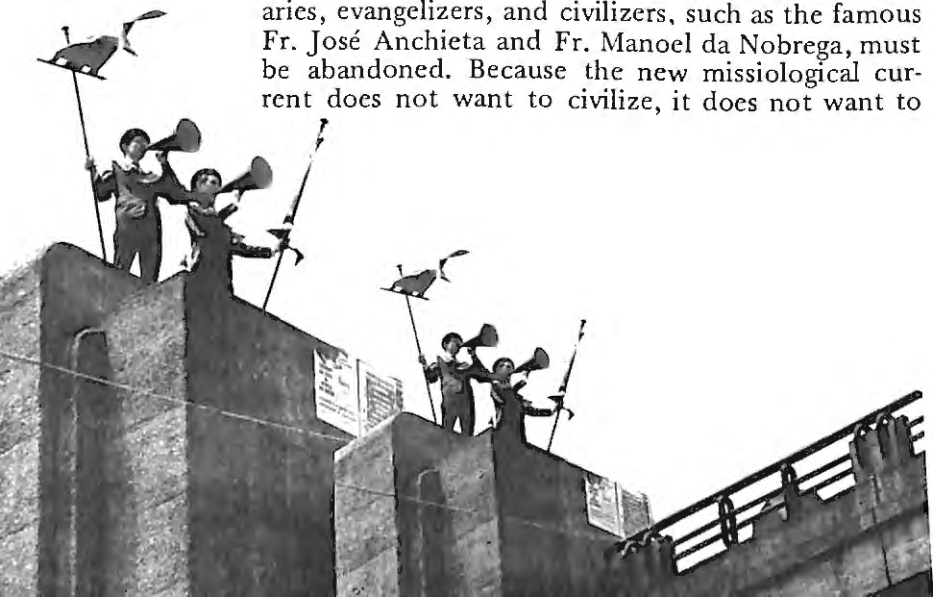
According to this so-called "advanced" philosophical current — whose most prominent leader until recently was Lévy Strauss — indigenous societies are the ones closest to the human ideal. This is because they have *resisted history* and fixed their way of living according to pre-neolithic standards. The structuralists maintain that the world must return to this type of society.

*Neo - missionaries:
tribal village,
the most perfect
way of life*

If it is astonishing that atheist philosophers defend such absurd theses, it is truly terrifying to contemplate Catholic missionaries advocating the savage Indian as the perfect model for man, and life in tribal villages as the model human lifestyle.

*A tribal "paradise,"
without
property or family*

Nevertheless, this is precisely what is happening. A new missiological current, with a free hand in ecclesiastical circles, maintains that the present civilization must disappear to be replaced with the tribal system of life. Institutions such as private property and the monogamic and indissoluble family must be eliminated. The classic models for missionaries, evangelizers, and civilizers, such as the famous Fr. José Anchieta and Fr. Manoel da Nobrega, must be abandoned. Because the new missiological current does not want to civilize, it does not want to



catechize. It simply wants to destroy and create agitation.

Thus, after setting the jungles afire, the new so-called updated missiology intends to cast the sparks of class warfare upon the cities. This means that such agitation, now a crisis of the Church, will tend to become a crisis of Brazil.

*The Church
and the coun-
try in danger*

* * *

A subtle question of tactics underlies this new line. If the "updated" missiology were to praise the system of collective property implanted in communist countries, it would inevitably expose itself to uncomfortable criticisms and refutations.

*A subtle ploy:
behind tribal-
ism, commun-
ist collectivism*

Dodging the dangerous issue, the new missionaries present an apology for the system of tribal life. They emphasize and praise features of it such as collective property, the absence of profit, capital, salaries, and of such classes as employers and employees, "privileged" and "marginalized ones," "oppressors," and "the oppressed," as they say. In this way, they find an opportunity to attack the system of private property in civilized nations of the West.

The concrete effect of this tactic has been that the abundant praise lavished by the new missiology on the collective property of Indian tribes has not provoked among us anything like the uproar that a direct praise for the communist societies behind the Iron Curtain would most certainly cause.

This notwithstanding, there is not the least



doubt that a communist-type society is what shows through this idyllic vision of the wild Indian presented by the new missiology as the ideal for twenty-first century man.

Among the missionaries of this new current are Msgr. Tomás Balduino, a Bishop from the State of Goiás and President of the Indigenous Missionary Council (CIMI), and Msgr. Pedro Casaldaliga, the Bishop of Sao Felix do Araguaia.

* * *

Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira denounces: *Indigenous Tribalism, a Communist-Missionary Ideal for Brazil in the Twenty-first Century*

Seven editions totaling 76,000 copies sold in various states.

A frightening documentation

Indigenous Tribalism, a Communist-Missionary Ideal for Brazil in the Twenty-first Century is the title of a book by Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira published at the end of 1977 to make known to Brazilians this surprising aspect of the crisis in the Church.

Catolicismo published the study in its issue no. 323-324, of November-December 1977. The first edition of the study in book form was released by Vera Cruz Publishers in December of the same year.

In January 1978, TFP members and collaborators set out in caravans to disseminate the book. By December 1979, they had visited 2,963 cities all over Brazil. Seven successive editions totalling 76,000 copies were sold, in addition to the *Catolicismo* edition.

The documentation presented in the book (48 excerpts from 36 documents coming from neo-missiological or progressive sources) leaves not the slightest margin for doubt regarding communist infiltration in Catholic circles — and not merely communist, but even “transcommunist,” that is, *communist-structuralist*.

However, the author says, “the greatest

problem caused by these deliriums is not in the missionaries themselves, I repeat, nor the Indians. The problem is knowing how this philosophy managed to steal into the Holy Catholic Church with impunity, intoxicating seminaries, deforming missionaries, inverting the natural role of missions. And all of this has been done with such a strong ecclesiastical back-up in the rear-guard!"

This is so to such an extent that "transferring the Bishop who declares himself to be 'beyond communism' — although indispensable — is proving to be more difficult than the siege of Troy. It is even being said that Paul VI affirmed to Cardinal Arns that 'to meddle with Bishop Pedro Casaldáliga would be to meddle with the Pope himself'" (65).

All of this gives rise to an unavoidable question: "Would not this cancer be but a mere transfer from another tumor located in more decisive points within the non-missionary organisms of Holy Church?" (66)

* * *

The denunciation made by this book is broad, in its scope, and it is based on abundant documen-

(65) *O Sao Paulo*, January 10, 16, 1976; *Alvorada*, of the Prelacy of Sao Felix, November 1975.

(66) *Op. cit.*, 7th ed., pp. 54-55.

■ "I have the faith of a guerrilla and the love of revolution." Consistent with this line of one of his poems, Bishop Pedro Casaldáliga dons the jacket of a Sandinist guerrilla uniform. It was presented to him in one of the sessions of the Week of Liberation Theology held in February, 1980 in the theater of Sao Paulo's Pontifical Catholic University. The event was part of the Fourth International Ecumenical Congress of Theology.



Strong ecclesiastical rearguard for communist missions

More difficult than the siege of Troy...

*What was the
progressivist re-
action to the
book?*

tation. What was the communist-progressivist reaction in the face of that denunciation?

The reaction to a previous book, *The Church in the Face of the Rise of the Communist Threat*, had consisted of hasty and empty attacks made in six episcopal statements, and then silence (Cf. Chapter III, 16).

This time, however, not one statement was made about the new book by Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira. . .there was only total silence!

As one can see, the communist-progressivist behavior has its mysteries. . .

*Let the progres-
sivists, whether
open or con-
cealed, speak out*

Anyway, two years having gone by since the book was published, it is up to the structuralist new-breed missionaries and the "Catholic left" to speak out. Let them justify, before Brazilian public opinion, the supposed exemption of Catholic circles from any communist infiltration, which they so obstinately affirm against all evidence (67).

22. Another Media Uproar Against the TFP Is Prepared: The TV Program "Fantastico" on Globo Network

*First target: the
Bishop and Cler-
gy of Campos*

Bishop Antonio de Castro Mayer and the priests of his diocese, who work in unison with him, have always stood out in the struggle against progressivism and Communism. They are known, in the religious sphere, for their fidelity to the doctrine of the Church and for their intransigence in defending the traditional principles of Christian morality.

(67) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no. 328, April 1978.

A well-orchestrated media uproar was organized against them. Later, it became clear that the uproar aimed to destroy them in the eyes of the public and, finally, to destroy the TFP.

The smear campaign began in mid-July 1978 with the spreading of pamphlets attacking Fr. José Olavo Pires Trindade, the pastor of the small and friendly town of Miracema in the northern part of the State of Rio de Janeiro. From this town in the Diocese of Campos, the uproar soon spilled into the pages of large newspapers of Rio de Janeiro, Niterói, and even Sao Paulo. These papers spread among the public at large the calumnies propagated in the pamphlets distributed in Miracema, which we shall consider subsequently.

Thus the atmosphere had been prepared for the program "Fantástico" of the Globo TV network. On August 20, that program furiously attacked Fr. Olavo. A week later, on August 27, the program attacked Fr. Olavo again, this time extending its accusations to the pastors of the parishes of Bom Jesus do Itabapoana, Varre-Sai, Natividade do Carangola, Santo Antonio de Pádua and Sao Fidelis, and finally to the Diocesan Bishop himself, His Excellency Antonio de Castro Mayer.

Basically, the accusations of "Fantástico" followed the line of the campaign in Miracema. Thus, it aimed to discredit these ecclesiastics for their opposition to the widespread moral permissive-

"Fantástico" conveys distorted image of clergy faithful to traditional teaching

■ *The Globo TV program "Fantástico" attacked the fidelity of the Bishop of Campos, His Excellency Antonio de Castro Mayer, and his clergy to the traditional morality of the Church. In a logical and serene communique, the Diocesan Curia of Campos refuted its accusations.*



ness which progressivism is increasingly instilling in large sectors of the Church and temporal society. It also took aim against these priests for their fidelity to the morality taught by the Catholic Church for two thousand years. Slandering this fidelity by means of distorted or false affirmations, Globo TV presented Fr. Olavo and his colleagues in the priesthood as pastors of a small-minded, fanatical and strange rigorism.

A logical and serene communique from the Diocese of Campos

In a communique dated August 30 and published in several newspapers in the State of Rio, the Diocesan Curia of Campos refuted these accusations logically and serenely (68). Not even a request from the Bishop of Campos was sufficient, however, to have Globo TV mention the document in its broadcasts. It alleged that the communique was a long written text not quite suitable for TV.

Final target: the third "Fantástico" program aims directly at the TFP

Thus, they did everything in their power to make the public at large receptive to attacks against the TFP, which they singled out as the great instigator of the alleged moralizing aberrations of the

(68) The whole communique was published in *Catolicismo*, no. 333, September 1978; *A Notícia*, Campos (RJ), 9-3-78; *Monitor Campista*, Campos (RJ), 9-3-78; and *Permanência*, Rio de Janeiro, January-February 1979. Summaries were published in *A Notícia*, Campos (RJ), 9-2-78; *O Fluminense*, Niterói (RJ) September 3, 4, 1978; *Jornal do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, 9-5-78; *Diário de Pernambuco*, Recife (PE) 9-6-78; and *O Norte Fluminense*, Bom Jesus do Itabapoana (RJ), 9-10-78.



■ *Fr. José Olavo Pires Trindade, Pastor of Miracema (Diocese of Campos) was the first target of TV Globo's "Fantástico." On September 9, over 400 people gathered in the parish hall to show their support of him and their repudiation of the attacks.*

Clergy of Campos. The next "Fantástico" program, on September 3, aimed directly at the Society.

Most noteworthy among the accusations leveled against the TFP in that program were: it creates mentalities charged with rancor and organizes paramilitary training, thus having a potential for . . . rightist subversion!

In order to give sensationalism to these accusations — which as usual were made without any proofs — Globo TV tendentiously focused on a letter of General Octavio Costa, the Commander of the Sixth Military Region, to the office of the Attorney General of the State of Bahia. According to the "Fantástico" version, the general had prohibited the public activities of the TFP in that state.

However, the true sense of General Octavio Costa's letter had already been published on September 3 in the newspaper *A Tarde* of Salvador, Bahia. The paper carried a news report of the Society's Press Service which informed the public of consultations that one of its directors, Mr. Plinio Vidigal Xavier da Silveira, had with the aforementioned military commander and the person who was in charge of that State's Attorney General's office at the time. These authorities informed the TFP envoy that they had not prohibited the Society's public activities in Salvador. The General had merely asked the Attorney General to pay special attention to all kinds of public acts — whatever their ideological orientation — with the main goal of preventing an escalation of demonstrations and counter-demonstrations. The note from the TFP Press Service was shown to the above-mentioned authorities, who declared that it was in accord with the truth.

On September 4, the TFP came out with the communique "About a TV Program — The TFP to the Brazilian Public." The document was pub-

Baseless imputations multiply

Misleading report from Salvador

About a TV Program: The TFP to the Brazilian Public

2,000 official letters from police chiefs and mayors attest to the orderly action of the TFP

"Fantástico" deflates

lished as a paid advertisement in daily newspapers of the country's main cities (69).

In this elevated and serene communique, the TFP firmly refuted the exaggerated, distorted, and false accusations of "Fantástico." In addition, the Society noted that it was in possession of 1,973 official letters from police chiefs, mayors, and other city authorities congratulating it for the exemplary, courteous, and orderly character of the promotional activities carried out by its members and collaborators in the cities and towns it has visited.

"Fantástico" attacked again on September 10, but the atmosphere had already cooled off as a result of the wholesome effects produced by the TFP communique of the 4th. Nevertheless, after presenting a correct summary of that communique, the program brought forward two "witnesses" who complained about the coldness of two TFP collaborators

(69) The whole document was published in *Catolicismo*, no. 334, October 1978; *Folha de S. Paulo*, 9-5-78; *Jornal do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, 9-6-78; *Jornal de Brasília*, Brasília (DF), 9-6-78; *Folha de Londrina*, Londrina (PR), 9-6-78; *Correio do Povo*, Porto Alegre (RS), 9-6-78; *Diário de Pernambuco*, Recife (PE), 9-6-78; *Estado de Minas*, Belo Horizonte (MG), 9-6-78; *A Notícia*, Rio de Janeiro, 9-6-78; *O Fluminense*, Niterói (RJ), 9-6-78; *O Popular*, Goiânia (GO), 9-6-78; *O Povo*, Fortaleza (CE), 9-6-78; *Monitor Campista*, Campos (RJ), 9-6-78; *O Estado*, Florianópolis, 9-6-78; *Folha da Manhã*, Campos (RJ), 9-6-78; *A Cidade/Folha do Comércio*, Campos (RJ), 9-7-78; *Jornal da Bahia*, Salvador (BA), 9-9-78; *Tribuna do Ceará*, Fortaleza, 9-9-78; *A Cidade*, Ribeirão Preto (SP), 9-13-78; *Correio do Ceará*, Fortaleza (CE), 9-18-78. Summaries were published in *Diário de Cuiabá*, Cuiabá (MT), 9-13-78; *O Diário*, São Carlos (SP), 9-14-78; *Folha de Bragança*, Bragança Paulista (SP), 9-15-78; *Folha de Piraju*, Piraju (SP), 9-16-78; *Equipe*, Cuiabá (MT), 9-17-78; *O Município*, Amparo (SP), 9-17-78; *Cidade de Bragança*, Bragança Paulista (SP), 9-20-78; *Correio do Ceará*, Fortaleza (CE), 10-18-78; *Correio Comercial*, Barra do Pirai (RJ), 11-15-78.

toward members of their families. Nothing specific and consistent was alleged but only vague and general references unsusceptible to any refutation.

Thus, although the program was open to anyone who wished to speak for or against the TFP, a new defense of the Society was unnecessary. It is worth noting that "Fantástico" is telecast on prime time, Sundays from 8 to 10 p.m.; it has the most expensive advertising rates on Brazilian TV and an audience calculated at forty million spectators. In spite of all this costly publicity, its campaign did not produce the expected results. The TFP came through this new attack unscathed, without any loss in the number of its members, collaborators, friends, or donors.

It was perhaps because of this that the promoters of "Fantástico" dropped the remainder of the series of ten programs that — according to information given to this Society — they had planned. They stopped with the fourth program.

23. On the Occasion of the Conclave, Important Statements by Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira

Paul VI died in August 1978. Cardinals from all over the world, according to the laws of the Church, set out for the Eternal City in order to choose the new Successor of Saint Peter.

As usual, newspapers from the most diverse nations were delighted to carry the flood of reports about the long lists of *papabili*. The crisis in the

*Uselessness of
the costly media
uproar: the TFP
comes out of it
unscathed*



*Paul VI dies:
"sede vacante"*

*Speculations on
the "papabili"*



Church was naturally brought out in a great number of commentaries.

As a Catholic thinker with international reknown, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira could not fail to give his contribution to the understanding of that great historic moment.

Paul VI had recognized that the Church was being attacked by a mysterious process of "auto-demolition" (Allocution of December 7, 1968) and that the "smoke of Satan" had penetrated into the sacred place (Allocution of June 29, 1972).

In these circumstances, what was the desire of the vast majority of the faithful? This was the question Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira posed in a first article published on the occasion of the Conclave. This majority has maintained a silence that has been somewhat weary, anguished, and discouraged. Yet, in this silence — said the Brazilian Catholic thinker — one could discern that, above all, *clarity* was what the faithful wanted from the new Pontiff. The majority of the Catholics would like to know "what this smoke is; what ideological labels and human instruments serve Satan as sprays of such a smoke; in what this demolition consists; and why it is, strangely enough, an auto-demolition" (70).

The article was translated into Italian and distributed in the Eternal City by the *Ufficio Tradizione, Famiglia, Proprietà*, the correspondent of the TFPs in Rome.

* * *

A new statement by Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, distributed by the *Ufficio* on the eve of the

(70) Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, "Clarity," *Folha de S. Paulo*, 8-16-78.

Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira asks for clarity

Exactly how is it that the demolition of the Church is an auto-demolition

The article is distributed in Rome by the Ufficio of the TFPs

Conclave, would have an even greater repercussion and leave a luminous wake behind it.

In a preparatory meeting for the Conclave, Cardinal Wysznki, Archbishop of Warsaw, was noisily applauded by the Cardinals upon announcing that 300,000 Polish Catholics would make a pilgrimage on foot to the famous Sanctuary of Our Lady of Częstochowa for the intention of the election of the new Pontiff.

Not everyone, however, realized the importance of that applause.

The legend of Cardinal Wyszynski had spread around the world. He was presented as the charismatic, or nearly charismatic, figure who had supposedly discovered a formula by which the Church could live with Communism.

In communist-dominated Poland, the Cardinal Archbishop of Warsaw had supposedly chosen to accept the *minimum* of freedom that the regime offered the Church. While contenting himself with this *minimum*, Cardinal Wyszynski sagaciously endeavored to take the *maximum* advantage of it.

Sagacity and courage in defending a *minimum* were precisely the virtues glittering in the legend of Wyszynski, the *Cunctator*, that is, the *Temporizer*, who followed the example of the celebrated Fabius, the Roman: "*cunctando restituit rem*" — by temporizing he had supposedly saved the nation.

In his article "The Cunctator, a Maximalist?," Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira described this policy and made some forecasts about a possible election of the Primate of Poland to the Throne of Saint Peter.

It could be wished that, if he were elected Pope, Cardinal Wyszynski would multiply his legend by itself and employ his sagacity, this time, at the service of the *maximum*. This is so because the hopes

*The legend of
Cardinal Wys-
zynski*

*Would the Car-
dinal Cuncta-
tor be a max-
imalist on the
Throne of St.
Peter?*

that the six hundred million Catholics of the free world can nourish regarding Communism are quite different from those of their unfortunate and glorious Polish brothers (71).

* * *

*Surprise in the
"Sala Stampa"*

The distribution of this article of Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira in the Vatican's *Sala Stampa* (Press Room) did not fail to cause surprise, since very few of the accredited journalists there had considered the hypothesis that a Polish Cardinal might be elected.

The Conclave of September elected Cardinal Albino Luciani in the very evening of its first day of balloting. But the world was soon to be surprised at the extremely brief Pontificate of John Paul I.

As a new conclave convened in October, the world was again surprised, this time, at the nationality of the Cardinal elected to the Throne of Saint Peter.

Thus, the whole question raised shortly before in the article "The Cunctator, a Maximalist?" had become the center of attention.

* * *

In a new article, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira underlined the difference between the choices of the last two Conclaves: Cardinal Luciani's overwhelming smile was suitable for dampening in the public mind the memory of the problems caused by international Communism that Cardinal Wojtyla's election seemed bound to rekindle. Indeed, the election of a Bishop

(71) Cf. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, "The Cunctator, A Maximalist?" , *Folha de S. Paulo*, 8-24-78.

from behind the Iron Curtain to the pontificate automatically brings into focus the most tragic of contemporary problems, the one around which all other problems dance their infernal farandole. The problem is: Must the world say "yes" or "no" to Communism? (72).

Up until John XXIII, the Popes taught and acted in such a manner that all Catholics knew that any form of acceptance of Communism or collaboration with it was impossible, because Communism is fundamentally opposed to the doctrine and mission of the Catholic Church. It is a notorious fact that during the pontificates of John XXIII and Paul VI this conviction gradually faded away in the spirit of many, many Catholics.

What will John Paul II do in regard to this matter? What reflection will he cast upon public opinion in this regard? The future will answer these questions.

The new Pontiff, however, has already made noteworthy declarations on the subject. A case in point is his message to the Bishops gathered in Puebla, which Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira studied at length in a series of five articles in the *Folha de S. Paulo* (73). John Paul II's coming visit to Brazil will possibly give him an occasion to address the mo-

A Polish Cardinal ascends to the Pontifical Throne: Must the world say "yes" or "no" to Communism?

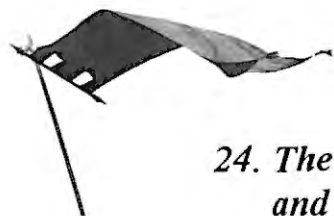
(72) Cf. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, "And John Paul II? ", *Folha de S. Paulo*, 10-28-78.

(73) Cf. "The Message of John Paul II and the Tomorrow That Will Be Ours," 3-26-79; "John Paul II and the Distorted 'Re-readings' of the Gospel," 4-7-79; "The Ultimate End of the Church in Relation to Earthly Existence," 4-14-79; "The Obvious Shortcomings of Contemporary Civilization," 4-26-79; and "Does Property Alone Bear the Burden of a Social Function? ", 5-19-79.



mentous matter again, making ever more clear the line he intends to follow.

May Our Lady, the Mediatrix of all graces, help him to do so in full conformity with her message at Fatima.



24. The TFP Asks an Airing of Opinions and Its Turn to Speak

*Prof. Plinio
Corrêa de Oli-
veira inter-
viewed by O
Globo*

During the Seventeenth General Assembly of the Brazilian Bishops at Itaici (SP) in April 1979, the newspaper *O Globo* of Rio de Janeiro interviewed outstanding ecclesiastical and lay personalities. Among those interviewed were four Cardinals, five Archbishops, seven Bishops, and three Catholic laymen, including Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, President of the National Council of the TFP.

O Globo raised a series of questions regarding the performance of the outgoing leadership of CNBB. In addition, it asked what should be the role of the newly elected leadership of that ecclesiastical organization at the current stage of the country's socio-economic process. It also wondered if there might be a possible adaptation of the pastoral guidelines of the Church in Brazil to the conclusions reached at the Puebla meeting.

Although the TFP is a civic society, it bases its interventions in public life on Catholic principles. Therefore, it was only natural that its opinion should be heard on a point as crucial as the direction that Catholic opinion will take in our country.



In his declarations to *O Globo*, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira suggested that the Bishops, following the traditional system of the Church, convene congresses of ecclesiastical and lay Catholic intellectuals to debate the two hot issues dividing the faithful: the social question and the communist danger. Such congresses, held under the inspiration and orientation of Church authorities, and in an atmosphere of mutual and fraternal respect, could produce valuable contributions toward wise and balanced solutions to these problems.

Catholic congresses, traditional way to resolve disputes among the faithful

A person familiar with the History of the Church, at least since Pius IX, knows that such congresses were held many times, especially to resolve social and economic problems at critical junctures for Catholic thinkers. In this respect, it is worth noting that Germany's famous *Katholikentag* is an example of such congresses. This suggestion was all the more to the point since the CNBB officers whose term had just closed had made a great effort in the temporal and political order for the democratization of Brazil. It is to be expected that the new leadership elected in April 1979 will not contradict in its own field, that is, the spiritual field, the order of things that its predecessors helped so much to implant in the temporal sphere.

In no way can this be interpreted to mean that the TFP is calling for a democratization of the Church. It is well known that in her form of government, the power resides in the Pope and in the Bishops immutably, since it was so instituted by Jesus Christ. But the Church has always exercised this power *rationabiliter*, that is, she has always been inclined to hear and even encourage qualified pronouncements by her sons before making moral decisions concerning temporal activities. Such decisions belong to the Hierarchy exclusively and finally.

In this context, the TFP overflows with desire to cooperate; it merely asks that it be given a chance to speak.

O Globo arbitrarily mutilates the interview

O Globo published Prof. Plínio Corrêa de Oliveira's interview on April 15. But the paper arbitrarily cut out several points, making it impossible for the readers to grasp important nuances of the interview.



Therefore, Prof. Plínio Corrêa de Oliveira deemed it his duty to personally address all the Bishops in the country and send the full text of the interview to each one of them. He received answers from three Cardinals, two Archbishops, and five Bishops.

Practical consequence: personalities and movements presently marginalized should be given a chance to speak

The suggestion of the President of the TFP National Council has a practical consequence worthy of attention. The fact is that there are personalities and movements now marginalized because they do not agree with much that is said and done in so-called modern Catholic circles. His suggestion tends to give them a chance to speak and be heard by public opinion in Brazil.

It is to be hoped that the new leadership of CNBB will have recourse to that traditional and Christianly fraternal means of diminishing, and perhaps even eliminating, the many incomprehensions and misunderstandings now dividing Catholics, and that with this their tenure will be marked by openness, clarity, and logic (74).

(74) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no. 341, May 1979.

25. *In France and Brazil, Traditionalists and Leftists Unite to Demolish the TFP*

On August 11, 1979, the newspapers *O Estado de S. Paulo* and *Jornal da Tarde* published a dispatch from their Paris correspondent telling of a report written by French traditionalists seriously attacking the TFP.

These two center-left papers thus brought into our country ideological accusations leveled against the Society by rightist elements in France.

The report in question was in fact a mere pamphlet by anonymous authors. The accusations that they conjured up against the TFP stemmed from episodes in the *Ecole Saint Benoit*, a small school in the Department of Indre, 300 kilometers from Paris. The school functioned under the inspiration and influence of the French TFP. All the teachers were traditionalists. The administration and part of the teaching body were closely linked to the French TFP.

After a while, a malaise began to appear between some teachers, on the one hand, and the administration of the school, on the other. This malaise, although vague at first, was finally expressed in unfounded and even hostile interpretations of what members of the French TFP working at the school said and did. The latter's efforts at conciliation were fruitless.

The discontent of some of the teachers spreads to the Chaplain and a number of the 23 families who

*Report written
in Paris re-
sounds in Bra-
zilian leftist
circles*

*Whole fabric of
accusations
stems from a
few episodes in
a small school*

had sons in the school. The Chaplain resigns and 10 families withdraw their sons from the school.

Thus, as the occasions for friction had ceased, the misunderstandings seemed to have come to an end.

Nothing would lead one to foresee that the tension which had taken place in that tiny school would have public repercussions, because all those involved in the question dedicated their lives to their own private activities.

However, the above-mentioned report, comprising seventy typed pages divided into six chapters, which claimed to have been composed by an anonymous "commission" of "former militants [of the TFP], families, and priests," did circulate in French traditionalist circles, albeit very limited ones.

In France, the report had very little repercussion. It wasn't even mentioned by the press.

That was not the case in Brazil. As we have said, *O Estado de S. Paulo* and *Jornal da Tarde* gave ample coverage to the report, mixed with references to another matter which we will address below.

* * *

Since his youth, Mr. Martim Afonso Xavier da Silveira Jr., whose parents came from distinguished and highly regarded families of Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, served as an outstanding collaborator of the Brazilian TFP. He was always efficient and dedicated. In 1977, after having moved to France, he inspired the founding of the French TFP. Around the same time, the Sao Paulo-based Adolpho Lindenberg Construction Co. (CAL) appointed him head of their offices in Paris.

Moved by his devotion to the ideals common

Very little repercussion in France

Wide press coverage in Brazil

Mr. Martim Afonso Xavier da Silveira, Jr.'s professional activities in Paris; his action in favor of the French TFP

to all the TFPs, he also carried on economic activities to assist in setting up the *Ecole Saint Benoit* and getting it started. For this purpose, he took out loans in his own name from acquaintances of his in a strictly legal form.

As usually happens in situations like this, the malaise mentioned above influenced his creditors. Accordingly, they asked for the prompt repayment of the amounts they had lent. Understandably, Mr. M.A. Xavier da Silveira Jr. was unable to repay everything right away. He paid one creditor an amount corresponding to a third of his whole debt and made an agreement with his other creditors to pay them off in installments. Suddenly, without any basis, he was accused of *escroquerie* (according to French law, the name of the accuser was not revealed). There immediately followed a disconcerting order of preventive imprisonment.

The distinguished Brazilian was unjustly held in *La Santé* prison for 27 days. Gravely harmed by these measures, he strongly defended his renown and his rights in court.

On July 9, 1980, Judge N. Martens ruled that the accusations against Mr. Martim A. Xavier da Silveira, Jr. are entirely unfounded. This decision shows that his innocence has been completely demonstrated and that therefore the accusations of *escroquerie* and abuse of confidence are mere calumnies. Furthermore, since all the periods allowed for appeal have elapsed without further action, the case is definitively closed.

These various circumstances gave the aforementioned dailies an occasion to make only one report out of two sets of facts. Now there is a fundamental difference between these two sets of facts, because neither the French TFP nor the *Association Assistance-Jeunesse*, which maintained the

The absolutely arbitrary imprisonment of Mr. M.A. Xavier da Silveira, Jr.

Brazilian newspapers mix the two sets of facts

Ecole Saint Benoit, had any legal responsibility for Mr. M.A. Xavier da Silveira Jr.'s financial operations.

The two newspapers illustrated their reports with a photograph of Mr. M.A. Xavier da Silveira Jr. Their story also reproduced distorted or untruthful allegations from the anonymous pamphlet about the Brazilian TFP which in some way also affected its autonomous counterparts in eleven other countries.

One of the most outstanding of the allegations taken from the anonymous report and published in *O Estado de S. Paulo* and *Jornal da Tarde* had to do with the memory of the venerable mother of Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, to whose intercession TFP members and collaborators usually have recourse.

On August 22, the magazine *Veja* published an extensive report dealing with roughly the same facts, entitled "The TFP Goes to Jail." That same day, the magazine *Isto E* published a similar report.

These publications came out with a fact worthy of note: the anonymous report had also been distributed in Paris to the embassies of the countries having TFPs.

This onslaught against the TFP understandably caused surprise in Brazil. At that time, many publications in Brazil were expressing the greatest compassion for Brazilians who had been arrested abroad for bloody crimes with subversive purposes. But with flagrant inconsistency, some of these very publications were delighted to spread grave accusations against a person who had stood out so much as a collaborator of the TFP in Brazil. And this they did without first seeking any information or clarification from their maligned fellow countryman.

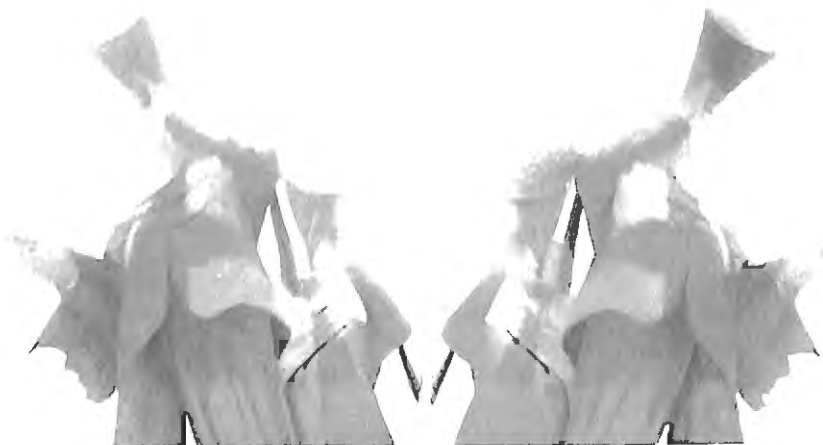
In view of this situation, the Brazilian TFP and the President of its National Council took the following measures:

*Further to do
in the Brazil-
ian press*

*In Paris, the
anonymous re-
port reaches
the embassies
of countries
having TFPs*

*Compassion
for subversives,
delight at in-
justice to fel-
low country-
man*

*The TFP's re-
joinders*



a) On that same 11th of August, the TFP Press Service released a communique (of which *O Estado de S. Paulo* and *Jornal da Tarde* published only a brief extract) affirming that such criticisms of the Society, which bordered on the unbelievable, would not impress our sagacious and serene public opinion. It also declared that the Society would publicly give its friends and opponents the necessary explanations as soon as the study of the lengthy and fanciful report anonymously written in Paris was finished.

b) Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira sent to the director of *O Estado de S. Paulo* a formal letter recorded in the court register. It contained a lively and strong protest against the involvement of the venerable name of his dear mother in a *media uproar* against the TFP. The daily published it August 22 in the letters column with a brief commentary.

c) Also on August 22, the TFP published in the *Folha de S. Paulo*, as a paid ad, a communique

The first communique of the TFP: the criticisms are incredible

Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira protests against the involvement of the venerable name of his mother in the polemics

A second communique of the TFP: Analysis of a news report in Veja magazine

entitled, "The Veja News Story About the TFP: Analysis and Predictions." The document pointed out how curious it was that French traditionalists and Brazilian center-left or leftist publications joined together in the same media campaign against the TFP.

This unexpected convergence between traditionalists and leftists, by the way, was not lacking in resemblance, with due regard for proportions, to the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact between nazis and communists shortly before World War II.

* * *

Refutation by the French TFP is concluded; extensive assistance from its Brazilian counterpart

The TFP has now brought out the promised refutation of the anonymous report. It was prepared by the French TFP with ample assistance from its Brazilian counterpart.

The refutation makes a 332-page mimeographed volume approximately 8 x 10 in. entitled *Imbrogljo, Detraction, Delirium: Observations on a Report Concerning the TFPs*. A subtitle reads: "The Final Balance of a Report — Its Thesis: Absurd; Its Argumentation: Groundless; Its Witnesses: Anonymous." A second, 102-page volume in the same format contains the documents referred to in the refutation.

The work is available to the public

The work is available from Vera Cruz Publishers, Rua Dr. Martinico Prado, no. 246, Sao Paulo, telephone number 221-8755.

* * *

The case now seems part of a distant past

All these episodes, which at that time were very much in the spotlight, now seem remote because of the tumultuous national and international events that have occurred since then. Nevertheless, this being a methodical history of the TFP, we could not fail to cover them.



Chapter IV



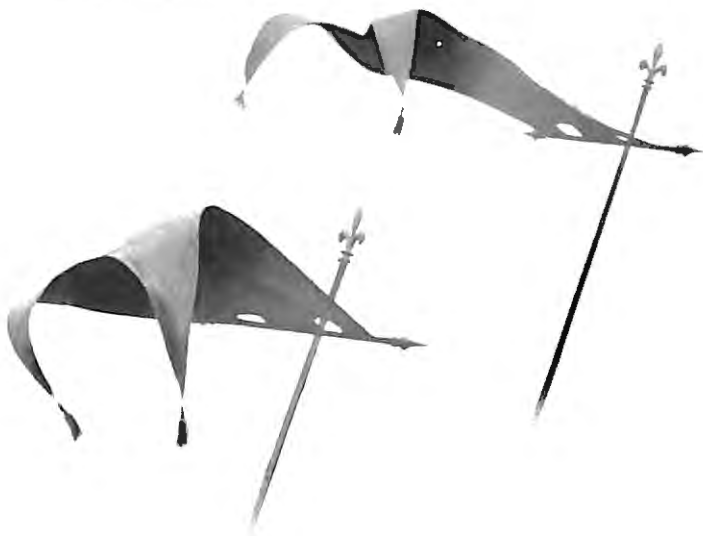


*Great and Small Events in the
Daily Life of the TFP*

- *May 8, 1973 – The TFP had the honor and joy of receiving in its main headquarters on Maranhao Street the Pilgrim Statue of Our Lady of Fatima that shed tears in New Orleans, USA, a year before.*

The events presented in the previous chapters do not constitute an exhaustive study of the history of the TFP. It is still necessary to complete the picture with the great and small episodes marking the existence of an organization as full of life as the TFP. To have included these facts in the previous pages could have made it difficult to grasp the general line of action of the Society in defense of the basic principles of Christian Civilization.

Grouped together in this chapter, such events offer the reader an opportunity to appreciate the dynamism of life in the TFP. On account of the circumstances, various events appear here which are also related, in whole or in part, to the public action of the Society.



1. Lectures on Land Reform Arouse Lively Interest

October 1961

On October 29-30, 1961, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira delivered two public lectures in Belo Horizonte at the invitation of student organizations. During his stay in the capital of Minas Gerais, he was an official guest of the State Government. The topic, land reform, was the hot issue of the day. At that time, Belo Horizonte was a virtual center of debates. Not only were a number of lectures being held there on related topics, but two state governors had spoken. Moreover, Congressman Francisco Juliao, the leader of the notoriously communist Peasant Leagues, had held an agitated meeting in the city.

Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira's first lecture was given in the auditorium of the School of Engineering



■ *The auditorium of the School of Engineering of the University of Minas Gerais was too small for the great number of people who appeared for Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira's lecture.*

■ *Mr. Paulo Salvo, Secretary of Agriculture of Minas Gerais, and rural leaders converse with Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira before his lecture in the College of Medicine.*



of the University of Minas Gerais and was sponsored by the State Union of Students.

The auditorium was too small to hold the large number of people who came to that first lecture. Accordingly, his second talk was held in the auditorium of the College of Medicine. It was sponsored by the staffs of the student guilds of Engineering, Medicine, Dentistry, and Pharmacy of the University of Minas Gerais. Although this auditorium was considerably larger than the previous one, it was also packed (1).

(1) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no. 132, December 1961.

■ *Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira's second lecture on land reform was held in the auditorium of the College of Medicine of the University of Minas Gerais.*



2. *Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira Speaks to a Crowd of Two Thousand in Uruguay*

May 1962

At the invitation of Councilor Benito Nardone, a member and former President of Uruguay's collegiate Federal Government, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira delivered a lecture at the Rural Congress held in Montevideo in May 1962. His lecture, which was followed with great interest by the 2,000 people present, defended the theses of the book *Agrarian Reform— A Question of Conscience*, which he co-authored. The lecture was broadcast all over the country by the capital's main radio station (2).

3. *Lectures and Interviews in Buenos Aires*

At the invitation of the Argentine Federation of Democratic Anticommunist Organizations, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira gave lectures in Buenos Aires on November 2, 4, and 6, 1964.

Speaking before a large audience, he expounded the themes: "The Revolutionary Process in Christendom," "The Causes of the Weakness of the West in the Face of Communism," and "The Freedom of the Church in the Communist State."

The lectures were extensively covered in the

(2) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no. 139, July 1962.

Argentine press. The newspapers *La Nación* and *La Prensa* interviewed Prof. Plínio Corrêa de Oliveira.

On this occasion, he also spoke to the writers and friends of the valiant magazine *Cruzada* (3).

4. Suggest Action by Paul VI, President Johnson, and the UN to Free the Captive Nations

The solemn session closing the Third Lithuanian Congress of Latin America was held in Sao Paulo's Municipal Theater on February 20, 1965. At the same time, the Lithuanians celebrated their national independence day.

February 1965

(3) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no. 169, January 1965.

■ *Members of the TFP National Council see Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira off on his trip to Argentina in 1964. From left to right, Dr. Caio Vidigal Xavier da Silveira, Dr. Paulo Corrêa de Brito Filho, Prof. Fernando Furquim de Almeida, Dr. José Fernando de Camargo, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, Dr. Eduardo de Barros Brotero, Dr. Plinio Vidigal Xavier da Silveira, and Dr. José Carlos Castilho de Andrade.*





■ Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira speaking during the closing session of the Third Lithuanian Congress of Latin America in Sao Paulo's Municipal Theater.

Mr. Vaclavas Sidzikanskas, the President of the Association for the Liberation of Lithuania, and Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, the President of the National Council of the TFP, spoke on that occasion.

Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira called to mind the current maneuvers of international Communism, whose final goal is to eliminate Religion, the chief obstacle to the development of Marxist materialism. To achieve this purpose, Communism is now spreading the idea of the possibility of a *modus vivendi* between Christianity and the red regime.

Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira also called on the Lithuanian Congress to telegraph Paul VI, President Johnson, and the UN asking them to intervene in order to make plebiscites on the question of self-determination possible in the countries occupied by Russia. Such plebiscites would give these peoples an opportunity to proclaim, before the eyes of the whole world, their rejection of the brutal Soviet occupation and of the communist regime (4).

(4) Cf. *O Globo*, 2-22-65.



5. The TFP of Fortaleza Protests Against a Subversive Show

A bossa-nova show was held in Fortaleza, the capital of the State of Ceará, on August 11, 1965. It was sponsored by the Center for Debates and the Clovis Bevilacqua Academic Center of that city.

The affair immediately took on a markedly communist and demagogic character. Accordingly, the university students of the TFP in Fortaleza organized a protest against the unusual festival.

They launched a manifesto which was distributed first among the college students and then on the streets of Fortaleza on a large scale. The campaign was favorably received by the students, who were shocked by the show, as well as by the general public (5).

6. Students of Paraná State Invite TFP Lecturers; the Chancellor Shuts the Door on Them

The Paraná Union of Students (UPE) scheduled a seminar to be held on September 20-23, 1965. The theme of the seminar was "World Communist Imperialism, its Resources and Difficulties." Prof.

September 1965

(5) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no 178-179, October-November 1965.

Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira was one of the lecturers (all of whom were from the TFP) invited to address the assembly.

A few days before the first meeting, the TFP of the State of Paraná was notified that the Rector of the University of Paraná had cancelled the authorization for the final meeting of the seminar to be held in the auditorium of the Chancery. The reason given was that Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira is "a national figure" and "symbolizes a position," and that his presence "would provide an occasion for demonstrations and protests by communist university students in Paraná."

The strange attitude of the Chancellor was made known to the public and analyzed in a press release from the Paraná section of the TFP (6).

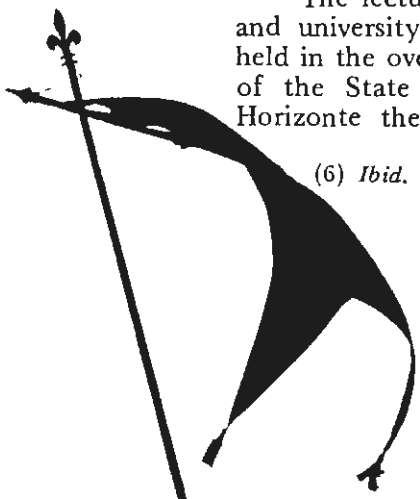
7. Series of Lectures Against Divorce in Sao Paulo and Belo Horizonte

*June-July
1966*

During its petition campaign against divorce, the TFP promoted a series of lectures about the proposed new Civil Code which, if established, would have abolished the indissolubility of the marriage bond.

The lectures were given by outstanding judges and university professors. In Sao Paulo they were held in the overflowing, albeit spacious, auditorium of the State Federation of Commerce. In Belo Horizonte they were held in the auditorium of the

(6) *Ibid.*



local Federation of Commerce, which was also completely filled (★).

(★) The program of lectures in Sao Paulo was:

June 16 – opening session under the honorary presidency of HIGH COURT JUDGE RAFAEL DE BARROS MONTEIRO, President of the Court of Justice of Sao Paulo. HIGH COURT JUDGE JOAQUIM DE SYLOS CINTRA, of the same Court, lectured on "*Illegitimate Union and Illegitimate Offspring in the Proposed Brazilian Civil Code.*"

June 20 – HIGH COURT JUDGE ALCEO CORDEIRO FERNANDES, Inspector General of the Courts in Sao Paulo, spoke on "*The Introduction of Divorce into Brazilian Law by Broadening the Concept of Essential Error of Person.*"

June 23 – MINISTER RAÚL DA ROCHA MEDEIROS JUNIOR, of the Circuit Court of Sao Paulo, spoke on "*The Rights of the Wife and the Unity of the Family.*"

June 27 – MINISTER ITALO GALLI, of the Circuit Court of Sao Paulo, spoke on "*The Husband as Head of the Conjugal Society and the Unity of the Family.*"

July 1 – PROF. PLINIO CORREA DE OLIVEIRA, President of the TFP National Council, spoke on "*Family Continuity and Tradition in the Proposed Brazilian Civil Code.*"

July 4 – MINISTER PEDRO RODOVALHO MARCONDES CHAVES, of the Federal Supreme Court, spoke on "*The Indissolubility of Matrimony in Brazilian Juridical Tradition.*"

In Belo Horizonte, the program was:

June 14 – PROF. JOAO FRANZEN DE LIMA, of the Faculty of Law of the Federal University of Minas Gerais, spoke on "*The Introduction of Divorce into Brazilian Law by Broadening the Concept of Essential Error of Person.*"

June 16 – PROF. JOSÉ DO VALLE FERREIRA, Professor of the Chair of Civil Law of the Faculty of Law of the Federal University of Minas Gerais, spoke on "*The Husband as Head of the Conjugal Society for the Unity of the Family.*"

June 21 – HIGH COURT JUSTICE CARLOS HORTA PEREIRA, of the Court of Justice of Minas Gerais, spoke on "*Community of Property, a Natural Corollary of the Moral and Juridical Unity of the Family as a Society.*"

June 22 – PROF. ARNALDO VIDIGAL XAVIER DA

At the end of one of the sessions, High Court Judge Marcio Martins Ferreira, at that time Vice President and later President of the Court of Justice of Sao Paulo, made this impromptu declaration:

“At this moment in which the Court of Justice of Sao Paulo, through the authorized voice of its eminent Inspector General, gives this illustrious assembly the viewpoint of the jurists who interpret and apply the Law in that prominent Court, it is with profound satisfaction that we associate ourselves with this magnificent campaign by which this Society alerts all the constituted authorities — in a certain way the Brazilian people . . . The Court of Justice of Sao Paulo, at this moment, through the word of its Vice President, gives to the illustrious directors of this magnificent Society their total solidarity and profound admiration, because it is in the trench of men like these that Brazil hopes to guarantee the grandeur of her destiny” (7).

8. *The TFP Participates in the Second National Wanderer Forum and in the Wanderer Youth Forum*

June 1966

The Wanderer, an American Catholic weekly of nationwide circulation, promoted the Second National Wanderer Forum in Minneapolis from June 24

SILVEIRA spoke on *“Illegitimate Union and Illegitimate Offspring in the Proposed Civil Code.”*

(7) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no. 187, July 1966.

to 26, 1966. Outstanding American conservative leaders were among the 550 participants.

The Brazilian TFP, one of the few foreign organizations invited, set up a stand at the congress with maps, charts, pictures, and samples of its publications, showing how its action is carried out.

Messrs. Marcos Ribeiro Dantas and Antonio Augusto Lisboa Miranda, both from Rio de Janeiro, represented the Brazilian TFP.

At the opening session, Mr. Julio Ubbelohde, representative of the Argentine magazine *Cruzada* (the publication of the group that later gave rise to the TFP of that country), read the speech that Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira addressed to the Forum. On the last day of the Forum, the TFP representatives showed an audiovisual about the activities of the Society and of the movements *Cruzada*, of Argentina, and *Fiducia*, of Chile.



One of the Forum's resolutions was to intensify its activities with the youth. Accordingly, the Wanderer Youth Forum was held that same year August 21 to 26 in Buffalo, Minn. Mr. José Lucio de Araújo Corrêa, a TFP representative at this Forum, gave a lecture expounding the principles orienting the action of the Society. An audiovisual about TFP activities was also shown (8).

Mr. José Lucio de Araújo Corrêa was also present at the Wanderer Forum of 1968, where he spoke representing the TFP.

(8) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no. 192, December 1966.



9. *The TFP to the Russian Ambassador: Be Consistent!*

July 1967

On July 3, 1967, in the name of the National Council of the TFP, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira sent Sergei Mikhailov, the Soviet Ambassador in Brasilia, the following telegram:

"The world press reports that Russia upholds the principle that Israel must abandon conquered territories as a condition for peace negotiations in the Middle East. The Brazilian Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property asks you to relay to those holding power in Moscow the observation that the same principle imposes on them the obligation to immediately withdraw the communist troops oppressing the nations occupied since the end of the war. These thoughts, which millions of Brazilians surely share, are conveyed to you without taking a position in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Our sole pre-occupation is the reestablishment of normality and peace in the glorious Christian nations of Europe"(9).

10. *The TFP Supports an Action by Brazil in the United Nations*

August 1967

Brazil asked the UN to condemn the subversion, terrorism, and sabotage Fidel Castro spreads on the American continent. Acting in the name of

(9) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no. 200, August 1967.

the TFP, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveirasent a telegram of congratulations to Chancellor Magalhaes Pinto in August 1967, praising Brazil's action in the UN (10).

11. Lecture by Prof. Mario Amadeo, the Argentine Ambassador to Brazil

On September 20, 1967, Prof. Mario Amadeo, the Argentine Ambassador to Brazil, who was a leader of the Argentine Nationalist Movement, gave a lecture to TFP members and collaborators in their headquarters. His topic was "Characteristics, History and an Assessment of the Argentine Nationalist Movement."

September 1967

Prof. Mario Amadeo, who held the posts of Argentine Ambassador to the UN and Minister of Foreign Relations, is presently a member of the Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace.

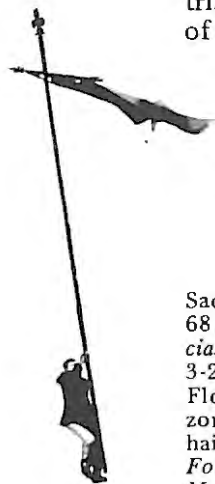
(10) The telegram was published in the *Diário do Comércio & Indústria*, Sao Paulo, 7-22-67; *O Globo*, Rio de Janeiro, 7-24-67; *Diário do Comércio*, Sao Paulo, 7-25-67; *Correio Fluminense*, Niterói (RJ), 7-25-67; *Diário Fluminense*, Niterói (RJ), 7-25-67; *Jornal de Curitiba*, (PR), 7-26-67; *Diário Popular*, Curitiba (PR), 7-26-67; *Jornal da Manhã*, Ponta Grossa (PR), 7-28-67; *Tribuna de Sao José*, Sao José dos Pinhais (PR), 7-29-67; *A Gazeta*, Florianópolis (SC), 7-30-67; *A Nacao*, Blumenau (SC), 8-6-67; *Deutsch Nachrichten*, Sao Paulo, 8-9-67; *Minas Gerais*, Belo Horizonte (MG), 8-10-67; *A Tarde*, Juiz de Fora (MG), 8-15-67; *Gazeta Comercial*, Juiz de Fora (MG), 8-15-67; *Brasil Post*, Sao Paulo, 8-19-67; *O Macabuense*, Conceicao do Macabu (RJ), 8-20-67; *O Apóstolo*, Florianópolis (SC), 8-25-67; *Folha do Comércio*, Campos (RJ), 8-25-67; Summaries were published in *Diário de Notícias*, Rio de Janeiro, 7-22-67; and *Gazeta da Baixada*, Cabo Frio (RJ), 7-27-67.



12. The TFP Applauds Presidential Action Against Drugs

April 1968

In April 1968, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira sent a telegram to President Costa e Silva congratulating him for his message to Congress and for the bill he introduced to broaden the scope of Penal Code provisions against narcotics to include substances that could cause physical or psychological addiction. Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira affirmed that the President's proposal provided a valuable contribution to the morality and psychological health of our youth (11).



(11) The whole telegram was published in *A Gazeta*, Sao Paulo, 3-21-68; *Luta Democrática*, Rio de Janeiro, 3-22-68; *Diário do Paraná*, Curitiba (PR), 3-23-68; *Diário de Notícias*, Rio de Janeiro, 3-24-68; *O Estado*, Florianópolis (SC), 3-26-68; *Diário de Notícias*, Salvador (BA), 3-26-68; *A Nacao*, Florianópolis (SC), 3-26-68; *O Estado de Minas*, Belo Horizonte (MG), 3-27-68; *Tribuna de Sao José*, Sao José dos Pinhais (PR), 3-27-68; *Diário Fluminense*, Niterói (RJ), 3-27-68; *Folha de Rio Preto*, Sao José do Rio Preto (SP), 3-28-68; *Monitor Campista*, Campos (RJ), 3-30-68; *A Nacao*, Blumenau (SC), 3-31-68; *A Noticia*, Sao José do Rio Preto (SP), 4-4-68; *Correio do Povo*, Natal (RN), 4-5-68; *Tribuna da Fronteira*, Mafra (SC), 4-6-68; *Diário da Regiao*, Sao José do Rio Preto (SP), 4-14-68; *A Cidade*, Cornélio Procópio (PR), 4-14-68; *Diário da Manhã*, Ribeirão Preto (SP), 4-19-68.

13. The TFP Asks that Brazil Protest Against the Invasion of Czechoslovakia

September 1968

In September 1968, sharing the worldwide indignation over the despotic and brutal occupation of Czechoslovakia by Soviet troops and voicing the opinion of millions of Brazilians, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira sent a telegram to Foreign Minister Magalhaes Pinto. The telegram, sent in the name of the TFP, asked the Foreign Relations Ministry to protest strongly and solemnly against the unworthy behavior of the Russian communists and their satellites of Warsaw and Pankow (12).

14. Cardinal Slipyj Visits the TFP

September 1968

Also in September 1968 the TFP offered a reception in its headquarters to an illustrious visitor: Ukrainian Cardinal Josyf Slipyj, the Metropolitan Major Archbishop of Lwow.

For having firmly resisted Communism in his country, Cardinal Slipyj was condemned to a long imprisonment and forced labor in Siberia, Mordovia,

(12) The telegram was published in *Tribuna de Sao José*, Sao José do Rio Preto (SP), 8-31-68; *O Globo*, Rio de Janeiro, 9-2-68; *A Gazeta*, Sao Paulo, 9-2-68; *Noticias Populares*, Sao Paulo, 9-2-68; *Diário da Noite*, Sao Paulo, 9-4-68; *Diário Popular*, Curitiba, 9-4-68; *Minas Gerais*, Belo Horizonte (MG), 9-4-68; *Tribuna do Paraná*, Curitiba (PR) 9-4-68. A summary was published in *Folha de S. Paulo*, 9-3-68.



■ *The TFP receives Cardinal Josyf Slipyj, Major Archbishop of the Ukrainians. The Cardinal was subjected to a long imprisonment and forced labor in Siberia for his staunch opposition to Communism.*

and other polar regions from April 1945 until the beginning of 1963.

It was only natural for the TFP to pay homage to this hero of the struggle against Communism.

The reception was held on September 26 at the headquarters of the National Council of the TFP in Sao Paulo (then at 50 Pará Street). Participants included outstanding members of the clergy, the Armed Forces, Sao Paulo society, and the local Ukrainian community. Hundreds of members and collaborators of the TFP were also present (13).

15. TFP Collaborator Elected "Pioneer Worker" of 1969

1969

In the contest promoted by the *Folha de S. Paulo* to choose the "Pioneer Worker" of 1969, the winner was Mr. Albertino Coutinho, a collaborator

(13) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no 215, November 1968.

of the TFP worker sector in Sao Paulo. Mr. Coutinho, a young employee of Squibb Pharmaceutical Industries, was chosen because of the personal and professional merits he displayed in all the tests (14).

16. *The TFP Applauds Measures Against Immorality and Pornography*

In January 1970, following a decree curtailing immorality and pornography in the media, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira sent a telegram to President Medici congratulating him for the valuable service rendered to the preservation of the family. The telegram, sent in the name of the TFP, underlined the role of the family as the basic institution of Christian Civilization and of Brazil.

January 1970

A similar message was sent to Prof. Alfredo Buzaid, the Minister of Justice (15).

17. *"Vers Demain" Directors Visit the TFP*

On April 7, 1970, the TFP received in its Sao Paulo centers three directors of the civic-religious

April 1970

(14) Cf. *Catholicismo*, no. 223, July 1969.

(15) Cf. *Catholicismo*, no 230, February 1970.

■ *TFP collaborators visit the wards of the Hospital for Wild Fire (pempigus foliaceus), bringing the victims of this terrible disease a word of faith and consolation.*



movement "Pèlerins de Saint Michel." The Canadian movement, which published the Catholic newspaper *Vers Demain*, was represented by Mr. Louis Even, Mr. Gérard Mercier, and Mrs. Gilberte Côté-Mercier. They came to Brazil especially to see the TFP firsthand. Here they carried out a busy program in both Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, visiting the main TFP centers, contacting its leaders, and delivering lectures to its members and collaborators (16).

18. TFP Takes Rosaries to "Wild Fire" Patients

June 1970

On June 4, 1970, TFP collaborators visited the Adhemar de Barros Hospital for Wild Fire (pneumonia) in a suburb of Sao Paulo. They distributed 200 rosaries to the patients and their relatives.

During the visit they went through all the wards of the hospital, talking at length with those victims of one of the most terrible diseases known (17).

19. TFP Representative Lectures in Twenty Canadian Cities

September 1970

In September 1970, Mr. José Lucio de Araújo Corrêa went to Canada on a lecture tour. He spoke to groups ranging from fifty to three hundred peo-

(16) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no. 234, June 1970.

(17) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no. 235, July 1970.

■ *The headquarters of the TFP National Council is presently at 341 Maranhao Street in Sao Paulo. Below, the auditorium.*



ple in twenty cities. Finally, he gave a speech to about a thousand people at the National Congress of the movement "Pèlerins de Saint Michel" in Asbestos, Québec (18).

20. Opening of the TFP National Council Headquarters


On December 25, 1970, the present Headquarters of the National Council of the TFP at 341 Maranhao Street in Sao Paulo was solemnly inaugurated. The opening ceremony included a procession to enthrone the small statue of Our Lady Help of Christians which had accompanied the founding members since the beginning of their action in the Catholic movement.

December 1970

In TFP parlance, this headquarters is called the

(18) Cf. *Catholicismo*, no. 243, March 1979.






Seat of the Reign of Mary. The name expresses the ardent desire of TFP members and collaborators for the full restoration of Christian Civilization in our days as Our Lady promised at Fatima: "*Finally, my Immaculate Heart will triumph.*" As a number of great Saints, especially Saint Louis Maria Grignion de Montfort have explained, the Reign of Mary is the full application of the principles of the Gospel in human society, both spiritual and temporal.

The permanent establishment of the TFP National Council headquarters at this house marks a new stage in the history of the Society.

Indeed, in July 1960, when they founded the TFP, the members of the *Catolicismo* group used to meet on the 6th and 7th floors of a building at 27 Vieira de Carvalho Street.

On August 25, 1961, they began to hold their meetings at 50 Pará Street, which would become the headquarters of the TFP National Council until 1970. That center was opened with a simple ceremony in which Bishop Antonio de Castro Mayer, accompanied by Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, brought in the statue of Our Lady Help of Christians.

When the lease expired on February 7, 1970, the owner took the Pará house back for his personal use. The headquarters of the National Council was provisionally installed at 665 Martim Francisco St. during the refurbishment of the definitive location at 341 Maranhao St. The TFP was granted the use of this building by Barros Silveira S.A., a real estate administration firm made up of friends of the Society.



21. The TFP Invited to a Congress in Brussels

The Brazilian TFP was one of the few non-European associations invited to the annual congress of the *Centre Européen de Documentation et d'Information* (CEDI), held in Brussels in February 1971. The congress gathers outstanding European anticommunist personalities who analyze the world political situation and set common goals for their action.

February 1971

At the Belgian capital, Mr. Guy de Ridder, the TFP representative, contacted several anti-communist movements, including the *Ligue Internationale pour la Liberté*. The *Ligue* carries out an intensive work with student youth and promotes anti-Marxist publications (19).

22. Another Visit: Consul Gomide

Soon after having been released by his Tupamaro terrorist kidnappers in Uruguay, Aloysio Gomide, the Brazilian Consul in Montevideo, visited the TFP National Council Headquarters in Sao Paulo. He was welcomed by Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira

March 1971

(19) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no. 247, July 1971.



■ Consul Gomide (center) with Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira (right) and Dr. Paulo Corrêa de Brito Filho.

and several directors of the Society, as well as by a great many members and collaborators. The visit took place on March 14, 1971 (20).

23. *TFP University Students* *Refute Tendentious Reports*

March 1971

On March 31, 1971, TFP collaborators studying at the well-known Largo de S. Francisco Law School in Sao Paulo distributed to their classmates many copies of a flyer entitled "What is the TFP? ". It contained an exposition of the Society's goals, history, and activities.

The great majority of the students received the flyer with interest and warm friendliness. However, a few brawlers fanatically opposed to the ideals of the Society began to shout insults at its young collaborators and threaten to attack them. But the latter calmly stood up to the aggressors insisting that they present rational arguments instead of gratuitous insults. This challenge the roughnecks prudently avoided.

In any case, most of the students ignored the brawlers' fanatic outbursts, and the episode ended without further ado.

April 1971

The next day, April 1, the newspaper *O Estado de S. Paulo* published a piece of news entitled "TFP Agitates Law School," giving a tendentious version of what had taken place. The item contained a number of untruthful assertions about the distribution of the flyers and the conduct of the TFP collaborators.

(20) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no. 244, April 1971.

Therefore, they sent *O Estado de S. Paulo* a letter giving a true account of what had taken place, asking the paper to publish it so that the readers could know what really happened.

Alleging that the letter was too long, the paper refused to publish it. So, on April 18, 1971, in defense of their own good name, the TFP students had the letter published as a paid ad in the *Folha de S. Paulo* (21).

24. TFP Participates in World Anticommunist Congress in the Philippines

The Fifth Plenary Congress of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) was held in Manila, the Philippines, from July 21 to 26, 1971.

July 1971

Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira received a special invitation to the Congress. Since he was unable to attend, he sent a message of ardent solidarity in the name of the Brazilian TFP through Mr. Marcos Ribeiro Dantas, its envoy. Mr. Dantas is a member of the National Financial and Administrative Board of the TFP and Secretary of its Rio de Janeiro Section.

Dr. Miguel Beccar Varela, a director of the Argentine TFP, represented it at the Congress.

The Congress was opened amid great solemnity by Cardinal Rufino Santos, Archbishop of Manila and Primate of the Philippines. President Ferdinand Marcos was the guest of honor at the opening.

(21) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no. 245, May 1971.

At the Congress, the representatives of the Brazilian and Argentine TFPs set up a stand which proved to be of lively interest to the other delegates. The red standard with the golden rampant lion and the red capes were very much admired, especially by delegates from the countries of the Far East (22).

On the day of the closing, President Ferdinand Marcos held a banquet for the 350 delegates from 53 countries. An anticommunist crowd of 50,000 people attended the closing ceremonies.

The TFP representatives then went on to South Vietnam, where they made contacts with local anti-communist leaders and organizations.

25. The TFP at the Boston Rally for God and Country

1971 Mr. José Lucio de Araújo Corrêa represented the Brazilian TFP at the Rally for God and Country held in Boston in 1971. About a thousand representatives of anticommunist and conservative organizations from all over the United States were present. A large crowd visited the TFP stand, located at the entrance. The TFP representative also showed an audiovisual about the activities of the Society.

The representative of the Brazilian TFP at the Rally in 1973 was Mr. Luiz Antonio Fragelli.

1972 Both in 1972 and 1973 the Rally counted on the participation of representatives of the new magazine, *Crusade for a Christian Civilization*, which later gave rise to the American TFP.

(22) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no. 248, August 1971, and no. 250, October 1971.

Among them were Messrs. John B. Hart, John R. Spann, Timm A. Reese, and Arthur L. Denchfield III.

26. *TFP Representative Lectures in the United States and Canada*

In 1971, Mr. Nelson Ribeiro Fragelli gave lectures in Washington, New York, Los Angeles, and Miami. In Canada, he spoke at the headquarters of the movement *Pèlerins de Saint Michel*. In September of that same year he spoke at the headquarters of the Association of Ukranian Refugees in Toronto.

1971

27. *Contacts With Italian and German Traditionalists*

During his trip to Europe in 1972, Mr. Caio Vidigal Xavier da Silveira, a member of the TFP National Council, lectured for Italian traditionalist groups in Rome, Milan, Bologna, Turin, Pisa, Piacenza, Ferrara, and Livorno. On his tour he had frequent contacts with leaders of and members of the active Italian movement *Alleanza Cattolica*.

In June 1972, Mr. Xavier da Silveira made a presentation on the Brazilian TFP at Munich's Bayerische Hof Hotel to representatives of various German traditionalist organizations. While in Munich, he granted Radio Free Europe an interview about the TFP. This well-known station broadcasts to countries behind the Iron Curtain.

June 1972

November 1972

28. *Free China's Ambassador Gives Lecture to the TFP*

On November 13, 1972 at the invitation of the TFP, the Ambassador of the Republic of China, Mr. Fu-Sung Chu gave a lecture to the Society in the crowded auditorium of the Sao Paulo Club.

The diplomat expounded in English on the problems of the Far East and especially on the situations of Free China and Communist China.

During the morning of that day, the Chinese diplomat visited the headquarters of the National Council of the TFP, where he was received by Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira and other directors of the Society. Following the visit, Mr. Fu-Sung Chu was offered a luncheon at the Automobile Club (23).

(23) Cf. *Catholicismo*, no. 265, January 1973.

■ *The Ambassador of the Republic of China speaking in the auditorium of the Sao Paulo Club at the invitation of the TFP.*





■ *The Pilgrim Statue of Our Lady of Fatima that wept miraculously in New Orleans, Louisiana, in 1972.*



On pilgrimage within a gaze . . .



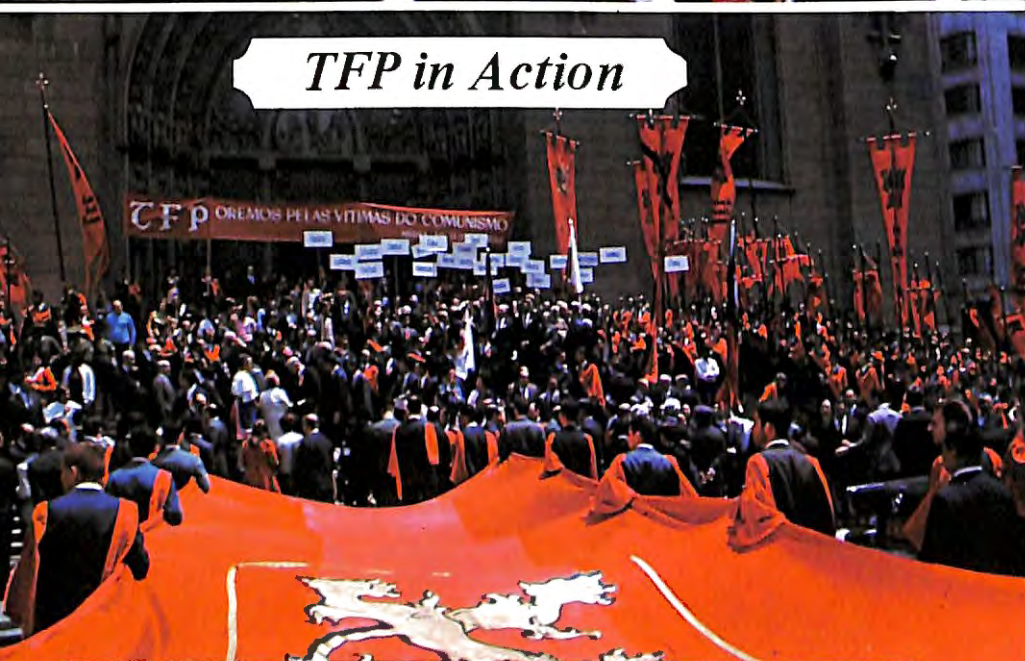








TFP in Action



▪ Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira speaks to the crowd at the historic Patio do Colégio in Sao Paulo in November 1973, immediately after the Mass for the victims of Communism.



■ *TFP collaborators in gala clothing accompanying the pilgrimage of the statue of Our Lady of Fatima in Brazil.*



■ *Some 500 TFP members and collaborators at the national shrine, where they went on pilgrimage to make reparation for a sacrilegious attack against the statue of Our Lady Aparecida, the Patroness of Brazil.*



29. TFP Members and Collaborators *Ask Sister Lucy to Speak*

In order to understand the message that the TFP sent to Sister Lucy, it is necessary to keep a certain background in mind. The story begins in 1917, when Our Lady revealed, at Fatima, Portugal, a secret made up of three distinct parts. Sister Lucy, the only one of the seers alive today, revealed two parts of the secret to the world in August 1941.

Between December 25, 1943 and January 9, 1944 (the precise date is not known even to specialists), Sister Lucy wrote down the third part of the secret in a letter. She was moved to do this because she was gravely ill. The letter was first given to the Bishop of Leiria and later taken to the Apostolic Nunciature in Lisbon, where it stayed until the end of 1958 or the beginning of 1959. Then, at the requisition of the Holy Office, it was taken to the Vatican, where it remains (24).

According to declarations made by Sister Lucy, the third part of the secret was not supposed to be made public before 1960. When she was asked why this date had been set, Sister Lucy explained that as she understood it, people would better grasp the full implications of the message after that date.

For reasons which have not been sufficiently explained, the Sovereign Pontiffs who have reigned

(24) Cf. Antonio Augusto Borelli Machado, *As aparições e a mensagem de Fátima, conforme os manuscritos da Irma Lucia*, Vera Cruz Publishers, Sao Paulo, 13th ed., 1979. pp. 75-77.



since then did not choose to reveal the still unknown part of Our Lady's message. It is possible that they may have left this grand and transcendently important decision to the discretion of the seer; inspired by Heaven, she could, at the opportune moment, make known to the world the revelation so anxiously awaited.

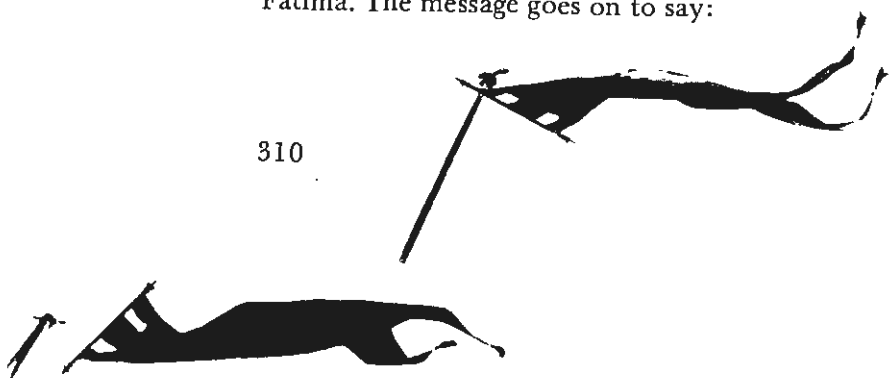
From this standpoint, and keeping in mind that Heaven moves also in accordance with the movements of souls on earth, the members and collaborators of the TFP decided that they could do something about the matter.

May 1973

On May 13, 1973, on the illustrious occasion of the visit of the Pilgrim Statue of Our Lady of Fatima which shed tears in New Orleans, to their headquarters in Sao Paulo, they held an all-night vigil of prayer to the Virgin. During the vigil, they renewed their consecration to Our Lady according to the method taught by St. Louis Maria Grignon de Montfort. In an atmosphere of fervor brought about by the presence of that marvelous Statue, an idea quickly spread through the whole group like a bolt of lightning. It was to send Sister Lucy a message asking that glorious and fortunate seer of Fatima to break her silence regarding this matter of paramount importance.

The message, written by Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, was signed by everyone present either during the vigil or the following day. The members and collaborators of the TFP first point out that they are not entirely foreign to the sublime mission of Sister Lucy; for they dedicate themselves to combat Communism, which is precisely the great scourge to punish the world that Our Lady announced at Fatima. The message goes on to say:

310



"Our eyes turn to you, Sister Lucy, just as the eyes of all those who in this world, sunk in pride and sensuality, preserve intact the Holy, Roman, Catholic, and Apostolic Faith.

"The power of Communism has reached its peak. Overflowing from Russia, the communist regime today dominates 16 nations: in Europe, Russia (the "Soviet Union"), East Germany, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Albania; in Asia, China, North Vietnam, North Korea, and Mongolia; in Africa, the Congo (Brazzaville); and in the Americas, Cuba and Chile. This amounts to an empire of 36,340,141 square kilometers with a population of 1,235,300,000. The communist movement directly controls one third of the population of the world and more than one fourth of the globe.

"The highest rulers of Communism, headquartered in Moscow, the capital of Russia, now seek to deal against the remaining nations a supreme blow.

"This attack is not immediately an armed aggression. The non-communist peoples have disdained the message of Fatima and are sunk in a life of sensuality and greed for the things of the world. They call themselves Christian, but they are accepting the most scandalous fashions and even nudism. Russia now pretends to be their friend. She also seeks to establish cordial relations with the clergy and the faithful. Because of this, no one has his eyes open to the approaching danger. And as soon as they have been completely numbed — which will not be long — they will be swallowed up by communist Russia all at once.

"In order to prevent such a great evil, Sister Lucy, it is necessary to open the eyes of those who sleep like the Apostles once slept in the Garden of Olives. Since so far all the efforts made to this

end by the best Catholics have been in vain, there appears to be only one solution.

"Speak, Sister Lucy. Speak, because if you do not we shall all perish. Speak, reveal to mankind adrift the still unknown part of the heavenly message whose depository you are. That is what the truly faithful souls from all parts of the world expect of you, for all of them are certain that the still unpublished part of the message of Fatima contains words of warning, orientation, and comfort for mankind in this extremity.

"For the love that you have for the Lady of Fatima, we implore you no longer to maintain that silence which leaves even the best perplexed and anguished.

"Like castaways calling for help, we clamor to you saying, speak!

"And to express to you all the affliction of soul that moves us to this request, each one of us signs his name with his own blood."

* * *

His Excellency Antonio de Castro Mayer, Bishop of Campos, who was present at the ceremony, ardently associated himself with the message. It was also signed by members of other TFPs and similar associations visiting the Brazilian TFP. Altogether, 735 people signed the message.

TFP special envoy Mr. Martim Afonso Xavier da Silveira, Jr. took the petition to the Carmel of Coimbra, where Sister Lucy resides. The Mother Prioress of the Carmel begged pardon for being unable to receive the message. According to the rigid norms established by ecclesiastical authority, she explained, nothing regarding the apparitions of Fat-

ima may be brought to the knowledge of the seer without a special authorization from the Holy Sec.

The members and collaborators of the TFP are certain that their solemn act was not in vain; for nothing done *in conspectu Altissimi* is in vain. Our Lady certainly took into account this manifestation of ardent filial love, so much so that the revelation of the secret will be done with even greater brilliance at a moment which will be for her greater glory and the confusion of her adversaries.

30. *The TFP Celebrates Bishop Mayer's Silver Jubilee*

Warmly joining the several well-deserved celebrations of His Excellency Antonio de Castro Mayer's Silver Jubilee as a Bishop in May 1973, the TFP paid homage to him in Sao Paulo. A solemn session

May 1973

■ *View of the solemn session the TFP held in the auditorium of the Maison Suisse in Sao Paulo to celebrate the Silver Jubilee of His Excellency Antonio de Castro Mayer's consecration as a Bishop. To the right of Bishop Mayer, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira and Prof. Fernando Furquim de Almeida, the Vice President of the TFP National Council; to the Bishop's left Prince Bertrand de Orleans e Bragança and Engineer Plinio Vidigal Xavier da Silveira, Superintendent of the TFP's National Financial and Administrative Board.*





■ *The South Vietnamese Chargé D'Affairs delivers a lecture in the auditorium of the Othon Palace Hotel in Sao Paulo at the invitation of the TFP.*

to celebrate the occasion was held in the auditorium of the Maison Suisse in Sao Paulo, which was filled to capacity. A banquet was also held in the Prelate's honor (25).

31. A Conference by the Chargé D' Affairs of South Vietnam

December 1973

On December 12, 1973, Mr. Nguyen Van Ngoc, the South Vietnamese Chargé D'Affairs, delivered a conference in the auditorium of the Othon Palace Hotel in Sao Paulo at the invitation of the TFP.

The diplomat went over the violations of the Paris Peace Accords by the North Vietnamese and explained that there were numerous points of disagreement over the interpretation of the accords (26).

32. A Lecture by the Vietnamese Ambassador to the United Nations

March 1974

Upon his visit to Brazil for the swearing in ceremonies of President Geisel, Mr. Nguyen Hun



■ *The overcrowded auditorium of the Othon Palace Hotel in Sao Paulo during a lecture by Mr. Nguyen Hun Chi, South Vietnam's Ambassador to the UN.*

Chi, the South Vietnamese Ambassador to the UN, delivered a lecture about the "strategy of phases" that characterizes the progress of Communism in the world. The lecture took place in the auditorium of the Othon Palace Hotel on March 16, 1974 (27).

33. *Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira Is Decorated*

The Polish Government in Exile, headquartered in London, bestowed upon Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira the medal of the Great Cross of Restored Poland. This is the highest Polish decoration for civilians, which is currently conferred on people who distinguish themselves in the struggle against Communism.

April 1974

The award was solemnly bestowed on the President of the National Council of the TFP by Air Force Colonel Tomasz Rzyski, Minister of Social Affairs of the Polish Government in Exile. The ceremony

(25) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no. 270, June 1973.

(26) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no. 277, January 1974.

(27) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no. 280, April 1974.

■ *Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira is decorated by Air Force Colonel Tomasz Rzyski, the Minister of Social Affairs of the Polish Government in Exile, with the Great Cross of the Order of Restored Poland.*



was held before a large audience in the Othon Palace Hotel auditorium on April 14, 1974 (28).

34. The TFP on Pilgrimage to Aparecida

September 1974

On September 15, 1974, two hundred TFP members and collaborators went on a pilgrimage to the National Shrine of Our Lady Aparecida to pray especially for the defeat of Communism and for the fostering of the fundamental values of Christian Civilization in Brazil.

They walked the last 40 kilometers of the highway to the National Shrine, displaying their red capes and standards and carrying a Statue of Our Lady of Fatima (29).

35. Congresses and Seminars of TFP Correspondents and Advocates

The TFP has a great number of friends throughout the country who support the organization and perform valuable services for it. They are the *correspondents and advocates*.

The correspondents distribute TFP press releases and communiques to their local papers and to their friends. The advocates, at every opportunity, spread the principles and ideals of the TFP among their friends and acquaintances.

(28) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no. 281, May 1974.

(29) Cf. *Catolicismo*, n o. 287, November 1974.

Since September 1974, the TFP has been holding meetings and seminars for its correspondents and advocates (*).

(*) The First Regional Meeting of TFP Correspondents was held in Campos on September 8, 1974. In attendance were some 200 correspondents and advocates from 15 cities of the States of Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais, and Espirito Santo.

The meeting, which consisted of lectures and debates on the goals of the Society, was graced with the presence of the Pilgrim Statue of Our Lady of Fatima that wept in New Orleans, U.S.A. Her presence was made possible by the kindness of the Brazilian Blue Army.

The final session was held in the auditorium of the Association of Commerce of the City of Campos and was presided over by His Excellency Bishop Antonio de Castro Mayer. The prelate denounced the underhanded maneuvers of Communism, especially those of "diffuse communism." By means of apparently innocuous words, styles, and customs, this type of Communism introduces into people's minds a materialistic and egalitarian mentality. He stressed the importance of TFP correspondents and advocates in the neutralization of "diffuse communism."

Mr. Milton Luiz de Salles Mourao, Vice President of the TFP Minas Gerais Section, pointed out that so-called Catholic progressivism is the most dangerous enemy of Christian Civilization in our days.

■ *September 15, 1974. Two hundred TFP members and collaborators on pilgrimage to the National Shrine of Our Lady Aparecida. The last 40 kilometers to the Shrine were made on foot.*



36. *The TFP Attends Seminar of French Traditionalist Movement*

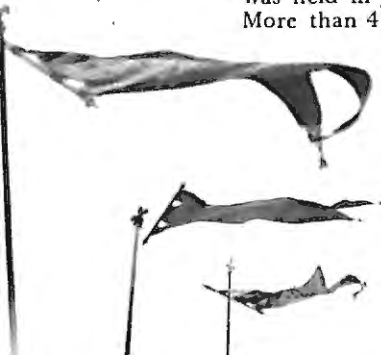
In September 1974, the French traditionalist group *Lecture et Tradition* invited the Paris-based *Bureau Tradition-Famille-Propriété* to a seminar at

During July, August, and September 1976, the Minas Gerais Section of the TFP held in Belo Horizonte the First Series of Conferences of Doctrinal Formation for 65 correspondents and advocates from the area.

The opening lecture was given by the Most Rev. Canon José Luiz Villac, who spoke on "Christian Education of Youth - A New Morality - Naturalism." The other lectures, by TFP members or collaborators, were: "How Has the World Reached this Apex of Crisis?" by Mr. Milton Luiz de Salles Mourao; "What Does the TFP Exist For?" by Dr. Vicente José Ferreira Neto, Secretary of the TFP Minas Gerais Section; "What Has the TFP Accomplished?" by Milton L. S. Mourao; "The New Tactics of Communism," by Prof. Vicente de Paula Torres Nunes; "Progressivism, Its Origins in the Modernism Condemned by St. Pius X, and the TFP, Its Goals and Its Hopes," by Dr. Antonio Rodrigues Ferreira, President of the TFP Minas Gerais Section; and "The Catholic Inspiration of the TFP," by Prof. Paulo Corrêa de Brito Filho, First Secretary of the TFP National Council.

At the end of the series, the participants traveled to Sao Paulo, where they attended a lecture by Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira and visited local TFP centers. The lecture was held in the TFP auditorium on November 2. Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira discussed the correspondents and advocates' possibilities for action on behalf of the goals of the Society. Following the lecture, cocktails were served to the participants at the headquarters of the TFP National Council.

The Second Regional Meeting of TFP Correspondents was held in Juiz de Fora (MG) on March 26 and 27, 1977. More than 40 people attended the lectures in the local TFP



Chiré-en-Montreuil (near Poitiers). The *Bureau* was represented by Messers. Martim Afonso Xavier da Silveira Jr., Fernando Antúnez, Guy Gabriel de Ridder, Arturo Hlebnikian, and George Dimitri An-

center. Mr. Milton L. S. Mourao spoke on "The Contemporary Crisis and the Message of Our Lady of Fatima;" and Dr. Antonio R. Ferreira spoke on "The TFP, Its Goals and Its Hopes."

The Third Regional Meeting of TFP Correspondents was held in Campos on June 30 and 31, 1977. People came from Itaperuna, Miracema, and Bom Jesus do Itabapoana, as well as from Campos itself. His Excellency Bishop Antonio de Castro Mayer presided over the opening and closing sessions of the gathering, which was held at the local TFP center. He gave each of the participants a complimentary copy of his *Pastoral Letter on the Preservation of the Faith and Good Customs*.

The lectures were: "Fifty Years of Epic Anticommunist Struggle," by Mr. Milton L.S. Mourao; "The Autodemolition of the Church and the TFP Declaration of Resistance," by Dr. Antonio R. Ferreira; and "Communism and Socialism: Their Incompatibility With Catholic Doctrine," by Dr. Murillo M. Galliez, of the TFP Rio de Janeiro Section.

The participants attended an audiovisual about the TFP caravans and were offered a reception with cocktails.

The Fourth Regional Meeting of TFP Correspondents was held in Ribeirao Preto on October 15 and 16, 1977 at the local center of the Society. Forty people participated. The lectures were: "The TFP: Its History and the Importance of its Action," by Dr. Edwaldo Marques; "From Medieval Christendom to the Crisis of the Twentieth Century: How Did Christian Civilization Deteriorate?", by Milton L.S. Mourao, "Humanism and Progressivism," by Mr. Manoel Ricardo R. Fiuza; and "Progressivism and the Autodemolition of the Church: The New Tactics of Communism," by Dr. Antonio R. Ferreira. An audiovisual on TFP activities closed the gathering.

The Second Series of Conferences for TFP Correspondents was held in Belo Horizonte on November 8, 10, and 16, 1977. The conferences were: "The TFP Answers Objections," by Prof. Vicente de Paula T. Nunes; "The TFP, Its Ideals, and

toniadis. They set up a stand presenting several aspects of TFP activities and showed an audiovisual about the Society. In its bulletin *Lecture et Tradition* recommends the book *Revolution and Counter-revolution* by Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira as well as other works promoted by the TFP.

37. General Souza Mello Inaugurates TFP Auditorium

October 1974

"I confess that, upon entering this beehive of workers for Christianity, I felt my heart beating

Convictions," by Dr. Vicente J. Ferreira Neto; "Tradition, Family, and Property, the Foundation of Christian Civilization; Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, the Basis of Revolutionary Utopianism," by Mr. José Luis F.G. Ablas; and "Day by Day in the TFP," by Mr. Milton L.S. Mourao.

On November 19 and 20, 1977, some 200 correspondents and advocates from the States of Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais, and Sao Paulo gathered in Sao Paulo City for the First Regional Congress of Correspondents. The congress included lectures for doctrinal formation, visits to the main departments of the TFP, and the showing of an audiovisual on the activities of the Society's caravans which are continually traveling throughout the country. The main lecture, by Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, was "Anticommunist Action in the Modern World: Problems, Methods, and Hopes."

The other lectures — all of them held in the TFP's Saint Michael's Auditorium — were: "Christian Civilization in Contemporary Brazil: Problems and Solutions," by Mr. Nelson Ribeiro Fragelli; "Revolution and Counter-revolution in Art and Customs," by Mr. Milton L.S. Mourao; and "Diffuse Communism: Moral Decadence and Other Forms of Communist Impregnation of Ambiances," by Dr. Antonio R. Ferreira.

A cocktail reception was offered the participants at the headquarters of the TFP National Council.



■ *The First Regional Congress of TFP Correspondents was held in Sao Paulo on November 19 and 20, 1977. The lectures were given at St. Michael's Auditorium.*

with emotion and intense patriotism in harmonious vibration with the hearts of the youths and intellectuals enlisted in this Society, in response to their own free will and convictions, in order to dedicate themselves body and soul to the blessed fight under the sign of the Cross."

With these words, on October 12, 1974, General Humberto de Souza Mello, former Commander of the II Army, who a few days earlier had left the post of Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces, inaugurated the new TFP auditorium in Sao Paulo.

Dedicated to Saint Michael the Archangel, the auditorium was built and decorated under the direct supervision of TFP director and architect Adolpho Lindenberg and the engineer Eleftheris Antoniadis.

■ *On October 12, 1974, General Humberto de Souza Mello inaugurates the TFP's Saint Michael's Auditorium.*



Prominent ecclesiastical, civil, and military authorities participated in the event. Other participants were outstanding personalities in Sao Paulo's public and social life; the members, collaborators, and friends of the TFP and their families. Representatives from the other TFPs in the Americas were also present.

Upon his arrival, amidst the applause of TFP members and the public, General Souza Mello was welcomed by the music of the II Army's Raposo Tavares Regimental Band.

As he was about to cut the inaugural ribbon, General Souza Mello courteously invited Bishop Antonio de Castro Mayer, Sao Paulo Mayor Miguel Colassuono, and Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira to participate in the act.

Bishop Antonio de Castro Mayer then celebrated the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass and blessed the auditorium. After this, speeches were delivered before a large and attentive audience. Mr. Tomasz Rzycki, Minister of the Polish Government in Exile, bestowed on General Souza Mello the Great Cross of Restored Poland in the name of that Government. Finally, the guests were offered a cocktail party at the headquarters of the National Council of the TFP at 341 Maranhao St. (30).

(30) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no. 287, November 1974 and no. 288, December 1974.

■ *At the moment of cutting the inaugural ribbon, Gen. Souza Mello invited His Excellency Bishop Antonio de Castro Mayer, Sao Paulo Mayor Miguel Colassuono, and Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira to assist.*



38. Anticommunist Personalities From Various Parts of the World Visit the TFP

December 1974

In December 1974 in a special session at St. Michael's Auditorium in Sao Paulo, the TFP received internationally renowned anticommunist personalities. They were: Dr. Fred Schafly, President of the American Council for World Freedom and at that time also President of the World Anticommunist League (WACL), who is married to Mrs. Phyllis Schlafly, the well known American writer and conservative leader; journalist Lee Edwards, a director of Young Americans for Freedom; Mr. Shim Hyun-joon, representing the South Korean Federation of Anticommunist Associations and at the time Secretary General of WACL; Prof. José Maria Hernandez, from the Philippines; and French writer Suzanne Labin, whose books on communist infiltration in

■ *Anticommunist figures of international renown visit the TFP. To the left of Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, Dr. Fred Schlafly, President of the American Council for World Freedom and also President of the World Anticommunist League (WACL); Mr. Shim Hyunjoon, Secretary General of the WACL; journalist Lee Edwards and Prof. José Maria Hernandez. Also present was French writer Suzanne Labin, between Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira and Mrs. Celso da Costa Vidigal.*



labor unions, on psychological warfare, as well as on Vietnam, are internationally famous.

In the auditorium, crowded with TFP members and collaborators, the illustrious visitors were greeted by Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira and enthusiastically applauded by the audience. In an articulate and attractive way, Dr. Fred Schlafly gave an overall view of the present weaknesses of the world communist movement. Writer Suzanne Labin then spoke on the anticommunist struggle around the world.

The session ended with an audiovisual about the activities of the TFP all over Brazil.

39. Priest Speaks to the TFP About Southeast Asia

April 1975

"Vietnamese Catholics now constitute a new Church of Martyrs. Many of their Bishops, priests, and laymen were liquidated by Communism," affirmed Fr. Raymond de Jaegher, then President of the Free Pacific Association headquartered in Taipei. He made these comments during a lecture to TFP members and collaborators in April 1975.

The lecturer, who was also a writer and journalist, had served as Public Relations Secretary of the late Cardinal Yu-Pin of Taipei. In his lecture, the priest explained to the TFP the political situation in Southeast Asia.



40. *Director of French Traditionalist Review Visits the TFP*

Mr. Jean Madiran, the director of the French traditionalist review *Itinéraires*, visited the Brazilian TFP in August 1975. The well known French intellectual gave a lecture at St. Michael's Auditorium on "The Situation of France Today and the Crisis in the Church."

August 1975

41. *TFP at Anticommunist Congress in Washington*

The Inter-American Conference on Freedom and Security was held in Washington, D.C. from September 25 to 28, 1975 under the sponsorship of the American Council for World Freedom. Some 200 representatives of anticommunist organizations in 15 countries of the three Americas participated. The Brazilian TFP was represented by Mr. José Lúcio de Araújo Correa, who spoke on the book *Revolution and Counter-revolution*, by Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira.

September 1975

Participating as a special guest, at the suggestion of the TFP, was Mrs. Dulce Salles Cunha Braga, an outstanding anticommunist leader and Sao Paulo State Assemblywoman. She was accompanied by her



husband, Dr. Roberto Braga, of the Sao Paulo Association of Commerce (31).

42. *Vietnamese Tragedy Narrated by Missionary*

December 1975

"Where the communist steamroller passes, Religion must die," affirmed Fr. Generoso Bogo, a Brazilian Salesian missionary who worked in Vietnam for 24 years. His comments were made in a series of public lectures promoted by the TFP Minas Gerais Section.

Fr. Generoso Bogo's talks were given in the auditorium of the Padre Machado School in Belo Horizonte on December 16 and 17, 1975. The first lecture was attended by 450 people and the second by 500. Civil and military authorities, as well as a number of priests, were present.

Fr. Bogo described the cunning techniques by which Communism effects a deterioration of its adversaries and provided a shocking account of the massacres that the reds perpetrated upon conquering South Vietnam. The missionary particularly deplored the collaboration of certain Catholic circles with the machine of communist subversion that systematically attributed all the evils of the war to the government of South Vietnam and "*American aggression*" while saying nothing of Russian and Chinese intervention. The fact is that Russia and China furnished North Vietnam and the Vietcong

(31) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no. 299-300, November-December 1975.

more financial, technical, and military assistance than the United States gave South Vietnam.

On December 20, Fr. Generoso Bogo gave a talk to TFP members and collaborators at the St. Michael's Auditorium in Sao Paulo. Developing the theme "The History and Martyrdom of the Vietnamese People," Fr. Bogo also declared: *"Vietnam was betrayed by the free world, abandoned by a totally decadent Christianity, forgotten and despised by the passivity of a benumbed universal conscience. It is horrible, it is painful to remember and describe the catastrophe of Vietnam, sold to international Communism by the cowardice of the good."*



43. With Cuban Catholic Youth

On a trip to Miami in 1973, Dr. Vicente José Ferreira Neto, Secretary of the TFP Minas Gerais Section, and Mr. Luiz Antonio Fragelli, spoke to the members of the Cuban Catholic Youth in Exile. In 1976, Mr. José Lucio de Araújo Corrêa, a representative of the Brazilian TFP, expounded on the Society to that same organization.

1976



44. TFP at Congresses of the Office International in Lausanne, Switzerland

The *Office international de formation civique et d'action doctrinale selon les enseignements de l'Eglise* is an active and prestigious international organization with centers in several countries of Europe and America. The *Office* holds annual congresses in Lausanne, Switzerland, attended by representatives of traditionalist associations from all over the world.

1974-1976

In 1974 and in 1976, the Paris-based *Bureau Tradition-Famille-Propriété pour l'Europe* (which represents the TFPs in Paris) set up a stand at the *Palais de Beaulieu*, where the congresses are held. On both occasions, the delegation of the Brazilian TFP was headed by Mr. Martim Afonso Xavier da Silveira, Jr. and the Argentine TFP was represented by Mr. Julio C. Ubbelohde.

Especially in 1974, the stand of the Brazilian TFP was very much visited by the large crowd of nearly 3,000 participants. The great attraction of the stand that year was the book *Allende and His Chilean Way...to Misery*, which the Paris *Bureau* of the TFP had just published. The book described the fiasco of the Chilean Marxist President's so-called "Chilean experiment."

Both congresses afforded opportunities for interesting contacts between the TFP and anticommunist personalities from all over the world.

45. Leaders of Alleanza Cattolica Visit the Brazilian TFP

Alleanza Cattolica, an Italian anticommunist movement of a high ideological standard, brings together thinkers and active young men. It is headquartered in Piacenza, and has groups in Rome, Milan, and many other cities.

In 1972, Mr. Giovanni Cantoni, the Director of *Alleanza Cattolica* and a brilliant writer, visited the Brazilian TFP accompanied by Prof. Agostino Sanfratello, another outstanding member of the movement. 1972

During the visit, Mr. Cantoni lectured on Italian history during the last five centuries; Prof. Sanfratello spoke on the activities of *Alleanza Cattolica*, especially its campaign against divorce in the winter of 1971-1972.

In July 1976 Mr. Cantoni again visited the Brazilian TFP, this time with Prof. Roberto de Mattei of the University of Rome, who is editor-in-chief of *Cristianità*, the magazine of *Alleanza* July 1976

■ Messrs. Giovanni Cantoni (center) and Agostino Sanfratello (far left) converse with Prince Bertrand de Orleans e Bragança, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, and Mr. Patricio Amunátegui, one of the founders and past President of the Chilean TFP.



Cattòlica. The TFP members and collaborators greatly appreciated Mr. Cantoni's lecture on the "historic compromise" and his account of the recent activities of *Alleanza Cattòlica*. Prof. Roberto de Mattei gave a much-applauded lecture on the history of the Italian counter-revolutionary movement in the nineteenth century.

In turn, members and collaborators of the Brazilian TFP traveling in Italy have often visited the centers of *Alleanza Cattòlica*. They have been very much impressed with the dynamism of the association.

By initiative of *Alleanza Cattòlica*, several TFP works have been translated, published, and disseminated in Italy: *Rivoluzione e Contro-Rivoluzione*, by Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira (two editions, 8,500 copies); *La libertà della Chiesa nello Stato comunista*, also by Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira (one edition, 5,000 copies); *Le insidie della setta comunista*, a Pastoral Letter by Bishop Antonio de Castro Mayer (two editions, 8,000 copies); *Frei, il Kerensky cileno*, by Fabio Vidigal Xavier da Silveira (one edition, 3,000 copies); *Il crepùscolo artificiale del Cile cattòlico*, a collection of articles by Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira and manifestos of the Chilean TFP on the disastrous consequences of Marxism in that country (one edition, 3,000 copies); and *Le apparizioni e il messaggio di Fátima secondo i manoscritti di suor Lucia*, by Antonio Augusto Borelli Machado (two editions, 11,000 copies). Several of these works were also published in the *Alleanza Cattòlica's* magazine *Cristianità*.



46. The TFP Condemns Terrorist Attacks

On August 19, 1976, a bomb exploded in the headquarters of the Brazilian Press Association (ABI) and another one went off at the headquarters of the Brazilian Bar Association (OAB) in Rio de Janeiro.

August 1976

In his capacity as President of the National Council of the TFP, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira condemned these terrorist attempts in statements published in the press (32).

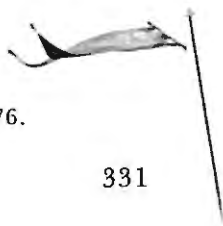
47. The TFP Condemns Violence Against a Bishop, the CNBB, and a Journalist

Msgr. Adriano Mandarino Hipólito, Bishop of Nova Iguaçu, suffered a terrorist attack. Other attacks were made against the Rio de Janeiro headquarters of the CNBB and the house of Roberto Marino, a journalist, also in that city.

September 1976

In a public notice in the press, the TFP condemned these attacks, affirming: "*In the present circumstances, the TFP recommends to all of its members, collaborators, correspondents, and friends, an attitude of serene vigilance and prayer for good order in the country. It also calls for confidence in the*

(32). Cf. *Catolicismo*, no. 308, August 1976.



authorities who are committed to punishing such actions and preventing others of the same kind from occurring" (33).

48. TFP Booklet Distributed At Una Voce Congress in West Germany

November 1976

In November 1976, a booklet prepared by the *Bureau Tradition-Famille-Propriété* in Paris was distributed at the *Una Voce* Congress in Hattersheim (near Frankfurt), West Germany. *Una Voce* is an association internationally known for its ardent defense of Latin and Gregorian Chant in the liturgy. There were some 200 personalities present from various parts of Europe and the Americas.

The booklet, written in German, contained an anthology of writings by Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira on the TFP and its tenets. It included the article "The Twentieth Century Crusade," which originally appeared in the first issue of *Catholicismo*. Entitled *Tradition, Familie und Privateigentum — Der Kreuzzug des 20. Jahrhunderts*, it was very well received at the congress. Copies of the German edition of *Unperceived Ideological Transshipment and Dialogue* were also distributed there. The TFP was represented by Mr. Julio C. Ubbelohde.

(33) Cf. *Catholicismo*, no. 310, October 1976.

49. *The TFP on the Anniversary of the 1935 Communist Uprising*

November 1976

"The communist onslaught in Brazil is a fact that is not only certain but obvious. It is deduced from the multiple symptoms of subversion that have occurred in our nation's territory. It would still be equally certain even if such symptoms did not exist, for it is obvious that international Communism is seeking to conquer the whole world and, therefore, it cannot fail to seek the conquest of Brazil. This is even more so at this historic moment when Brazil is becoming an emerging power.

"However powerful and terrible Communism may be, I already salute, with enthusiasm, a Brazil that will come out strengthened, even greater, and more Christian with the crushing of this adversary."

These were some of the words of Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira to a large audience during the civic act in memory of those who fell defending the country during the communist uprising of 1935. The commemoration was held in the Mauá Palace in Sao Paulo on November 27, 1976, the 41st anniversary of that abortive but bloody mutiny.

■ *Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira speaking at a public act in memory of the Brazilians who were victims of the communist uprising of 1935.*



The act was sponsored by the Democratic Center of Engineers; the Feminine Civic Union; the Brazilian Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property; the Confederation of Christian Families; the Society for Political, Economic, and Social Studies; and the Movement for Feminine Mobilization (MAF).

50. The TFP Commemorates the Apparition at Fatima

May 1977

On May 13, 1977, the TFP had a Mass celebrated at the Church of Our Lady of Paradise in Sao Paulo in honor of the 60th anniversary of the first apparition of Our Lady at Fatima.

The Mass was also offered for all the victims of Communism around the world and especially for those Brazilians who were killed in terrorist attacks while defending the country's institutions and Christian Civilization. Another intention of the Holy Sacrifice was the liberation of all peoples enslaved by Communism.

■ *Archbishop Lefebvre was a guest of the TFP during his visit to Sao Paulo in August 1974. Here he is seen between Bishop Mayer on his right and Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira on his left, speaking to the TFP at the Society's St. Milas Auditorium.*



Attending the Mass were civil and military authorities, refugees from captive nations, and members and collaborators of the TFP. The church was filled to capacity. The celebrant was his Excellency Bishop Elias Coueter, of the Melchite Catholic Rite.

The St. Pius X Choir of the TFP sang the polyphonic Mass Regina Coeli of the Flemish composer Jacobus Kerle (16th century) (34).

51. Archbishop Lefebvre Lectures to the TFP

Archbishop Marcel Lefebvre, retired Bishop of Tulle (France), former Archbishop of Dakar, and Superior General of the Congregation of the Holy Ghost at that time, visited the TFP on August 21, 1967. Archbishop Lefebvre, Bishop Antonio de Castro Mayer, and Archbishop Geraldo de Proença Sigaud were the outstanding leaders of the current of conservative Bishops who participated in the Second Vatican Council.

August 1967

During his visit, Archbishop Lefebvre gave a lecture in the Society's auditorium at 50 Para St. on the causes of the contemporary religious crisis.


When he traveled to Brazil again in 1974 to visit the Bishop of Campos, the TFP invited him to São Paulo as their guest. On August 19, he gave a lecture to the Society's members and collaborators on his work of priestly formation. He also spoke at the TFP center in Rio de Janeiro (35).

August 1974

At that time, Archbishop Lefebvre had already founded the Seminary of Écone in Switzerland,

(34) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no. 318, June 1977.

(35) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no. 286, October 1974.



July 1977

which is celebrated for its firm anti-progressivist position, and the Priestly Fraternity of St. Pius X. (The widely publicized tension between the Vatican and the Archbishop developed a few years later.)

In July 1977, on his way to Europe from Argentina, the Prelate stopped over at the port city of Santos, where he was visited by a TFP representative. In the wake of the commentaries about the visit in the Brazilian press, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira granted an interview to Rio de Janeiro's *Jornal do Brasil*, in which he expounded the Society's position on the subject. In summary, this position is:

1. Until recently, the Lefebvre "case" unfolded strictly in the theological field. The TFP sphere of action being civic-religious, it was not in the organization's competence to make pronouncements on the matter.

2. Although this "case" has remained essentially and unchangeably a theological matter, in the course of its vicissitudes it has spilled into the civic-religious sphere.

3. In this sphere, the TFP was especially pleased with the lucid and courageous positions of the Archbishop against Communism and with his frank disagreement with the Vatican "Ostpolitik." As far as his doctrinal pronouncements dealing with the social teachings of the Church are concerned, those which came to the attention of the TFP appeared to this Society to be doctrinally irreprehensible and very timely (36).

(36) Cf. *Jornal do Brasil*, 8-18-77.

52. *The TFP Pays Homage to Bishop Antonio de Castro Mayer on His Golden Jubilee as a Priest*

October 1977

On October 30, 1977, the TFP held a solemn celebration of the golden jubilee of Bishop Antonio de Castro Mayer's priestly ordination. Hundreds of members and collaborators of the Society gathered at its house of studies in the Itaquera neighborhood of Sao Paulo for the festivities.

Representatives of the Brazilian TFP and of other TFPs and similar organizations delivered speeches in honor of the illustrious prelate. Outstanding among these were the salutations by the young Austrian visitor, Andreas Meran, who spoke in German, and by the representatives of the Covadonga Cultural Society of Spain and of the American TFP. The TFP St. Pius X Choir performed several pieces appropriate for the occasion.

Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira then called to mind the innumerable occasions when Bishop Mayer had fought side by side with him against progressivism and leftism since the days of *Legionário*. He particularly stressed His Excellency's fidelity to the traditional teachings of Holy Church and his continuous support of the TFP since its very beginning.

The evening closed with Bishop Mayer's enthusiastically applauded words of thanks.

* * *

The directors of the TFP also held a banquet in His Excellency's honor at the Grand Hotel Cá

D'Oro in Sao Paulo. There he was greeted by Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, who extolled the qualities displayed by him during his brilliant fifty years in the priesthood.

53. Anticommunist Symposium in Miami

1977

In 1977, the Council for Security in the Hemisphere held a symposium at the University of Miami for anticommunist leaders from the Americas. Mr. José Lúcio de Araújo Corrêa represented the Brazilian TFP on the organization committee.

54. The TFP on Pilgrimage in Reparation for Brutal Sacrilege Against the Country's Patroness

May 1978

On May 16, 1978, the entire country was shocked at the news that a sacrilegious attack had shattered to pieces the statue of Our Lady Aparecida, the Patroness of Brazil.

For three days, as a sign of mourning, the TFP hoisted its standards, bearing black sashes, at half mast in all of its social centers. The Society also distributed a press communique expressing its most profound sorrow over, and its most forceful repudiation of, the sacrilegious act (37).

(37) The whole communique was published in *Catoli-*



■ TFP members and collaborators in front of the Basilica of Our Lady Aparecida, the Patroness of Brazil, during a pilgrimage of reparation.



On Sunday the 21st, a week after the profanation, about five hundred TFP members and collaborators went on pilgrimage to Aparecida to make reparation to the Mother of God. They made the last 16 miles on foot carrying a replica of the Statue of Our Lady Aparecida.

In front of the new Basilica, wearing their red capes and bearing their standards with black sashes of mourning, they sang the National Anthem and the Hymn to the Patroness of Brazil. They then proceeded to the old Basilica, intoning proclamations and chants. Inside the venerable National

cismo, no. 329, May 1978; *Folha da Tarde*, Sao Paulo, 5-19-78; *O Dia*, Rio de Janeiro, 5-19-78; *Diário de Minas*, Belo Horizonte (MG), 5-20-78; *Diário da Manhã*, Recife (PE), 5-20-78; *O Povo*, Fortaleza (CE), 5-20-78; *Diário Popular*, Curitiba (PR), 5-20-78; *Correio do Ceará*, Fortaleza (CE), 5-22-78; *Lud*, Curitiba (PR) 5-23-78; *O Diário*, Sao Carlos (SP), 5-27-78; *Correio do Povo*, Porto Alegre (RS), 5-28-78; *Folha de Goiás*, Goiânia (GO), 5-28-78; *Gazeta de Limeira*, Limeira (SP), 5-30-78; *O Taquaryense*, Taquari (RS), 6-3-78; *O Uchoense*, Uchoa (SP), 6-4-78; *O Imparcial*, Rio Pombo (MG), 6-4-78. Summaries were published in *Folha de S. Paulo*, Sao Paulo 5-19-78; *Jornal do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, 5-19-78; *Diário de S. Paulo*, Sao Paulo, 5-19-78; *Correio de Notícias*, Curitiba (PR), 5-20-78; *O Diário*, Sao Carlos (SP), 5-20-78; *A Voz do Bairro*, Sao Paulo, June 1, 7, 1978.

Shrine, they attended Holy Mass in reparation to Our Lady (38).

55. Representative of the Brazilian TFP Speaks at American TFP Parade on Fifth Avenue, New York

August 1978

On August 26, 1978, the first day of the Conclave to elect the successor to Paul VI, the members and collaborators of the American TFP went on pilgrimage to St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York. They paraded the last three miles up Fifth Avenue carrying a statue of Our Lady of Fatima, singing hymns, and praying. In front of St. Patrick's Cathedral, orators explained the purpose of the pilgrimage to the crowd that gathered there: It was to ask the Most Holy Virgin and the Apostle St. Peter to protect the Church at this hour in which a new St. Pius X had become necessary to sweep away the heresies infesting Catholic circles, especially the cancerous cells of international Communism.

Prof. Orlando Fedeli spoke representing the Brazilian TFP.

(38) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no 330, June 1978. Cf. also Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, "The Shattered Statue," *Folha de S. Paulo*, 5-29-78.

56. *Lecture Tours in the United States and Canada*

In 1976, 1977, and 1978, Prof. Orlando Fedeli, an outstanding collaborator of the Brazilian TFP, made a series of lecture tours in the United States and Canada.

In his first tour (January and February 1976), the lecturer addressed anticommunist and conservative groups at several locations in Long Island, Cleveland, Boston (where he spoke to a large crowd in the auditorium of the City Council Chambers), St. Louis, Kansas City, Bakersfield, Los Angeles, Toronto, and Montreal.

January and February 1976

On his second tour (January and February 1977), he spoke in all of the above cities again, and also in Miami.

January and February 1977

Prof. Fedeli's third tour extended from August to November 1978. This time he gave several lectures in New York, one of them at St. John's University. He also lectured to students at Princeton, Yale, Boston College, the University of Michigan, and the University of Kansas at Lawrence.

August to November 1978

During this tour he also spoke in Cleveland, Chicago, St. Louis, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Valhalla (ND), Kansas City, Dallas-Fort Worth, Corpus

Christi, Anaheim, Bakersfield, San Jose, and many other cities in the Bay area.

In Canada, Prof. Fedeli spoke in Toronto, Montreal, and Quebec. Several of the lectures in Quebec were given at Laval University.

57. The TFP Affirms: "Fearlessness Is Not Radicalism"

Taking advantage of the pre-election climate reigning in Brazil in 1978, leftist movements capitalized on understandable public discontent, obviously seeking to create tensions, agitation, and class warfare.

One of the methods they used to throw urban populations into a trauma was to hold a great number of street demonstrations. This is a classic communist tactic.

September 1978

In these circumstances, the TFP released a communique in September, stating:

"Leftist agitators can easily take advantage of the customary TFP activities on the streets and in other public places as a pretext to cause tumults that they will later blame on this Society.

"Furthermore, this pretext would make it easier for them to create problems for the authorities [keeping the peace] while cunningly pretending to have had nothing to do with the incidents.

"This being the communist game at the moment, Prof. Plínio Corrêa de Oliveira, President of the National Council of the Brazilian Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property, has resolved to order a temporary suspension of TFP activities on streets and in other public places

throughout the country. He has sent telegrams to President Ernesto Geisel, Mr. Armando Falcao, Minister of Justice, as well as to the Ministers of the Armed Forces and the Ministers of the EMFA (*) and the SNI (**), informing them of the decision.

"The TFP takes this measure without fear of appearing negligent. It is inspired only by a sagacious and prudent understanding of the present circumstances.

"Furthermore, the TFP has a long history of fearlessness, a fearlessness that has always been displayed within the law. The promoters of a certain propaganda have several times labeled this fearlessness as radicalism or extremism, trying to confound fearlessness within the law with anarchy and subversion.

"How unfortunate Brazil would be if her fearless and orderly sons should retreat before confusing slogans.

"And how lucky Communism would be if it encountered only fearful opponents."

Once leftist demonstrations on the streets had calmed down, the TFP resumed its normal public activities throughout the country (39).

(*) EMFA: *Estado Maior das Forças Armadas*, that is, General Staff of the Armed Forces. In Brazil, the Chief of Staff of each of the armed forces is of ministerial rank.

(**) SNI: *Serviço Nacional de Informacoes*, that is, National Intelligence Service.

(39) The whole document was published in *Folha da Tarde*, Sao Paulo, 9-8-78; *Notícias Populares*, Sao Paulo, 9-9-78; *A Cidade/Folha do Comércio*, Campos (RJ), 9-10-78; *A Tarde*, Salvador (BA), 9-10-78; *Correio de Notícias*, Curitiba (PR), 9-10-78; *Correio do Povo*, Porto Alegre (RS), 9-10-78; *Folha de Londrina*, Londrina (PR), 9-10-78; *Gazeta do Povo*, Curitiba (PR), 9-10-78; *Jornal de Minas*, Belo Hori-

58. *The TFP Is Guest of Honor at the National Chapter of Alleanza Cattòlica*

September 1978

Alleanza Cattòlica, the valorous movement headquartered in Piacenza with groups in many other cities of Italy, holds National Chapters twice a year. At their chapter in Lucca in September 1978, the Brazilian TFP was represented by Mr. Mario Navarro da Costa, who attended as a special guest.

During that same visit to Italy, Mr. Mario Navarro da Costa lectured to groups of *Alleanza Cattòlica* in Rome and in the city of Lanzo, Piedmont. In Rome, he also participated in a symposium for the movement's groups from the south of Italy.

59. *The TFP Invites Candidates from Both Political Parties to Give Lectures*

The TFP is, by nature, a non-partisan Society. When the 1978 elections were drawing near, it considered it to be a patriotic duty to advise its mem-

zonte (MG), 9-10-78; *Unitário*, Fortaleza (CE), 9-10-78; *Monitor Compista*, Campos (RJ), 9-12-78; *Diário de Cuiabá*, Cuiabá (MT), 9-15-78; *Tribuna de Lavras*, Lavras (MG), September 16, 17, 1978. Summaries were published in *A*



■ *In the auditorium of the Hilton Hotel in Sao Paulo, filled to capacity, Col. Erasmo Dias, former State Attorney General and a candidate for Congress, speaks about the danger of Communism in our days. His lecture was sponsored by the TFP.*

bers, collaborators, and friends to vote, thus fulfilling their civic duty. Nevertheless, the Society did not influence anyone in favor of any party.

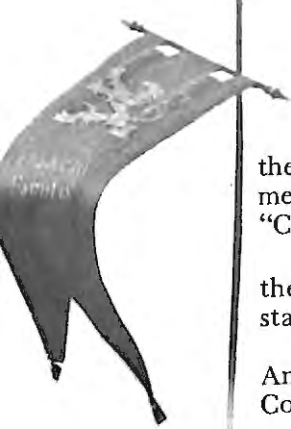
In this spirit, the TFP decided to invite candidates from both parties (the ARENA and the MDB) to speak to its members, collaborators, and friends.

* * *

The sixty-first anniversary of the implantation of the communist regime in Russia was a timely occasion for beginning that activity. On October 17, 1978, in the auditorium of the Hilton Hotel in Sao Paulo, the TFP sponsored a conference by Col. Antonio Erasmo Dias, the former Attorney General of the State of Sao Paulo, and now an ARENA candidate for Congress.

October 1978

Gazeta, Sao Paulo, 9-9-78; *A Tribuna*, Santos (SP), 9-10-78; *Diário Popular*, Sao Paulo, 9-10-78; *Diário Popular*, Curitiba (PR), 9-10-78; *Jornal da Bahia*, Salvador (BA), 9-10-78; *Jornal do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, 9-10-78; *Jornal do Comércio*, Recife (PE), 9-10-78; *O Liberal*, Belém (PA), 9-10-78; *O Povo*, Fortaleza (CE), 9-10-78; *Folha da Manhã*, Campos (RJ), 9-10-78; and *Equipe*, Cuiabá (MT), 2-22-79.



Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, President of the National Council of the TFP, presided over the meeting and introduced the orator, who spoke on "Communism, Its Errors, and Noxious Action."

The auditorium was hardly large enough for the great number of people attending. Many had to stand.

With his great knowledge of the matter, Col. Antonio Erasmo Dias spoke about the danger of Communism today.

"I never was a manufacturer of anticommunism," he said. "I am anticommunist by conviction, by faith, by formation, by ideology and. . . by virtue of having already paid, in my flesh, the price of being anticommunist."

Colonel Erasmo related his experience in the combat against Communism, emphasizing that in accordance with communist ethics *"a murder is not a murder, it is justice! A robbery is not a robbery, it is expropriation!"* He showed himself to be especially impressed with the communist infiltration in the Church, in the universities, and in the press. However, he reminded everyone that all sectors of society are now subject to this danger. He particularly called on youths to be vigilant in order to avoid being tricked into the web of subversion.

Colonel Erasmo expressed pleasure upon being invited by *"...our Tradition, Family and Property, just because of the meaning of tradition, which I prize, of the family, which is the mother cell of society, and of property, which is the mainstay of everything that represents the value of a human being."* He added: *"I have always recognized the TFP to be one of the bulwarks of everything that represents common sense and consensus in the defense of tradition, country and family, against ill-fated Communism."*

Colonel Erasmo concluded his lecture affirming: "If one day our enemies assume power, the first thing they will do is to endeavor to take us to the defendant's bench. And this we will not accept because we have not been guilty of anything. We are guilty only of having endeavored to give this nation peace and tranquility, and our family respect for human dignity, respect for tradition, respect for the family, and respect for property."

Colonel Erasmo Dias was enthusiastically applauded both during and at the end of his conference.

Closing the session, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira emphasized that, in spite of the country being at a grave crossroads, one must still have trust in the anticommunist fiber that Brazil displayed in 1964. And to demonstrate that this sentiment of the Brazilian people is still alive, he recalled the great and favorable response of the public to the TFP publications, which have been spread by its caravans all over the country (40).

* * *

From the MDB ticket, the TFP invited Assemblyman José Silveira Sampaio and the lawyer Antonio Russo. The former was a candidate for re-

November 1978

(40) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no. 235, November 1978.

■ Dr. Antonio Russo, an MDB candidate for Congress (left), and MDB State Assemblyman José Silveira Sampaio (second from right) speak to TFP members and collaborators. Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira (center) introducing the orators.



election to the São Paulo Legislative Assembly and the latter was running for Congress.

The two candidates addressed TFP members, collaborators, and friends on November 3rd at the Society's St. Michael's Auditorium, which was overflowing with people.

The first to speak, Assemblyman Silveira Sampaio, stated that he was *"thrilled with this extraordinary work that you gentlemen carry out."* He recalled that he had visited the TFP before and that he had left filled *"with the greatest enthusiasm."* He also recalled how he had confronted aggressive communist union leaders during his political career.

Dr. Antonio Russo, a candidate for Congress, also mentioned his struggle against Communism, stating: *"We participated in that struggle. And with immense satisfaction, we noticed that the common people are more sympathetic to the message of those fighting against the left than to that of those spreading the ideas of the left."*

Then, he declared himself to be favorable to reforms of the current judicial system of the country, certain that good sense would prevail. *"For good sense is rooted in the consciences of all Brazilians, because this Country is anticommunist by formation and tradition, and it will never accept the establishment of a red hell in the land of the Holy Cross."*

Dr. Antonio Russo declared that he was certain that he and the TFP pursued the same goals, even though their methods of reaching them were certainly not identical.

After describing his political program the MDB candidate for Congress closed his conference by affirming that it was necessary *"for the whole of Brazil to know the TFP better"* and *"that as long as organizations such as this exist, which, by recall-*

ing the national traditions, by transforming itself into a true tabernacle of those traditions — I repeat, as long as organizations such as this exist, no one will be able to overcome the greatest Christian nation in the hemisphere. We should not fear any danger so long as the TFP exists.”

Both Assemblyman Silveira Sampaio, who was accompanied by his wife, and candidate Antonio Russo were applauded at length by the large crowd present in the TFP auditorium.

60. *New Edition of Revolution and Counter-revolution Is Presented to the Public in Spain*

On November 21, 1978, a large crowd gathered in the prestigious club *La Bilbaina* in Bilbao for the presentation of the new Spanish edition of *Revolution and Counter-revolution* by Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira. The new edition was produced by the publishing house *Editorial Fernando III, El Santo* of Madrid.

November 1978

The book was presented by Mr. José Francisco Hernandez, President of the Covadonga Cultural Society, an autonomous Spanish association similar to the several TFPs. An audiovisual about the activities of the Covadonga Cultural Society was then shown.

The new edition included a prologue especially written by the author, focusing on contemporary Spain from the standpoint of the theses expounded in the book (41).

(41) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no 336, December 1978.

61. *New French Edition of Revolution and Counter-revolution Published in Canada*

November 1978

On November 29, 1978, the new French language edition of Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira's *Revolution and Counter-revolution* was presented to the public in Montreal, Canada.

The presentation, sponsored by publisher Paul Dottini, was made at a reception in the Ritz Carlton Hotel. The large crowd attending included Senator Leopold Langlois; Congressman Bernard Loiselle; Mr. Pierre Ouellet, Regional Director of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs of the Province of Quebec; the Consuls in Montreal of Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay; and representatives of a number of Quebec associations. Cocktails were served after the opening speeches.

On this occasion, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira was represented by Attorney José Lucio de Araújo Correa, a collaborator of the Brazilian TFP, who presented a tape that the author had pre-recorded for the event. Some excerpts of the recorded message were telecast by Radio Canada's television network, along with pictures of the author, as well as scenes from campaigns of the Brazilian TFP and of the Young Canadians for a Christian Civilization (*). In addition, Mr. José Lucio de Araújo Corrêa gave an interview about the TFP to the TV channel of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation which covers all of French Canada (42).

There was ample coverage of the event in the Montreal press.

62. Representative of the Brazilian TFP Speaks in the Staadhof Auditorium in Baden, Switzerland

In December 1978, Engineer Nelson Ribeiro Fragelli gave a lecture in German at the Staadhof Auditorium in Baden, Switzerland. Before a large crowd, the representative of the Brazilian TFP discussed the advance of the communist revolution in the world and the perspectives for the counter-revolution.

December 1978

63. Colonel Erasmo Dias Visits the TFP

On December 14, 1978, Colonel Antonio Erasmo Dias, at that time Attorney General of the State of São Paulo, visited the TFP accompanied by Commendatary Mario Antunes Maciel Ramos and Colonel Irajá Bernardino Ribeiro.

December 1978

After visiting the several departments of the Secretariat of the TFP National Council at length, the distinguished guests went to St. Michael's

(★) This autonomous association took an active part in the preparation of the book's new edition of 16,000 copies.

(42) Cf. *Catolicismo*, no. 337, January 1979.

Auditorium. Col. Antonio Erasmo Dias then made an ardent address to the members and collaborators of the Society about the communist danger threatening Brazil. He was very much applauded.

64. *Congressmen of the Opposition Visit the TFP*

January 1979

In January 1979, after their successful campaigns, MDB State Assemblyman José Silveira Sampaio, his wife, and newly elected MDB Congressman Antonio Russo visited the TFP again. This time they were able to tour the several offices and departments of the Society in Sao Paulo.

The legislators, who received a friendly welcome from TFP directors, members and collaborators, showed themselves to be very much impressed by everything they saw and heard.

65. *A Letter From Colonel Erasmo Dias to Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira*

March 1979

On March 12, 1979, before leaving his post as State Attorney General, Colonel Antonio Erasmo Dias — who had won a brilliant victory in his campaign for a seat in Congress — wrote Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, the President of the National Council of the TFP:

“The day approaches on which, by force of circumstances, I shall leave the office of Attorney General to exercise the mandate as Congressman which has been conferred on me by the people of my land.

"It behooves me, on leaving this honorable post, to thank Your Excellency for the cooperation that you have been spontaneously giving the Government and people of Sao Paulo and all of Brazil.

"Few there are who are unaware of the persistent work of great value that the TFP has been carrying out in the way of enlightening the Brazilian population about important ideological and religious problems of the day.

"I did not have an intimate knowledge of the works of the TFP before assuming the office of Attorney General of Sao Paulo; and I can affirm that it was with great satisfaction that I found out about them.

"The TFP, inspired in the true religious sentiment of the Gospel, in the most pure sense of Christendom, and in the traditions of respect for the family and property, carries on an unheard-of effort, by distributing and selling books, magazines, newspapers, and other documents, to enlighten the Brazilian people to the importance of these human and social values.

"The work of the TFP, all of it carried out on the intellectual level, appears to us to be a true catechesis for the sublimation of Christian souls and the improvement of the ethical, moral, and traditional standards of our society.

"This work has not been accepted by the sympathizers of Marxism-Leninism and the preachers of social disorder who frequently attempt to hurt the TFP by trying maliciously and falsely to link it to totalitarian activities which are not consonant with the democratic preaching of the entity.

"To me, spreading ideas by means of books and documents appears much more democratic than the Leninist methods of 'conscientization' of the masses.

"Calumny has been the great obstacle that the TFP has encountered in these long years of important services rendered to Brazilian society.

"Men of public affairs who love the truth must prevent petty interests from distorting it.

"This being the case, I thank Your Excellency for the invaluable work that you do in the preservation of the ethical and moral values of our Brazilian society.

"I renew to Your Excellency my expressions of respect, esteem, and consideration. [signed] Col. R/1 Antonio Erasmo Dias, Attorney General."



66. Anticommunist Personality Visits the Brazilian TFP

May 1979

In May 1979, Mr. Pierre Engel, an outstanding personality from Geneva influential in European anticommunist circles, visited the Brazilian TFP and held lengthy conversations with Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira.

On May 3, Mr. Engel lectured to the TFP at St. Michael's Auditorium about "Subversive Movements in Europe and the Anticommunist Reaction." His lecture aroused great interest and many questions from the large TFP crowd packing the auditorium.

67. Polish Priest Speaks to the TFP

Fr. Miguel Poradowski is internationally known for his writings denouncing the Marxization of theology. The Polish-born priest is a resident of Chile, where he teaches at the Catholic University of Valparaíso.

July 1979

On July 16, 1979, he lectured at St. Michael's Auditorium to TFP members and collaborators about the sufferings and hopes of Catholicism in Poland. The matter took on special interest in view of John Paul II's election to the Chair of Saint Peter.

68. TFP Director Present at the Fall Chapter of Alleanza Cattolica

In October 1979, Mr. Caio Vidigal Xavier da Silveira, a member of the TFP National Council, participated in the autumn chapter of *Alleanza Cattolica*. Seventy leaders of this Italian traditionalist movement participated. During the meeting, held at the Franciscan Seminary in Pisa, Mr. Silveira addressed them in the name of the several autonomous TFPs in the Americas and in Europe.

October 1979

69. Georgetown University Specialist Lectures to the TFP on Geopolitics

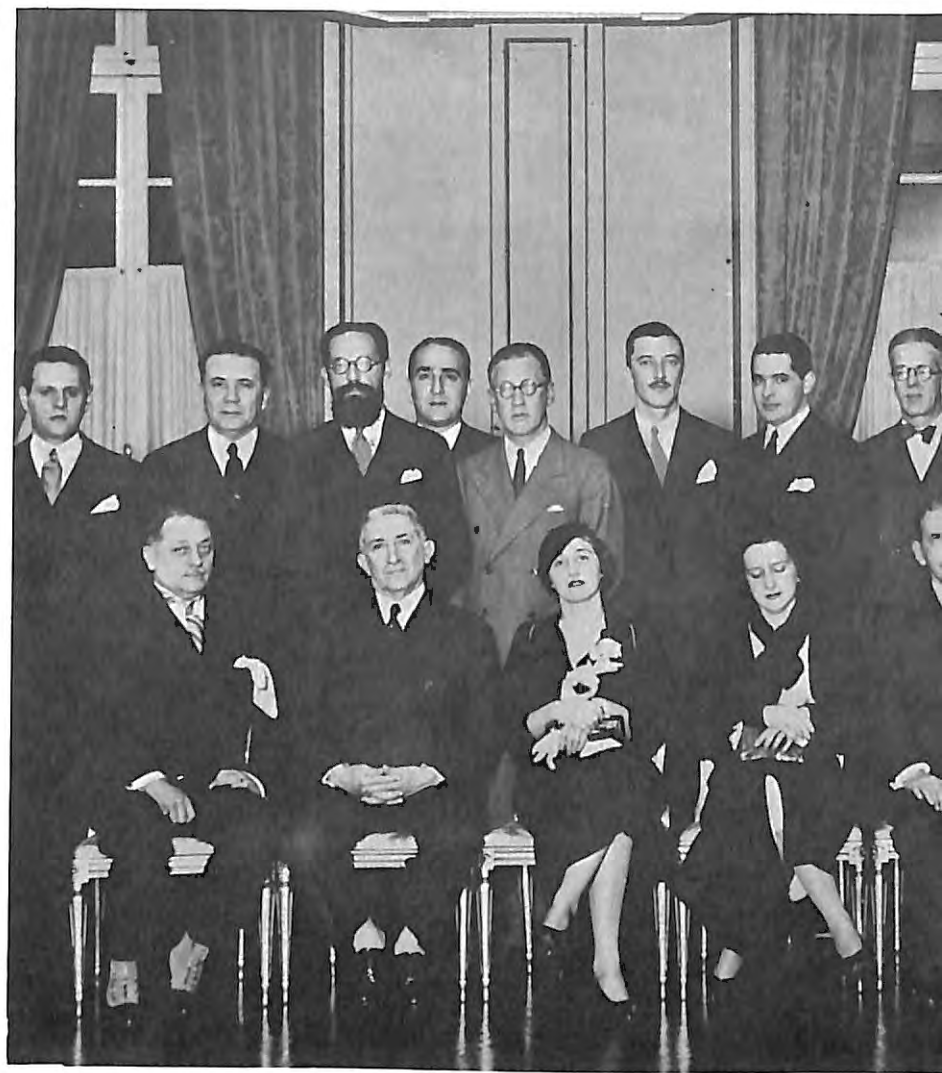
November 1979

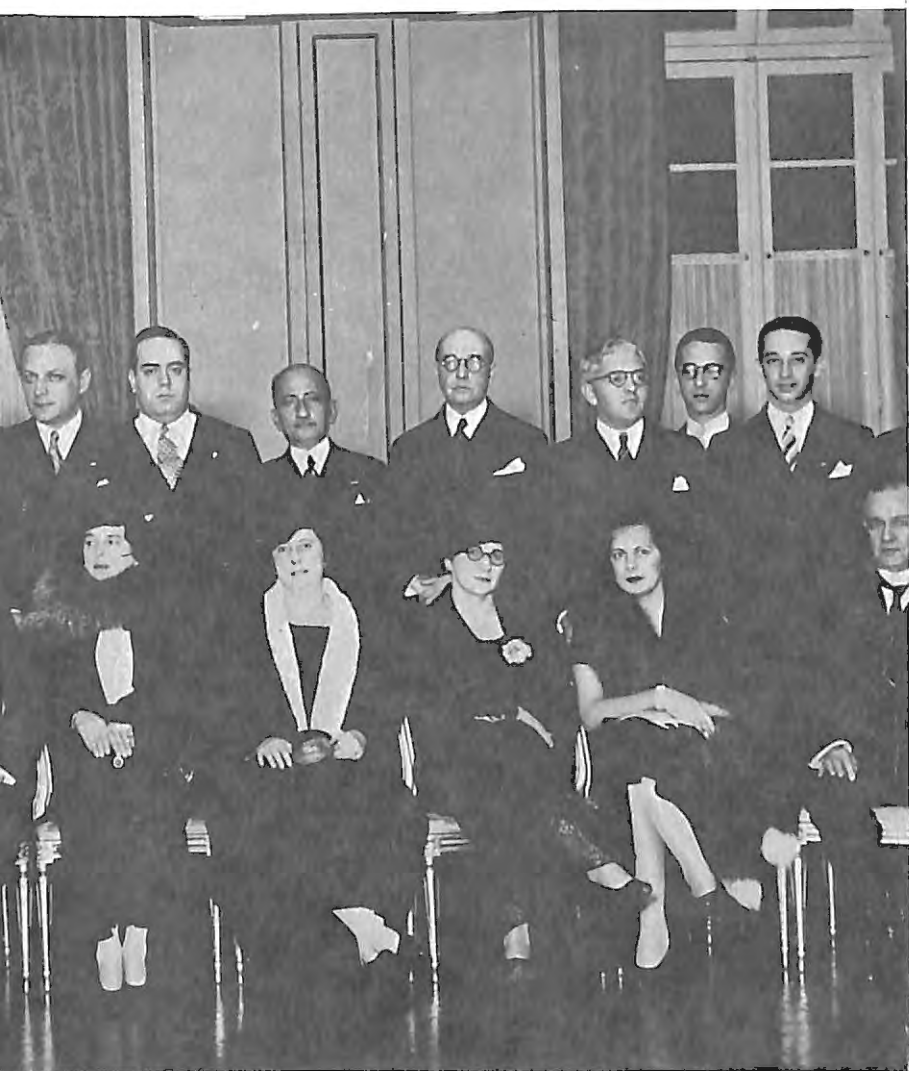
Prof. Roger Fontaine, Director of the Center for International Strategic Studies at Georgetown University, lectured to the TFP on "Geopolitics and U.S. Foreign Policy." About 250 members and collaborators of the Society attended the event, held on November 15, 1979, in St. Michael's Auditorium. At the end of his exposition, which aroused lively interest, Prof. Fontaine answered the many questions posed by the audience.





Chapter V
1928 - 1960





*Vitality and Growth
of Catholic Circles;
Progressivism Springs Up, the TFP Emerges*

■ *Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira (standing sixth from the right) was the youngest Congressman elected to the Constitutional Convention of 1934 and the one who received the most votes. In the photo, the representatives of the State of Sao Paulo at the Constitutional Convention. Sitting in the center, Dr. Alcantara Machado, the leader of the delegation.*

The long and impressive sequence of events narrated in this book gives rise to a question. In order to better understand this question, consider the following: The TFP was presented from the beginning as composed of a pleiad of dynamic anti-communists ready to make all efforts and dedicate themselves entirely, within the limits of the law of God and the laws of men, to do everything in order to preserve and increase the remnants of Christian Civilization in Brazil.

How was this pleiad formed? How did the ideals which took body with the foundation of the TFP spring up within this group?

In a word, everything that exists has its past. The past of the TFP has just been reviewed. But what is the past of that nucleus of Brazilians who formed the TFP?

The past of this group is not properly the past of the TFP but rather its pre-history.

*The pre-history
of the TFP*



1. A Great and Luminous Reality: *The Catholic Movement*

The brilliant rise of the Catholic movement in the Brazil of the 30's

Marian movement, the spearhead of the Catholic movement; the Catholic Youth Congress

Everything in the Church of God seemed to prosper between 1928 and 1935. The years of the pontificate of Pius XI went on normally.

A great and luminous reality called the *Catholic movement* was then growing in Brazil. The expression *Catholic movement* was used to designate the ensemble of various religious and apostolic organizations, some inert and others extraordinarily vigorous. They existed all over the country and took in tens of thousands of men and women from all social classes. Outstanding among the more dynamic ones were the Marian Congregations. As a whole, they made up what was called *the Marian movement*. The movement had begun to expand among young Brazilians around 1925, especially in the middle and lower middle classes.

One of the first triumphal affirmations of the Marian movement was the Catholic Youth Congress held in September 1928. After the Youth Congress, the great Marian upsurge spread from Sao Paulo to all of Brazil. As we shall see, the Marian Congrega-

■ *The vigor of the Catholic movement is shown in this monumental procession of hundreds of thousands of faithful through downtown Sao Paulo at the closing of the Fourth National Eucharistic Congress in 1942.*



■ *The Marian Congregations were the backbone of the Catholic laity. They attracted whole legions of young men from all social classes to apostolic activities.*



tions showed themselves to be a power of nationwide dimensions by 1933.

The fact that the Marian Congregations had attracted whole legions of young men from all social classes was an incomparable service to the Church in a country where the practice of Religion had generally been considered to be fitting only for women and old men. This change opened a new chapter in the history of religious life in Brazil.

The variety and breadth of the Catholic movement made it a world in itself. It progressed in filial union with a cohesive and profoundly venerated Clergy and Episcopate whose ranks included many personalities of valor and prestige.

The great figure of Brazil's Catholic Hierarchy at that time was His Eminence Sebastiao Leme da Silveira Cintra, Archbishop of Rio de Janeiro and the only Brazilian Cardinal. Another figure with well-merited nationwide prestige was His Excellency Duarte Leopoldo e Silva, Archbishop of Sao Paulo. At that time, the whole State of Sao Paulo formed one single Ecclesiastical Province.

The first group of leaders that would later give rise to the TFP was formed in the ranks of the Catholic movement in Sao Paulo (1).

(1) Cf. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, "Kamikaze," in *Folha de S. Paulo*, 2-15-69.

Marian Congregations end the myth that Religion is only for women and old men

2. In the Marian Citadel, The TFP Arises

Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira joins the Marian Congregation of Santa Cecilia; his Catholic militancy begins

The Marian Congregation of Santa Cecilia in Sao Paulo gathered every Sunday at the parish church of the same name. In its ranks, in 1928, Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, at that time a young law student, began his Catholic militancy with a group of friends. That militancy was to be the characteristic of his entire public life and would give rise to the TFP.



Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira's initial activity consisted of a continuous individual apostolate, along with meetings, lectures, and speeches. This activity started in the Marian Congregation of Santa Cecilia, soon spreading throughout Sao Paulo City and State, and then through Rio de Janeiro and other states.

This activity was not, however, limited to specifically Catholic ambiances.

Fourth-year student founds University Catholic Action in Sao Paulo's famous Law School

In 1929, leading a few members of the Marian Congregations, fourth-year student Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira founded University Catholic Action (AUC) in the famous Largo de S. Francisco Law School in Sao Paulo. Although that law school was considered a bulwark of laicism at the time, AUC soon became successfully established there.



At the same time that it grew in numbers and influence in that law school, University Catholic Action quickly spread to the other university campuses in Sao Paulo (*).

A significant indication of this progress was the occurrence of a fact the like of which no one in that celebrated school could remember. At the commencement of 1930, when Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira graduated, the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass was celebrated in the internal patio of the school. Almost the entire faculty was present in academic gowns and a large number of the law students received Communion. The celebrated Fr. Leonel Franca, S.J., preached the sermon. People noticed there that a profound change had taken place among the youth of Sao Paulo, a change for the better. It was the fruit of the Marian movement.

3. *The 30's: Revolution, Surprise and Victories*

That change was to produce palpable effects on the events that were taking place in the life of the country at that time.

The revolution that ended the "Old Republic" and implanted the Vargas dictatorship also took place in 1930. Communism tried to take advantage of the situation. In 1934, His Excellency Duarte Leopoldo e

The Revolution of 1930 breaks out; the Second Republic is established

(*) In 1938, by order of Church authorities, AUC was absorbed by JUC (University Catholic Youth), a section of Brazilian Catholic Action. It then began to follow the orientation that later made it notorious in the history of Brazilian Catholicism.

Silva, Archbishop of Sao Paulo, in a famous message to the Brazilian Bishops affirmed: "*The noxious weed of Communism... was brought in the back-packs of certain leaders in 1930*" (2). In fact, Luis Carlos Prestes, founder of the Brazilian Communist Party, joined the Marxist current at that time.

The Constitutional Convention

A number of factors (the most important of which was the Sao Paulo Revolution of 1932) led Getúlio Vargas to call for a Constitutional Convention.

The Catholic Electoral League is founded

Meanwhile, in 1932, the Catholic Electoral League (LEC) was founded. The LEC was a national organization inspired by the Bishops. Its way of acting was to ask the candidates for their positions regarding the so-called "minimum demands." The League would advise the Catholic electorate not to vote for those opposed to its minimum requirements.

When the State Board of LEC was established in Sao Paulo in November 1932, Archbishop Leopoldo e Silva named Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira as its secretary. In fact, it was this young lawyer who had given the Archbishop the idea of founding LEC. He drew his inspiration from a like institution in Europe.

The elections to choose the representatives to the Constitutional Convention were held all over the country on May 3, 1933.

Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, the youngest Congressman and the one who received the most votes

Candidates indicated by the Catholic Electoral League were elected in many States.

There was surprise and general rejoicing in the Catholic electorate. The candidate who had received the most votes in Brazil was a 24-year old member of the Marian Congregations who had just graduated from Law School. Nominated by the LEC for the

(2) Cf. Msgr. Duarte Leopoldo, *Iluminuras*, Empresa Graphica da *Revista dos Tribunaes*, Sao Paulo, 1937, p. 126.



■ *Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, the youngest Congressman and the one who received the most votes for the Constitutional Convention of 1934, owed his election to the Catholic associations in Sao Paulo.*

“Single Slate for a United Sao Paulo” (★), he drew 24,017 votes. In the same State, the candidate with the second largest number of votes was an older man deservedly famous as a jurist, politician, and man of letters. He was elected with 12,483 votes.

The younger man was Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira. His election was due almost entirely to the support of Catholic associations in Sao Paulo.

The outcome was so surprising and impressive that the Catholic Electoral League became generally recognized as one of the great political forces in Brazil (3).

* * *

In November 1933, when the Constitutional Convention opened, a very influential group of Catholic legislators managed to achieve Conven-

(3) Cf. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, “Kamikaze,” in *Folha de S. Paulo*, 2-15-69.

(★) The single slate was made up of the Popular Republican Party (PRP), the Democratic Party (PD), the Federation of Volunteers of the 1932 Revolution, the Catholic Electoral League (LEC), and the Commercial Association.

These five associations united to establish the “Single

The Constitutional Convention approves LEC's "minimum demands"

tion approval of the "minimum demands" of LEC. They were: the indissolubility of the marriage bond, the right to give religious instruction in public schools, and the assurance of availability of chaplains for the Armed Forces. But the group went even further by winning the approval of other points in LEC's maximum program, that is, the right of religious to vote, State recognition of religious marriage, the right to Sunday rest, and the option for the Clergy to do their compulsory military service as chaplains for the troops. Furthermore, the Name of God was invoked in the preamble of the Constitution.

This outstanding success considerably diminished the laicist features of the Brazilian State.

It was generally recognized that, in his ca-

Slate for a United Sao Paulo," whose purpose was to make the ideals that had inspired the the epic Revolution of 1932 in Sao Paulo prevail in the new Constitution.

■ *His Excellency Duarte Leopoldo e Silva, the Archbishop of Sao Paulo (center) during reception celebrating the installation of the presses of Legionário. At his right, Dona Lucilia Ribeiro do Santos Corrêa de Oliveira and Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, director of the newspaper. To his left, Msgr. José Carlos de Aguirre, Bishop of Sorocaba; Msgr. José Gaspar de Afonseca e Silva, auxiliary Bishop of Sao Paulo; and Dona Olga de Paiva Meira, President of the League of Catholic Ladies.*





■ In August 1933, Plínio Corrêa de Oliveira became director of *Legionário*, to which he brought outstanding members of the Marian movement. Following the pontifical teachings, *Legionário* carried on a ceaseless and uncompromising battle against Communism, Fascism, and Nazism.

capacity as one of the most prominent leaders of the Catholic current in the Constitutional Assembly, the young Marian Congressman Plínio Corrêa de Oliveira had exerted a remarkable influence in achieving these results.

* * *

When his action on the legislative scene closed in July 1934, Plínio Corrêa de Oliveira increased his activities as a lawyer and journalist and assumed the chair of History of Civilization at the University College, which was a branch of the University of Sao Paulo. He later became professor of Modern and Contemporary History in the Sao Bento College of Philosophy, Science, and Letters and in the Faculty *Sedes Sapientiae*, both of which would later become part of the Pontifical Catholic University of Sao Paulo.





■ *The first editorial staff of Legionário gathers around His Excellency Duarte Leopoldo e Silva, Archbishop of Sao Paulo.*

4. The Legionário Group

Along with his impressive performance in the Constitutional Convention, Plínio Corrêa de Oliveira continued his action as a member of the Marian movement and as a professor.

Plínio Corrêa de Oliveira becomes director of Legionário

In August 1933, he was made director of *Legionário*, the journal of the Marian Congregation of Santa Cecilia. He gradually brought into its editorial staff outstanding members of the Marian movement. Some of these men would later help him found the Brazilian Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property (TFP).

Legionário's editorial staff

The *Legionário* Group dedicated itself body and soul to Catholic journalism.

Plínio Corrêa de Oliveira wrote the feature article and the column "Seven Days in Review." Fernando Furquim de Almeida was copy editor and wrote



articles on the history of the Church in the nineteenth century. Later on José Carlos Castilho de Andrade became secretary of the editorial staff. Jose de Azeredo Santos wrote articles with a sociological background. Adolpho Lindenberg specialized in economics and international politics. José Fernando de Camargo worked on the "News of the Week" section. José Gustavo de Souza Queiroz was in charge of the "Saint of the Month."

In a short time, *Legionário* grew and extended its field of action and influence. Starting as a two-page fortnightly parish paper, it became an eight-page weekly and semi-official organ of the Archdiocese of Sao Paulo.

Two outstanding young Seminary professors also wrote for *Legionário*: Monsignor Antonio de Castro Mayer, the paper's Ecclesiastical Counselor, and Father Geraldo de Proença Sigaud, S.V.D.

Both Msgr. Mayer and Fr. Sigaud were singled

Legionário reveals to the Catholic public in general two exceptional priests: Monsignor Mayer and Father Sigaud

■ *His Excellency José Gaspar de Affonseca e Silva, Archbishop of Sao Paulo, (center) visits Legionário. To his right, Dona Lucília Ribeiro dos Santos Corrêa de Oliveira; to his left, Fr. Roberto Saboya de Medeiros and Count José Vicente de Azevedo.*





■ *Archbishop José Gaspar de Affonseca e Silva installs the Archdiocesan Board of Catholic Action. Canon Antonio de Castro Mayer, General Counselor of Catholic Action, speaking. On the right, Prof. Plínio Corrêa de Oliveira, the President of the Board.*

out as prominent figures among the young Brazilian Clergy.

* * *

*Legionário's
readership*

Legionário was not intended for the general public. It aimed at the vast segment of the general public known as the Catholic movement.

The paper's influence extended from one end of the country to the other. It was widely known as representing the thinking of the most youthful and dynamic circles of the Catholic movement.

*Legionário op-
poses Nazism
and Fascism*

Legionário certainly met opposition during those years. The main attacks came from sectors irritated at its writers' unrelenting campaign not only against Communism but also against revolutionary tendencies in centrist movements and even in movements calling themselves extreme rightist. The pages of *Legionário* attest to the continuous barrage of criticism that its writers, following the teaching and example of Pius XI, leveled against Fascism and especially Nazism. And this was done at a time when these movements and their counterparts in other countries seemed to be reaching their zenith.

In spite of all these activities, the times were still relatively calm. Everything seemed to promise a future full of fruitful work and gallant battles.

Nevertheless, it was precisely then that the unexpected tragedy, the outbreak of progressivism, began to germinate in the shadows. Progressivism was to deeply mark the decades to come (4).

5. *In the Year of the Communist Uprising, the First Symptoms of the Progressivist Virus*

In 1935, a communist uprising broke out in three state capitals: Natal (RN), Recife (PE), and Rio de Janeiro. In the still of the night, officers and soldiers of our Armed Forces were murdered by communists who had infiltrated the barracks in those cities. The nation was profoundly indignant at these bloody and treasonous crimes.

While international Communism dealt the nation this violent and dramatic blow, progressivism reached our shores to infiltrate Catholic circles subtly and unobtrusively.

Indeed, around 1935, the influence of some European movements of great vitality began to reach Brazil. Those movements had arisen during the great Catholic revival in Europe after World War I. Although excellent in themselves, they were affected

Brazil, 1935: the communist uprising breaks out

...and progressivism begins to germinate in Catholic circles

(4) Cf. Plínio Corrêa de Oliveira, "Kamikaze," in *Folha de S. Paulo*, 2-15-69.

by the virus of a mentality that clashed with Catholic doctrine.

The dominant note of this mentality was an obsessive desire to reconcile the Church with the neopagan world by making a new formulation of Catholic Dogma and Morality, and by reforming Church law and the liturgy, in a word, by changing the very way of being of the Church. It was veiled progressivism already on the rise.

* * *

These germs first took root in the religious ambiances of Brazil from 1935 to 1943.

*The virus of evil
incubates in two
great movements*

Working stealthily, the progressivist ferment became generalized, especially in two areas: *Catholic Action* and the *liturgical movement*.

The carriers of this contagion earnestly strove for a modernization that was at the same time ambiguous and exaggerated. They proposed a medley of measures, some excellent, others debatable, and still others extremely bad. In general, the excellent or debatable measures were used as a pretext for the bad ones. This ferment thus nourished tendencies that would later give rise to progressivism and "Catholic leftism."

a) *The liturgical
movement*

In the *liturgical movement*, these tendencies led to the undermining of the hierarchical principle and of the Church's teaching on the Sacrament of Holy Orders by, in a certain way, identifying the priest celebrant with (and placing him on the same level as) the laity. They also led to an underrating of private devotions in the name of an ill-understood "official" and "communal" prayer. They gave rise to sceptical attitudes toward devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus and Communion outside of Mass.

They spread coldness and reservations regarding devotion to Our Lady and the Saints, as well as to the veneration of statues. Devotions such as the Rosary and the Way of the Cross and traditional schools of spirituality such as those of St. Ignatius of Loyola and St. Alphonse of Liguori were depicted as obsolete. Certain norms of the spiritual life such as fleeing from occasions of sin, fighting against one's disorderly passions, and so on, were called outdated.

In *Catholic Action*, these tendencies became apparent through a gradual undermining of the principle of authority in the Church and an affirmation of the laity's virtual independence from the Clergy. On the pretext of taking "Christ" everywhere, people were encouraged to regularly frequent places forbidden by all Catholic moralists. By denying the harmonious inequalities between the social classes and favoring the incipient class struggle, they opened the way to "Catholic leftism."

Features common to the two movements were: *egalitarianism*, that is, a tendency to an anti-natural leveling in both the Church and the State; *liberalism*, that is, in this case, an obsessive desire to adapt the Church to the constantly more radical changes of the neopagan world; horror of effort, of sacrifice, and of personal asceticism (5).

(5) Cf. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, "How the Pyramid of Cheops Crumbled," in *Folha de S. Paulo*, 2-8-69.

■ *Various sectors of Catholic Action greet His Excellency José Gaspar de Affonseca e Silva, Archbishop of Sao Paulo. Canon Antonio de Castro Mayer stands at the right of the Archbishop. At the left in the photo is Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, who detected the first symptoms of the progressivist virus.*

b) *Catholic Action*

Features common to the two movements





■ In Defense of Catholic Action, the first sound of alert against the infiltration of progressivism and leftism in Catholic circles.

Legionário detects the first signs of progressivist infiltration

In the regular meetings of the editorial staff of *Legionário*, the appearance and development of the signs of progressivist infiltration were followed in detail from the very beginning. It was noted with apprehension that strange doctrines were being spread by priests, nuns and laymen who had recently arrived from Europe. This was so especially of those coming from the Belgian JOC (Catholic Worker Youth). Interestingly enough, such doctrines were spread in easily fanaticizable sectors of Brazilian Catholic Action. Of course, this concern of the *Legionário* Group was expressed in the journal's lively and combative pages.

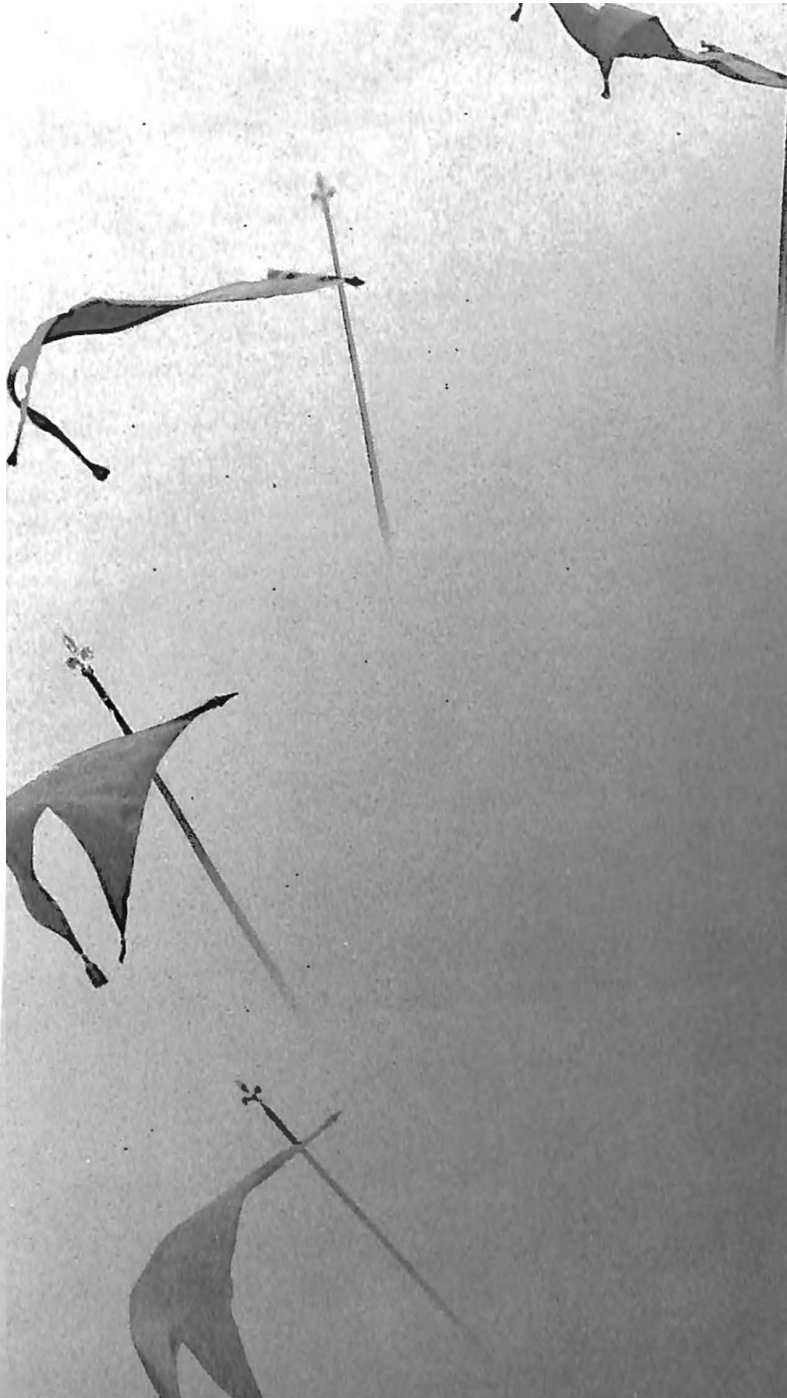
...and is subtly attacked by the innovating current

Since it was the well-known spokesman of a mentality that the new tendencies sought to uproot, the weekly was subtly attacked by the innovating current. Naturally, the latter aimed to replace the mentality represented by *Legionário* with the one so commonly found in Catholic circles today. Then a muffled campaign against *Legionário* and its staff was set in motion, undermining the positions and influence that they held in the Catholic movement.

6. The First Victorious Blow Against Progressivism: In Defense of Catholic Action

A sound of alert was necessary to halt the spreading evil.

It was necessary to confront the nascent danger. Studies and long conversations with Msgr. Mayer, Fr. Sigaud, and other friends in the fight convinced Plínio Corrêa de Oliveira that someone had to play



the tragic role of lightning rod in the tempest that was building up in the Church. In those circumstances, a book expounding and refuting the new errors could cause a commotion of such proportions that it would alert well-intentioned but uninformed souls. In this way, the spread of the evil, if not prevented, would at least be limited to a small area. Of course, those who had already undergone a profound preparation could scarcely be prevented from falling into the error.

The publication of this book would be like a "kamikaze" gesture. While it could bring about the elimination of nascent progressivism, it could also expose the *Legionário* Group to misunderstandings and impassioned criticisms, gravely hindering its influence in Catholic circles (6).

In Defense of Catholic Action exposes nascent progressivism and "Catholic leftism"

After carefully weighing the circumstances, a decision was made. In June 1943, the bombshell book, *In Defense of Catholic Action*, was published (*). It had a preface by the Apostolic Nuncio to Brazil at the time (later Cardinal), Bento Aloisi Masella and an *Imprimatur* by Msgr. Antonio de Castro Mayer (by order of His Excellency José Gaspar de Affonseca e Silva, Archbishop of Sao Paulo). The author, Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, published it in his capacity as President of the Archdiocesan Board of Catholic Action in Sao Paulo.

* * *

The book immediately caused a great stir in Catholic circles. Its 2,500 copies (which was consid-

(*) Ave Maria, Sao Paulo, 384 pp.

(6) Cf. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, "Kamikaze," in

erable for a non-fiction book at that time) quickly sold out. While some applauded enthusiastically, others were furiously irritated, and even threatening: "The book will be condemned by the Church!"

Archbishops, Bishops, members of the Clergy, and the laity took sides for or against the work. The author received, at the time, many letters of support, including twenty from Bishops and one from the Provincial of the Society of Jesus for Central Brazil (**).

The book caused bewilderment among the great somnolent majority. This was so because the naiveté of some and the lethargy of others led them

*Commotion in
Catholic circles:
applause and
criticism*

Folha de S. Paulo, 2-15-69; Eloi de Magalhaes Taveiro, "In Order to Avoid the Reprobation of History," in *Catolicismo*, no. 150, June 1963.

(**) They were: Msgr. Helvecio Gomes de Oliveira, Archbishop of Mariana; Msgr. Atico Eusebio da Rocha, Archbishop of Curitiba; Msgr. Joao Becker, Archbishop of Porto Alegre; Msgr. Joaquim Domingues de Oliveira, Archbishop of Florianópolis; Msgr. Antonio Augusto de Assis, Archbishop-Bishop of Jaboticabal; Msgr. Otaviano Pereira de Albuquerque, Archbishop-Bishop of Campos; Msgr. Alberto José Gonçalves, Archbishop-Bishop of Ribeirão Preto; Msgr. José Mauricio da Rocha, Bishop of Bragança Paulista; Msgr. Henrique Cesar Fernandes Mourao, Bishop of Cafelândia; Msgr. Antonio dos Santos, Bishop of Assis; Msgr. Fray Luís de Santana, Bishop of Botucatu; Msgr. Manuel da Silveira D'Elboux, Auxiliary Bishop of Ribeirão Preto (later Archbishop of Curitiba); Msgr. Ernesto de Paula, Bishop of Jacarezinho (today, Titular Bishop of Gerocesarea); Msgr. Otávio Chagas de Miranda, Bishop of Pouso Alegre; Msgr. Fray Daniel Hostin, Bishop of Lajes; Msgr. Juvencio de Brito, Bishop of Caetité; Msgr. Francisco de Assis Pires, Bishop of Crato; Msgr. Florêncio Sisino Vieira, Bishop of Amargosa; Msgr. Severino Vieira, Bishop of Piauí; Msgr. Fray Germano Vega Campón, Bishop-Prelate of Jataí; and Fr. L. Riou, S.J., Provincial of the Society of Jesus for Central Brazil.

to prefer that such problems not be brought out in the open. To them, *In Defense of Catholic Action* appeared to be too categorical. Although they did not disagree with the doctrinal points the book called to mind, they considered it to be inopportune. They deemed the evil denounced in the book to be either nonexistent or insignificant.

The book's best result: distrust of progressivism isolates innovative current

Although bewildered and displeased, this same majority was gradually waking up to reality and beginning to look at nascent progressivism with suspicion. This very fact protected it from progressivism's fatal influence.

From then on, although the progressivist current continued its advance, it had to do so unmasked and isolated. Accordingly, many doors were closed to it throughout Brazil, and its conquests among the laity were limited to sporadic handfuls of radicals who liked its true face (*).

Even though *In Defense of Catholic Action* produced the effects that we have described above and even though the progressivist current was reduced for the moment to a small conglomerate of little groups, Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira's book was kept out of sight in most seminaries and novitiates. As a result, progressivism continued to make much headway among the young Clergy. Out of their ranks would come the leaders who would form the religious vanguard of the Jangoist subversion that exploded twenty years later. Out of the similarly in-

(*) The Encyclical *Mystici Corporis Christi* (1943) appeared shortly after the publication of *In Defense of Catholic Action*. That Encyclical was followed by *Mediator Dei* (1947) and the Apostolic Constitution *Bis saeculari die* (1948). Overall, these three documents of Pius XII enunciated, refuted, and condemned the principal errors the book was denouncing.

filtrated student and worker sectors of Catholic Action came the lay leaders who would work hand in hand with them (7).

* * *

At this point, we would like to describe briefly some parallel but important developments.

Around 1937, the French philosopher, Jacques Maritain, began to exercise a deleterious influence in Brazilian Catholic circles. This was true above all in certain sectors of Catholic Action. He advocated that Catholics accept the "*policy of the extended hand*" that the communists were offering them. The communist offer was welcomed in Brazilian progressivist circles. This gave rise to the first nuclei of the so-called "Catholic left," the leftist leadership of the Christian Democrat movement, etc. (8).

Legionário stood up to Maritain's influence by means of various articles by its staff, especially the one entitled "'Human Rights' and *Legionário*," published on February 6 and 13, 1944.

The principal figure of the reaction against Maritain's influence in Rio de Janeiro was the cultured and intrepid Jesuit, Fr. Arlindo Vieira, whose articles were published in *Legionário*. Others who stood out were the journalists Osorio Lopes, of the

The "policy of the extended hand" reaches Brazilian progressivist circles, giving rise to the Christian Democratic movement and the "Catholic left"

Farsighted Catholics react

(7) Cf. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, *The Church in the Face of the Rise of the Communist Threat - An Appeal to the Silent Bishops*, Vera Cruz Publishers, Sao Paulo, 4th edition, 1977, pp. 43 to 53.

(8) *Op. cit.*, pp. 37 to 46.



■ *At the Fourth National Eucharistic Congress, Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira officially greets the authorities during the solemn session of September 6, 1942. Below, His Excellency John Mark Gannon, Bishop of Erie, Pennsylvania, presides. The huge crowd filled the Anhangabaú Valley in Sao Paulo.*

Catholic weekly *A Uniao*, Antonio Guedes de Holanda, of the weekly *A Cruz*, and polemicist Mesquita Pimentel, of the magazine *Vozes de Petrópolis*. Also prominent in this regard, in Recife, was the thinker, Fr. Antonio Ciriáco Fernandes, S.J., who headed the dynamic group of young men in the magazine *Fronteras*. That magazine was made famous in cultured circles all over the country by the intellectual brilliance of one of its recently deceased members, Manoel Lubambo.

7. *Blow Up and Ostracism*

Storm breaks over the Legionário Group

The already foreseen consequences of the daring step of publishing *In Defense of Catholic Action* began to hit the members of the *Legionário* Group like a cascade of catastrophes.

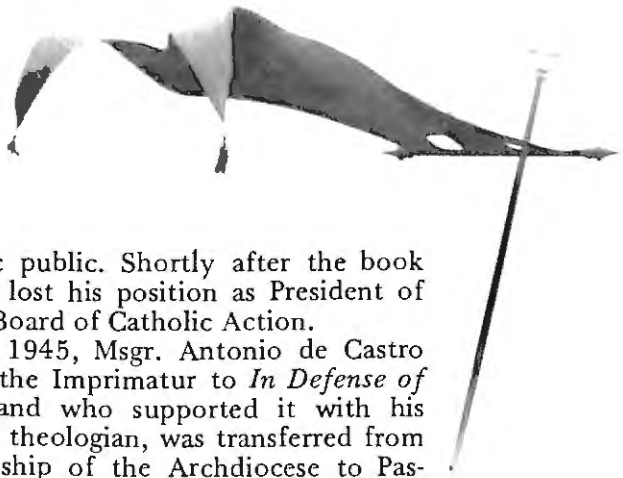


A typhoon of hearsay, detractions, and calumnies, all of them verbal, vague, and unproven, swept out of the progressivist camp against the group. The number of parishes carrying *Legionário* began to diminish.

The growing isolation of the group was followed by defections from within. A certain number of writers still very new to the group, stunned by so violent and yet so muffled a campaign, abandoned the newspaper.

The gale did not end here, however. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, hitherto an uncontested Catholic leader, became one of the figures most attacked by the Catholic *intelligentsia*. This did not happen without an unfavorable effect on his standing with

The effects of the storm: dismissals, transfers, silence, ostracism



the great Catholic public. Shortly after the book was published, he lost his position as President of the Archdiocesan Board of Catholic Action.

In February 1945, Msgr. Antonio de Castro Mayer, who gave the Imprimatur to *In Defense of Catholic Action* and who supported it with his great prestige as a theologian, was transferred from the Vicar Generalship of the Archdiocese to Pastor-Administrator of the Parish of Sao José do Belém.

In March 1946, Fr. Geraldo de Proença Sigaud, also an outstanding defender of the book, was sent to faraway Spain.



■ After the storm over In Defense of Catholic Action, a small group remained faithful to the ideals of *Legionário*. Around Canon Antonio de Castro Mayer and Prof. Plínio Corrêa de Oliveira are pictured, left to right: Adolpho Lindenberg, José Carlos Castilho de Andrade, Fernando Furquim de Almeida, José de Azeredo Santos and José Fernando de Carmargo.

One after the other, the writers on the editorial staff of *Legionário* who continued to support the book lost their posts in the Catholic movement.

Moreover, diverse circumstances led the group to relinquish the one podium left to them: *Legionário*. In December 1947, they withdrew from the paper.

*The Legionário
Group in the
"catacombs"*

The thick night of a heavy, total, and endless ostracism settled upon the nine remaining members of the former *Legionário* Group (*): Adolpho Lindenberg, Fernando Furquim de Almeida, José de Azeredo Santos, José Benedicto Pacheco Salles, José Carlos Castilho de Andrade, José Fernando de

(*) José Gustavo de Souza Queiroz died on March 8, 1946. He left a translation of the famous *Letters on the Spanish Inquisition* by Joseph de Maistre almost complete. Friendly hands finished the little that was lacking. It was published by *Leituras Católicas de Dom Bosco* (no. 712 September 1949), with a 26 page biography of Mr. Queiroz by Plínio Corrêa de Oliveira.

Camargo, José. Gonzaga de Arruda, Paulo Barros de Ulhôa Cintra, and, of course, Plínio Corrêa de Oliveira. They were abandoned and forgotten precisely when their age and strength were in full bloom; the oldest was 39 and the youngest, 22.

That was the sacrifice that had been foreseen and accepted in advance.

* * *

Nevertheless, the small group did not disperse. In February 1945, they established a small social center (three rooms and a kitchen) on the ground floor of 665 Martim Francisco Street in Sao Paulo. The place had been Msgr. Mayer's residence when he was Vicar General. At this center, the former collaborators of *Legionário* gathered every night without exception around the same statue of Our Lady Help of Christians that had accompanied them from the very beginnings in the offices of the Marian Congregation of Santa Cecilia.

The meetings took place in a fraternal and cordial atmosphere. The members of the group reflected on their recent struggles and immolation. They analyzed with concern the subtle but impla-

The small group did not disperse: the meetings at the "Martim" headquarters

Buried in the ground, the seed germinates



cable deterioration of the religious situation in Brazil and in the world, as well as the inexorable advance of Socialism and Communism on the national and international scenes. They studied a variety of doctrinal subjects together. And they prayed. Meanwhile, they sought to grow in their dedication to the Most Holy Virgin according to St. Louis Maria Grignion de Montfort's method of true devotion to Her. At that time, the true scope of the apparitions and the message of Our Lady at Fatima in 1917 was beginning to be made known around the world. The members of the group attentively studied these apparitions and this message and gave them their warmest adherence.

* * *

Three years of ostracism: a long and recollected vigil in preparation for new struggles

This period of ostracism lasted for three whole years — years fraught with the sad symptoms of a terminal condition without remedy. They were a group of leaders who had fulfilled their mission and survived the clashes but who had been cast aside. This is how these young men saw the situation in which they found themselves. They did not know when or how Divine Providence would extricate them from it.

In fact, in this “catacomb” they made a long and recollected vigil in preparation for other battles on behalf of the same cause. This is how Providence was conducting them.

The group grows in cohesion and unity

During this period, a great number of favorable conditions concurred to unite the members of the small group even more. Given their reduced numbers and their daily lives centered around the highest ideals, they developed such a cohesion of thought, feeling, and action that the group was elevated to the condition of a real family of souls.

It was this family of souls, which later developed so greatly, that would, after nearly two decades, give rise to the BRAZILIAN SOCIETY FOR THE DEFENSE OF TRADITION, FAMILY AND PROPERTY.

* * *

Meanwhile, directed by Canon Mayer and aiming at the same ideals, there was the parallel, discreet, but precious solidarity of a group of young ladies who were enthusiastic readers of *Legionário*. Led by Prof. Adalgiza Giordano, they struggled in the feminine ranks of Catholic Action against nascent progressivism and were also ostracized.

Gradually, other young ladies joined this initial group. Thus began a characteristic form of cooperation which later, after the foundation of the TFP, counting on the assistance of both men and women, spread through hundreds of Brazilian cities constituting the network of correspondents and advocates (9).

8. *In Ostracism and Shadows, Providence Intervenes*

On a January day in 1947, Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira arrived at the Martim Francisco St. Center with an especially joyful expression on his face. He had news for his friends: an evening paper re-

*A light on the
horizon*

(9) Cf. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, "Kamikaze," in *Folha de S. Paulo*, 2-15-69; "The TFP Is Born," in *Folha de S. Paulo*, 2-22-69.

*Pius XII makes
Fr. Sigaud Bishop
of Jacarezinho*
ho

ported that Pius XII had named Fr. Sigaud Bishop of Jacarezinho!

How? What? Their happiness was great but their doubt even greater. Fr. Sigaud was in Spain, and it was difficult to obtain any definite confirmation from him. The question was, would he



■ *His Excellency Antonio de Castro Mayer, Bishop of Campos*

return? Yes, he would. A first light had finally penetrated the night of ostracism which hung over the members of the small group.

The next year, against all expectations, still another great surprise awaited them. In one of his articles in the *Folha de S. Paulo*, Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira narrates the episode:

"When I arrived at our 'catacomb' that March evening of 1948, a friend was waiting at the door, bubbling with joy. Canon Mayer. . . had just told us by telephone of his nomination as Auxiliary Bishop of Campos. You can imagine our jubilation as we went immediately to congratulate him" (10).

The succession of events that culminated with the nominations was of unmistakable significance. Because of their support of *In Defense of Catholic Action* and the *Legionário* Group and because of their struggle against leftist and progressivist infiltration in Catholic circles, two priests had been removed from center stage. Then, in a clear show of confidence, the Holy See raised them to the Bishopric one after the other!

"Was that meant as a reparation?" people in Catholic circles asked. Many answered affirmatively.

* * *

These, however, were not the only surprises. Exactly one year later, Carmelite Fray Jeronimo Van Hintem, a great friend of the group, gave Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira a letter from the Holy See sent via the General Curia of his Order. Written in Latin, it read:

1949: The Holy See praises and recommends book by Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira

(10) Cf. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, "The TFP Is Born," in *Folha de S. Paulo*, 2-22-69



Ex Aedibus Vaticanis, die 26 februarii 1949

SEGRETERIA DI STATO
di
SUA SANTITÀ

N. 195956

Praeclare Vir,

Filii studio et pietate permotus Beatissimo Patri volumer dono dedisti, cui inscriptio "Em defesa da Acao cat6lica", a te sedula cura et diuturna diligentia exaratum.

Sarcritas Sua gaudet tibi, quod Actionem Catholicam, quam penitus novisti et magni aestimas, acute et discrete explanasti et defendisti, ita ut omnibus summpere oportere appareat huiusmodi hierarchici apostolatus auxiliarem formam aequae perpendi et provehi.

Augustus pontifex ex animo vota facit, ut e labore tuo divites maturescant fructus et haud parva et pauca solatia colligas; hoc autem in auspiciis tibi Apostolicam Benedictionem impertit.

Interea qua par est observantia me profiteor

Tibi
addictissimum

Praeclaro Domino
D.no Plinio Corr6a de Oliveira
Praesidi Actionis Catholicae
Archidioecesis S. Pauli in Brasilia

J. Montini
Subst.

The Letter from the Secretariat of State
of the Holy See

"Vatican Palace, February 26, 1949

Illustrious Sir,

Moved by your filial dedication and piety, you offered the Holy Father the book In Defense of Catholic Action, in which you reveal perfect care and persevering diligence.

His Holiness is very pleased with you for having explained and defended Catholic Action — of which you have a complete knowledge, and for which you have great esteem — with penetration and clarity so that it has become clear to all how important it is to study and promote this auxiliary form of the hierarchical apostolate.

The August Pontiff hopes with all his heart that this work of yours results in rich and mature fruits and that from it you may harvest neither small nor few consolations. And as a pledge that it be so, he grants you the Apostolic Blessing.

Meanwhile, with due consideration, I declare myself,

*Devotedly yours,
J.B. Montini, Substitute"*

The signer, Substitute for the Secretariat of State of the Holy See, would later become Paul VI. And so the "kamikaze" book had been praised and recommended by Pius XII in an official letter to Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira! Now everything had become crystal clear. Everything . . . except the conduct of certain progressivist circles.

Once Rome had been heard, it was to be expected that the crust of ice and incomprehension would melt. Certainly, Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira and his friends would now regain the standing and

In spite of the voice of Rome, the silence and ostracism continue



■ Fr. Walter Mariaux, S.J. formed a large and strong Marian Congregation at Sao Luis High School. A number of members of the "Martim Group" came from this Congregation.

the esteem they previously had in the circles now hostile to them.

Not so. The voice of the Vicar of Christ had been raised in vain. The ice did not melt. Under the influence of progressivists, the mute and implacable cold that surrounded the group of former *Legionário* writers persisted. And the ostracism went on. . . (11).

That was perplexing indeed. Nevertheless, during these struggles and victories, a development of a different kind had taken place.

9. The "Martim Group"

Fr. Walter Mariaux and the Marian Congregation of Sao Luis High School

Fr. Walter Mariaux was an impressive Jesuit. Tall, stocky, and determined, he had a sparkling intelligence and a striking personality.

Because he was a prominent opponent of Nazism, he had been forced to leave Germany. After working in Rome for several years as Director of the World Secretariat of the Marian Congregations, he came to Brazil during the war. In Rome he had been an assiduous reader of Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira's

(11) Cf. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, "The TFP is Born, in *Folha de S. Paulo*, 2-22-69.

articles in *Legionário* and had heard much about him. Now in Sao Paulo, Fr. Mariaux wanted to know him personally. That was the beginning of a long lasting friendship.

In Sao Paulo, Fr. Mariaux dedicated himself to the Marian Congregation at the Sao Luis High School. Under his direction, that Congregation grew in numbers and strength. The principles on which this son of St. Ignatius based his action were very much akin to those that *Legionário* had defended. Therefore, his action could not be pleasing to influential progressivist circles in Sao Paulo. But that did not prevent the Jesuit from carrying on his apostolate efficiently.

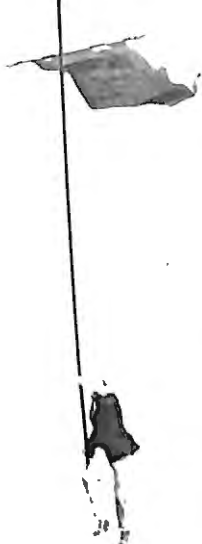
In 1949, however, Fr. Mariaux was sent back to Europe by his superiors. When that happened, some members of the Marian Congregation that had been formed by him with such dedication, knocked on the door at 665 Martim Francisco St. About ten of them asked Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira to accept them in his group.

Shortly thereafter, some other young men joined them. Together they soon formed, with the former members of the *Legionário* staff, one single group (12).

In spite of the multiple trials and difficult labors endured by the new group, a number of them remained in the ranks of the TFP: Caio Vidigal Xavier da Silveira, Celso da Costa Carvalho Vidigal, Eduardo de Barros Brotero, Fábio Vidigal Xavier da Silveira, Joao Sampaio Netto, Luiz Nazareno de Assumpção Filho, Paulo Corrêa de Brito Filho, Plinio Vidigal Xavier da Silveira, and Sérgio Antonio Brotero Lefevre.

(12) Cf. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, "The TFP Is Born," in *Folha de Sao Paulo*, 2-22-69.

Fr. Mariaux returns to Europe. the "Martim Group" begins



Outstanding among them was a young man who did not later enter the TFP because he followed the noble path of the priesthood. We refer to Canon José Luiz Marinho Villac, a valiant friend to whom the TFP owes much.

In August 1948, the old *Legionário* Group moved their social center to the 6th floor of 27 Vieira de Carvalho St. and left the Martim Francisco St. Center for those who had come from the Marian Congregation of Sao Luis High School and others who had joined them. Subsequently, the two groups were called the "Vieira Group" and the "Martim Group." In 1952 the Vieira Group enlarged its facilities by taking over the seventh floor at Vieira de Carvalho St., where they set up an auditorium.

10. Catholicismo, Another Step On the Way to the TFP

The standard of the fight is raised again: Bishop Antonio de Castro Mayer founds Catholicismo

In January 1951, Bishop Mayer founded in Campos the cultural monthly, *Catholicismo*. Its director was the distinguished and well-known Fr. Antonio Ribeiro do Rosário.

All the editorial work for the journal was, however, delegated to the old *Legionário* Group in Sao Paulo. The work was done under the competent management of José Carlos Castilho de Andrade.

Dr. José Carlos Castilho de Andrade took his first steps in the field of journalism with *Legion-*

The editorial staff

■ *Canon José Luiz Marinho Villac, a valiant friend to whom the TFP owes much.*



ário as secretary of the editorial staff. Now he became the coordinator of the *Catolicismo* staff. In this capacity, he indicated the topics for articles, personally handling revisions and proofreading. With the assistance of a small team, he also supervised the layout. All of this he did with perfect care and competence.

Among the contributors to *Catolicismo* were outstanding personalities such as Msgr. Antonio de Castro Mayer, the Bishop of Campos. This cultured and intelligent Prelate wrote many articles that were very much appreciated. In addition, *Catolicismo* had the honor of being the first to publish his luminous Pastoral Letters.

Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, an irreplaceable contributor, was also the most outstanding inspiration and guide of those working on the journal. His articles set the tone of *Catolicismo*. He authored the section (published without a byline) "Ambiances, Customs, and Civilizations." Through analyses

■ Alongside Prince Bertrand de Orleans e Bragança, first from the left, the members of the "Vieira" and "Martim" Groups, who later made up the National Council of the TFP: Joao Sampaio Netto, Celso da Costa Carvalho Vidigal, Plinio Vidigal Xavier da Silveira, José Fernando de Camargo, Luiz Nazareno de Assumpção Filho, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, José Carlos Castilho de Andrade, José de Azeredo Santos, Eduardo de Barros Brotero, Prof. Fernando Furquim de Almeida, Paulo Corrêa de Brito Filho, and Paulo Barros de Ulhôa Cintra.



of paintings, photographs, drawings, sculptures, clothing, and so on, he brought out the values of Christian Civilization. And by way of contrast, he castigated the follies of the neopagan "civilization" now reaching its apex. This section so marked the monthly that many readers said they would go directly to "Ambiances, Customs, and Civilizations" upon receiving it; and only after eagerly reading this section would they proceed to the others.

Among the many contributors from the Vieira and Martim groups was Prof. Fernando Furquim de Almeida, who authored "French Catholics in the Nineteenth Century," a column later called "Calicem Domini Biberunt." It described the struggle of faithful Catholics against the infiltration of heresy during the Church's two thousand year history. Dr. Adolpho Lindenberg wrote lucid and concise commentaries on international politics, and the late Dr. José de Azeredo Santos contributed the column "Nova et Vetera." His fertile pen gave *Catholicismo* other articles on the most varied topics, published under the pseudonyms Cunha Alvarenga or C.A. de Araujo Viana.

All of this journalistic activity was performed in close union and constant contact with the illustrious Bishop of Campos, under whose aegis the paper is published.

Prof. Antonio Ablas Filho, a respected physician and Catholic leader from the city of Santos (SP) and a very good friend of the old *Legionário* Group, was *Catholicismo's* general agent for the southern states of Brazil. His exceedingly valuable assistance to the journal ended only with his premature death in 1960. Two years earlier, in 1958, His Holiness Pius XII had made him Commendatary of the Equestrian Order of Pope Saint Sylvester.

There were a great many friends of the old *Legionário* Group in Brazil who had not believed the progressivist calumnies against the group. Indeed, they had merely lost contact and become discouraged. The first issue of *Catolicismo* spread among them quickly, reviving their spirit and enthusiasm.

Little by little, the number of readers began to increase, with new subscribers in nearly all of Brazil. The influence of the paper began to spread throughout the country's vast territory.

Catolicismo was obviously intended for the Catholic public in general. Its goal was to alert the public and encourage them in the struggle against the factors of religious, moral, and cultural deterioration stemming from contemporary neopaganism. Above all, it promoted reaction against progressivism and "Catholic leftism" (13).

Once the paper began to circulate, friends and foes started calling the "Vieira and Martim Groups," considered as a whole, the "*Catolicismo* Group."

The first issue of Catolicismo comes out: Legionário's network is revived

The influence of Catolicismo begins to spread throughout Brazil.

The "Catolicismo Group"

11. *The Great Impact of the Pastoral Letter on Problems of the Modern Apostolate*

In 1953, Bishop Mayer struck a blow against progressivism by publishing the *Pastoral Letter on Problems of the Modern Apostolate*. In it, he amplified the scope of the topics treated by *In De-*

(13) Cf. Plínio Corrêa de Oliveira, "The TFP Is Born," in *Folha de S. Paulo*, 2-22-69.

A new blow against progressivism: the Pastoral Letter on Problems of the Modern Apostolate

fense of Catholic Action and made an exposition adapted to the new circumstances. The two Brazilian editions of the Pastoral Letter sold out quickly. It also had an impact outside Brazil, due to a great extent to the action of the *Catolicismo* agency in Rio de Janeiro.

There, during the 36th International Eucharistic Congress in July 1955, that agency had erected a stand displaying the work. The Pastoral was published successively in Italy, France, Spain, Canada, and Argentina.

Today, twenty seven years after its publication, the *Pastoral Letter on Problems of the Modern Apostolate* continues to be of fundamental importance in the formation of TFP members and collaborators, as well as that of its correspondents and advocates. It is also indispensable for those who, though unrelated to the organization, wish to study its spirit and its action. Finally, it is undeniably useful to those desiring to know progressivism, its doctrines and its history in Brazil.

Thus began the brilliant trajectory of the Pastoral Letters of the Bishop of Campos. Becoming more numerous over the years, they have come to constitute a veritable monument of doctrine and of courage.

12. The Great Growth of Catholicismo

Meanwhile, the *Catolicismo* Group continued to grow. The foundation of the monthly had created favorable conditions for recruiting new collaborators. The members of the *Catolicismo* Group stepped

up their efforts to increase the circulation of the monthly. Travelling in several areas of Brazil, they made contacts, organized meetings, and expounded the journal's tenets and goals.

This opened the way for many young people to receive the profound Catholic formation afforded by an assiduous reading of *Catolicismo*.

Here and there, enthusiasm for the journal went beyond mere applause. In 1953, many young men in Rio de Janeiro, Belo Horizonte, and Campos, began to gather to study the positions advocated by the paper. They rented centers in each of those cities for their meetings and for other activities promoting *Catolicismo*. In this way the first nuclei of *Catolicismo* promoters outside Sao Paulo were formed.

New groups were formed in state capitals such as Porto Alegre, RS (1953), Fortaleza, CE (1954), Salvador, BA (1954), Curitiba, PR (1958), and Florianópolis, SC (1959). Subsequently, groups were also formed in several other cities of the States of Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Minas Gerais.

These nuclei were frequently visited by members of the *Catolicismo* Group from Sao Paulo, who gave them talks and a general orientation for their activities.

In 1956, the young and brilliant Prof. Orlando Fedeli started bringing a rich harvest of new collaborators to the group in Sao Paulo every year.

Until then, the members of the *Catolicismo* Group had come largely from long established families of Sao Paulo. The youths attracted by Prof. Orlando Fedeli, however, were generally from the middle and lower classes. Many of them were sons of immigrants, descending from Italians, Spaniards,

Trips throughout Brazil to promote Catolicismo and its group

Nuclei in several states

New groups in Sao Paulo



■ Prince Luís de Orleans e Bragança and Prince Bertrand de Orleans e Bragança joined the *Catolicismo Group* very young. In a strictly apolitical character, they give the TFP their valiant and continuous dedication.

The Aureliano

Syrians, Japanese, Germans, and so on. With the renting of a center at 23 Aureliano Coutinho St. for the meetings of these youths, the "Aureliano Group" came into existence.

The Alcácer

About the same time, a group was formed consisting mainly of students at the Sao Luis High School. They rented their own center, first at 518 Martim Francisco St. and later at 258 Aureliano Coutinho St. Their center was called "Alcácer" (*). Two young men in this group were outstanding for their religious fervor and dedication. Their names deserve special mention because they are closely linked with famous facts of our country's history that are very dear to Brazilians: the Proclamation of Independence, the war with Paraguay, and the Abolition of Slavery. They are Prince Luís de Orleans e Bragança and Prince Bertrand de Orleans e Bragança, who with great self-denial and in a strictly apolitical character, give the TFP their continuous dedication.

Most of the young men of the "Aureliano" and "Alcacer" Groups who did not enter various professions enrolled in the well-known Largo de S. Francisco Law School or in other colleges, where they

(*) In memory of the *Alcácer do Sal* fortress in Portugal, where one of the famous battles of the Reconquest took place.



■ In 1953, the *Catolicismo* Group started holding annual seminars for friends and promoters of the paper from all over Brazil. This series culminated with the Latin American Congress of *Catolicismo* held in Serra Negra in January 1962.

carried on a brilliant action in favor of the ideals of tradition, family, and property.

As can be seen, the *Catolicismo* Group reflected, as it developed, the whole spectrum of social classes and ethnic groups of industrialized Sao Paulo. The germinative phase of the group was replaced by one of frank expression.

13. Congresses, Lectures, Trips

This growth led the *Catolicismo* Group to start holding regular annual seminars in 1953. These seminars provided the paper's agents and promoters with an occasion to increase their knowledge of the principles they defended and to unite more strongly around those principles, thereby increasing their fervor.

These seminars were prepared by a commission made up of members of the *Catolicismo* Group

Seminars begin





■ From Catholicism's first seminars to the current Specialized Education and Formation in Anticommunism (SEFACS) organized by the TFP, an ever growing number of youths of successive generations have been closing ranks around Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira.

*The Commission
of the Movement*

in the city of Sao Paulo. With time, this commission became better organized and extended its scope of action so that it helped not only by preparing seminars but also by assisting the activities of the various groups in Sao Paulo and in other parts of Brazil. The Commission of the Movement was the beginning of what today is the Secretariat of the National Council of the TFP.

Meanwhile, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira and members of the "Vieira" and "Martim" groups began visiting European and Spanish-speaking South American countries. This marked the beginning of cordial contacts with anticommunist leaders and associations all over the world.

These contacts increased during Vatican Council II, when the *Catholicismo* Group established a secretariat in Rome in order to follow the Council's proceedings closely.





It soon became indispensable to form a new department in order to coordinate such contacts. It was called the Commission for Contacts Abroad.

*The Commission
for Contacts
Abroad*

In 1961, as a consequence of all this work, a convention was held which set the stage for a new phase of the group. It was the Latin American Congress of *Catolicismo*, usually referred to in TFP circles as the "Serra Negra Congress," after the place where it was held. Participating in the congress were more than 350 Brazilians, as well as 20 Spanish-speaking Latin Americans from different countries. Such contacts were the first seeds of the large family of TFPs that sprang up in other countries beginning in 1967.

Thereafter, because of the great increase in numbers, it was no longer feasible to hold seminars for all of the representatives and promoters of *Catolicismo* at one time and location. In view of this fact, a decision was made to hold seminars on a regional basis. Seminars were frequently held in São Paulo as well as in other state capitals, helping









to coordinate common efforts and improve the morale of the group.

* * *

*"Blood, sweat,
and tears"*

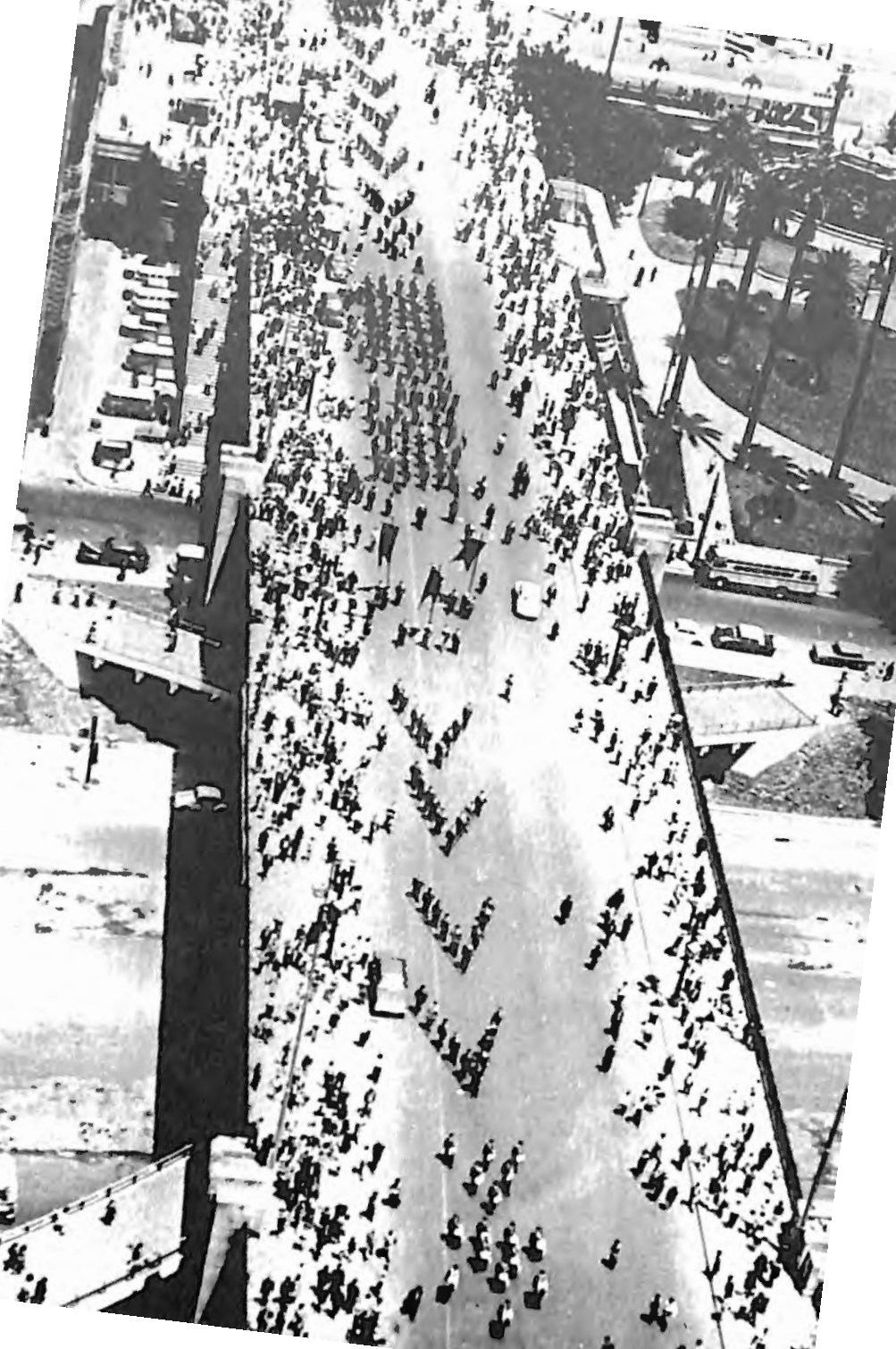
It would be an illusion to think that this growth of the *Catolicismo* Group proceeded smoothly under sunny blue skies. It cost "blood, sweat, and tears." There were misunderstandings, all kinds of worries, heart-breaking defections, and unexpected setbacks.

14. Revolution, the Adversary

In the eyes of the public, the growth of the *Catolicismo* Group called for a clear and systematic definition of its goals and of the means and methods that it proposed in order to achieve those goals.

In 1959, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira wrote the essay, *Revolution and Counter-revolution*, which

■ *Above and facing page:
Parade opening the TFP
campaign for the Christ-
mas of the poor in 1970.*



Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira writes Revolution and Counter-revolution: more than a book, a program

was first published in *Catolicismo* (no. 100, April 1959). This memorable study was a milestone for all the members of the *Catolicismo* Group; for in it they saw, clearly expressed, the essential lines of their ideas and a panoramic vision of the fight they were conducting.

There the adversary was singled out: *the Revolution*, that is, the five century old process which has been destroying Christendom from the decline of the Middle Ages to our days. In addition, the book analyzed, from the standpoint of Thomistic philosophy and theology, the profound causes of the phenomenon, the agents promoting it, the essential elements of the doctrine that inspires it, the respective importance of the various fields in which it takes place, the vigor of its dynamism, and the mechanism of its expansion.

Also studied were analogous points with respect to the *Counter-revolution* that is, the process with which the *Revolution* must be opposed and the conditions for its victory.

Bedside book of the vast family of souls of the Brazilian TFP and of the other TFPs and similar associations

Revolution and Counter-revolution soon became the bedside book of the members of the *Catolicismo* Group and of all those who would subsequently enter not only the vast family of souls of the Brazilian TFP but also of the other TFPs and similar associations throughout the world.

Several editions in Brazil and abroad

In fact, the essay has gone through sixteen editions in five languages: Portuguese, Spanish, French, English, and Italian; in Brazil, Argentina, Canada, Chile, Italy, Spain, and the United States, totalling 91,000 copies.

The edition published by the *Fiducia* Group in Chile in 1963 contained a letter praising the book from Msgr. Romolo Carboni, then Apostolic Nuncio in Peru.

The American edition of 1972 had a preface

by the well-known Catholic writer, John Steinbacher. In 1964, the Dell'Albero press in Turin published the first Italian edition. The valorous *Alleanza Cattolica*, of Piacenza, brought out the second and third editions, with prefaces by the brilliant writer, Giovanni Cantoni. For the latest Italian edition, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira added a new part to the original work; this new part, entitled "Revolution and Counter-revolution Twenty Years Later," analyzes the most recent forms of the Revolution, that is, structuralism, hippyism, and so on.

During Vatican Council II, 269 Fathers of the Council from 66 countries affirmed the principal theses of Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira on the French Revolution as the precursor of Communism contained in his essay, *Revolution and Counter-revolution*. This affirmation was part of the substantial exposition of reasons prefacing a petition promoted by two Brazilian Prelates: Msgr. Antonio de Castro Mayer, Bishop of Campos, and Msgr. Geraldo de Proença Sigaud, Archbishop of Diamantina. This document also asked that the Council renew the Church's condemnation of Socialism and Communism (14).



(14) *Catolicismo*, no. 157, January 1964.

15. Finally, the TFP Arises

Out of the Catholicismo Group, the TFP arises

With the publication of *Revolution and Counter-revolution*, everything had been prepared for the decisive step that would change the physiognomy of the *Catholicismo* Group by giving formal legal standing to that family of souls that had developed slowly and organically. The foundation, in July 1960, of the BRAZILIAN SOCIETY FOR THE DEFENSE OF TRADITION, FAMILY AND PROPERTY – TFP.

The beginning of another stage in the fight

Therefore, this Society had members of the *Catholicismo* Group as its own founding members and directors. To all of those friends whom idealism, misfortune, fidelity, and recent joys had brought together in such a profound unity, its appearance signaled the beginning of another phase of their fight.



Summary of Activities

THE COMMUNIST DANGER obviously includes the possibility of an armed aggression for the seizure of power. However, it is not limited to that. It also includes an element whose importance becomes more evident every day: the conquest of public opinion.

Ordinarily, the purpose of this conquest is not the bringing about of a direct and simple acceptance of Communism by public opinion; for the feasibility of such a goal is more than doubtful. This is well-known by the leaders of the Red sect, who up until this day have never obtained, in any really free election, a majority of votes granting them free access to take over any government completely.

In order to conquer public opinion, Communism artfully infiltrates useful idiots, crypto-communists, or communists into the key posts of present-day society. From these posts, it spreads doctrines of a more or less "moderate" appearance, but which really bear the communist poison in their bosom.

Naturally, these "infiltrating" elements support,

The communist danger is not limited to an armed aggression; it also includes the conquest of public opinion

In order to conquer public opinion, Communism needs to infiltrate key posts of society



either consciously or not, the agitations promoted by the Communist Party.

The imperative need of Communism to infiltrate Catholic circles

Communism could never advance by openly spreading its atheistic, egalitarian, and sensual propaganda among the massively Catholic Brazilian people. Since our people would refuse a propaganda frontally opposed to their Religion, such a direct approach would stir up a reaction closing far too many doors to Marxism. Therefore, it became imperative to infiltrate Catholic circles with elements that would carry forward its subversive designs.

Thus, the best achievement of Communism in Brazil in the last few decades has been to steal into key posts in Catholic circles, using them to carry out the disguised propaganda described above.

* * *

Only a real specialization in Catholic theology and philosophy enables one to denounce this infiltration

One of the most precious advantages to Communism of such an infiltration is that it makes it very difficult for someone to denounce it without appearing to be attacking the Church itself.

Furthermore, since the indoctrination of the communists and their agents in Catholic circles is veiled in the specific language of Christian theology and philosophy, a real cultural specialization is necessary to denounce these doctrines and counter-argue in defense of our threatened country.

Only a group of intellectuals generally acknowledged to be fervent Catholics could undertake such a work

Only a group of intellectuals and men of action who are generally acknowledged to be fervent Catholics could undertake such a work without incurring the suspicion that they wish to demolish the Church.

Only the very accurate specialization of these intellectuals in Catholic social doctrine permits them to refute the errors of Catholic crypto-com-

munism in a manner capable of making a profound impression in specifically Catholic ambiances.

* * *

All of this, which was obvious under Paul VI, continues to be true under John Paul II. This is especially the case if he carries out — as many people expect — a defined, systematic, and efficacious repression of socialism and Communism in the Church in accord with the first steps he took in this respect at Puebla. This is so because such a policy — it should be admitted — would encounter an open reaction from non-conformist groups, which are ultimately (though covertly) controlled by Moscow, as well as from similar groups that may enter into a sort of ecclesiastical clandestineness in order to give underground support to the wide open resistance.

In view of this possible situation, the support of organizations of Catholic laymen with a detailed knowledge of this field and much experience with it could be precious in detecting and counterbalancing the action of Moscow.

Because they do have these skills, the leaders and members of the TFP are able to undertake such a delicate task. The present *Summary of Activities* tells, in brief, how they have performed it up until now.

* * *

All that appears in this *Summary* can be found in a report widely distributed by the TFP in September, 1978. Events made these words so vibrantly timely that we reproduce them here without any alteration — except for the addition regarding Puebla which serves as an introductory note to the present *Summary*.

This is still the case under John Paul II

Non-conformist groups may resist the repression of socialism and Communism in the Church

The leaders and members of the TFP are able to detect and counterbalance this action

Events made these words vibrantly timely

1960



*Foundation of
the TFP*

1. July 26 — The Brazilian Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property, is founded in Sao Paulo. The Society is a civic and cultural entity of Catholic inspiration which also has philanthropic purposes. The initiative was taken by Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, an internationally renowned Catholic leader with a long record of services rendered to the Church and the country. The founding members were drawn from the board of directors of the group of *Catolicismo* (a cultural monthly published under the aegis of Msgr. Antonio de Castro Mayer, Bishop of Campos). In turn, the *Catolicismo* group had originated from the old group of *Legionario* (the unofficial weekly of the Archdiocese of Sao Paulo in those days).

The first activities of the TFP against Communism took place during the nationwide debate over land reform. Participating in this debate were members of the *Catolicismo* group, as well as Msgr. Antonio de Castro Mayer and Msgr. Geraldo de Proença Sigaud, the illustrious prelates of Campos and Jacarezinho, respectively. All of the activities that were carried out by the members of the *Catolicismo* group in their own names were gradually and naturally taken over by the TFP.

Prologue: Chap. I, 1 and 2; Chap. v, 15 (★)

(★) The references at the end of each topic of the *Summary* correspond to the chapter (Roman numeral) and the item (Arabic number) of those portions of the present book in which the subject is more amply treated.

2. *October* — An article written by Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira especially for *Catolicismo* announces the publication of the book *Agrarian Reform — a Question of Conscience*.

Chap. I, 3

Article announcing the publication of Agrarian Reform—a Question of Conscience

3. *November 10* — The best seller *Agrarian Reform — a Question of Conscience* is published.

Its authors: Msgr. Antonio de Castro Mayer, Bishop of Campos, Msgr. Geraldo de Proença Sigaud, Bishop of Jacarezinho, Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, and Luiz Mendonça de Freitas. The great doctrinal fight against agrarian socialism begins. The book has four editions in Brazil, with 30,000 copies; one edition in Argentina, one in Spain, and one in Colombia. Total of these seven editions: 39,000 copies.

Chap. I, 2, and 3

AR-QC is published

4. *November 16* — At the invitation of the Economic Commission of the Legislative Assembly of Sao Paulo, the authors of *AR-QC* spoke about the state government's project for Agrarian Revision. Heated debates take place on the floor of the Assembly.

Chap. I, 3

The authors of AR-QC at the Legislative Assembly of Sao Paulo

5. *December 5* — Amidst much brouhaha, the Episcopate of Sao Paulo releases to the public on a TV program a communique read by Bishop Helder Camara favoring the socialistic project of Agrarian Revision. It is an indirect "condemnation" of the book *AR-QC*. The communique gives rise to

The Episcopate of Sao Paulo takes a stand against AR-QC.



unfavorable reactions to the episcopate in large sectors of public opinion and in rural circles in general.

Chap. I, 5

A clarification from the Bishopric of Campos

6. *December 20* — Fr. Bloes Netto, the Secretary of the Bishopric of Campos, publishes a *Clarification* showing that the teaching of the Bishops is not infallible, and that when they disagree among themselves, the faithful must look to the papal teachings for a guide.

Chap. I, 5

Msgr. Sigaud is promoted to Archbishop

7. *December 31* — The Holy See promotes Msgr. Geraldo de Proença Sigaud, one of the authors of *AR-QC*, to Archbishop of Diamantina.

Chap. I, 5

1961



Writer Gustavo Corção publishes articles against AR-QC. Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira answers

8. *January* — In a series of three articles for the daily papers writer Gustavo Corção vehemently attacks *AR-QC*. Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira answers with a series of three articles, also in the daily papers, showing that the illustrious journalist had formed his opinion without previously reading the book with due attention.

Chap. I, 6,A

Article of Msgr. Fernando Gomes against AR-QC. Bishop Antonio de Castro Mayer replies

9. *February* — Msgr. Fernando Gomes, the Archbishop of Goiânia, attacks *AR-QC* in the review of his Archdiocese. Bishop Antonio de Castro Mayer replies in the pages of *Catolicismo*. The Archbishop attacks again, and *Catolicismo* takes up the task of showing that the reply of Archbishop Gomes

did not undo the arguments of the Bishop of Campos.

Chap. I, 6, B

10. *April* — University students of the *Catolicismo* Group from Sao Paulo and Curitiba launch a Manifesto repudiating the communist-progressive action of leftist student groups in several universities. Their manifesto is signed by 1,200 university students in the State of Sao Paulo and 470 in the State of Paraná.

Chap. I, 14

Manifesto against communist-progressive action in universities

11. *July* — A petition rejecting the confiscatory and socialistic agrarian reform, which was eventually signed by 27,000 farmers, is begun in Bagé (State of Rio Grande do Sul). The petition supports the thesis of *AR-QC*. In July 1963, the authors of the book deliver the 27,000 signatures to the National Congress.

Chap. I, 9

Petition signed by 27,000 farmers supports AR-QC

12. *August 6* — In his article, "Wanted: An Economist Favorable to Land Reform," published in the daily newspapers, the engineer Plinio Vidigal Xavier da Silveira, a founding member of the TFP, challenges the partisans of agrarian reform to refute the economic arguments of *AR-QC*.

Chap. I, 7

A challenge to economists to refute AR-QC

13. *August 25* — The members of the *Catolicismo* Group, who habitually gathered at 27 Vieira de Carvalho Street, 6th and 7th floors, move to 50 Pará Street, in the borough of Higienópolis, Sao Paulo, which was later to become the headquarters of the TFP National Council.

Chap. IV, 21

Headquarters of the National Council at Pará Street



Televised debate between Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira and Mr. Paulo de Tarso

- 14.** *October 24* — Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira and Mr. Paulo de Tarso, the Christian-Democrat Congressman and former mayor of Brasilia, hold a debate on Sao Paulo's Tupi TV. Topic: *Capitalism and Socialism: What is the Position of the Church?*
Chap. I, 8

Lectures of Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira in Belo Horizonte

- 15.** *October 29 and 30* — Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira lectures in Belo Horizonte on agrarian reform, at the invitation of the State Union of Students and Organizations of the Students of Engineering, Medicine, Odontology, and Pharmacy of the University of Minas Gerais. The lectures were heard by large audiences and drew much applause.
Chap. IV, I

A communique of the Diocese of Campos on invasions of farms

- 16.** *December 13* — The Diocese of Campos releases a communique entitled "The Church and the Invasion of Lands in the State of Rio." It proclaims that invading properties is illicit and that owners can legitimately defend their lands against such invasions, especially if the police clearly fail to protect them.
Chap I, 10


1962



Declarations of Cardinal Motta against AR-QC. The two Bishops who co-authored the book reply

- 17.** *March 3* — The communique "The Book *Agrarian Reform — A Question of Conscience* and the National Episcopate" is released. In it, the Archbishop of Diamantina and the Bishop of Campos refute statements Cardinal Motta, the Archbishop of Sao Paulo, made against *AR-QC* in the international press. The Prelate fails to answer.
Chap. I, 6, C

- 18.** *June 9* — The authors of *AR-QC* publish in the daily newspapers an open letter to President Joao Goulart entitled "Agrarian Reform and the Sacred Character of the Right of Ownership," pointing out the grave consequences of the constitutional reform proposed by the Government. That reform would make possible the expropriation of lands for a price lower than their just worth, to be paid in bonds of the public debt redeemable only after many years.
- An open letter by the authors of AR-QC to President Goulart*
- Chap. I, 11
- 19.** *July* — Acting on an initiative of *Catolicismo* university students in Belo Horizonte, six hundred university students of this city interpellate JUC (Catholic Workers Youth) of Sao Paulo in regard to an ambiguous "third position," neither capitalist nor communist, adopted by that organization. JUC remains silent.
- Interpellation of Sao Paulo JUC*
- Chap. I, 15
- 20.** *August* — In Belo Horizonte, university students of the *Catolicismo* Group "break through" a subversive strike which the National Union of Students (UNE) had decreed in all of the country's universities. The exacerbated reactions of the pickets were useless. The strike movement in Belo Horizonte is thus deflated and the UNE myth withers in that city.
- Student strike in Belo Horizonte is thwarted*
- Chap. I, 16
- 21.** *September 9* — As student unrest came to an end, university students of the *Catolicismo* Group distribute in the Largo de S. Francisco Law School in Sao Paulo the manifesto, "Ten Anticommunist Affirmations," proclaiming their doctrinal position in regard to developments shaking Brazil and the world at the time.
- Manifesto in the Sao Paulo Law School: "Ten Anticommunist Affirmations"*
- Chap. I, 16



Bishop Mayer and Bishop Sigaud's Pastoral Letters against the communist sect. The Anti-communist Catechism

- 22.** 1962 — During this year, *Catholicismo* Group inaugurates its system for selling books in the streets directly to the public. By the end of 1963, its members had sold 11,500 copies (three editions) of the *Pastoral Letter Warning the Faithful of the Diocese Against the Tricks of the Communist Sect*, by Bishop Antonio de Castro Mayer, as well as 13,000 copies (two editions) of the *Pastoral Letter On the Communist Sect*, by Bishop Geraldo de Proença Sigaud and 110,000 copies (five editions) of the *Anticommunist Catechism*, also by Bishop Sigaud.

Chap. I, 18

1963



New stands are taken concerning the constitutional reform the Goulart Administration had proposed to Congress; the reform offended against the right of private property:

The authors of AR-QC send a telegram to President Goulart

- 23.** March 21 — The authors of *AR-QC* sent the President a telegram categorically repudiating the proposals to reform the Constitution.

Chap. I, 12

Communique on the proposed constitutional reform

- 24.** May 9 — The Bishops who co-authored *AR-QC* publish the communique, "Constitutional Reform and Basic Reforms: Doctrinal Clarifications." It refuted the stand taken by the leadership of the National Conference of Bishops of Brazil (CNBB) on the matter, a stand which was untenable from the standpoint of Catholic doctrine. The CNBB's leadership had supported the constitutional reform proposed by the Joao Goulart Administration.

Chap. I, 12

25. *July* — The TFP takes over the activities Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira and his collaborators of *Catolicismo* had hitherto carried out in their own names. Thus begins the public activity of the TFP.

Beginning of the public action of the TFP

Chap. II, 4

26. *July 19* — The four authors of *AR-QC* publish the manifesto, "Brazilian Agriculture on the Brink of a Socialist Debacle — an Appeal to the National Congress." It points out that Afranio Lages' proposed alternative to Congressman Milton Campos' agrarian reform bill would have totalitarian effects on agriculture and violate the right of private property. Although it was approved in the Senate, the alternate bill was defeated in the House.

Authors of AR-QC publish a manifesto on Afranio Lages' alternate proposal

Chap. I, 13

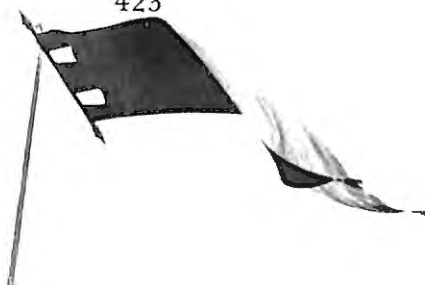
27. *July* — University students of the *Catolicismo* Group publish an interpellation addressed to Christian Democrat Congressman André Franco Montoro. It questioned a nebulous "third position" he had taken in a news conference. Seven thousand four hundred university students from various states signed this interpellation. Prof. Franco Montoro makes an evasive reply in the press. One hundred students at the Law School of the University of Sao Paulo ask the Congressman for a clear and objective answer. Montoro remains silent.

Congressman Franco Montoro interpellated

Chap. I, 17

28. *August* — The essay, *The Freedom of the Church in the Communist State* (current title: *The Church and the Communist State: The Impossible Coexistence*) is published. In it, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira demonstrates the impossibility of

The Freedom of the Church in the Communist State



a peaceful coexistence between the Church and the Communist State. In 1964, the Vatican's Sacred Congregation of Seminaries and Universities wrote a letter praising this book very highly. The book penetrates the Iron Curtain and gives rise to a dispute between a member of the "Catholic-communist" movement PAX, of Poland, and its author during the year 1964. Paris journalists joined the polemics, some in favor of the book, others against it. The book has already gone through 10 editions in Portuguese, one in German, 11 in Spanish, 5 in French, one in Hungarian, 4 in English, 3 in Italian, and 2 in Polish, totalling more than 168,000 copies. The whole text was also published in 30 newspapers or magazines in 13 different countries.

Chap. II, 5

*Petitioning the
Vatican Council
to condemn
Communism*

29. *December 3* — Bishop Antonio de Castro Mayer, the outstanding Prelate who promotes the TFP, delivers to the Vatican Secretary of State a petition signed by 213 Fathers of the Council from 54 countries calling on the Council to condemn Marxism, Socialism, and Communism. The Council deemed it sufficient to make a general reference to previous condemnations of atheistic Communism, which were listed in a footnote of one of its documents.

Chap. II, 5

1964



*Petition against
the CUTAL*

30. *January* — Petition repudiating the holding of a communist congress of the CUTAL (Sole Latin American Central Workers Union) in Belo Horizonte or anywhere else in Brazil. Inspired by the



TFP, college and secondary school students, businessmen and workers in Belo Horizonte (some of whom already were and others who came to be members or collaborators of the TFP) collected 30,000 signatures in only two days; 32,000 more signatures were collected in Rio de Janeiro and in Curitiba. The CUTAL congress was held in Brasilia, but it was a total failure.

Chap. I, 19

31. *February 3* — Bishop Geraldo de Proença Sigaud, then also a well-known promoter of the TFP, personally delivers to Paul VI a petition signed by 510 prelates from 78 countries. The petition asked the Pope, in union with all the Bishops of the world, to consecrate Russia and the world to the Immaculate Heart of Mary. This consecration — as Our Lady told Sister Lucy, the seer of Fatima who is still alive today — was a pledge that Russia would be converted and the chastisements hanging over the world would be averted. The requested consecration was not made.

A petition to the Council to consecrate Russia and the world to the Immaculate Heart of Mary

Chap. II, 5

32. *March-April* — With the support of the TFP, a commission of Catholics in the State of Minas Gerais promotes an interpellation calling on the Catholic Action of Belo Horizonte to clearly define its ideological position. They ask it

Interpellation of Catholic Action in Belo Horizonte

to show how its support of the "basic reforms" advocated by the Joao Goulart Administration can be justified according to Catholic doctrine. In 38 days, 209,000 Catholics signed the interpellation. Catholic Action lapsed into a constrained silence.

Chap. I, 20

• This and other positions taken previously by the authors of *AR-QC* and the TFP during the whole struggle against the "basic reforms" in general, and the Agrarian Reform in particular, contributed decisively to the formation of the ideological climate that made the Revolution of 1964 possible.

Position paper by the authors of AR-QC: Jangoism Without Jango

33. April 8 — The authors of *AR-QC* publish the study "The Aniz Badra — Iva Luz Agrarian Reform Bill: Jangoism Without Jango" (★) in the press and send it to the members of Congress. In it, they denounce the crafty maneuver to have Congress approve an Agrarian Reform bill that would include strong State intervention and violate the right of private property. The bill died in the Senate after passing the House.

Chap. II, 1

□ Large scale activities defending both renters and landlords against demagogic rent control legislation.

Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira's first study of draft legislation on rent control

34. June 16 — Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira prepares a study entitled "Private Property Left Mutilated and Moribund in the Draft Rent Control Legislation." The study is published in the main newspapers of Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo, and Belo Horizonte.

Chap. II, 6

(★) Jango: Sobriquet by which President Joao Goulart was generally known.

35. *October 29* — Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira sends the document “Observations and Suggestions on the Proposed Rent Control Legislation” to Brazil’s President and to the Senators and Congressmen. The document shows that after certain short term effects the existing rent control is harmful to both renters and landlords. It calls for freely negotiated rental contracts.

Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira’s observations and suggestions on Rent Control legislation

Chap. II, 6

• Rent controls were loosened between November 1965 and October 1966. Capital flowed into the real estate market once again, causing a marked increase in construction and thus favoring renters and landlords.

36. *October* — The authors of *AR-QC* publish the book, *Declaration of Morro Alto*, in which they present a positive program for an agrarian policy without any taint of socialism. The book went through two editions totalling 22,500 copies.

The Declaration of Morro Alto

Chap. II, 2

37. *October-November* — Student collaborators of the TFP, of the class of 1964, carry out intensive activities in the Largo de S. Francisco Law School in Sao Paulo. They distribute among their colleagues a manifesto pointing out the maneuvers to elect certain leftist personalities as sponsors of the graduating class. The persons denounced were not elected. At the end of their commencement exercises, the TFP graduates distributed a proclamation to their colleagues, “Review and Commitment,” in which they recapitulate their fight against campus leftism.

A proclamation to Law School colleagues: “Review and Commitment”

Chap. II, 7

- Stands taken regarding constitutional reform proposals and the Land Statute:

The authors of AR-QC publish study on the proposed Land Statute

- 38.** November 4 – The study: “The Right of Private Property and Free Enterprise in the Proposed Constitutional Amendment No. 5/64 and in the Proposed Land Statute” is distributed to Senators and Congressmen. In this document, the authors of *AR-QC* analyze the strongly socialistic features of the two proposals.

Chap. II, 3

Manifesto on the approval of the Land Statute

- 39.** December 24 – The constitutional amendment and the Land Statute having been approved, the TFP publishes “Manifesto to the Brazilian People on Agrarian Reform,” expressing its consternation and reaffirming its thinking on the matter.

Chap. II, 3

1965



TFP standards sally into the streets

- 40.** March 30 – For the first time, the TFP takes into the streets its red standards with both the rampant lion and the words Tradition, Family and Property in gold. On that occasion the TFP promotes the third edition of *The Freedom of the Church in the Communist State*.

Chap. II, 8

- 41.** December – The book, *Unperceived Ideological Transshipment and Dialogue* is published in Sao Paulo. In this work, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira unmasks the communist tactic of “dialogue,”



a masterpiece of Moscow's revolutionary psychological warfare. The book was published in five Portuguese editions totalling 45,000 copies; a German edition (in Brazil); four Spanish editions (one in Argentina, one in Mexico, and two in Spain); and an Italian edition in Italy. The entire text was also published in six newspapers and magazines in four countries, achieving a grand total of 98,500 copies.

Chap. II, 9



1966

▪ The TFP carries out its first large scale campaign to defend the family against the threat of a proposed new Civil Code legalizing divorce:

42. *June 2* — The TFP starts collecting signatures for its "Appeal to High Civilian and Ecclesiastical Authorities in Favor of the Brazilian Family." In only 50 days, 1,042,359 Brazilians from 142 cities signed the petition against divorce.

Chap. II, 10

Petition against divorce

43. *June-July* — The TFP promotes a series of lectures on divorce by outstanding jurists and university professors in the cities of Sao Paulo and Belo Horizonte. The auditoriums were overflowing.

Chap. II, 10; IV, 7

Series of lectures against divorce

44. *June 25* — The communique "The TFP vs. the Pro-Divorce Drive in Brazil" congratulates the Government for having ordered the proposed new Civil Code legalizing divorce to be withdrawn from the House. At the same time, the TFP alerts

Communique: The TFP vs. the Pro - Divorce Drive in Brazil



Unperceived Ideological Transshipment and Dialogue, a new book by Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira

public opinion to the continuing danger posed by the same project having been reintroduced in the Congress by two pro-divorce Congressmen.

Chap. II, 10

A Respectful Defense in the Face of a Communique of the Venerable Central Commission of the CNBB

45. *July 23* — The TFP has its “Respectful Defense in the Face of a Communique of the Venerable Central Commission of the CNBB” published in the main newspapers of the country. In this communique, the TFP expresses its perplexity at the unjust attack unleashed against it by the Central Commission of the National Conference of Bishops of Brazil at the exact moment when the association was arduously committed to the struggle against divorce.

Chap. II, 10

A parade on the Viaduto do Chá and a prayer to Our Lady Aparecida at Ipiranga

46. *August* — On the 12th, members and collaborators of the TFP hold a parade on the Viaduto do Chá in Sao Paulo celebrating the victory over divorce. On the 14th, the TFP goes on a motorcade to the National Monument of Independence at Ipiranga. There the National Council signs a supplication to Our Lady Aparecida, the Patroness of Brazil, beseeching her to keep divorce away from the country once and for all.

Chap. II, 10

Action against leftist agitation among students

47. *September-October* — Student collaborators of the TFP in universities frustrate new leftist efforts in student circles. They take an active part in student assemblies in different universities and publish manifestos denouncing the subversive character of leftist agitation. The leftist minority was isolated and their agitation was deflated.

Chap. II, 11



1967

48. *January* – The TFP sends a letter to President Castello Branco about the proposed Press Law being debated in the Congress. The TFP asks for a law reconciling an indispensable repression of abuses – so frequent in this field – with the just and adequate liberty necessary for the good performance of journalistic activity. In a visit to Sao Paulo on January 25, the Head of State invites members of the National Council of the TFP to an audience. The President expressed his satisfaction to them at the “noble and courteous letter” which he had received.

Letter about the proposed Press Law; audience with President Castello Branco

Chap. II, 12

49. *July* – Publication of the international best seller *Frei, the Chilean Kerensky* by Fabio Vidigal Xavier da Silveira, one of the directors of the TFP. The book denounces the left-leaning policy of the Christian Democrat President of Chile for favoring Communism. When 20,000 copies of the special edition of *Catolicismo* containing the whole text, and 5,000 copies of the book had already been sold by TFP members and collaborators in street campaigns, this campaign was prohibited in our country at the request of the Chilean ambassador. In Chile the book was banned by the government, but copies coming from Argentina circulated widely. It had a great impact throughout Latin America as well as in Europe. There were two editions in Portuguese; seven in Spanish (three in Argentina,

Frei, the Chilean Kerensky, by Fabio Vidigal Xavier da Silveira



two in Venezuela, one in Colombia, and one in Ecuador); and one in Italian (in Italy). It was also published twice in *Catolicismo* (1967 and 1970) and three times in the magazine *Cruzada* (Buenos Aires) as well as in the newspaper *La Verdad* (Caracas). Total: 128,800 copies.

Chap. II, 14

Manifesto on the 50th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution

50. *November 1* — Publication in the country's daily press of the manifesto *On the 50th Anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution*, in which the TFP alerts public opinion to the seeds of *detente* that were beginning to corrode Western resistance to Communism.

Chap. II, 15

Masses for the Victims of Communism

51. *November* — On the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, the TFP had Masses said in nine State capitals and eight other cities for the victims of Communism and terrorism all over the world. Since then, the TFP has had Masses celebrated for the same intention a number of times. These Masses have been attended by civil and military authorities, representatives of the diplomatic corps, delegations of Captive Nations, and by large crowds. After the Masses in the Cathedral of Sao Paulo in 1969 and 1973, the participants paraded to the *Patio do Colégio* (the site of the foundation of Sao Paulo), where the TFP held a public gathering in repudiation of Communism. In 1972, also in Sao Paulo, TFP members and collaborators paraded from the Cathedral to the Shrine of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception which had been erected by the association at its headquarters on Martim Francisco Street. There they prayed that the Blessed Virgin would turn the scourge of Communism away from Brazil.

Chap. II, 16





1968

52. *June 21* — Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira sends an open letter to Msgr. Helder Câmara, Archbishop of Olinda and Recife, about the subversive activities of a Belgian priest, Father Joseph Comblin, professor at the Institute of Theology of Recife. The open letter was published in the main newspapers of the country and the TFP distributed 500,000 copies of it to the people in flyers entitled “The TFP Asks for Measures Against a Subversive Priest.”

Chap. II, 17

Letter of Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira to Archbishop Helder Câmara about Fr. Comblin

53. *July 17 to September 12* — Petition asking Paul VI for efficacious measures against communist infiltration in Catholic circles. In only 58 days, 1,600,368 signatures are collected in 229 Brazilian cities. The petition is also circulated on the initiative of the local TFPs of Argentina (276,534 signatures), Chile (121,210 signatures) and Uruguay (40,000 signatures). These petitions are delivered to the Vatican. No response from the Holy See.

Chap. II, 17

Petition against communist infiltration in the Church

54. *August 7* — Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira starts his weekly column in the *Folha de S. Paulo*, the newspaper with the largest circulation in that State. These articles are distributed by the TFP Press Service to news agencies and papers in Brazil and abroad. They are published in newspapers of the five continents.

Chap. II, 18

Articles by Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira in the Folha de S. Paulo

*Reception for
Cardinal Slipyi*

55. *September 26* – The TFP offers a solemn reception to Cardinal Slipyi, Major Archbishop of Lwow, Metropolitan of the Ukrainians and great hero of the resistance to Communism in his country. Participating in the reception were outstanding personalities from the clergy, the Armed Forces, Sao Paulo society, and the Ukrainian colony, as well as hundreds of TFP members and collaborators.

Chap. IV, 15

1969



*Communique
about the "Red
Archbishop"*

56. *February 1* – In the communique "The Red Archbishop Opens the Gates of America and the World to Communism," the TFP affirms that the positions taken by Archbishop Helder Câmara amount to a policy of handing the world, and particularly America, over to the influence of Communism.

Chap. IV, 20

*A terrorist blast
in TFP head-
quarters*

57. *June 20* – Early in the morning of this day, terrorists set off a bomb in the headquarters of the TFP at 69 Martim Francisco Street in Sao Paulo. In the same place shortly thereafter, the Society builds a shrine facing the street. There, a statue of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception which had been damaged by the explosion is venerated. Since May 1, 1970, TFP members and collaborators have maintained at the shrine an all night vigil of prayer every day of the year.

Chap. II, 21

58. *June 23 to August 31* – The TFP spreads all over the country a special issue of *Catolicismo* denouncing to the Catholic public the IDO-C

and the "prophetic groups." These are semi-clandestine international organizations promoting the communist-progressive revolution inside the Church. In only 70 days, 165,000 copies are sold in 514 cities. In this campaign, TFP members and collaborators wear for the first time the red cape conceived by Prof. Plínio Corrêa de Oliveira as a striking, original way of attracting greater publicity. The cape would soon be widely recognized as a symbol of the association.

Chap. II, 21

Campaign against the IDO-C and the "prophetic groups"

59. *November 5* – Publication of the communique "The TFP on the Dominican Terrorists," in which the Society manifests its consternation at the participation of Dominican Religious in the terrorist plot that was then shaking Brazil and covering it with mourning. This participation was brought to light and became a national scandal in an episode during which the communist leader Marighella was shot by the police.

The TFP on the Dominican terrorists

Chap. II, 22



1970

60. *February 7* – The headquarters of the National Council of the Brazilian TFP is temporarily transferred from 50 Pará St. to 665 Martim Francisco St., while the work of refurbishment of its new headquarters at 341 Maranhao St. continues.

The National Council of the TFP moves its headquarters

Chap. IV, 21

61. *May 5* – The TFP opens a provisional auditorium named after St. Milas in its center at 377 Dr. Martinico Prado St. Before this audi-

The opening of the St. Milas auditorium

torium was available, the TFP members and collaborators met at 258 Aureliano Coutinho St.

Chap. IV, 21

Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira speaks out on the victory of the Marxist candidate in Chile

62. *September-October* — Distribution of five hundred and fifty thousand copies of the article "The Whole Truth About the Elections in Chile" by Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira. The article shows that the victory of Marxist candidate Allende in the Chilean presidential elections was nothing but a sham, since he had won only 36.3% of the vote, 1.4% more than the runner up, and 2.4% less than he had received in the previous election. At the same time, members and collaborators of the TFP distributed a fresh edition of the work, *Frei, the Chilean Kerensky*, by Fabio V. Xavier da Silveira, which many then called a "prophetic book."

Chap. III, 2

An open letter to Cardinal Eugenio Sales

63. *October 5* — In the open letter to Eugenio Cardinal Sales, entitled "Analysis, Defense, and a Call for Dialogue," the TFP defends itself against the unjust and empty attack the Cardinal had made against it in the press. At the same time, the letter asks His Eminence to point out in what respect his thinking on the so-called "basic reforms" differed from that of the "Catholic left," especially that of the followers of the "Helder Câmara line." The Cardinal fails to respond.

Chap. III, 2

Bishop Sigaud's withdrawal

64. *October 7* — Since Bishop Geraldo de Proença Sigaud had made public his withdrawal from the TFP (which had been under way for some

time), the Society distributes a press communique showing the causes of his withdrawal.

Chap. III, 2

65. *October* — The first permanent caravan of TFP members and collaborators departs from Sao Paulo on a campaign to spread the publications and ideals of the Society continuously. Others were formed subsequently. Since that date, these caravans have already traveled 1,493,000 mi, made 12,594 visits to cities, and have sold more than 1,500,000 publications from the extreme north to the far south of this country of continental dimensions. More than 2,000 mayors and police chiefs have attested in writing to the orderly and peaceful character of the action of these caravans.

TFP members and collaborators go on permanent caravans

Chap. III, 3

66. *December* — A fund-raising campaign was carried out by TFP members and collaborators for the Christmas of the poor in the streets of Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Belo Horizonte, and Curitiba. The donations were distributed to the needy through well-known and respected charitable associations in their respective cities.

First campaign for the Christmas of the poor

Chap. III, 4

67. *December 25* — The new headquarters of the National Council of the TFP is opened at 341 Maranhao St., in the Higienópolis section of Sao Paulo.

TFP National Council headquarters on Maranhao Street

Chap. IV, 21



1971



Correction of news reports about activities at the Law School of Sao Paulo

- 68.** April 18 – A communique is published “About a Report in *O Estado de S. Paulo*,” rectifying a news report in that paper on activities of student collaborators of the TFP in Sao Paulo’s Largo de S. Francisco Law School. The youths reaffirmed the orderly and at the same time fearless character of their activity in that school. It consisted in the distribution of a leaflet explaining the TFP to the students. Since the newspaper had refused to publish the correction, the students published it as a paid advertisement in the *Folha de S. Paulo*.

Chap. IV, 24

Dissemination of the Social Dialogues

- 69.** December – This month marks the beginning of the dissemination of the *Social Dialogues*, a series of three booklets written in popular, everyday language analyzing current economic and social problems in the light of Catholic doctrine. The three booklets were originally published in Argentina and went through five editions in Brazil totalling 300,000 copies.

Chap. III, 3

1972



Medical Commission's Memorandum on Abortion

- 70.** July 19 – The TFP Medical Commission sends a memorandum to Prof. Alfredo Buzaid, the Minister of Justice, opposing any attempt to

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liberalize legislation on abortion. The memorandum was also sent to the Brazilian Bishops.

Chap. III, 5

71. *November 25* — The dissemination of Msgr. Antonio de Castro Mayer's *Pastoral Letter on Cursillos in Christianity* begins. In it the Bishop of Campos warns against leftist tendencies present in certain Cursillo circles. In only 120 days, 93,000 copies are sold in 1,238 cities. The work is translated into English.

Pastoral Letter on Cursillos in Christianity, by Bishop Antonio de Castro Mayer

Chap. III, 7

72. *December 5* — Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira sends the Minister of Justice, Prof. Alfredo Buzaid, a "Report on the Draft of the New Civil Code," pointing out aspects of the draft that would affect the institutions of the family and private property.

Report of Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira on the draft of the new Civil Code

Chap. III, 6



1973

73. *May 8 to 13* — The TFP receives the Pilgrim Statue of Our Lady of Fatima which had miraculously shed tears in New Orleans, U.S.A. Fervent homages are paid to her by the directors, members, and collaborators of the association.

Reception of the Pilgrim Statue of Our Lady of Fatima

On May 13 of this year, in the presence of the venerable statue, the members and collaborators of the TFP sign a Message to Sister Lucy asking her to hasten the revelation of the third part of the Secret of Fatima, still unknown to this day. It was hand delivered by Mr. Martim Afonso Xavier da Silveira,

Message to Sister Lucy

Jr., the special messenger of the TFP to the Carmel of Coimbra. The message could not be received by the Mother Prioress, who alleged the strict norms of the Holy See about correspondence to Sister Lucy. The TFP members and collaborators are confident that their act had repercussions "*in conspectu Altissimi*" and that Our Lady will hasten the day of this revelation, so anxiously awaited all over the world.

Pilgrimages of the sacred statue of Our Lady of Fatima

Starting in 1974, the Blue Army of Our Lady of Fatima in Brazil has been promoting frequent pilgrimages of the miraculous statue all over Brazil and South America. These pilgrimages have been attracting multitudes. The TFP has given ample support to this initiative and opened its centers for the veneration of the statue.

Chap. III, 8

Spreading the Message of Fatima

74. *August* — Beginning of the dissemination of the booklet *The Apparitions and Message of Fatima According to the Manuscripts of Sister Lucy*, authored by TFP member Mr. Antonio Augusto Borelli Machado. The booklet contains the text of and commentaries on the revelations in which Our Lady warns the world about the danger of the expansion of communist doctrine. Thirteen editions in Brazil totalled 330,000 copies. It was translated into three languages.

Chap. III, 3

Report on the failure of the Marxist "experiment" in Chile

75. *December* — Throughout the country, the TFP spreads an extensive report published in *Catolicismo* about the fiasco of the Marxist "experiment" in Chile. The team of reporters made up of representatives of the Argentine, Brazilian, and Chilean TFPs interviewed outstanding personalities as well as common people in Santiago and other Chilean cities. The document was published in

magazines of the TFPs and similar associations in eight countries.

Chap. III, 2



1974

76. *March 15* — Special envoy Mr. Martim Afonso Xavier da Silveira, Jr. personally handed to Cardinal Mindszenty in Vienna a message of admiration and homage from the TFP to the Prelate for his unbreakable refusal to bow down before Communism. Cardinal Mindszenty had a short time before been summarily removed from his position as Archbishop of Esztergom and Primate of Hungary by Paul VI. Even in exile, the Cardinal made the Hungarian communist government profoundly uncomfortable.

Message to Cardinal Mindszenty

Chap. III, 9

77. *April 10* — The manifesto “The Vatican Policy of Detente Toward the Communist Governments — For the TFP: To Take No Stand or to Resist?” is published in the daily press. With this document, the TFP declares itself to be in “a state of resistance” to the “Ostpolitik” of Paul VI. The manifesto is printed in 36 newspapers in the main cities of the country. The TFPs and similar entities in 10 countries endorse the document.

The TFP's Declaration of Resistance to the "Ostpolitik" of Paul VI

Chap. III, 9



*Pilgrimage to
Aparecida*

78. *September 15* — Two hundred TFP members and collaborators go on pilgrimage to the National Basilica of Our Lady Aparecida to pray for the defeat of Communism and the fostering of the fundamental values of Christian Civilization. Part of the way — 25 miles — was made on foot.

Chap. IV, 35

*Inauguration of
St. Michael's
Auditorium*

79. *October 12* — General Souza Mello, the former commander of Brazil's II Army, who had shortly before retired from the high post he held as Minister Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces, solemnly inaugurates the new auditorium of the TFP. The auditorium, named after St. Michael the Archangel, is opened in the presence of outstanding ecclesiastical, civil and military personalities. Also present are prominent figures of Sao Paulo's public and social life, members and collaborators of the Society with their respective families, and friends of the TFP, as well as representatives of the TFPs and similar organizations from several countries of the Americas.

Chap. IV, 38

*Campaign
against the re-
instatement of
Cuba*

80. *March to November* — Faced with a diplomatic offensive by several countries to reinstate Cuba in the community of American nations, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira writes a series of articles in the daily press about the nefarious effects of this rapprochement. *Catolicismo* publishes a special issue on the matter. The TFP spreads these statements throughout Brazil. The TFPs and similar organizations of Bolivia, Ecuador, the United States, and Venezuela reproduce the report of the special issue of *Catolicismo* in their respective maga-

zines. At the OAS Conference in Quito, in November 1974, the pro-Castro move is defeated.

Chap. III, 10



1975

81. *April* — The world reaps two bitter fruits of *detente*: on the 17th, amidst the general apathy of the West, Phnom Penh, the capital of Cambodia, is seized by the communists; and so is Saigon, on the 30th. In its centers all over Brazil, the TFP hoists its standards half mast with black sashes for three days. The Society also promotes a triduum of prayers at its shrine on Martim Francisco St. in Sao Paulo and issues a press communique regarding the two dramatic events.

Chap. III, 11

Mourning the fall of Cambodia and Vietnam into the hands of Communism

82. *April-May* — The second great campaign of the TFP against divorce takes place: the dissemination of the Bishop of Campos' Pastoral Letter *For Indissoluble Marriage*. One hundred thousand copies are sold in less than two months. A lightning petition asking for parliamentary loyalty (that is, that the vote on divorce in the National Congress be open, and not secret) is rapidly organized. The petition's 13,716 signatures were collected by the TFP in the Diocese of Campos. Divorce is once again defeated in Congress.

Chap. III, 12

Second TFP campaign against divorce

83. *May-December* — After the defeat of divorce, the media unleashes a furious uproar against the TFP, with repercussions in various State

Media uproar against the TFP. PCI in Rio Grande do Sul. Manifesto, "The TFP in Legitimate Self-Defense"

Assemblies. The Society publishes in the main newspapers of the country a document entitled "The TFP in Legitimate Self-Defense — In the Face of a Polemic and Impassioned Aggression: Elements for a Serene Dialogue," in which it responds to every one of the accusations raised by leftist sectors. In the Legislative Assembly of Rio Grande do Sul, a Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry about the TFP is set up. The Commission finds nothing against the TFP. Furthermore, highly-placed religious, civil, and military personalities as well as prominent journalists and prestigious private organizations raise their voices in support of the TFP. During the eight months of the uproar, the TFP collected 1,923 articles and news items from newspapers and magazines all over the country, either attacking or defending it.

Chap. III, 13

Visits to hospitals

84. *July* — Members and collaborators of the TFP begin to make periodic visits to the sick in hospitals. In addition to the consolation of an agreeable conversation and the encouragement of a religious word of hope, they bring them rosaries, medals, religious books and pictures, used clothing, and food. From 1975 until the end of 1979, 983 such visits were made to 11,541 patients in 877 hospitals in 620 cities in Brazil.

Chap. III, 4

"Don't Deceive Yourself, Your Eminence" — a message of the TFP to Cardinal Arns

85. *November 13* — The TFP sends a message to Paulo Cardinal Arns, the Archbishop of Sao Paulo, entitled "Don't Deceive Yourself, Your Eminence," alerting the ecclesiastical hierarchy to the vacuum that is building up around it to the degree that it foments communist subversion in Brazil.

Chap. III, 14



1976

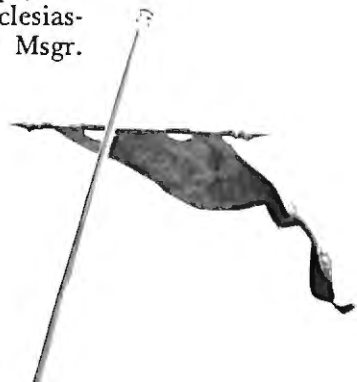
86. March 7 – Declaration “On the Sudden Anticommunism of High Prelates – Some Reflections of the TFP,” in which the Society expresses surprise at the sudden crackling of anticommunist declarations made by prelates who had up until then failed to take concrete measures to restrain communist infiltration, especially in Catholic circles.

Chap. III, 15

Declaration about sudden anticommunism

87. July 19 – The dissemination of the book *The Church in the Face of the Rise of the Communist Threat – an Appeal to the Silent Bishops* is begun. In this book, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira gives the history of the forty years of the progressivist and “Catholic-leftist” crisis in Brazil. He transcribes scandalously pro-communist poetry by Msgr. Pedro Casaldáliga, Bishop-Prelate of St. Felix do Araguaia. The book also contains a summary of the work of the Chilean TFP *The Church of Silence in Chile – the TFP Proclaims the Whole Truth* (which denounces the systematic favoring of Communism by Cardinal Silva Henriquez and by many bishops and priests of that country). Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira’s book gave rise to acrimonious pronouncements by members of the Brazilian Episcopate (that did not, however, contain any arguments): two communiques by Cardinal Arns, one made together with his eight auxiliary Bishops, the other with the remaining Bishops of the Ecclesiastical Province of Sao Paulo; an article by Msgr.

The Church in the Face of the Rise of the Communist Threat, a book by Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira



Ivo Lorscheider; a note from the General Secretariat of the CNBB; and two notes from the Archdiocese of Olinda and Recife (of which Msgr. Helder Câmara is the Archbishop). The TFP's answers to these attacks were not contested. The book went through four editions totalling 51,000 copies.

Chap. III, 16

Homage to the Victims of the Communist Uprising of 1935

88. *November 27* — In homage to the victims of the Communist Uprising of 1935, an assembly was promoted in the Mauá Palace of Sao Paulo by the TFP and several other anticommunist organizations: the Engineers' Democratic Center, the Feminine Civic Union, the Confederation of Christian Families, the Society for Political, Economic, and Social Studies, and the Movement of Feminine Mobilization. High civil and military authorities and a large crowd take part in the event.

Chap. IV, 50

1977



Visits to slums

89. *January 1* — TFP members and collaborators visit the slums in Sao Rafael Village and the Edu Chaves Park in Sao Paulo, where they distribute donations in money, clothes, food, toys, etc. which had previously been collected in a campaign in well-to-do neighborhoods of Sao Paulo. Visits to poor neighborhoods and slums in the city of Sao Paulo were also made twice again this same year and yet another time in 1979.

Chap. III, 4



90. *May* – The Brazilian TFP spreads in our country a document of the American TFP entitled “Human Rights in Latin America – Carter’s Democratic Utopianism Favors Communist Expansion.” The study, which the American TFP distributed to the members of both the House and the Senate, to the State Department, and to influential personalities in the United States, shows that the Carter Administration acts in regard to civil liberties as though it were an infallible Vatican. A summary of the document is spread by international news agencies. Carter’s human rights policy becomes palpably subdued.

Document of the American TFP about Carter’s human rights policy

Chap. III, 18

91. *May 13* – The TFP has a Mass celebrated in the Church of Our Lady of Paradise in Sao Paulo to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the first apparition of Our Lady at Fatima. The church is filled to capacity. Civil and military authorities as well as Captive Nations representatives participate.

Commemoration of the 60th anniversary of the apparitions at Fatima

Chap. IV, 51

92. *June 14* – In its communique “On the Imminence of a Pro-Divorce Vote,” the TFP alerts the public to some *unexpected circumstance* that may decide the victory in Congress of a bill legalizing divorce. The document also asks Senators and Congressmen to spare the country’s Catholic consciences the trauma of divorce. At the last minute, Congressmen unexpectedly flock in from all over the country, providing a sufficient *quorum* for the approval of the bill. The victory of divorce then became known as the victory of the “unexpected. . .” In three articles in the *Folha de S. Paulo*, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira analyzed the circumstances

Communique on the imminence of a pro-divorce vote

leading to the "unexpected" and showed how the CNBB had been responsible for the catastrophe because of the soft improvidence with which it had conducted the struggle in favor of the indissolubility of marriage.

Chap. III, 17

Telex to Paul VI about a speech of the Pontiff regarding Brazil

93. *July 7* — The TFP sends a telex to Paul VI expressing its perplexity in the face of an allocation the Pontiff had made upon receiving the credentials of the new Brazilian ambassador. On that occasion, Paul VI had expressed his concern regarding alleged violations of the human rights of communist agitators in Brazil. The Pontiff, however, had failed to make any censure of the systematic violation of human rights that international communism has been perpetrating in our territory by stirring up class warfare and social revolution in blatant violation of our sovereignty. The other TFPs and similar associations support the stand taken by the Brazilian TFP, sending analogous telegrams to Paul VI. The telex is published in 65 newspapers and magazines in eleven countries.

Chap. III, 19

Telegram to the Minister of Foreign Relations about the rescue of 88 Vietnamese refugees

94. *July 18* — The TFP sends a telegram to Brazil's Minister of Foreign Relations congratulating the noble gesture of the captain of the Brazilian ship "Frota Santos," of the Frota Oceânica Company, in having picked up 88 Vietnamese refugees who were about to drown.

Chap. III, 20

Rejecting measures of the Council for Social Development

95. *July* — In a press communique the TFP expresses its categorical disagreement with the measures adopted by the Council for Social Development (CDS) in a meeting presided over by Gen. Ernesto Geisel. Those measures favored

the use of contraceptives and other methods of artificial birth control.

Chap. III, 5

96. *August 30* – Bishop Antonio de Castro Mayer, in a press interview, suggests to his colleagues in the episcopate that a Joint Pastoral Letter be issued against Communism. The TFP widely disseminates his timely statement. The suggestion receives no response from the Bishops.

Chap. III, 16

Bishop Antonio de Castro Mayer suggests the issuing of a Joint Pastoral Letter against Communism

97. *September 19* – Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, President of the National Council of the Brazilian TFP, sends telexes to President Carter and Paul VI showing that the abandonment of the unfortunate Vietnamese fleeing from Communism places in doubt the very authenticity of the worldwide campaign for human rights. Official documents in the same vein are sent to President Geisel and the Brazilian Minister of Foreign Relations. The White House's answer is kind, but not convincing.

Chap. III, 20

Telex to Carter and Paul VI about the Vietnamese refugees

98. *November* – Publication of the study *Indigenous Tribalism, the Communist-Missionary Ideal for Twenty-first Century Brazil*. In it, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira denounces a new facet of the progressivist onslaught in Brazil: the communist-structuralist doctrine on missions. Seven editions totaling 76,000 copies are published, in addition to 10,000 copies of *Catolicismo* containing the text.

Chap III, 21

Indigenous Tribalism, the Communist-Missionary Ideal for Twenty-first Century Brazil, a book by Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira

1978



Another telex to President Carter about refugees from Cambodia and Vietnam

- 99.** *March 30* — On the occasion of President Carter's visit to Brazil, the TFP greets him with a telegram reminding him of the need for total and efficacious assistance to the refugees from Communism in Vietnam and Cambodia.

Chap. III, 20

Pilgrimage of Reparation to Our Lady Aparecida

- 100.** *May 21* — About 500 members and collaborators of the TFP go on a pilgrimage to Aparecida in reparation to the Patroness of Brazil, whose statue had been sacrilegiously shattered on May 16. The last 14 miles were made on foot. For three days after the news became known, the TFP hoists its standards with a black sash as a sign of mourning in all of its centers throughout Brazil. In a press communique, the association manifests its profound consternation and strong repudiation of the sacrilegious attack.

Chap. IV, 55

Globo TV's publicity uproar

- 101.** *July-September* — Another nationwide media uproar is unleashed against the TFP. Four telecasts of the Globo TV Network's program "Fantastico" are aimed at destroying the TFP as well as Bishop Antonio de Castro Mayer and the anti-progressive clergy of Campos in the eyes of the public. A communique of the Diocese of Campos answers the accusations. Similarly, a TFP communique destroys the allegations made against the Society. Public response to the programs is nil. The Globo network stops them in their fourth installment.

Chap. III, 22



- 102.** *August* — *Ufficio Tradizione, Famiglia, Proprietà*, the bureau representing the TFPs in Rome, distributes two articles by Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira to the journalists accredited at the *Sala Stampa* (Press Room) of the Vatican. The first article analyzes the aspirations of Catholics in relation to the Conclave meeting to elect the successor of Paul VI. The second discusses the possibility of Cardinal Wyszynski, the Primate of Poland, being elected to the Papacy. Both articles have a profound impact in the Vatican Press Room, where journalists from the whole world flock for news on the Conclave.

Articles of Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira on the occasion of the Conclave

Chap. III, 23

- 103.** *September 7* — The TFP distributes a press communique entitled "Fearlessness Is Not Radicalism," announcing a temporary suspension of its activities in streets and public places throughout the country. The measure was taken in view of the possibility that in the pre-election climate of Brazil at that time, leftist agitators might try to take advantage of the public action of the TFP as a pretext to promote street disturbances. After the elections, as leftist demonstrations on the streets subsided, the TFP resumed its normal promotional activities in the streets and public squares.

Communique: Fearlessness is Not Radicalism

Chap. IV, 58

- 104.** *October 17* — On this anniversary of the implantation of the Communist regime in Russia, the TFP promotes a lecture by Col. Antonio Erasmo Dias, the former Attorney General of the State of Sao Paulo. The orator spoke on "Communism, Its Errors, and Harmful Action." The lecture was held in the auditorium of the Hotel

Lecture by Col. Erasmo Dias

Hilton in Sao Paulo, which could hardly accommodate the large crowd that attended.

Chap. IV, 60

Telex to John Paul II about the Vietnamese Refugees

- 105.** *December 8* — In a telex to John Paul II, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira respectfully congratulates the Pontiff for his request for prayers for the Catholic Vietnamese refugees and for his appeal to the UN on their behalf.

Chap. III, 20

Telex to the Minister of Foreign Relations about the Vietnamese refugees

- 106.** *December* — On the 29th of this month, TFP sends a telex to the Minister of Foreign Relations stressing the need for Brazil to heed the appeal of the Philippine government by generously opening our borders to the Vietnamese refugees. On the 30th, another telex is sent to the Minister expressing the sadness of the TFP over the refusal of the Brazilian government to heed that appeal.

Chap. III, 20

1979



Interview of Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira suggesting the convening of Catholic congresses

- 107.** *April 15* — In his capacity as President of the National Council of the Brazilian TFP, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira gives an interview to the newspaper *O Globo*, of Rio de Janeiro. In it he advocates that the episcopate convene congresses of Catholic intellectuals in order to debate two burning issues currently dividing the faithful: the social question and the communist danger. Under the title, "The TFP Asks an Airing

of Opinions and Its Turn to Speak Its Mind," the interview is spread by the Society to its large circle of friends and sympathizers.

Chap. III, 24

108. *August* — A new attempt to destroy the TFP: In France, on the basis of episodes occurring in the St. Benoit School (a small school in the Department of Indre about 300 km from Paris, functioning under the influence of the French TFP), a group of traditionalists writes a report containing grave ideological attacks against the Society. In Brazil, two center-left newspapers and two leftist magazines create a great uproar, publishing the main accusations of the report. At the same time, the aforementioned newspapers and magazines give a great emphasis to the imprisonment of Mr. Martim Afonso Xavier da Silveira, Jr., an outstanding collaborator of the Brazilian TFP who had moved to Paris. As a consequence of an absolutely unfounded denunciation of infraction of currency exchange regulations, the distinguished Brazilian was unjustly jailed in La Santé prison for 27 days. Gravely harmed by these measures, he strongly defended his renown and his rights in court. (Finally, on July 9, 1980, the French Courts declared the accusations against Mr. Martim Afonso X. da Silveira to be entirely unfounded.) The TFP in Brazil took the following measures: It issued a communique on August 11, affirming that the criticisms of the Society, which even bordered on the ridiculous, would not make an impression on the sagacious and serene Brazilian public. On August 22 it published, as a paid ad, another communique entitled, "The *Veja* News Story About the TFP: Analysis and Predictions." In it the

*Media uproar
against the TFP
is unleashed in
France*

Society pointed out the curious convergence between French traditionalist circles and center-left, or leftist Brazilian papers in a publicity campaign against the association. The attacks on the TFP focused especially on the memory of the respectable mother of Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, since members and collaborators of the Society frequently have recourse to her intercession. In this regard, Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira sent a letter to the director of *O Estado de S. Paulo* strongly protesting the inclusion of his venerable mother's name in a media uproar against the TFP. The newspaper published this letter in its "From the Readers" section, followed by a small commentary. The answer of the French TFP to the accusations hurled against it (which also affect the Brazilian TFP and its counterparts in more than ten nations) is entitled, *Imbroglia, Detraction, Delirium — Observations on a Report Concerning the TFPs*. In Brazil, this whole issue (which at that time was very much in the spotlight) now seems very remote in view of the tumultuous national and international events that have occurred since then.

Chap. III, 25

Campaign of donations for the benefit of the poor in the Northeast

109. *December* — A new campaign to collect donations is carried out, this time on behalf of the poor of the Northeast. About three million cruzeiros in money and in kind were collected (including religious objects, food, utensils, clothing, shoes, and toys). The campaign was held in eleven cities at the same time: Sao Paulo (including seven towns in its environs), Rio de Janeiro, Belo Horizonte, Porto Alegre, Curitiba, Recife, Fortaleza, Joao Pessoa, Florianópolis, Campos, and Ribeirao Preto.

Chap. III, 4

The long and impressive sequence of facts narrated here gives rise to a question. In order to understand this question better, consider the following: In this summary the TFP is presented from the beginning as consisting of a pleiad of dynamic anticommunists ready to make every effort and to dedicate themselves entirely — within the limits of the Law of God and the laws of men — to do everything possible to preserve and foster what is left of Christian Civilization in Brazil.

Now how was this pleiad formed? How did the ideals that materialized with the foundation of the TFP first begin to germinate within this group?

In a word, everything that exists has its past. The past of the TFP has just been reviewed. But what is the past of that nucleus of Brazilians who formed the TFP?

The past of this group is not properly the past of the TFP, but rather its pre-history. It will be summarized in the following pages.

1928



1959

- I.** *September 1928* — Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira enters the Marian Congregation of Saint Cecilia. His Catholic militancy begins. He founds University Catholic Action in Largo de S. Francisco Law School in Sao Paulo where at the time he was a fourth year student.

Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira officially begins his Catholic militancy

Chap V, 1 and 2

- II.** *November 1932* — The recently formed Catholic Electoral League (LEC) is officially established in Sao Paulo. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, one of the founders, is named Secretary of the State

The Catholic Electoral League

Board of the entity by His Excellency Duarte Leopoldo e Silva, the Archbishop of Sao Paulo.

Chap. V, 3

*Congressman
with the most
votes in all of
Brazil*

III. *May 1933* — The LEC designates Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira as its candidate for the Constitutional Convention. As a result, he becomes at one and the same time the youngest candidate and the one who draws the most votes in the election, receiving 24,017 of them. His activities as a Congressman were of great importance in having the “minimum demands” of LEC incorporated into the country’s new Constitution.

Chap. V, 3

*Plinio Corrêa de
Oliveira in the
leadership of Le-
gionário*

IV. *August 1933* — Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira becomes director of *Legionário*, the official organ of the Marian Congregation of Saint Cecilia. The weekly soon extends its influence to Catholic circles all over Brazil and becomes the semi-official organ of the Archdiocese of Sao Paulo. The group of friends and collaborators who will later give rise to the TFP gathers around *Legionário*.

Chap V, 4

*Fight against
Facism, Nazism,
and Communism*

V. *1935 to 1945* — In conformance with the teachings and examples of Pius XI, *Legionário* wages an incessant war against Fascism and Nazism, movements which attained the height of their influence during that period. Always following Pius XI, and after him Pius XII, the weekly distinguished itself in the fight against Communism as well. In this struggle, *Legionário* particularly opposes Catholic acceptance of the “policy of the extended hand” offered by the communists, a policy advocated by the nascent “Catholic left” under the influence of French philosopher Jacques Maritain.

Chap. V, 4 and 6

- VI.** *June 1943* — First cry alerting against nascent progressivism and “Catholic leftism” in Brazil: Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, then President of the Archdiocesan Board of Catholic Action in Sao Paulo, publishes the book *In Defense of Catholic Action*. This bombshell caused commotion in Catholic circles all over the country. Its effect greatly restricted the contagion of the errors in Catholic Action. However, the discontent caused by the book in certain circles brought about a gradual removal of the members of the board of *Legionário* from all the positions that they held in the Catholic movement in Brazil.
- In Defense of Catholic Action, Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira's first book
- Chap. V, 5, 6, and 7

- VII.** *February 1945* — The *Legionário* group sets up a small center at 665 Martim Francisco Street, where they meet every day around a statue of Our Lady Help of Christians. That same statue had accompanied them since their very beginnings in the headquarters of the Marian Congregation of Saint Cecilia and the offices of *Legionário*, on Immaculada Conceição Street.
- The headquarters on Martim Francisco St.
- Chap. V, 7

- VIII.** *December 1947* — Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira and the other collaborators he had gathered around *Legionário* end their participation in that newspaper. Now reduced to nine people, the pre-TFP is ostracized and goes into the “catacombs” for a period.
- End of work on Legionário: ostracism
- Chap. V, 7

- IX.** *January 1947 and March 1948* — The first lights appear on the horizon: Fr. Sigaud and Canon Mayer, outstanding collaborators and friends of *Legionario*, are designated by Pius XII as Bishops of Jacarezinho and Campos, respectively.
- Canon Mayer and Father Sigaud are made Bishops
- Chap. V, 8

Headquarters on
Vieira de Car-
valho St.

X. August 1948 – The *Legionário* Group installs itself at 27 Vieira de Carvalho St. on the sixth floor, but retains the house at 665 Martim Francisco St. Later, in 1952, the group also occupies the seventh floor of the building on Vieira de Carvalho St., where a small auditorium for meetings is established.

Chap. V, 9

Letter of Pius
XII recommends
In Defense of
Catholic Action

XI. February 26, 1949 – Letter from Pius XII praising and recommending the book, *In Defense of Catholic Action*. The letter, addressed to the author, was sent on behalf of Pius XII by the Substitute of the Secretariat of State, Msgr. G.B. Montini, the future Paul VI.

Chap. V, 8*

The "Martim
Group"

XII. 1949 – Young members of the Marian Congregations are studying at St. Louis High School under Fr. Walter Mariaux, S.J., when he is sent to Europe by his superiors. Some of these young men gather around Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira. The new group occupies the center on Martim Francisco Street and henceforth is called, in the association's parlance, the "Martim Group." At the same time, the group of former *Legionário* staff members comes to be called the "Vieira de Carvalho Group" (from the name of the street where they are installed).

Chap. V, 9

The foundation
of *Catolicismo*

XIII. January 1951 – His Excellency Antonio de Castro Mayer, Bishop of Campos, founds the cultural monthly *Catolicismo*. Quite naturally, the Prelate entrusts the writing and make-up of the paper to the remnants of the *Legionário* group and the new friends who had recently joined them. Subsequently, this family of souls will be known as the *Catolicismo* Group.

Chap V, 10

XIV. *January 1953* — The First Week of Studies of *Catolicismo* Promoters is held in Sao Paulo, thereby inaugurating the *Catolicismo* Seminars. Henceforth, successful seminars are held each year. As the *Catolicismo* Group expands, groups similar to the one in Sao Paulo flourish in several state capitals and other cities. Chap. V, 12 and 13

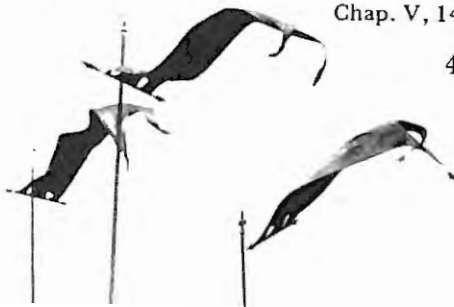
Catolicismo Seminars

XV. *June 1953* — Bishop Antonio de Castro Mayer publishes *Pastoral Letter on Problems of the Modern Apostolate*, a veritable anti-progressive catechism. With great cogency, this Pastoral Letter reiterates and widens the scope of the denunciation contained in Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira's book *In Defense of Catholic Action*. The Bishop of Campos' work draws great repercussions in Brazil and abroad. Chap. V, 11

Pastoral Letter on Problems of the Modern Apostolate, by Bishop Antonio de Castro Mayer

XVI. *April 1959* — Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira publishes the essay *Revolution and Counter-Revolution*, in which he analyzes, from the standpoint of Thomistic theology and philosophy, the crisis of the West from the decline of the Middle Ages to contemporary times. The book went through one edition in Portuguese, five in Spanish (two in Spain, two in Argentina, and one in Chile); two in French (one in Brazil and the other in Canada); two in English (in the United States); and three in Italian (in Italy). Originally published in *Catolicismo*, the book was later transcribed in magazines in Spain and Chile. Total: 91,000 copies. *Revolution and Counter-Revolution* is the bedside book of TFP members and collaborators, and has inspired the foundation of similar associations in eleven countries in the Americas and in Europe. Chap. V, 14

Revolution and Counter-Revolution by Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, the basic book of the TFP



Brazilian Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property

NATIONAL COUNCIL

Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira
President

Fernando Furquim de Almeida
Vice-President

Paulo Corrêa de Brito Filho
Secretary

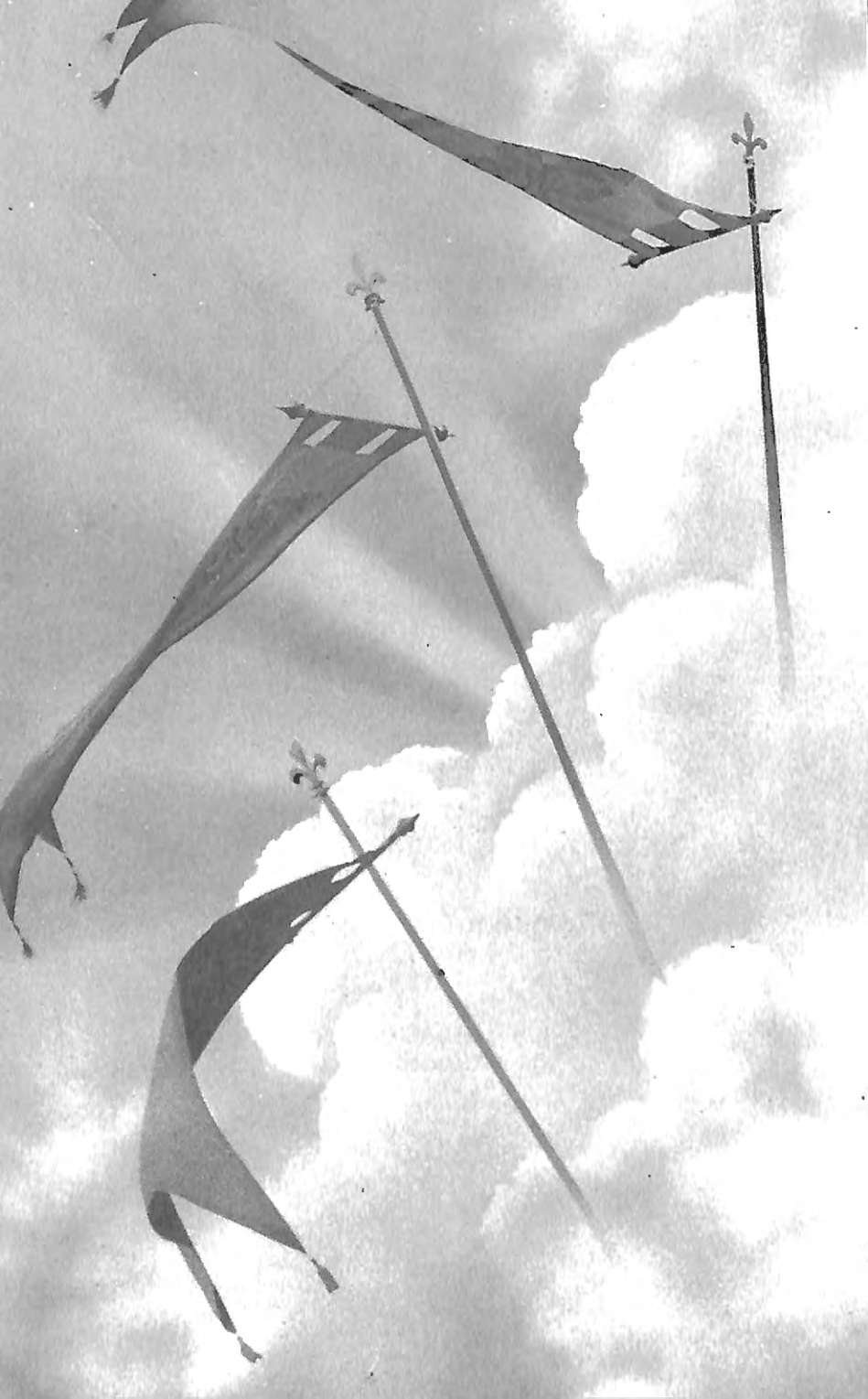
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Caio Vidigal Xavier da Silveira
Celso da Costa Carvalho Vidigal
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In memoriam

Providence has called several of those who have fought in this epic struggle of fifty years. The TFP remembers them with profound emotion, praying for their souls and at the same time recommending itself to their prayers. They are:

JOSE GUSTAVO DE SOUZA QUEIROZ

★ Sao Paulo — 10-12-1914

† 3-8-1946

ANTONIO ABLAS FILHO

★ Santos (SP) — 11-13-1911

† 6-25-1960

MARCIO SALINO PERES

★ Rio de Janeiro — 6-10-1953

† 2-5-1967

FERNANDO TSUNEO KUROKAWA

★ Bastos (SP) — 11-20-1951

† 4-28-1969

MARIO NISHIHARA

★ Garça (SP) — 8-9-1951

† 2-12-1971

FABIO VIDIGAL XAVIER DA SILVEIRA

★ Sao Paulo — 11-8-1934

† 12-28-1971

ANTONIO CLA DIAS

★ Algeciras (Spain) — 1-10-1910

† 11-12-1972



AMADEU FRANCISCO JORGE
★ Candido Motta (SP) — 1-9-1955
† 1-28-1973

JOSE DE AZEREDO SANTOS
★ Nova Lima (MG) — 5-9-1907
† 7-10-1973

EDUARDO GENTIL RIBEIRO GONCALVES
★ Rio de Janeiro — 5-12-1953
† 9-25-1973

JORGE HADDAD
★ Sao Paulo — 1-12-1929
† 5-7-1975

PAULO DEVANIR DE SOUZA
★ Taquari (RS) — 8-22-1958
† 5-21-1977

ALCIDES PINHATA
★ Severinia (SP) — 11-14-1924
† 1-19-1978

PAULO ROBERTO COSTA DE OLIVEIRA
★ Canoas (RS) — 3-31-1957
† 8-20-1978

FRANCISCO COSTA NETO
★ Campos (RJ) — 7-16-1944
† 10-15-1978

OSMAR NOGUEIRA SOARES
★ Sao José de Varginha (MG) — 11-8-1930
† 10-7-1979



For their prayers and support of *Legionário*,
Catolicismo, or the TFP, a special homage of admiration
and gratitude is also due to the memory of:

ANGELICA RUIZ

★ Sao Paulo — 3-1-1904

† 9-27-1957

MARIA FLORA ALMEIDA PRADO
DE ASSUMPCAO

★ Sao Paulo — 12-16-1927

† 6-30-1960

FR. ARLINDO VIEIRA, S.J.

★ Capao Bonito do Paranapanema (SP) — 7-19-1897

† 8-4-1963

FRAY JERONIMO VAN HINTEN, O.CARM.

★ Bergeijk (Holland) — 2-8-1909

† 11-1-1972

MOTHER MARIA LETICIA
DA VIRGEM MISERICORDIOSA

★ Leopoldina (MG) 3-10-1900

† 5-2-1974

IRACY GONZAGA RIBEIRO

★ Sao Paulo — 4-27-1914

† 6-22-1979

MANOEL SALVADOR

★ Trancoso (Portugal) — 2-26-1902

† 10-9-1979





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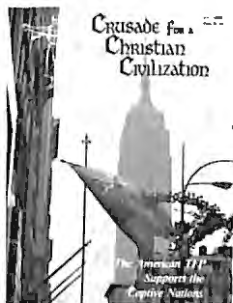
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by Dom Antonio de Castro Mayer, Bishop of Campos. A profound critique of the doctrinal and moral dangers within the Cursillo movement and its consequences in the socio-economic sphere.



"SUBVERSION TO THE SOUTH THREATENS THE UNITED STATES"

A disturbing demonstration of the far-reaching effects of the Sandinist Revolution in Nicaragua. This well-documented article in *Crusade for a Christian Civilization* analyzes the new "formula" of using the progressivist movement in the Catholic Church to help communize the whole of Latin America. This situation presents a grave threat to the security of the United States.





In its twenty years of existence, the Brazilian TFP has very often come out in public to take positions on a variety of issues. Sometimes it has done so by using classic means such as the press, radio, and television; other times, by selling its publications on the streets, distributing manifestos, or taking up collections for the needy.

No other organization in the history of Brazil, to our knowledge, has used these methods on such a broad scale, so continuously, and for such a long time. In fact, these methods have become the outstanding characteristic of the TFP in the eyes of the public.

This multiplicity of actions makes it somewhat difficult for the average reader to form a comprehensive idea of what the TFP is. In this book, *Tradition, Family and Property: Half a Century of Epic Anticommunism*, he will find the history of the Society's struggle against Communism, as well as a description of its goals, organization, and cultural and philanthropic activities.