

Brazzil

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Year 8 — No. 135 — March 1997

\$2

MUSIC:
MARTINHO
DA VILA'S
TASTY
RETURN

POLITICS:
SIX MORE YEARS FOR
FERNANDO HENRIQUE

DEATH:
SO LONG, DARCY, CALLADO,
SIMONSEN, FRANCIS, MATHEUS...

UNPUBLISHED:
"MADE IN BRAZIL" BY JÚLIO
CÉSAR MONTEIRO MARTINS

INDIANS:
STILL WAITING
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During a visit to the United States on April 1995, President Fernando Henrique Cardoso declared, "We have ended organized corruption in Brazil." If it is true that there is a climate of honesty and truthfulness in Brasília today, Cardoso's statement is still more wishful thinking than anything approaching reality.

The promiscuity of public and private interests continues to prevail in the country and this practice has been so ingrained in the national

psyche that for decades it seemed just natural that someone in any post of authority should enjoy the benefits of the state as a legitimate perk of the position.

Rio's anthropologist Marcos Antônio de Mendonça for years has been studying the corruption phenomenon. The subject became his doctoral thesis, which in turn was made into a book called *Corruption - A Study on Public Power and Personal Relationships in Brazil*. Mendonça believes that impersonal relations such as bribery and kickback are replacing the more traditional approach based on friendship, kinship and political alliances.

"The line separating corruption

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from socially accepted behavior such as the exchange of favors is very thin," says Mendonça. In Brazil, corruption seems to be less the fault of dishonest politicians or wicked businessmen than a flaw of the society itself. Even though corruption is no privilege of Brazil or other Third World countries, in Brazil the practice of *dar um jeitinho* (finding a way) has in many instances been more respected than the law.

R.M.

CONTENTS

10

Cover

A culture of bribery and nepotism

16

Politics

Six more years for President Cardoso

20

Farewell

The month death took our best

23

Indians

Ten years of wait and still nothing



Cover by Aylan Mello

28

Short story

Júlio C. M. Martins's *Made in Brazil*

36

Travel

Brazil: the first years

40

Music

Rediscovering Martinho da Vila

54

Special

The hard road to a full democracy (An excerpt)

DEPARTMENTS

6
Rapidinhas
14
Letters
45
Short Takes
46
The Cultural Pulse
47
Por aí
49
Classifieds
50
U.S.A. Calendar
52
That's Brazilian

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RAPIDINHAS

Carnaval

Overdressed or Naked

The big surprise of Rio's Carnaval this year was the first-time victory for Escola de Samba (Samba School) Unidos do Viradouro, a somewhat obscure club from Niterói, a dormitory town in Greater Rio. A surprise anyway for those who thought carnavalesco **Joãozinho Trinta**, 63, had passed his prime. He is the author of the oft-cited, "The poor love luxury. The intellectuals are the ones who love misery." It was under his leadership and using a *samba enredo* called *Trevas! Luz! A Explosão do Universo* (Darkness! Light! The Explosion of the Universe), describing the Big Bang theory, that Viradouro beat all the odds. For legendary Joãozinho, who has eight times been champion, the latest was the sweetest victory. After suffering an ischemia (a decrease of blood supply to the brain) that left him with a paralyzed right arm, he emerged from the ordeal a champion once again. He had also been ostracized from competition since 1992 when he was accused without proof of corruption and child molestation.

Since 1990, displaying your genitalia during the Escolas de Samba parade is considered a crime. Nobody would know that, however, from looking at the pictures published by Brazilian newspapers and magazines. Some violators, however, had a chance to make amends before being taken to jail. Like **Alessandra Borges**, **Kelly Cristina**, and **Marcela Milk**, the three exuberant *bateria* queens from Escola de Samba Beija-Flor, who couldn't convince anybody that under the body painting over their genitals there were adhesive bandages. When they decided to cover the offensive parts with a minuscule towel, however, enough pictures had already been snapped to fill up a giant photo album.

And then there were those who did just the opposite. Alleging discomfort, **Nana Gouveia**, one of Portela's star dancers, took off her red plumage costume and bared it all in the streets in front of other lustful cameras (see pictures). It must be said that she modestly kept her boots on. After seeing published pictures of her strip-tease in the daily newspaper, Gouveia matter-of-factly explained: "Taking off all your clothes during Carnaval is not the end of the world. I felt flattered with the pictures they published of me since there were so many pretty women."

With few celebrities on hand, **Ricky Martin** from Menudo fame and soccer prodigy **Ronaldinho**, who is a Beija-Flor samba school fanatic, became stars. The Spaniards, however, who bought Ronaldinho's talent to play on their field, weren't happy to see their idol sweating his shirt on the avenue. "Less Samba and More Goals," screamed a headline in a Madrid newspaper.

Yes Virginia, We Have Cannibals

Lars-Olof Gustafson, ("53, feeling like 35") from Gothenburg, Sweden, seemed seriously interested in getting the facts when he posted the following message at the Internet's soc.culture.brazil newsgroup, recently:

"Please send info about cannibals in Brazil if you have them." A tracking of his postings in several other groups shows he is a serious man, divorced, looking for an oriental soul mate. However, there was a barrage of indignant answers to his candid question. It was

João de Souza, using the fictitious name of a company called Cannibals-R-Us, who had the most hilarious, to-the-point, and charitable response. Take a look:

"Dear Mr. Gustafson, you are in luck! We at Cannibals-R-Us are having a sale! That means that you can now purchase your very own Brazilian cannibal, and it won't cost you an arm and a leg, unless you prefer to pay that way. We offer the following models:

- SMALL - In case you just want to get rid of some particularly incriminating evidence. (\$100.00 or three fingers)
- MEDIUM - Guaranteed to silence noisy family members. (\$376.00 or your left testicle)
- LARGE - Will eat all your undesired co-workers, or your money (or limbs) back! (\$750.00 or your choice of either an arm or a leg)
- X-LARGE - Great fun



at parties! (\$1,000.00 or your oldest child) Prices do not include shipping and handling. S&H charges vary, depending on how well you can dance the *Lambada*. Considering that you are northern-European, you will probably have to pay our highest rates.

All our cannibals are house-trained! Luxury models include clothes! For more information, please write to: Cannibals-R-Us - Bar do Zé - Men's bathroom, third cubicle - Rio Amazonas, AZ. 12345 - Brazil."

Condom Mania

The Brazilian Health Ministry, which who last year created a catchy Carnival *marchinha* encouraging men to wear *camisinhas* (condoms), made news again this year with another *camisinha de Vênus* campaign. The symbol chosen in 1997 was a *peru* (turkey), also a common word for penis. *Camisinha nele* (Get him a condom), says the message over a cocky turkey. Health Minister **Carlos Albuquerque** defended the turkey symbol and praised the bird, which "is so joyful." During the four days of Carnival, 2.5 million free *camisinhas* (the word also means little shirts) were distributed around the country, along with posters, headbands, stickers, T-shirts and another Carnival *marchinha*: "Vista a camisinha nele (Dress him with a condom)."

Fraud

The End of Impunity?

Justice showed that it can have long arms, long enough to reach Brazilians, who until now were guaranteed an undisturbed good life after getting rich through fraud and embezzlement and fleeing the country. Miami federal judge Phillip Bloom presided over the jury that condemned lawyer Jorgina Maria de Freitas Fernandes, who defrauded Rio's Social Security service (INSS) of \$34.3 million, to pay \$123 million in damages. Fernandes was just one of a 15-member gang made up of judges and high-ranking workers at the INSS that stole more than half a billion dollars from the government between 1990 and 1991 through fraudulent indemnification. Four of the accomplices are now in jail.

Jorgina, who was condemned to 14 years in prison in Brazil, left the country four years ago, and nobody knows for sure where she is, but the decision against her allows the Brazilian government to use real-estate and other values in the U.S. to recoup the money she owes. Only \$2 million has been located in the U.S. More than \$200 million of the stolen money is in Brazil, but the process there has been dragging on for six years now. Members of the gang continue to receive rent from many of the buildings they bought with the stolen money.

As for the lawyer, she is said to have breast cancer and be living on a yacht, continually traveling between Costa Rica and Nicaragua. According to relatives, she is writing two books: one autobiography and another discussing the differences and similarities among the Social Security systems in several Latin American countries.

Violence

It's War Out There

Unable to handle all the cases of gunshot wounds caused by large-caliber weapons, the largest emergency hospital in Rio, the Souza Aguiar, abandoned its conventional treatment methods in favor of war medicine procedures. The new approach was introduced by Dr. Rodrigo Gavina, 29, the Thoracic Surgery Department chief, who noticed that 40% of the people being brought into the hospital featured wounds caused by heavy weapons. "I felt insecure when I had to treat a man whose left lung had been perforated by an AR-15 bullet," says Gavina.

More than 90% of the people hit by high-caliber weapons die before getting to the hospital. Nevertheless, this still left 1,521 people who were seen at the Souza Aguiar last year. "Our situation is just slightly better than that of Lebanon during its civil war," laments the doctor.



Exchanging Shots

Brazil is not happy with all the restrictions imposed on Brazilian products exported to the U.S. Steel, textiles, shoes, and orange juice are just some of the items Brazilians have a hard time exporting to Uncle Sam. Foreign Minister **Luiz Felipe Lampreia** credits those barriers for the \$3 billion trade deficit Brazil had with the United States in 1996.

On the other side, Washington has been raising the volume of its own dissatisfaction, accusing Brazil of not opening its doors wide enough, particularly in the telecommunications field. Talking in Davos, Switzerland, during the World Economic Forum, Stuart Eizenstat, State Department

Undersecretary for Economic Affairs, demanded from Lampreia that Brazil open its markets at a faster pace. President **Fernando Henrique Cardoso** himself came with the reply: "There is nothing to demand from Brazil on this question. When the subject is Brazil, we are the masters of the time."

Helping Hand

Is the CIA behind the creation of the Brazilian death squads, those paramilitary gangs that kill bandits, suspects, innocents, and children alike? New York Union College sociologist professor **Martha Huggins** answers affirmatively, saying she has proof. This and many other horror stories linking the U.S. to human rights violation in Brazil

Justice

Guilty, They Said

are the raw material for Huggins' forthcoming book to be released in July. Her research will expose the CIA's secret story of meddling in Brazilian affairs during the period of military dictatorship. The book will maintain, for example, that it was the CIA who trained a group of 40 Rio police agents who then organized the first death squads. These death squads engaged in the practice of throwing political prisoners from helicopters into the Amazon jungle. The CIA also helped in the creation of the extinct SNI (Serviço Nacional de Informação - Information National Service), going so far as to give the names of people who could be trusted and thus made part of that secret political police. Nothing new there. Pentagon documents released recently showed that U.S. Army intelligence manuals were used from 1982 to 1991 to teach 60,000 Latin American military and police officers at the Army School of the Americas (located in Panama until 1984 when it moved to the American state of Georgia) how to blackmail, torture, and kill their own people.

The Shrink Is In

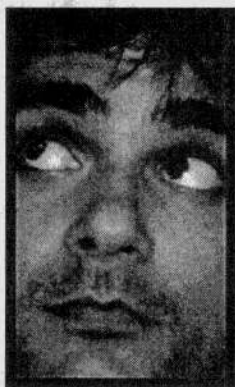
Just when everybody thought Brazilians wouldn't even go near a theater showing a national product (the hyped-up *Cacá Diegues's Tieta*, for example, was one such a disaster), they started to make huge lines to see *Pequeno Dicionário*

Actor **Guilherme de Pádua** was recently condemned to 19 years in prison for killing actress **Daniella Perez**, who was his co-star in the *novela* (soap opera) *Corpo e Alma* (Body and Soul), on December 28, 1992. The actress was stabbed 19 times with a pair of scissors, and Pádua, who became an international cause célèbre after confessing (confession later recanted) to the crime, had been in jail waiting for the trial.

Paula Tomás, who was Guilherme's wife at the time, is also in jail, accused of co-conspiring the murder. Law experts believe that she was benefited by the condemnation of Pádua and has a good chance of being found innocent at her trial in April.

The actor was considered guilty by five of a seven-

person jury, and he could have received a 30-year sentence, the maximum penalty allowed by the Brazilian law. According to Daniella's mother, *novela* writer **Glória Perez**, the sentence was a "wise one" because a 30-year condemnation would automatically trigger a retrial of the case. "But I will continue fighting," she said, "to reform the Penal Code, so people like Guilherme and Paula will get life in prison and will not be able to kill other people."



Since Pádua has already spent four years in prison, is a first offender, and has been well-behaved in jail, he might leave prison before the end of the year. The convicted assassin would go out during the day to work and would return to jail at night to sleep.

Health

Samaritans All

In Brazil, there are close to 20,000 people in line waiting for a transplant. Fifteen thousand want a kidney that might save their lives, another 500 need a liver, and at least 400 are ready for a heart transplant, just watching and praying for a heart. To help them, President Fernando Henrique Cardoso has signed a law, making compulsory the donation of organs by the dead. That's not what exactly what the law says, but that's what it means in practice. Until now, Brazilians had to sign an authorization while alive in order for their organs to be used. From now on, if they don't have the giving spirit, they will need to get a new ID card (one of the most nightmarish experiences in the Brazilian bureaucracy) on which they will state their decision.

Seventy five percent of Brazilians say they are in favor of donating organs, but there are those who fear that the new law will encourage the traffic of organs and the premature death of people in hospitals. "Nothing could be farther from the truth," says Elias David-Neto, president of the Associação Brasileira de Transplante de Órgãos (Brazilian Association of Organ Transplants). "There is traffic only when there is a shortage of organs. With a bigger pool of supply, there is no reason for commerce."

Amoroso (Little Love Dictionary). The unpretentious first full-length movie by director

Sandra Werneck is packing the houses since it premiered in January.

Made for a meager \$900,000, *Dicionário* tells an ordinary love story with humor and intelligence. It seems that couples are using the film as a therapeutic session.

Big Beauty

The city of São Paulo has launched a tongue-in-cheek campaign extolling the virtues of the megapopolis. In one of the pieces, composed of three consecutive double pages filled with pictures and information, there are some funny comparisons to other cities in the world. Reads the copy by ad agency Salles/

DMB&B: "São Paulo is like Miami. You do your shopping, amuse yourself, and once in a while you meet an American."

On another page there is the revelation: "São Paulo is like Rome. Only our pizza is better." And then there is the clincher:

"São Paulo is like New York. Here the taxi drivers can't speak English either."

The theme of the campaign, which has its own Internet homepage (<http://www.spguia.com.br>) is "São Paulo. The best the world has to offer, we have it here."

Still the Fairest

The luxurious Copacabana Palace Hotel in Rio opened its doors in 1923. By the next decade it had become the favorite hangout for the

Lingo Beach speech

international jet set. Hollywood actress **Ava Gardner** and millionaire **Nelson Rockefeller** were merely two of its illustrious guests. But starting in the 70s, the Palace began its steady downhill march. Restored after being bought in 1989 by American millionaire **James Sherwood**, who spent \$30 million in renovations, the Copa, as it is often called, is back to its glamorous self. And its excellence has just been recognized in a poll of 20,000 Yankee travel agents, who answered a questionnaire in the respected *Official Hotel Guide*. The beachfront Copacabana was chosen as the best hotel in Latin America, getting the same five star rating as the Phoenicia in Scottsdale, Arizona (USA) and the Ritz in Paris.

Balancing Act

From 1989, when it had an average 59 points of the television audience, until recently, *Jornal Nacional*, the prime-time news show of the Globo TV network, has had its attentive public cut almost in half. Recent data from Ibope (the Brazilian Nielsen) shows *Jornal Nacional* with an average of only 35 points. In the U.S. such a rating would make any TV executive ecstatic (ABC, CBS, and NBC, together, get only 26 points for their news programs), but Globo got used to its virtual monopoly of Brazilian TV in the past. Advertisers have complained that \$90,000 for a 30-second spot during *Jornal Nacional* is too expensive, especially

Rio has become a large language lab. New slang is always sprouting in its hillside *favelas* (slums) and among its surfers and street kids. This summer, young beachgoers have added a series of expressions to their patois. Here's some help for those ready for the hot sands of Posto 9 on Ipanema beach:

Bombaço — commotion

Chegar no escritório (get to the office) — to have a private talk

É show — it's super

Estar nas trevas (to be in darkness) — to be in a bad situation

Fala, nobre (say it, noble) — tell me, bro

Falar com o Conde (talk to mayor Conde) — to use cocaine

Ficar na mezenga — to be in a bad situation

Não intruja — don't worry

Papo de Carlitos — a lie

Pega-pau (penis holder) — an idiot

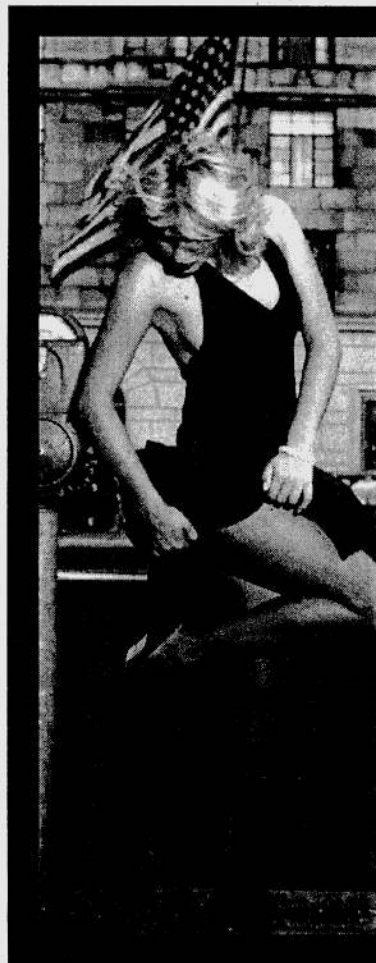
Pela-saco (scrotum peeler) — a bore

Pila! — get out!

Puro suco (pure juice) — shapely girl

Qual é a da bagaça — what's new?

Vaza! — get out!



Show Biz

Xuxa Monroe

When starting her career as a model and always at the side of **Pelé**, her boyfriend from 1980 to 1986, **Maria da Graça Meneghel**, better known as **Xuxa**, made several visits to the U.S.

While making tests in New York for the Ford modeling agency in 1981, when she was still 18, Xuxa also posed for Brazilian photographer Luiz Alberto. She was trying to explore all her sensuality, striking some Marilyn Monroe-like poses.

since Globo is not delivering the promised audience anymore.

In the last three months alone, the *Jornal* slipped 8 points (800,000 houses). Meanwhile, *Marimar*, a dubbed-into-Portuguese, sugar-coated Mexican soap opera being shown opposite the news at SBT (Sistema Brasileiro de Televisão — Brazilian System of Television) has added 7 points to its own audience. But Globo is not losing its poise. Says **Walter Poyares**, spokesperson for the network's presidency: "People nowadays have several options of entertainment. But we are still on the top."

Dolce Far Niente

Brazilians will not work a total of 124 days this year. This number includes Saturdays, Sundays, holidays and days that are *enforcados* (hung) between holidays and weekends. How bad is not working more than one third of the year? "It is terrible, catastrophic," says **Merheg Cachum**, president of Abiplast (Associação Brasileira da Indústria de Material Plástico — Brazilian Association of the Plastic Material Industry).

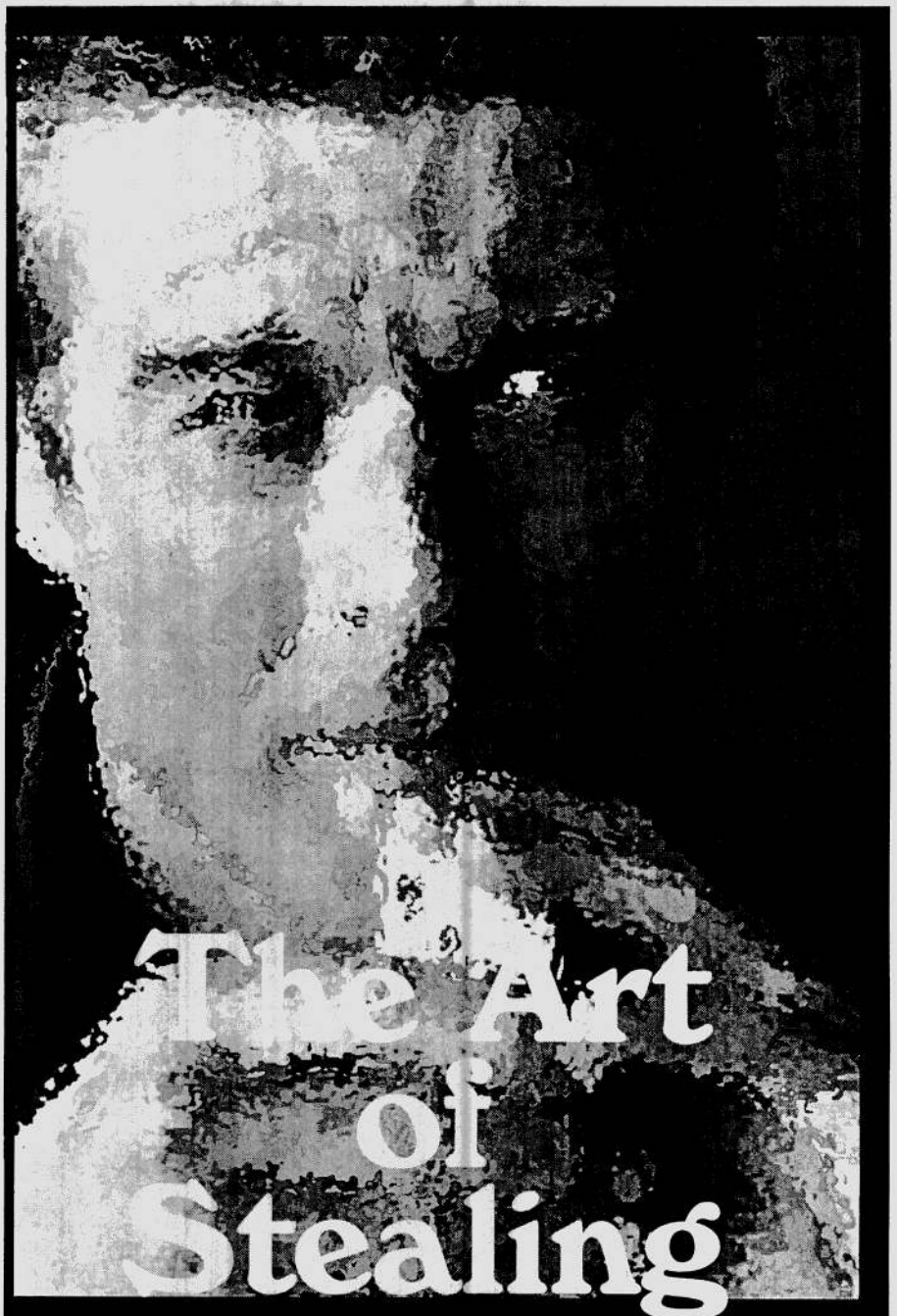
"To be able to rest on the holidays is synonymous with a good quality of life," disagrees **Carlos Alberti Lancelotti**, director of FIESP (Federação das Indústrias do Estado de São Paulo — Federation of Industries of São Paulo State). Lancelotti believes that dedicating two-thirds of the year to work is more than enough to attend the needs of the market.

Corruption is hardly unique to Brazil. In its many forms — from nepotism to bribery to embezzlement — the gentle art of getting a financial profit from power has flourished in almost every nation that has ever existed. Brazil, however, has been perceived as more lax than most other nations about venality in their leaders. A notorious example was that of Adhemar de Barros, who served as mayor and governor of São Paulo during the 1950s and '60s. Forthright about his profiteering from the public works projects that he endorsed, Adhemar allowed his supporters to successfully defend him with the motto "*Rouba mas faz*" (he steals, but he achieves).

Other politicians with more demure public images were suspected of equally shady maneuvers. According to '50s and '60s-era rumor mills, Juscelino Kubitschek allegedly bought thousands of hectares of cheap land in a remote region of the central state of Goiás. After his election to the presidency in 1955, Kubitschek vowed to move the capital of Brazil to the nation's geographic center. It seemed impractical, since the geographical center of Brazil was in a part of Goiás so isolated that building supplies had to be airlifted. Even in the middle of the 20th century, the future site of Brasília did not even have dirt roads linking it with the outside world. At least a few people surmised that Kubitschek had benefited from selling some of his own land to the federal government. Although Kubitschek became significantly wealthier during his presidency, historians do not believe that he ever owned the land on which Brasília was built.

According to a 1996 poll by Berlin-based Transparency International, international business people believe that Brazil is one of the 15 most corrupt nations in the world. To make the study, reports from financial organizations were used. Of the 41 nations surveyed, New Zealand was considered the least corrupt. (In that country, the governor of the Central Bank can be fired for harming the nation if inflation exceeds 2 percent a year.)

In a May 1996 issue of the Mexican weekly newsmagazine *El*



A poll by Berlin-based Transparency International with international businessmen from around the world has shown Brazil among the 15 most corrupt nations in the world. As often as they can get away with it, Brazilian politicians — many of them anyway — use the machine of the state to advance their own business and help friends and relatives. And despite several efforts to clean the air, bribes, embezzlement, and nepotism are still too common and accepted by society in general as the price of doing business.

KATHERYN GALLANT

Economista, journalist Josefina Vázquez Mota described the perfect milieu for crooked politics. "When a state has a large quantity of enterprises, many regulations and a heavy burden of expenses and taxes, a propitious atmosphere is created to obtain the lucre of governmental corruption. Corruption flourishes where there is a combination of monopoly, plus official discretion, minus transparency."

"The first step in controlling corruption would be to completely fulfill existing laws ... although controlling corruption means reforming systems. It is a long-term project, a job that must involve the government officials themselves, the private sector, the press and the many institutions of civil society," Vázquez Mota added.

ALL IN THE FAMILY

Since 1984, Cândido Vaccarezza has been employed as a doctor for the city of São Paulo. He earns \$1200 a month, but only comes to City Hall to sign in. Is he a dedicated physician who spends his time in *favela* (shanty town) clinics immunizing and healing people who cannot afford other medical care? Think again. Vaccarezza actually works hard for the PT (Partido Trabalhista — Workers' Party) as its secretary-general. The third-highest member in the party's hierarchy, Vaccarezza earns \$2,128 monthly. Daily *Folha de São Paulo* discovered in late December 1996 that taxpayers were paying for a public servant who preferred to spend his time taking care of politics. Caught with his hand in the cookie jar, Vaccarezza tried to vindicate himself. "I am not a ghost [i.e., a person who does not work despite having a civil-service sineure]. I work 14 hours a day for the party."

Earning a living without working is a habit that most political parties have sponsored for some of their activists. Cases similar to Vaccarezza's are common. For example, the headquarters of the PMDB in Brasília employs 15 moonlighting civil servants, eight of which are members of congressional staffs. The Partido Liberal (Liberal Party) has five civil servants working at party headquarters. Two of them were hired by Congress and lent to the party. As often as they can get away with it, Brazilian politicians aim to make taxpayers take responsibility for politicians' power structures or political perks. The Vaccarezza affair is a sign that the PT, which has prided itself on being above the favoritism and slightly shady *jeitinhos* endemic to Brazilian political culture for centuries, now seems comfortable with them.

Severino Marcondes Meira, a judge of the Regional Labor Court of Paraná, must be a real family man. Unlike most people in the work force, the 54-year-old Meira has no work-family conflicts. The judge does not hear court cases by telecommuting from a home office. He stays close to his folks using the old-fashioned way: nepotism. A total of 63 relatives — wife, children, nephews, nieces, cousins and daughters-in-law — are on the court's staff. Each month, the various members of the Meira clan bring home a total of almost \$250,000.

10 percent of the court's total payroll is earmarked for Hizzoner's kin. Although the Meiras' average income per person is \$4000 a month, the judge gives the highest salaries — \$5200 monthly — to his wife and four adult children.

The reign of Brazil's king of nepotism may soon end. On December 26 of last year, President Fernando Henrique Cardoso signed a law that prohibits employees of federal courts to be coworkers of relatives "up to the third degree" (which would include parents, spouses, children, siblings, grandparents, grandchildren, first cousins, nephews and nieces, as well as in-laws or step-relatives in those categories). The new law affects federal courts and the Supreme Court, but not the equally nepotism-ridden state courts.

When Congressman Fernando Lyra, a member of the PSB (Brazilian Socialist Party) from the northeastern state of Pernambuco, added this regulation to a Supreme Court-sponsored bill about salary and budget schedules, it seems to have gone unnoticed. It is still not certain if the law will force current beneficiaries of nepotism — like the Meira family — to leave their jobs or whether relatives already on the federal courts' payrolls will be allowed to stay there.

Many high-ranking Brazilian public servants in all branches of government employ family members. President Cardoso is no exception. After becoming President in 1995, he arranged that his daughter Luciana become his private secretary in the Palácio do Planalto (where the presidential offices are located). Sepúlveda Pertence, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, thinks that the nepotism law did not go far enough. "Those measures should also affect the legislative and executive branches," he told weekly newsmagazine *Veja*.

Pertence may have to wait a while for that dream to become true. Although Congress was quick to ban nepotism from the federal judiciary, it is less eager to end its own habit of hiring relatives. In October 1996, Senator Roberto Freire introduced a bill that would prohibit the hiring of relatives in all three branches of the federal government. After passing in the Senate, the bill was shelved in the Chamber of Deputies. The Lower House of Congress replaced it with another bill that mentioned ending nepotism as an administrative reform that would occur at an unknown date in the future.

THE LORDS OF THE LAND

The members of both houses of Congress are also not in a hurry to give up other perks of power. With a salary of \$8000 a month for a three-day workweek, deputies and senators have the right to free apartments, plane trips, phone calls and postage. In addition to their salaries, the legislators also receive between \$10,000 to \$13,000 a month to employ up to 16 staff members.

When members of Congress retire — whether willingly or not — their golden years can be quite comfortable indeed. After serving for just eight years, deputies and senators can receive pensions

from the Congressional Social Welfare Institute (IPC). The retirement checks begin at \$2080 monthly, but can go as high as \$8000 a month for legislators who have served for 30 years in government.

Another old tradition of Brazilian politics is *coronelismo*. A *coronel* (colonel) in this context is not an army officer, but a wealthy landowner who can bribe, manipulate and pressure the local electorate to vote for the candidates he chooses. Although many rural landowners in the 19th and early 20th centuries were honorary colonels of the militia regiment in their districts, few rural landowners today are members of the military. *Coronelismo* is not as obsolete as one might suspect. It still flourishes in isolated and impoverished regions of the Brazilian countryside. This encompasses much of Brazil's rural North and Northeast, but also includes poverty-stricken portions of the more developed southeastern and southern regions.

In the Vale do Jequitinhonha, a Portugal-sized quadrant in the northeastern corner of Minas Gerais, millionaire rancher Pedro Emilio Almeida Peixoto is a man to deal with. This is not only due to Peixoto's inherited fortune of \$20 million, which comprises of 18,000 hectares of land, 7000 cows and 300 Arabian horses. It has even less to do with his 240-pound frame.

Peixoto is part of a close-knit and powerful group of 12 families that maintain an economic empire in the Vale do Jequitinhonha. Despite its one million inhabitants and its location in the affluent state of Minas Gerais, the valley is rich only in poverty indexes. Of every 1000 infants born in the valley, 58 die before their first birthday — a mortality rate 45 percent greater than the Brazilian average. Those who live to one year weigh 60 percent less than normal babies. Half of the population is illiterate, and a third of the valley's families receives only half of the minimum wage. With a diet based on a mush of manioc flour and water, almost two-thirds of the valley's inhabitants suffer from chronic malnutrition. The Jequitinhonha River, which flows through the valley, is dying because prospectors dig for gold and diamonds in the riverbed and leave mercury in its waters.

The influence of the valley's *coronéis* is based on two pillars: land and getting out the vote. This is exemplified in the history of the Cunha Peixotos, the most powerful family in the valley for at least a century. When the three Peixoto brothers arrived in the Vale do Jequitinhonha in 1890, they found a dense forest that they soon cut down. They gained their fortune selling expensive, high-quality wood. Within a decade of their arrival, one of the brothers already owned 50,000 hectares. President Juscelino Kubitschek was a good friend of a later generation of Peixoto *coronéis* and stayed at their ranches several times. The current head of the House of Peixoto does not find that being the *grand seigneur* is as enjoyable as his ancestors evidently found it. "Ranching is a vice," he told weekly newsmagazine *Veja* in an article published in May

The Works

Câmara dos Deputados (Chamber of Deputies)

Salary — \$8000 a month, with an additional \$8000 at year's end (the "13th salary").

Cost of living supplement — \$8000, paid twice yearly.

Round-trip plane tickets — Four free tickets a month from Brasília to the capital of the state that the deputy represents.

Mail — Up to \$692.50 worth of mail can be mailed for free each month.

Phone bills (office and home) — The government will pay up to \$326.60 for deputies from the Federal District; up to \$478.49 for deputies from Goiás (the state encircling the Federal District); or up to \$6630.20 for deputies from other states.

Apartments — There are 432 apartments available at no charge for the 513 deputies. Those who do not live in the apartments receive a housing supplement of \$1700 a month.

Senate

Salary — \$8000 a month, with an additional \$8000 at year's end

Cost of living supplement — \$8000, paid twice yearly.

Round-trip plane tickets — Four free tickets a month from Brasília to the capital of the state that the senator represents.

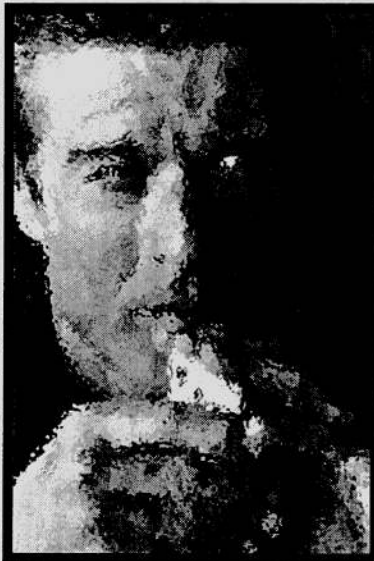
Mail — The monthly mail allowance is in proportion with the number of inhabitants of the state that the senator represents (at least 4000, but no more than 66,200).

Phone bills (office) — The government will pay for an unlimited amount of phone calls from a senator's office.

Phone bills (home) — Up to \$118 a month is paid for by the government.

Apartments — There are 72 apartments available at no charge for the 78 senators. Those who do not live in the apartments receive a housing supplement of \$3000 a month.

Car — Senators are entitled to a car with chauffeur. The government will pay for up to 8 gallons of gasoline or 10 gallons of gasohol (gasoline and alcohol combination frequently used as fuel in Brazilian autos) each day.



The Collor Charm

Self-imposed exile apparently has benefited ex-President Fernando Collor de Mello, impeached in 1992 on corruption charges. Since August 1995, when he and his wife Rosane came to live in Miami, his popularity — at least among the Brazilian community in South Florida — has risen dramatically. Whenever he goes out, people recognize him. At a children's clothing store, while buying a present for a friend's newborn baby, a Brazilian customer asked for his autograph. At restaurants, shopping malls and even while in his car, the 47-year-old ex-President is recognized. Does the public insult or threaten him? "On the contrary," Collor told the Miami correspondent for weekly newsmagazine *Veja* in August 1996. "People go out of their way to greet me." This is not just an example of Collor's well-known braggadocio. "Collor came here a bit like an antihero, but little by little it's becoming chic to approach him," confirmed a Miami socialite who has met Brazil's former First Couple.

Unlike their years at the top of Brazil's political pyramid, the daily life of the Collors is now routine and even sedate. In the mornings, they have only one thing on their agenda: studying English. The ex-President already knew English fairly well when he arrived in Florida. Nevertheless, he wanted to improve it so that he could give lectures on political and economic topics to US audiences. "His English was very good, but he wanted to expand his vocabulary to have a more sophisticated way of speaking," said Ramón López, the director of the Berlitz Institute in Miami. Rosane is at a less advanced level, but does not let that discourage her. Like her husband, she commits herself to English lessons three times a week.

In the afternoons, Collor often goes to his office in the heart of Miami's financial district to answer letters and receive visitors. Named, naturally enough, "Collor's Office," the suite's rent is \$3000 a month. "I admire the President's drive," his secretary, Angolan-born Fernanda Melo, told *Veja*. Rosane's afternoons are devoted to shopping at Miami's most elegant stores and showing off her new purchases to her friends.

When the Collors decide to spend a night on the town, their destination is frequently Prima Pasta. The restaurant's cozy atmosphere and moderate prices make it popular with paparazzi-fleeing celebrities such as Cindy Crawford, Madonna, Jean-Claude Van Damme, UB-40 and the Bee Gees. "I only remember two important politicians coming here," Argentine-born Gerardo Gea, Prima Pasta's owner, told *Veja*. "One of them is Collor de Mello and the other is José Luis Manzano, an Argentine ex-Cabinet minister who ran out of Buenos Aires accused of corruption and came to live here in Miami. But that one went back not too long ago." Gea saw the difference in how other diners treated the disgraced politicians. "Whenever he came to the restaurant and ran across some Argentine, Manzano was persecuted. They pointed a finger at him and asked how I could allow a crook in my restaurant. With Collor, it's different. The Brazilians insist on greeting him."

1996. "We invest our whole life investing and don't earn money." Even so, he was planning to apply for a loan of \$500,000 to begin irrigating his land to grow fruit.

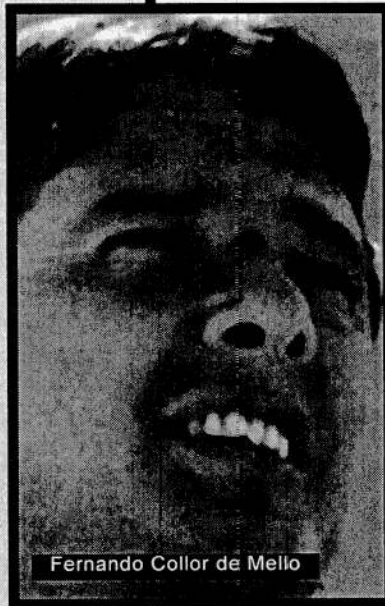
Lacking competition, the monoculture-dependent landowners have less money than they did a decade ago. The town of Salto da Divisa, one of the poorest communities in the valley, which once had 90,000 head of cattle, now has 50,000. A contributing factor to this decline is the habit of dividing inheritances and lands among the (frequently numerous) heirs of deceased *coronéis*. This phenomenon is jocularly known as "family agrarian reform." As a result, the traditional bosses of the Vale do Jequitinhonha have less power than they had 30 years ago. The PT, which sees itself as the antithesis of

coronelismo, now has one of its members as the mayor of the valley town of Itinga. It would be naïve, however, to assume that the reign of the colonels is nearing its end. Most city council elections, campaign financing, and even the selection of candidates remain under their control.

The new breed of *coronel* is more cosmopolitan and more open to change. With his M.D. from the University of São Paulo and internship at a hospital in London, Manoel Francisco Alves Silva

had an assured career as a surgeon ahead of him. He preferred to return home and increase the lands and livestock inherited from his semiliterate father. Owner of 12 ranches (22,000 hectares in all) with 3500 head of cattle and 1200 head of buffalo, Silva is one of the richest men in his native Vale do Jequitinhonha. Silva also is the owner of the only radio station in his hometown of Almenara.

Since his homecoming, Silva has opened two hospitals, built a *cachaça* (sugar cane liquor) plant and cultivated the extreme south of the state of Bahia for housing developments. He has tripled his fortune, now estimated at 25 million dollars. "My secret is taking money from the bank to put it in production," he told weekly newsmagazine *Veja*. Despite his familiarity with the outside world, Silva is not tempted to settle down in the big city. His dream is to become the mayor of Almenara. ■



Fernando Collor de Mello

Letters

OUTRAGED I

I was shocked when I received my February issue and opened page six, to see there a pornographic picture in a magazine that obviously is not pornographic. I was even more upset because my two-year-old daughter was with me at the moment. I thought *Brazzil* had a higher standard and didn't need this kind of picture to increase circulation... Obviously I was wrong and I will not even consider renewing my subscription. The photo is offensive, in bad taste, and totally inappropriate for this magazine.

Cláudia
Via Internet

OUTRAGED II

Just a little note to say *Nossa!* You guys really crossed the line in your *Rapidinhas* section this month of February. Showing nude calendar girls is one thing, but showing a girl with a bottle half way up her *buceta* is really pushing it. Even my liberal-minded Brazilian friends were offended. I like to show your magazine to people at my work, but I won't be bringing in this issue.

Name withheld
San Diego, California

OUTRAGED III

The page-six picture on *Brazzil's* February issue is disgusting. I am sorry and embarrassed that I gave friends a subscription of the magazine. The type of image portrayed in that edition is exactly the image that Americans have of Brazil, especially of the women, cheap, dirty, and easy. There are a lot of other images worth showing to the world.

S. Jack
Via Internet

OUTRAGED IV

Unfortunately it's a disappointment having to go through this "show of *ichan*" in order to check important news on your WEB page. If you publish this kind of material just to call attention, I feel ashamed and cannot give your address or have a link from my sites to yours despite all the valuable informative material that you have. Sorry. Congratulations for the rest of the material.

Myrna Stevens
Via Internet

OUTRAGED TOO?

I noticed the February issue is listed as my last one, so I'm sending in my \$3 for another year's subscription. Keep up the fine job and I always appreciate the tasteful photos you run in the *Rapidinhas* section!

Alan Richter
Chicago, Illinois

HOW COULD YOU?

Kathleen de Azevedo takes a little trip

You are invited to participate in this dialogue.

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Please, include a phone number in the event we need to reach you. Thanks!

by bus to Maceió ("Back Home", *Brazzil*, January '97) and thinks the whole world has to be like the US. Maceió is a lot more than a brown haze, old typewriters, empty hotels. Usually, tourists don't go to Maceió to stay in hotel balconies. They are out enjoying all that the waters' paradise has to offer. Maceió has colonial buildings, modern buildings and mansions, beautiful popular houses, simple houses and *favelas* too.

I go there every year and stay two or three months to refill my soul and mind with love, sweetness, simplicity and the reality of life. Live to work, work, work, surrounded by cold new machines, go to the beach to see tens of little shops all the same? How boring! I don't blend here, I blend there.

Aurea M. de Maia
San Francisco, California

NOT CONVINCING

Are you running out of contributions from Brazilian writers? We really think you should rely on lighter material than João Antônio's "Joãozinho da Babilônia" short story (*Brazzil*, January '97). If you want variety give hard news a chance. Real life will have a lot of that stuff. Is it why you changed the magazine's name for? You should strive to bring the beauty of Brazil not what seems to us to belong to the "play-macho" magazines.

Gabriel and Maria Luiz
Los Angeles, California

THE FAIREST NO MORE

You used to be the best site in the world for Brazilian news. Now you have so many images that it takes 15 minutes just to get to you. What a shame! I have to disable my images to go anywhere. I will have to get a faster link since 28.8k is not good enough. I don't think I will visit you guys anymore. It is sad.

Fernando Pinheiro
Sydney, Australia
Via Internet

MOVING

I just finished reading the article about Ronaldinho ("Ronaldinho Superstar", *Brazzil*, February '97) and I confess that I could not control my emotions. Congratulations! The article is so touching and beautifully written that I will make some copies of it and distribute them among my fellows who still don't subscribe to *Brazzil*. Obviously I will do it only if you allow me to do so.

Unfortunately TV stations here in the US show very little about Brazilian football

and Brazilian players currently playing in Europe, like Ronaldinho. So it has been hard to be up to date on this matter. But thanks to *Brazzil* as well as to Mr. Peter Castles I could *matar a sede e a fome* at the same time.

Fernando Oliveira
San Diego, California

BRAZIL ATTRACTION

I just read your article on Ronaldinho on the Web and thoroughly enjoyed it. Ronaldinho is truly an amazing player. I am a senior at Georgetown University and although I have never been to Brazil I feel an incredibly strong pull towards it based on everything I have learned. Living in Brazil is a dream that I am willing to do anything to bring to fruition.

Jonathan Jewell
Baltimore, Maryland
Via Internet

WHAT'S THE FUSS?

I just got back from São Paulo and Rio and maybe I'll move to Ubatuba, however I have great difficulty in understanding the B. S. over skin color in Brazil. What in hell is the hang-up here? Most women I came across wanted a white man and were not interested in my Negro friend. He is far more educated than I am, is a lady killer (not like O.J.) and is one of America's wealthiest (which he did not show). I am appalled by this behavior while my friend is still laughing at it.

Karloz
Canada
Via Internet

GETTING TO KNOW JOVINO

Thanks to Bruce Gilman's very well written article on Jovino and his music (*Brazzil*, December '96). Though I am a Brazilian (from Santos) living in the San Francisco Bay Area, I had not heard of him before. Now I know his music is superb and will be visiting Tower Records soon.

Carlos
Berkeley, California
Via Internet

A DECADE MORE

Please renew my subscription for ten years. I keep forgetting to renew on time. If you can think of any resources on the Internet about business opportunities in Brazil or about relocating to that country please let me know.

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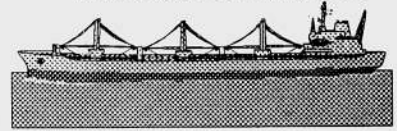
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Emperor Henrique I

If everything works as planned in Brasília, Brazilians won't have to worry about a new president until 2002. That's when President Fernando Henrique Cardoso would end his mandate, after being reelected in a shoo-in dispute late next year. Though still disorganized, the opposition promises to make life tough for the popular and apparently undefeatable President, or King, as some would prefer to call him.

ÉMERSON LUÍS

The next presidential election in Brazil will not happen until October 4, 1998, but the new President has already been chosen. Unless something very dramatic happens, Brazilians seem to have already settled on their next President: Fernando Henrique Cardoso, the incumbent, who was elected with 34.3 million votes (54.3% of all valid ballots) to end Brazilian endemic inflation, which he did. That's odd because, under the Brazilian constitution, the President cannot be reelected. Nobody doubts, however, that the charter will be amended in time to re-conduct Cardoso in the Palácio do Planalto, the Brazilian White House.

The administration has been virtually paralyzed in the last few months while the President and his ministers worked diligently to twist arms and persuade unbelievers that the reelection of Cardoso is essential to keep Brazil on the right track. It seemed a Herculean task, since the amendment has to be approved twice by the members of the upper and lower houses of Congress. But nobody doubted the President's power of persuasion – and his deep pockets – after the results of the first vote in the Câmara dos Deputados (House of Representatives) on January 28: of the 513 *deputados*, 336 (or 65.5%) sided with Fernando Henrique, 28 more than the minimum required to win. Cardoso celebrated the victory as an Emperor. He spent the weekend at Palácio Rio Negro, in Petrópolis (Rio), a summer residence of the imperial family. "He already was the prince of sociologists," commented jokingly political scientist Bolívar Lamounier. "Now, he might very well become the monarch of politicians."

It's disturbing to some observers that Cardoso is more popular than ever among the population and in Congress since being inaugurated on January 1995. It was thought that legislators would be wary of a President who has not been too attentive to Congress and



who has been governing through the extensive use of exceptional though legal provisional measures. Barely a week goes by without one of these decrees being signed by the President. By the end of January, 99 ordinances had been issued or reissued. Eighty percent of the laws introduced in Brazil in the last two years came from Cardoso's mighty pen.

The government, with the backing of Cardoso's own PSDB (Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira — Brazilian Social Democracy Party), PFL (Partido da Frente Liberal — Liberal Front Party), and PTB (Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro — Brazilian Labor Party) seems poised to conduct the political discourse from now on, unencumbered by a ragtag opposition. Political analysts hope that the President will seize the momentum to tackle urgently needed reforms in taxation, the government machine and social services. Cardoso would still need a push from such large parties as PPB (Partido Progressista Brasileiro — Brazilian Progressive Party) and PMDB (Partido do Movimento Democrático Brasileiro — Brazilian Democratic Movement Party). Half of these parties' members backed the President on the reelection issue, disregarding their leaders' directive.

For the government, it was a string of victories as if a steamroller had been loosed in Brasília. After winning the first round on the reelection issue, the administration succeeded in making both congressional leaders. *Baiano* (from Bahia) senator Antônio Carlos Magalhães (PFL) won the presidency of the senate by an overwhelming majority (52 to 28). The next day, Cardoso enjoyed still another win when PMDB's Michel Temer received the necessary minimum (257 votes) in the House to become the Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies. "We have done beard, mustache and hair," commented an exhilarated PFL's Luís Eduardo Magalhães, the exiting house leader.

"No party was left unscathed," commented derisively congressman and former Planning Minister Antônio Delfim Netto from the PPB after being himself beaten. Main opposition leader and twice defeated candidate to the presidency Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva from the PT (Partido dos Trabalhadores — Workers' Party) has called for an offensive to challenge government expenses. "We run the risk of being left without a discourse," he explained.

The government's victory should also alter the composition of the parties. The victorious one should be getting new members consolidating this way Cardoso's newfound power. The PSDB should get the most benefits, collecting up up to 120 *deputados*. The President himself has discouraged his allies from trying to get people from the PMDB, still the party with the most members. He seems to be an adept practitioner of Machiaveli's precept: "divide to conquer". Cardoso prefers to have an opposition that votes with him than allies exercising too much influence over his government.

The explanation for Cardoso's popularity with politicians lies beyond his own amiable personality and charisma. In a time of belt-tightening and scarce resources state and municipal governments are having a tough time just to pay their bureaucracy and there is no money left for new projects. According to daily *O Estado de S. Paulo*, 80% of the Brazilian states and 90% of the municipalities are bankrupt. On the other hand, the federal government has more than \$8 billion available to be parceled out in the next two years to hungry and needy politicians via the ministries of planning, environment and water resources, and transportation.

On January 31, just three days after reelection was approved in the first round, Fernando Henrique was in Rio

What Now?

Fernando Henrique Cardoso is now committed to push through the legislature his campaign package that has been dragging around. With his new show of strength, the President should be able to see most of his wishes fulfilled.

Cost Brazil — Some people can't believe how expensive products and services are in Brazil. The so-called Cost Brazil (it includes a slew of taxes, bureaucracy, and lame understructure) not only makes life difficult for consumers as it also curtails Brazilian capacity to export at competitive prices in the world market. The government has already lowered the ICMS for exporting products. There is, however, much more to be done, including serious efforts to debureaucratize and make employees cheaper to the employer. Nowadays, employers pay in taxes and fees the same amount they pay employees.

Taxes — A more ample fiscal reform will have to wait because of serious opposition from states and municipalities afraid of losing money with the radical changes the administration is proposing. The federal government still wants to combine the federal IPI (Imposto sobre Produtos Industrializados — Tax on Industrialized Products) and the state ICMS (Imposto sobre Circulação de Mercadorias e Serviços — Tax on Circulation of Products and Services). The country collects \$100 billion a year in taxes, half of what it should get if it weren't for widespread tax evasion and fraud.

Privatization — The privatization process continues to generate a lot of heat. For those opposing it, the sale of state companies is going too fast, while those defending privatization accuse the government of giving treasures away with too much haste. The Post Office, Telebrás, Petrobrás and Eletrobrás, are all in the red or lack money for badly needed investments. This year, the process of privatizing Telebrás, the communications monopoly, is due to begin in earnest. The government also promises that state-owned Companhia Vale do Rio Doce, which explores minerals, will be auctioned by April.

Welfare — Administration wants people retiring later and intends to put an end to the so-called special retirement wages. There are 15.7 million retired people receiving government pensions today, twice as much as 15 years ago. For each person receiving retirement benefits there are only two people contributing to the system.

Health — Corruption in the SUS (Sistema Único de Saúde — Unified Health System) arrangement adopted in the country is still rampant. There are plans to channel the money directly to the hospitals involved in the system to avoid abuses resulting from the present system, in which a hospital is paid for each procedure it carries out. However, the situation is not expected to begin improving before 1999.

Education — Besides handing down the elementary education completely to the municipalities, the government intends to continue the reforms already started by Education Minister Paulo Renato. Among his plans are the abolition of the infamous "vestibular" (entrance exam) to get in colleges, a reassessment of private and public colleges and the establishment of a \$300 monthly minimum wage for teachers.

The Best

Who has been Brazil's best president since 1930? And who was the worst? Biweekly economy magazine *Exame* posed the question to a panel of 20 experts including economists, historians, political scientists and a Brazilianist. Juscelino Kubitschek came on the top of the best list with a 4.22 average score of a possible 5. Fernando Henrique Cardoso weighed in with 3.94 points, and this in only two years of his term that might last another 6 years. "Fernando Henrique is still a bet," said historian Bóris Fausto. "But the practical results — the victory against inflation, the reduction in the corruption levels and the change in the administrative patterns — are enough to guarantee him a 4." General Costa e Silva was the worst, getting a 1.41 average.

The panelists, who gave marks from 1 (awful) to 5 (excellent), were ambassador Rubens Ricúpero; political scientists Bolívar Lamounier, Maria Tereza Sadek, Amaury de Souza, Fábio Wanderley Reis, Leôncio Martins Rodrigues, Antônio Octávio Cintra, and Sérgio Abranches; historians Bóris Fausto, José Murillo Carvalho, and Francisco Iglésias; economists Dionísio Carneiro, Francisco de Araújo Santos, Marcílio Marques Moreira, and Paulo Guedes; sociologists Hélio Jaguaribe, Aspásia Camargo, and Celina Vargas; journalist Oliveiros S. Ferreira, and Brazilianist Thomas Skidmore.

The results:

President	Period	Average
Juscelino Kubitschek	Jan. 56/Jan. 61	4.22
Fernando Henrique Cardoso	Jan. 95/	3.94
Getúlio Dornelles Vargas	Nov. 30/Oct. 45	3.47
	Jan. 51/Aug. 54	
Gen. Humberto Castello Branco	Apr. 64/Mar. 67	3.38
Gen. Ernesto Geisel	Mar. 74/Mar. 79	3.32
Gen. Eurico Gaspar Dutra	Jan. 46/Jan. 51	2.61
Itamar Augusto Cautiero Franco	Oct. 92/Dec. 94	2.38
José Sarney	Mar. 85/Mar. 90	2.16
Gen. João Baptista de Oliveira Figueiredo	Mar. 79/Mar. 85	1.76
Fernando Collor de Mello	Mar. 90/Dec. 92	1.71
João Belchior Marques Goulart	Sep. 61/Mar. 64	1.63
Gen. Emílio Garrastazu Médici	Nov. 69/Mar. 74	1.62
Jânio da Silva Quadros	Feb. 61/Aug. 61	1.42
Gen. Arthur da Costa e Silva	Mar. 67/Aug. 69	1.41

Reelection Blues

Brazilians have seen seven constitutions come and go since the Republic was proclaimed in 1889 (the first one, inspired by the US charter, dates from February 1891), but none allowed for the reelection of the President. As it is happening now, the president in charge always muddled the debate about reelection. The 1946 Constitution, for example, didn't allow reelection to bar President Getúlio Vargas from trying for reelection. In 1937, just a few months before a scheduled presidential election, in which he couldn't run, Vargas staged a coup d'état that kept him in power until 1945. However, this didn't stop him from running again and winning in 1950.

Since the beginning, legislators feared that reelection would serve to perpetuate presidents using their positions to morph themselves in virtual emperors, as the ones Brazil had in the years before the Republic. According to historian José Murilo de Carvalho from the IUPERJ (Instituto Universitário de Pesquisa do Rio de Janeiro — Rio de Janeiro's College Research Institute), the model adopted was the one preferred by the military and São Paulo Republicans who insisted on centralized power. "The democracy issue was never even raised. Their interest was to guarantee an alternation of power between the elite sectors, a mechanism that was assured by the Moderating Power."

The 1967 Constitution preserved the reelection prohibition to prevent any military man from perpetuating himself in power. According to political scientist Bolívar Lamounier, the 1988 constituent assembly was more worried about choosing between presidentialism and parliamentarism than in discussing reelection.

They Won

Fernando Henrique Cardoso — He had the most to lose and he became the one who won the most. Even though another three ballots in Congress are still needed to assure passage of the Constitutional amendment that will allow Cardoso's reelection, the President has been strengthened to pursue reforms in several areas and seems to be an unbeatable candidate for president in the next election.

Sérgio Motta — The Communications Minister, after a series of blunders resulting from his big mouth working overtime, seems to have put brakes on his rhetoric. Through a backstage work of talking to politicians he was able to deliver the victory to his boss and, in the process, regain his own prestige.

Luís Eduardo Magalhães — The Speaker of the House was able to display leadership just before passing the post to an ally. He also guaranteed that his father, Senator Antônio Carlos Magalhães, be chosen president of the Senate. Magalhães, from the PFL, is already a serious name for the 2002 presidential election.

Michel Temer — The PMDB congressman has shown great leadership, being able to deliver 67 of the 98 PMDB votes in the House to the FHC camp. Thanks to that, and as a reward, government allies gave him the necessary votes to get the house speakership.

Francisco Dornelles — Opposing the leadership of his own party, the PPB, the Industry and Commerce minister together with the three governors of the PPB led half of the party deputies to vote for reelection.

Miguel Arraes — The governor of Pernambuco, from the PSB (Partido Socialista Brasileiro — Brazilian Socialist Party), was the only victorious among left-wing politicians. He talked the majority of his party's legislators into siding with the President.

They Lost

Paulo Salim Maluf — The former mayor of São Paulo and greedy wannabe presidential candidate was probably the worst loser of all after managing to make his own successor in São Paulo. He refused to deal with the President and ended up having his party (the PPB) split in half. His chances as a viable presidential candidate have diminished considerably. Just a few hours before the House vote, Maluf announced: "I will play Russian roulette with six chambers loaded if reelection is approved."

José Sarney — Former President and presidential hopeful, the up-to-January president of the Senate, showed once again the consummate politician he is. This time, however, in his eagerness to please everybody, he ended by displeasing all. He publicly sided with the opposition, while privately encouraging PMDB congressmen to vote for Cardoso.

Itamar Franco — Another ex-president dreaming of a second chance as nation chief. His plans to head a center-left coalition to recapture the presidency are not been taken too seriously by other politicians. Itamar has no party and his double talk — one day backing the administration and the next opposing it — has alienated possible allies.

Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva — The two-times presidential candidate and PT's leader was able to keep his party united against the President. But his alliance with Paulo Maluf, his traditional enemy, just to defeat Cardoso's bid, was a serious blunder.

Paes de Andrade — The PMDB president at least is consistent. Despite all defections in his party he pledges to vote again against reelection when the bill goes back to the House. He has become a solitary voice within his party.

announcing the release of the first \$10 million of a total of \$850 million that will be used to modernize the Port of Sepetiba. By the end of the year, the San Francisco river and the Madeira (a tributary of the

Amazon rivers will be open to navigation and the fifth generator in the Alagoas' Xingó hydroelectric plant should come on stream. The government has also pledged to start later this year construction of the Brazil-Bolivia 2,000-mile long pipeline that will bring natural gas from Santa Cruz de La Sierra to the Brazilian southern tier.

Two thirds of this gas is for use in a four-state area concentrating more than 50 percent of the Brazilian electorate: São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais and Rio Grande do Sul. This money will be used in sanitation and construction of popular housing. The Transportation Ministry has a \$4.6 billion budget and a blueprint called Plano Brasil em Ação (Plan Brazil in Action) calling for the building and repair of highways, railroads, ports and waterways, in all but the northeastern region. In the *Nordeste*, which casts 1/3 of the nation's votes, the money is to be used mainly for basic sanitation projects and the building of two dozen dams.

The plans are grandiose and the budget generous. The only problem is that the government doesn't have this kind of money. To be able to fund all these feverish construction work, FHC will have to dispose of public property. That's where the privatization efforts come in. Brasília hopes to raise at least \$10 billion by year's end through the sale of Companhia Vale do Rio Doce, a mining corporation, and the privatization of the communications sector. Brazil is confident that 1997 will witness an infusion of \$12 billion in foreign capital, with \$4 billion going into the privatization program. No small feat there. In six years of privatization, the government has raised a mere \$13.4 billion with the sale of public property. Last year, this effort yielded only \$3.8 billion. However, big construction will not suffice. Cardoso himself seems disappointed that his administration has done so little in the social area.

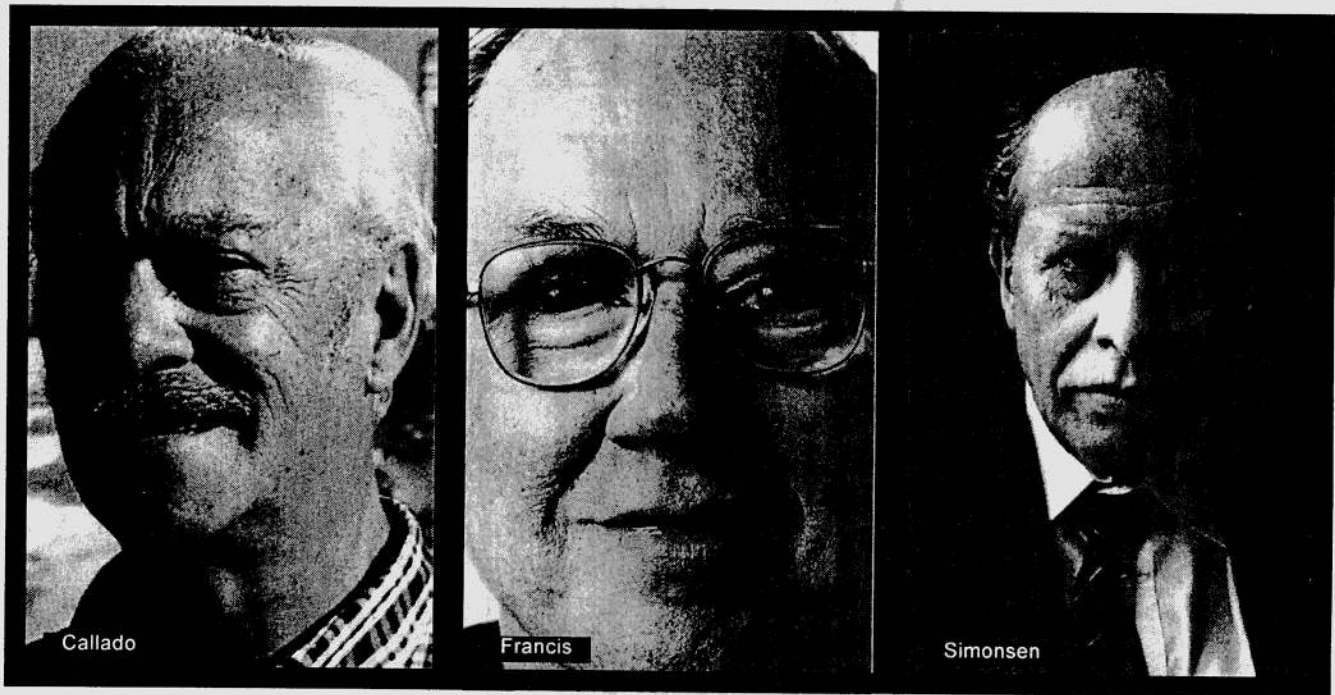
Brazil has also a serious trade deficit. Brazilians imported much more than exported in 1996 creating a record deficit of \$5.5 billion. The country spent \$53.2 billion in imports while taking in only \$47.7 billions from exports. From this amount, 18.3% was consumer goods such as toys, TV sets and automobiles. Raw materials represented 46.2% of the total; oil purchases took another 11.7% and 23.8% was invested in upgrading industries. It is estimated that this deficit will increase to \$8 billion by year's end. On the positive side, the Central Bank believes it will close the current year with \$70 billion in foreign reserves. The flow of foreign capital is increasing every year. It was \$2.3 billion in 1994, \$4.7 in 1995, and \$9 billion last year.

An even graver problem is the domestic deficit. On November 1995, the federal, state and municipal governments were \$27 billion in the red without relief in sight. The biggest chunk of the revenue goes to pay its work force and in some smaller cities there is no money left over. That's why the priority of the administration now is to have approved the administrative reform that will among other things establish a ceiling on salaries. Nobody in public administration would be allowed to make more than \$10.8, the salary of a Supreme Court Judge. The reform would also allow for public servants to be fired for negligence or unsatisfactory performance.

The biggest ally of Cardoso still is the low inflation — less than 10% for the whole year of 1996 and estimated at 7% for this year — in a country where a 3000% yearly inflation rate was becoming the norm. Brazil hasn't enjoyed such monetary stability in the last 50 years. Furthermore, workers have had a 25% increase in their real purchasing power. The President's worst enemy is the high interest rates triggered by the budget deficit and the government's borrowing from the financial market. This has made very hard for companies to finance their expansion and has contributed to the rising unemployment in the country. After giving high priority to Congress, the President will from now on pay more attention to what he calls the "raucous voices of the streets".

Even the poorest people are not complaining though. Despite a still high unemployment rate, lower middle class and poor Brazilians are eating better and having an easier time buying home appliances. For more than one year the cheap price of chicken made the product a symbol of the Real (the new currency) success.

Now it is the yogurt that is invading the humblest tables. The consumption of the product increased by 90% in one year, while prices fell up to 26%. Yogurt sales jumped from 118.6 thousand tons in 1994 to 242,2 thousand tons last year. The previously scarce product is presented on supermarket shelves under dozens of packagings and flavors and can be bought for as little as 60 cents a package. ■



The Long Goodbye

Death, which is rarely kind, was its unkindest, this beginning of year, taking away with it the cream of the Brazilian intellectuality. They will all be sorely missed.

ALESSANDRA DALEVI

For death it was a rich crop of talented people. For Brazil, which became considerably poorer, it was one heavy loss after another, after another, after another. In a short span of a few weeks in January and February, the country lost its most respected economist, Mário Henrique Simonsen; one of its best novelists, Antônio Callado; its brightest polemist-journalist Paulo Francis; world-renowned anthropologist and senator Darcy Ribeiro; folkloric soccer team owner Vicente Matheus; hated union leader Joaquim Santos Andrade; and promising young talent, composer Chico Science.

With the exception of Chico, who died in a car accident in the northeastern Brazilian city of Recife, at 30, all the others were over 60. Despite their age, however, the intellectuals in the list were still very active till very recently or even until the very day when they died as in the case of Paulo Francis and Darcy Ribeiro.

DARCY RIBEIRO

Loved by the Indians, with whom he lived, Darcy had Terena and Xavante Indians paying him homage during

the wake in Congress. A group of children, women and men placed over his chest a miniature vase symbolizing plenty in the after-life. His last girlfriend, Irene Ferraz, 38, confirmed his fame as a womanizer: "He left thousands of widows," she exaggerated. "He was passion-inspiring. He wasn't a man for an only woman." President Fernando Henrique Cardoso who attended at the wake declared a national three-day mourning period.

The versatile PDT (Partido Democrático Trabalhista — Worker's Democratic Party) senator, who was also a member of the Brazilian Academy of Letters, died of prostate cancer at 74 in the Sarah Kubitschek hospital, in Brasília. He died on February 17. Only two weeks before he had been to the senate to cast his vote against the government as the senate chose its new president, which is also the president of Congress. His vote was for Íris Resende, who had no chance against political powerhouse Antônio Carlos Magalhães.

Darcy was an accomplished success under all the hats he wore: educator, novelist, anthropologist, and politician. His contributions to the Indian ethnology started with the publication in 1950 of *Religião e Mitologia Kadiuéu* (Kadiuéu Religion and Mythology). He loved Brazil with all its warts. "Switzerland is an almost perfect country. That's terrible. I prefer our country that is still being made." About himself, he declared, "I am really vain. I really have a tendency to despise modest people because I believe that modesty is an attitude of those who are mediocre and satisfied with themselves and the world. I am the only Brazilian theoretician and the only Latin-American theoretician to provoke international discussion. My studies about the anthropology of civilization have had 145 editions."

He also said, "I have failed everything I tried in life. I tried to alphabetize the Brazilian children, but I didn't succeed. I tried to save the Indians, but I didn't save them. I tried to build a serious university and I failed. I tried to make Brazil develop with autonomy and I didn't succeed. My failures, however, are my victories. I would hate to be in the shoes of those who won."

ANTÔNIO CALLADO

He was called “real life’s only Englishman” by right-wing writer Nelson Rodrigues, who criticized, but also admired the integrity and finesse of left-leaning novelist, playwright and journalist Antônio Carlos Callado. He would have a place guaranteed in the Brazilian literature even if he hadn’t published anything else besides *Quarup*, a novel that he himself wasn’t that proud of.

Published in 1967, the work whose title refers to a death ceremony among the Brazilian Indians, is the story of Nando, a priest from the Northeast who, in search of the truth, leaves the convent and goes to live with the natives in Xingu. There, the missionary is converted himself and discovers sex and love. When he goes back to the Northeast he has become a guerrilla.

The author also wrote, among other novels, *Bar Don Juan*, a stinging critique on the so-called festive left and the uselessness of fighting the Brazilian military dictatorship, *A Madona de Cedro* (The Cedar Madonna), *Reflexos do Baile* (Reflexes of the Ball), and *Sempreviva* (Evergreen). During the Second World War, starting in 1941, he worked in London with the Brazilian section of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in Aldenham house. Three years later he moved to Paris to work at the Radio-Diffusion Française. In 1947 he was back in Brazil. During the military dictatorship (1964-1983), the writer was imprisoned five times. It was during his first period in jail in 1965 that he concocted the plot for *Quarup*.

Profoundly in love with Brazil, Antônio Callado wrote in 1993: “Let the country live. Let poor Brazil breathe. Leave it in peace, so it will lose its tortured manner, as if it were a stutterer, a child always being bugged and, who for that very reason gets bad grades in his report card.”

Callado died just a few days after his 80th birthday. “To be alive at 80 is something horrible,” he declared a little before dying. He had been fighting prostate cancer for 12 years and had two operations in 1984 and 1989 to try to eliminate the tumor. In 1994 he was elected to occupy seat number 8 in the ABL (Academia Brasileira de Letras — Brazilian Academy of Letters). His bier was placed in the Academy, with the dead writer wearing the Academy’s pompous uniform that he criticized for being inappropriate for Rio’s hot climate.

He was a leftist of principles. “I have never joined any party,” he declared in one of his last interviews. “I remain true, absolutely true to what I was and I am: a man from the left who believes in socialism.”

MÁRIO HENRIQUE SIMONSEN

He liked to be called professor, just professor, without anything added to it. He became famous and was hardly criticized for his role in conducting the Brazilian economy during the military administrations of generals Ernesto Geisel and João Baptista Figueiredo. He was the voice of reason in a military regime with grandiose nationalistic plans without concern for its cost. While the generals wanted miracles, Mário Henrique Simonsen preached moderation and belt-tightening.

Born in February 19, 1935, economist Simonsen became Geisel’s Finance Minister in 1974. As Figueiredo’s Economy Minister, he didn’t last more than six months, presenting personally his letter of resignation, to a startled president, who still on his underwear. Said the general: “From what I gather, you are saying here that my government is shit.”

Few people know or remember that Simonsen was the

president of the ill-fated Mobral (Fundação Movimento Brasileiro de Alfabetização — Foundation Brazilian Movement of Alphabetization) from 1970 to 1974. With a college diploma in civil engineering and another in economy, he became the proverbial sage that every administration consulted in times of crisis.

From his post at Fundação Getúlio Vargas he became the most influential man in Brazil as far as economic policies were concerned, a guru everybody wanted to hear though not necessarily to heed. But he had also profound knowledge of music, mathematics and chess. In his book *Ensaaios Analíticos* (Analytical Essays), he demonstrated how easy it was for him to move from quanta physics to music, from philosophy to mathematics and show the relationship and links among these disciplines.

It was at the end of 1993 that he discovered he had lung cancer caused by a life of chain-smoking. According to his own calculations (for him numbers could explain everything), smoking 2 or 3 packs a day for 40 years, he puffed on 800,000 cigarettes. “To have cancer, is no cause for shame,” he said matter-of-factly. After chemotherapy left him bald he didn’t prevent photographers from taking his pictures and he didn’t stop smiling. For a time it seemed that the cancer was in remission. It was a mirage. In the last few months he had been unconscious most of the time.

He defended until the end a monetary system similar to the one adopted in Argentina in which the currency is linked to the dollar in a way that the government cannot irresponsibly print more money whenever it needs it. He dreamed with a country entirely bound by the constraints of a global economy. He was the brightest economist of all, but he had a hard time dealing with politics and the realities of daily life.

PAULO FRANCIS

“The function of a University is to create elites and not to give diplomas to down-and-outs.” “I am in favor of closing the Congress or any other of those institutions that prevent the country’s progress.” “I cannot imagine even one enemy. Nobody interests me enough for me to hate him.” These are some of the jewels left by Paulo Francis. Journalist Franz Paulo Trannin Heilborn, who always called himself Paulo Francis, died of a heart attack, in New York, at the age of 66. He loved to polemicize. Extremely bright, a confessed book worm who never finished university, he became famous practicing a journalism in which he accused first and then (if ever) tried to show proof.

Through his one-page column published Thursdays and Sundays in *O Estado de São Paulo* and *O Globo* and commentaries at Globo TV, he became the most famous, most feared and best-paid Brazilian journalist. From the 21st floor apartment at 47th St in Manhattan, where he lived, the staunchly conservative newspaperman was a machine gun always poised to fire. Not only with attacks, but also with praise, he sometimes would condense his thought in one-liners about anything his keen sense of observation and erudition saw fit, from a new Broadway show, to a book just released, from a Brazilian friend visiting New York to an old snippet of information he had seen three decades ago.

Born in Rio in a Jewish middle-class family he tried the stage (with little success) and also to be a theater reviewer before finding his vocation as a journalist. He started as a political columnist writing for Rio’s daily *Última Hora*. His left leanings with a Trotskyite flavor

made him a persona non-grata among the military dictatorship and didn't make him too many friends among the Stalin-worshipping left-wingers. In 1969 he helped to launch *O Pasquim*, an underground weekly paper that would enrage the military regime and introduce in the country a new form of journalism.

His articles at *Pasquim* would land him in jail four times before he decided to move to New York in 1971. He would never go back to live in Brazil and "from the top of the world" as he used to say, his *Weltanschauung* would little by little be drastically reformed. In his trajectory from left to right, he would also substitute his for the poor for the ridicule of blacks and poor people. Some of his old friends never forgave him for what they considered high treason.

For having denounced shady dealings at Petrobrás, the Brazilian state oil monopoly, he had been taken into court in New York by Joel Rennó, the company's president, who was suing Francis for damages of \$100 million. "They want to bankrupt me," he commented, knowing the costs of the American justice. "If anybody asked me to point to one single cause only of Paulo Francis death," said Jesus Cheda, his private doctor, "I would say that it was the stress caused by the legal problems that he was facing."

"The tendency of the intellectual is to be from the right," he wrote recently. "By definition, he is an elitist." Those who kept his friendship were always talking about his generosity, but Francis could be mean and was almost invariably arrogant. While interviewing American economist John Kenneth Galbraith for TV, the journalist started to give some lessons. Galbraith interrupted him with a "I would like to remind you that I am the professor here." Francis wrote a dozen books, but he didn't have the time or the guts to put on paper the great novel he dreamed of.

CHICO SCIENCE

Nobody had heard about the *mangue* beat four years ago. The rhythm — a mix of Northeastern styles like *ciranda*, *coco*, and *maracatu* with rock, funk and rap — was created by Francisco de Assis França, a former employee of a computer company, who then adopted the name of Chico (a common nickname for Francisco) Science. He called himself a "crab with a brain" and a "mangueboy", since it was in the *mangues* (swamps), *favelas* (shantytowns) and cheap *bordéis* (whorehouses) that he found his inspiration. Among the new generation of Northeastern composers, which includes Carlinhos Brown and Raimundos, Chico Science was the most articulate one

Influenced by his interest in computers — he made part of a videoclip for his first album on his Mac — the composer baptized his new sound as "*mangue* bit" to show the computer connection. But a journalist misspelled the name and *mangue* beat it became. He and his band Chico Science & Nação Zumbi had time to release only two albums: *Da Lama ao Caos* (From Mud to Chaos) in 1994 and *Afrociberdelia* in 1996. His international career got an impulse two years ago when his group opened the show for singer-composer Gilberto Gil at the Central Park in New York.

Chico Science's life ended on the fast lane with his speeding car hitting a pole on the road that links Recife do Olinda, in Pernambuco state. It is not clear whether the accident was caused by another vehicle. What is clear is that Brazil lost a very promising musical talent. Composer Arnaldo Antunes, who had invited Chico to be part of his next album, *Silêncio* (Silence) eulogized the friend:

"My admiration for his work is total. I identify myself with him. He was able to go much farther. His death has aborted a very generous slice of the MPB's (Música Popular Brasileira — Brazilian Popular Music) future.

JOAQUIM DOS SANTOS ANDRADE

He was a bohemian, a unrepentant womanizer, a powerful though hated union leader, but at the end, Joaquim dos Santos Andrade, better known as Joaquinzão was taken by his family to a public clinic for old people and left there to die. At his wake, three of his four children were present, but neither his official wife nor his extra-official mistress bothered to go. He was 70 when he died on February 5, of a stroke and pneumonia. In the obituaries his name came always linked to the word "*pelego*" (bosses's worthy), a supreme insult, describing him as a sychophant and a government's informer during the military dictatorship.

He became the symbol of *peleguismo*. For 22 years, starting in 1964, backed by the military regime, he was the president of the biggest Latin American Union, the Sindicato dos Metalúrgicos de São Paulo (São Paulo's Metalworkers Union).

Even when the political opening started and other leaders were encouraged to take his place, the Christian conservative was able to keep his position first by rigging elections and then making an unholy alliance with the PCB (Partido Comunista Brasileiro — Brazilian Communist Party).

In 1986, he created the CGT (Central Geral dos Trabalhadores — General Confederation of Workers) that he presided until 1989. "At beginning he was tainted by his connection with the military regime, but later he became one of the leaders of the democratic transition," said Luiz Antonio de Medeiros, president of Força Sindical, one of the three Brazilian workers' federations.

Just before dying, Joaquinzão declared: "I wasn't a good husband or a good father. I wasted my life with unionism and women." The rumors that he received big money to avoid strikes, however, seem unfounded. He died poor, leaving to his family not more than a modest house and a little ranch.

VICENTE MATHEUS

As NY Yankees catcher Yogi Berra, Vicente Matheus had a knack to twist sentences and mangle grammar in a peculiar and memorable way. Among his most famous utterings are: "Whoever goes out in the rain gets burned", "Sócrates (a soccer player) is unsalable, unnegotiable, and useless," and "I thank Antarctica for the *braminhas* it sent us." Antarctica and Brahma are the two biggest breweries in Brazil. *Braminha* means a little beer. The sentence is the equivalent to saying, "I thank Pepsi for sending us some cokes."

Starting in 1959, on and off, Matheus, the legendary and folkloric character, was ten times president of São Paulo's Sport Club Corinthians, the most popular soccer team in the country next to Rio's Flamengo. But at his funeral on February 10 the only player present was Neto. The present board of directors seem to have forgotten the popular leader. It was under his helm that the team ended a fast of 23 years for a title and became São Paulo's champion in 1977.

It was again during his presidency that Corinthians won in 1990 its only nationwide championship ever. Matheus, 88, died of pneumonia at the Instituto do Coração (Heart Institute) in São Paulo.

Still Waiting

Brazil's 1988 constitutional revision determined the demarcation of all indigenous territories in Brazil by 1993. The international community applauded the measures and there was hope that the Brazilian Indians would finally have their own land. Four presidents and almost ten years later, 291 Indian territories out of the total 559 still await formal demarcation. Ironically, most demarcations occurred under President Collor who was impeached in 1992. President Fernando Henrique Cardoso has been a disappointment on this matter.

BETO BORGES AND GILLES COMBRISSEON *

On October 5, 1988, Brazil wrote a new Constitution, which replaced that of 1967, starting a new chapter in the history of this country, after 20 years of military dictatorship. The new Constitution gave special emphasis to human rights and instituted very positive policies, such as the guarantee of indigenous people's rights. Article 231, specially, recognized both the cultural and territorial rights of indigenous peoples based on their traditional heritage. It acknowledged and established their right to permanently live on their traditional territories, including the exclusive use of the natural resources necessary for securing their cultural integrity and welfare. The formal protection against the invasion of their territories was also inscribed in the new Constitution.

To the enthusiasm of indigenous peoples and sectors of Brazilian society in solidarity with their cause, article 67 of the new Constitution ordered the demarcation of all indigenous territories in Brazil within the following five years. Brazil was applauded internationally and it was hoped that its historic debt to the indigenous peoples living within its national borders was going to be resolved. Five years later, however, less than half of all indigenous territories had been demarcated. The Brazilian government failed to uphold its constitutional decision: demarcate all indigenous territories by October 1993.

Today, almost ten years after the 1988 constitutional revision, 291 indigenous territories out of the total 559 still await formal demarcation. Brazil has had four presidents in these past ten years. Ironically, most demarcations occurred under President Collor who was impeached in 1992. In only two years of government, Collor delineated the boundaries of 58 territories and finalized the demarcation of another 112, including the Yanomami territory, totaling more than 125 million acres. President Itamar Franco legalized 55 territories in two years of government. A general optimism followed the victory of President Fernando Henrique Cardoso given his political history and academic profile. Neverthe-

less, his government has so far fallen short from that of Collor's achievement, having delineated the boundaries of 30 territories and finalized the demarcation of another 46, about 46.5 million acres. Almost ten years and four presidents after the Constitution of 1988, 52 % of the indigenous territories still need to be demarcated and article 67 has yet to be achieved.

This slow progress in demarcating indigenous lands was further aggravated in January 1996 when President Cardoso signed Decree 1775 into law. Written and proposed by Minister of Justice, Nelson Jobim, the decree introduced the so-called principle of contradictory within the administrative procedure for demarcating indigenous lands. It provides a legal mechanism for those who also claimed access to indigenous lands to appeal against their demarcation, giving a chance for commercial interests, such as ranchers, miners, and loggers, to present their case. Despite strong opposition both in Brazil and abroad, Nelson Jobim defended the decree as necessary to adjust and expedite the demarcation process and Fernando Henrique Cardoso guaranteed that no reduction of indigenous lands was going to take place. In a speech before the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, Jobim announced that the government's intent was to implement "without obstacles our objective of regularizing all indigenous lands in Brazil." He acknowledged the financial support from the World Bank Rainforest Trust Fund and the G-7 countries, but has been incapable of utilizing these funds because of the obstacles he created.

Contrary to expediting the demarcation of indigenous territories, the introduction of Decree 1775 has delayed it even further. According to FUNAI (The National Indian Foundation), there were 531 contestations against 83 different indigenous areas. Nelson Jobim dismissed most of these, except for 8 areas on which he ordered further evaluation by FUNAI, including the controversial case of the Raposa/Serra do Sol territory in Roraima. Adding the number of indigenous areas that were not contested to those contested but rejected by Jobim gives a total of 148 indigenous areas that technically should be ready for final demarcation. However,

the document that outlines the administrative steps to execute Decree 1775 (*Portaria* no. 14) requires a lot of extra documentation in the process of identifying areas traditionally inhabited by indigenous peoples. This has created a serious obstacle within the demarcation process and opened a dangerous potential for the reduction of indigenous territories throughout the country. Since Decree 1775 was implemented, no new indigenous area has been identified or demarcated.

Last December 24, the situation deteriorated even further when Nelson Jobim ordered the reduction of the Raposa/Serra do Sol indigenous territory. His decision favored the interests of local ranchers and miners who have illegally invaded this indigenous area. It sets a very dangerous precedent by allowing commercial interests to invade indigenous lands that have been guaranteed under Article 231 of the Brazilian Constitution. If his decision goes into effect, it may lead to the reduction of other indigenous areas in Brazil. After the end of the military dictatorship, this is the first time that the government orders an indigenous territory to be reduced.

This overall stagnation and potential for the reduction of indigenous lands only accentuates the already pitiful reality of indigenous peoples in Brazil. Invasions of indigenous lands continue to increase, causing the destruction and pollution of the natural resource base on which they rely for physical and cultural survival. Invasions also continue to spread infectious diseases and generate violence. In 1994 and 1995 alone, there were 75 reported cases of indigenous people murdered, mostly as a result of land conflicts. The federal government has done little to curtail these invasions and FUNAI is incapable of delivering much needed assistance for indigenous communities. Currently, several indigenous groups face serious threats.

Guarani-Kaiowa: Despair and Suicide

Perhaps the starkest example of the crisis of Indian lands in Brazil is the case of the Guarani-Kaiowa territory in the southern state of Mato Grosso do Sul, where over the past decade, over 300 Indians have taken their own lives in despair. Poverty, expulsion from traditional territories in recurrent disputes with wealthy ranchers, and the overpopulation of the remaining lands are the main factors leading this unique people to slow extinction. Today, over 22,500 Guarani-Kaiowas are pressed into a fraction of their original territory — 22 recognized areas near Dourados, a city on the Paraguayan border. In one village called Bororo, 3,700 are packed into 3,600 hectares, a veritable death sentence for a people accustomed to utilizing vast expanses of land for their sustenance.

Several areas of the Guarani-Kaiowa territory have been the site of intense and at times lethal struggles for land. The area of Sete Cerros, for example, was heavily contested by an agro-industrial company by the name of Sattin Agropecuária S.A., which has made full use of Decree 1775 and sued the state, claiming title to the land. As a result, Minister of Justice Jobim has targeted the area for revision, along with seven other indigenous areas.

In another village known as Jarara, the Guarani-Kaiowa reoccupied their lands in March 1996, stating that "We are returning to our Jarara village because we Indians cannot live anymore on the periphery of the city because we cannot even practice our cultural traditions." The 247 Guarani-Kaiowa-Nandeva people had seen their 590 hectare reserve officially legalized under Brazilian law. But, in 1993, Miguel Subtil de Oliveira, a rancher who also claimed the area, succeeded in having a judge issue a restraining order forbidding the Indians from occupying their own land. After a campaign of support from Brazilian entities and international NGOs combined with the threat of more suicides, Judge Theotônio Costa, of the Regional Federal Court in São Paulo, revoked his previous ruling authorizing the eviction

of Jarara's inhabitants.

Recently, in another village known as Sucuriy, 53 Guarani-Kaiowas were illegally evicted by armed civilians. The 14 Guarani-Kaiowa families are now camped on the roadside about two kilometers outside Maracaju, and awaiting a judicial decision that would allow them to return to the area, which ironically has already been demarcated.

Yanomami: Invasions and Death

Brazil's government suspended its helicopter surveillance operation of the Yanomami area on March 6, 1996, and as a result, thousands of gold prospectors have reinvaded Yanomami territory in Northern Brazil. Thirty five clandestine airstrips have been chopped out of the forest. There is fear that at any moment, Venezuela will also expel several thousand more Brazilian gold miners who crossed the border as the result of earlier operations; many would simply re-settle in Yanomami territory in Brazil.

On June 5, 1996, frustrated with government inaction towards the invasion of his people's territory, Yanomami leader Davi Kopenawa sent a letter across the world opening with: "We Yanomami send a message to you. We are very worried that our Yanomami area is being again invaded by gold miners...." At the time he wrote his letter, there were a total of 7,000 illegal gold miners in Yanomami territory; 3,000 in Brazil and 4,000 in Venezuela.

The dimension of the problem caused by the illegal presence of prospectors in Yanomami lands can be better understood from the indigenous people's perspective: the mere presence of a single foreigner can mean the spread of plague, and widespread death. For the Yanomami, the lack of immunity to ailments introduced by miners, the rise in cases of malaria, and their dependence on natural resources poisoned by mining activities has predictably resulted in numerous deaths. In April 1996 alone, 12 Yanomami died from malaria. In addition, the lawless atmosphere of the mining camps has been characterized by prostitution and gun violence. In November of 1996, three Yanomami and one miner died following a conflict in Erico village, in Roraima state. In this case, the information got out. Many more conflicts end in death and are never investigated.

The Comissão Pro-Yanomami, a Brazilian NGO that works closely with the Yanomami, had managed to achieve good results in improving health through its work in the area throughout the last two decades. These good results will be completely undermined if the invasion is allowed to continue. In other areas, various NGOs and government programs are running into similar difficulties.

Following a public reading of Kopenawa's letter the same month it was sent, Jobim pledged to allocate a sum of \$ 5 million to resume the Free Jungle Operation, aimed at removing miners from indigenous areas. At this point, however, it would be accurate to say that the Yanomami and indigenist forces internationally are losing faith in government promises. What is needed is concrete action.

Nambikwara: Loggers and Miners Attack

In Mato Grosso state, the Nambikwara people are under attack. In November, a group of miners and loggers ambushed, tied up, and beat at least 14 people. This occurred inside the Sarare indigenous area. The village was looted, money was taken, even the school was ransacked. People who support the Nambikwara have received death threats. As a further example of government non-compliance, a clause in the 1992 Loan Agreement for the Mato Grosso Natural Resource Management Project between Brazil and the World Bank conditioned release of \$200 million in Bank funds on removal of illegal miners in the same area.

The Nambikwara people became known internationally



when Brazil's military government decided to build a road (BR 364) from Cuiabá to the western outpost of Porto Velho in the heavily colonized state of Rondônia. Yet again, uncontrolled colonization brought epidemics, violence and death, this time upon the Nambikwara. They were relocated, and decimated. The few that remained fought to return to their traditional territory, and in 1990, the government finally registered 67,420 hectares as the Sarare indigenous area.

Removing invaders from indigenous lands in Brazil is a lesson in bureaucracy, and at times even corruption. The Nambikwara are a case in point. In 1991 the Nucleus for Indigenous Rights (NDI), a Brazilian NGO, sued the government on behalf of the Nambikwara for failing to remove 6,000 illegal gold miners working in the Sarare area. They had wrought devastation to the riverine environment by practicing placer mining — illegal in Brazil as provided by article 231 of the Brazilian constitution. In addition, the mining camps had spread venereal diseases and malaria throughout the area. On December 18, 1991, a federal judge in Brasília ordered Funai and the Brazilian Environmental Institute (IBAMA) to dislodge the miners.

By April, nothing had been done. The NDI and various other Brazilian NGOs notified the World Bank of this, since it followed a policy of indigenous land protection as part of the development project it planned to lend out money for in Mato Grosso. It then became clear that state governor Jaime Campos had made an illegal deal with the miners to the effect that they should maintain their invasion until the date of the loan approval. The World Bank then conditioned its loan on the removal of miners and the environmental clean up, and pushed back the date of effectiveness to 1992. In 1996, even though invasions were still continuing, the Bank disbursed half of its loan to the state of Mato Grosso.

Macuxi: Disappointment

Twenty five years ago, Jacir José Macuxi and a few other prominent Macuxi initiated the struggle to demarcate their 1.6 million hectare territory (Raposa/Serra do Sol) in northern Brazil, on the torrid savannas of the Venezuelan border area in the state of Roraima. There too, gold miners and ranchers had taken hold and were spreading *Falciparum malaria*, a deadly strain of the disease that was steadily killing off the people.

"Many people fell sick," says de Souza. "My wife was one of them, and she died."

In 1995, the government even proposed to build a dam inside the area. Then, backed by state government leaders, the invaders of Raposa Serra do Sol voted to form a new municipality inside the indigenous area.

After the passing of Decree 1775, Raposa/Serra do Sol became one of the most heavily contested instances of Indian land. Its location on the Venezuelan border makes it strategic land for the Brazilian military, always fearful of foreign encroachments on its territory. "Nationalizing" the border regions, or sponsoring the settlement of "Brazilians" as opposed to indigenous people — who lie outside the national project — has for a long time been a policy of the Brazilian state.

Knowing the dangerous changes instituted by Decree 1775, the world waited anxiously for a final decision from Jobim on this key area, which would set a precedent for others. On December 24, the determination fell like an ax: Jobim, in a decision taken with President

Slavery lives

Brazilian Indians who learned the Portuguese and received some schooling are being expelled from their lands and forced to live in servitude closer to the cities in the South of Brazil. And they don't enjoy the compassionate support offered the Amazon Indians.

WILSON VELLOSO

In theoretical history, the one you learn in school, African slavery was abolished in Brazil on May 13, 1888, by a law of the Chamber of Deputies of the Empire of Brazil. Thus were some 800,000 black Brazilians, most of them illiterate and unskilled, thrown out of the miserable *senzalas* (slave quarters) where they had been lodged by their *patrões* (slave owners) and joined the army of jobless in that still young country of 14 million inhabitants.

Many Brazilian anthropologists and economists consider the May 13 law a cruel and meaningless political gesture. It caused unnumbered deaths and untold suffering among the new free citizens, until then taken care by their owners as the valuable assets they were.

Chronologically, slavery in Brazil had lasted since the first blacks kidnapped from African Guinea were introduced in the country in 1532, thirty-two years after the land was claimed as a Portuguese colony.

In the intervening five centuries, a comparatively small number of Brazilian blacks have improved their lot somewhat but the great mass — nobody knows for sure how many — live mainly in the *favelas* (shanty towns) of most bigger Brazilian cities, still illiterate, still untrained, still hoping to draw the grand prize of life's lottery and become great soccer players or popular entertainers.

Instead of solving the problems of the poor and the blacks, a long succession of Brazilian governments have, since the generals proclaimed a Republic in 1889, used all sorts of stratagems and ruses to make the numbers of blacks seem smaller than they actually are. Under Brazilian legislation, census enumerators just ignore the numbers. The official rationale is that counting whites, blacks, mixed-bloods, Orientals, etc., would be "racism" and cost too much. So they just don't count them.

The Africans were introduced in Brazil because the Indians then living in the territory were still in the polished Stone Age, were mostly nomads, and lived off the fauna and flora. They were no farmers, and balked at learning white man's skills.

It is a melancholy irony that the Brazilian Indians who had the most contact with the colonists, learned their language and received some schooling, nowadays are being expelled from their lands and often forced to live in servitude. Not in the North, in the rain forests of the Amazon, but much closer to the "centers of civilization" in the South.

At least, the Northern Indians of Brazil enjoy some compassionate support in America and in Europe, both concerned with the destruction of the rainforest. But the three branches of the Guarany nation, the Kaiowás, the Nandévas and the M'byas, supposed to be wards of the Brazilian State, are being exploited just as the blacks were in the 18 and 19 centuries. Says Maria Vitor Guarany, president of the Kaguatoka Association of Displaced Indians: "Over 7,000 Indians are working in the charcoal mills and the sugarcane processing plants (in Brazil). They live in state of slavery. This is the integration that the whites offer us. But we, Indians, the first owners of this land, cannot accept this humiliation and inhumane integration."

The Kaiowás number approximately 25,000 people and live in the state of Mato Grosso (thick woods) do Sul, near the Bolivian and the Paraguayan borders. There are Guarany also living in the Province of Corrientes, Argentina. The total Indian population of Brazil is estimated at 250,000 from a grand total of some 3 million at the time of the discovery.

For the Guarany, land is the supreme value. But Mato Grosso do Sul is fast losing the right of calling itself that way as the big trees are being decimated by timbermen and ranchers. For a long time, the Brazilian Indian Protective Services (SPI) had the reputation of being faithful to its mission, and of rather losing their men than killing a single Indian. The situation changed in recent years as the SPI was superseded by a mostly bureaucratic entity, the Indian Foundation, FUNAI, that illegally sold timber belonging to the Kaiowás.

Deprived of the use of the forest and rivers for hunting and fishing, the Kaiowás have been forced into virtual slavery, working in sugarcane plantations or in the mills where the sugarcane is ground to make molasses then processed to manufacture sugar, or distilled to obtain alcohol used in the beverage industries.

The work regime is that of serfs, long hours under the sun or rain, lodged in rickety improvised *galpões* (sheds), eating whatever food the foremen and owners feed them, paid ridiculously low wages, and forced to stay on the job three months as a minimum. Often these Indians have to walk more than 70 miles to reach their own homes, outside the precinct of the *canaviais* (cane plantations) and *engenhos* (mills and distilleries).

Survival for Tribal Peoples, a London organization is coordinating international awareness concerning the wicked treatment of the Guarany-Kaiowás on their inexorable route to extinction. If you want more information you can contact them directly: Survival, 11-15 Emerald Street, London WC1N 3QL, United Kingdom, Telephone: 0171-242-1441, Fax: 0171-242-1771.

Fernando Henrique Cardoso, ordered Funai to cut a chunk out of Raposa Serra do Sol the size of Rhode Island (200,000 hectares of Indian land) for some 14 ranchers to whom the National Institute for Colonization and Agrarian Reform (INCRA) has been issuing titles since 1982. It also calls for creating enclaves of non-Indian land in the middle of the indigenous reserve for five decaying gold boom towns — a blatant invitation to violence. This decision sends a clear message across the Brazilian frontier: Never mind the constitutional right indigenous peoples in Brazil have to their traditional territories; it's open season on Indian lands.

The Mahogany Battle

Indian territories in the Amazon are often the last repositories of precious woods and other natural resources. Knowing this, illegal loggers do much of their work on Indian lands. For the Parakana people, who inhabit the Apyterewa indigenous area in southern Pará state, particularly for youths, contact with loggers has translated into dependency, alcoholism, and exploitation as the result of the illegal smuggling of mahogany.

Six months ago, the Brazilian state issued a federal decree that imposed strict restrictions on the logging of mahogany. But the Amazon is big, and the enforcement of such legislation daunting.

The situation of the Parakana was denounced by Rio's daily *O Globo*. Dwellers of the municipality of São Félix do Xingu spoke with reporters. In the exploitation scheme, the Parakana get food and alcoholic beverages to locate stands of mahogany. Some have used firearms provided by the woodcutters to drive away Funai officials and other persons who may try to stop the smuggling. It is estimated that at least 15% of the 980,000-hectare indigenous area was invaded by woodcutters, miners, farmers, and settlers. The sawmills that process the smuggled mahogany are only 100 meters away from the airport of São Félix do Xingu. Funai doesn't have the staff or resources necessary to do anything about the situation.

The Parakana Indians, however, have organized to help federal agencies in the task of curbing invasions and preventing the exploitation of the hardwood. In 1993, they destroyed machines and other tools of the Perachi timber company as a means to intimidate invaders. This timber company, one of the largest in the region, defied the public powers by illegally exporting mahogany and, in the process, devastated 5,000 hectares of indigenous territory to open pasture areas.

The longer it takes for all indigenous territories to be demarcated, the situation of indigenous communities deteriorates and Brazil gets farther away from upholding its Constitution. The delay in securing the human and traditional rights of indigenous peoples aggravates their problems and continues to encourage the pillage of their territories by the usual bunch of criminal cartels that operate throughout the country. Controversial policies like Decree 1775 intensify a political impasse, which discredits the federal government and may cost the reduction of in-

igenous territories not yet demarcated. As time goes by, the violation of indigenous rights increases this gap between apathy and justice, giving way to sad statistics, which seem to perpetuate the historic debt towards the first inhabitants of Brazil. Beyond chapters of a constitution, we need to arrive at a reality where indigenous rights are indeed secured and their cultural wealth considered a contribution instead of an obstacle.

Sources: Instituto Socioambiental, Comissão Pro-Yanomami, CIMI, CAPOIB, and Amazon Coalition.

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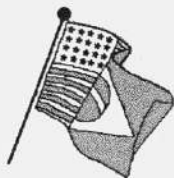
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Firing people is always unpleasant... But the company is bloated... The crisis is worse than we thought. The only way is to dry up the excess work force. I want you to talk to them. Wagner is too uncouth to deal with this stuff. Moreover, the company doesn't have to justify the firings. All you have to do is to pay and send away. You'd better start getting used to this.

Part 1 of 2

JÚLIO CÉSAR MONTEIRO MARTINS



- Mais um uisquinho?
- Não, eu tenho que voltar lá pro escritório.
- Eu soube que o Wagner andou falando pro Geraldo da Embratel que ele é sócio da empresa...
- O Wagner?... Deixa ele...
- Deixa ele não, Ramiro! Que porra é essa do Wagner? Ele é só um funcionário nosso.
- Você se lembra do almoço que nós tivemos no Alcazar há uns dois anos, na época que a empresa estava numa merda federal, logo depois que o Collor assumiu e fez aquele confisco? Pois é, naquele almoço você prometeu quinze por cento do lucro líquido da empresa pro Wagner se ele continuasse com a gente. A Souza Cruz estava bancando a transferência dele pra lá, lembra?
- Eu devia estar de porre...
- De porre e apavorado. A gente não tinha saída. A empresa não podia nem de longe cobrir a proposta da Souza Cruz. Ai você perguntou o quê que ele queria pra ficar. Ele falou em vinte por cento. Ficou por quinze. Lá fora você ainda me disse que tinha ficado barato. E é só por isso que ele está lá até hoje. Ficou apalavrado contigo. E ele está até agora esperando os quinze por cento dele...
- E você diz o quê pra ele?
- Qualquer coisa... Digo que não teve lucro. Que o lucro está sendo reinvestido na empresa, mostro uns números lá...
- E ele acredita?
- Ele acredita no que ele quer acreditar... O Wagner está ficando velho... Tem medo de sair de lá agora. O mercado estreitou muito. Acho que no fundo ele já nem conta mais com essa grana. O que ele quer é se enganar que é sócio e poder repetir isso pra uns e outros... Pra nós, não altera nada. Não mexendo no bolso, está bom.
- Não, Ramiro, não está bom não. A empresa cresceu. Os tempos são outros. A gente tem que cortar as asas do Wagner. A qualquer hora ele pode querer contestar uma decisão nossa, e aí? Ele pode até ser insuflado por um concorrente. Sabe como é, ele não prima pela inteligência...

— Mas é ele quem mantém a casa em ordem, funcionando. Se ele se aborrecer e sair, você vai fazer o trabalho dele? Pé-de-boi? Não vai, né? Eu também não vou. Então, deixa ele pensar que também é dono. Não fede nem cheira... E até os outros funcionários respeitam mais...

— É, eles morrem de medo dele... Cara feia aquele sacana sabe fazer...

— Então, pra que causar um desgosto pro cara? Ele é capaz até de ter um infarto.

— Derrame... O Wagner tem mais cara de derrame...

— Deixa o cara pensar o que quiser... No fundo ele sabe que aquela conversa não valeu.

— Você só está defendendo ele porque ele também é vascaíno, não é não?

— Pode até ser... Vascaíno é tudo boa gente... Sabe o que é, João Paulo, é que capataz igual a ele está difícil de achar... E custa caro. Ele custa barato...

— Falou tudo... Capataz... Tudo bem, vamos deixar como está pra ver como é que fica. Mas eu estou confiando em você que ele não vai trazer problema pra empresa...

— Deixa comigo. Eu vou nessa.

— Está falado, meu irmão.

— Cláudia, você está muito ocupada?

— Não, já estou terminando. Já está quase na hora do almoço... Vamos almoçar juntos?

— Não posso. Vou pedir pro boy buscar um sanduíche pra mim. Estou cheio de serviço... Mas bem que eu gostaria...

— Você não deve ficar comendo sanduíches, Alexandre. Se você deixar, eles te roubam todos os horários de almoço.

— Eu sei. Mas depois da bronca que o Seu Wagner me deu ontem, eu fiquei apavorado...

— É bom ir se acostumando.

— Eu queria te convidar pra passar o domingo comigo. A gente podia ir ver a exposição do Chagall no Museu de Belas Artes...

— Mas você não tem análise aos domingos?

— Eu saí da análise. A grana está curta. Não deu mais.

— O seu analista não dá um jeitinho pra esperar a sua situação melhorar?

— Eu acho até que daria. Mas eu fico com vergonha de pedir. É o trabalho dele, não é?... Além disso, eu não tenho perspectivas de melhorar a minha situação tão cedo.

— Vai te fazer muita falta a análise?

— Vai. No momento vai... Tem alguns nós que eu precisava desatar com ele. Mas acho que vou ter que desatar sozinho...

— Que tipo de "nós"?

— Ah... Por exemplo... Há muitos anos atrás eu deixei de forçar as situações. De "dar murro em ponta de faca", entende? E resolvi deixar o destino fluir. Resolvi apostar na sabedoria da própria vida. Mas eu ando muito angustiado porque eu não consigo ver nenhuma lógica nos fatos da minha vida. Tudo me parece errático, sem direção. Nada é cumulativo. Tudo é acidental, e as coisas não se articulam. Não têm um sentido de conjunto. São relacionamentos que não dão certo e não deixam nada. São empregos mal pagos, dos quais eu acabo sempre sendo demitido por "contenção de gastos", ou sem explicação nenhuma. É como se eu estivesse sempre começando do zero e parando antes de contar até três. Cada evento é isolado dos outros, e os anos passam, e a minha vida parece estagnada...

— Mas o país está estagnado... A sua vida é só um reflexo disso.

— Mas eu não sou o país. Eu sou eu.

— Você se engana. Você é o país. Todos nós somos. Todos dançamos a música que o país toca...

— Eu gostaria de pensar como você. Me facilitaria as coisas. Mas eu acredito que o destino individual é mais forte que as circunstâncias históricas. Cada vida tem a sua lógica, em qualquer lugar, em qualquer tempo.

— Mas você não acabou de dizer que a sua vida não apresenta nenhuma lógica?

— Pois é... É isso o que eu não entendo... Aparentemente, eu tenho vivido como um cachorro correndo atrás do próprio rabo... Mas talvez o meu destino tenha uma lógica mais complexa, mais sutil, que a minha razão não consegue captar. Talvez esse conjunto de fracassos e de frustrações signifique alguma coisa, ou leve a algum tipo de conhecimento, de sabedoria...

— Mas por que eles têm que "significar"? Por que o destino tem

que fazer algum sentido? Talvez seja só isso mesmo: uma seqüência de acontecimentos banais, ilógicos, irrelevantes e irracionais.

— Você acha isso?

— Por que não? Talvez a sua vida seja feita de espasmos, não de gestos. E é você quem quer descobrir em cada espasmo o sentido de um gesto, e fica frustrado porque não consegue. A idéia de "destino" deve ter servido muito bem para os gregos quando eles a inventaram, mas não serve mais pra nós. Olhe em volta, Alexandre. Você vê algum sentido? Você está procurando axila em cobra...

— Que expressão engraçada... Axila em cobra...

— Cala a boca que o Seu Wagner chegou!

— O que é que vocês estão conversando aí?

— Nada não, Seu Wagner. Eu vim apanhar o grampeador...

— Que grampeador o quê... Você está é ocioso. Vou mandar passar mais trabalho pra você...

— Mas eu já estou cheio de trabalho...

— Então por quê não está trabalhando? Vai lá fazer o seu serviço. O taxímetro está rodando... No final do mês você vai querer o seu salário bonitinho... Estou cansado de alimentar vagabundo... E você, mocinha? Por quê não está trabalhando?

— Mas eu estou...

— Não me conteste, senão vai pro olho da rua. Tem gente assim querendo trabalhar... E é pra todo mundo aqui ouvir: eu não quero mais conversa fiada dentro da empresa. Quer conversar, conversa lá fora. Se não tiver trabalho, finja que trabalha, que é pra não atrapalhar os outros... E quem não estiver satisfeito, que peça as contas...

— Posso ir pra minha mesa?

— Eu estou de olho em você, hein rapaz...

— Sim senhor.

— Você é louco, Alexandre? Como é que você fala uma coisa dessas dentro do elevador?

— Mas só tinha nós dois e o cabineiro...

— E você queria mais? Você quer me comprometer? Quer que eu seja demitida?

— Eu só disse que notei a maneira como o Doutor Ramiro olhou pra você...



— E isso é coisa que se diga? A empresa toda vai pensar que eu estou dando mole pra ele...

— Mas você sorriu de volta pra ele...

— E o que é que você queria que eu fizesse? Uma careta? Além disso, eu detesto ser espionada... Acho que você anda confundindo as coisas. Está ficando muito dependente de mim, pegando no meu pé... Isso me enjoa. Assim você me atrapalha a vida... E além disso, ninguém aqui pode saber que a gente anda se encontrando lá fora. Ninguém, ouviu?...

— Tá legal. Tudo bem. Eu não vou mais pegar no seu pé. Mas você não vai aceitar a cantada do Doutor Ramiro não, vai?

— Isso é problema meu, Alexandre. E você não tem nada a ver com isso...

— Mas aquele homem é horrível, com aquele barrigão, aquele bigode que parece sujo... E além disso, ele é um boçal... Quando o time do Vasco vence, ele entra aqui gritando: Vasco! Vasco!

— Fala mais baixo, Alexandre... Você está me deixando nervosa... Eu nunca pensei que você fosse ter acessos de ciúme...

— Mas eu não estou com ciúme.

— Claro que está. Agora, escute bem! Se você não se importa em perder o emprego, eu me importo. Eu preciso desse salário, senão eu não tenho como sobreviver. E está difícil mesmo arranjar trabalho lá fora. Eu dei a maior sorte em conseguir este aqui e não estou disposta a colocá-lo em risco por sua causa. Agora, volte para a sua mesa antes que apareça alguém. Tenho muito trabalho pra fazer.

— Você vai pra cama com aquele velho nojento só pra manter o seu emprego?

— Eu não disse isso...

— Vai, ou não vai?

— Não sei, Alexandre. Quer que eu seja sincera? Acho que se for preciso, eu vou. Faça qualquer coisa. Eu sou uma sobrevivente. Vou colocar até uma bandeirinha do Vasco na minha mesa... Ele é o chefe... Ele é da alta cúpula da empresa. Dá pra você entender?

— Dá... Mas isso é horrível.

— Isso aqui é Brasil, não é a Suíça... Se bem que na Suíça hoje em dia não deve ser tão diferente assim... O ser humano é o mesmo em todo lugar... Você leu *O Amante*, da Marguerite Duras?

— Eu vi o filme...

— Pois é. Aquela menina era uma sobrevivente. Como eu. E não foi tão

ruim assim... Ela acabou até se apaixonando pelo chinês rico...

— Só falta agora você se apaixonar pelo Doutor Ramiro...

— Se ele me tratar bem, quem sabe?... Tem um monte de funcionárias daqui atrás dele, sabia?

— Claro. Ele é da alta cúpula da empresa...

— Exatamente, Alexandre. Você está começando a entender as coisas. Agora volta pra sua mesa, pelo amor de Deus...

— Wagner, aquela menina lourinha que está lá no setor de Processamento é estagiária ou contratada?

— A lourinha, a Cláudia, ela está recebendo, mas sem carteira assinada. A Tesouraria paga em dinheiro vivo, que é pra não configurar vínculo empregatício. O pessoal de lá quase todo recebe assim.

— Sei, mas ela é boa?

— Em que sentido, Ramiro?

— Ora, Wagner... Em que sentido pode ser? Ela é competente?

— Mais ou menos... São todos uns folgadões...

— É que eu estou precisando de uma pessoa comigo só pra cuidar dos contratos com as mineradoras. A Sandra não está dando conta de tudo sozinha... Além disso, a empresa está precisando dar um suporte melhor aos clientes grandes.

— Mas tem gente aqui mais capaz do que essa moça pra fazer isso. Tem o Durval, que é muito tarimbado...

— Não. Mulher é melhor pra esse negócio. O cliente prefere ouvir uma vizinha bonita, sabe como é...

— Bom, por mim tudo bem. Mando transferir a moça amanhã mesmo para a sua seção. Mas ela vai precisar ser bem orientada, porque a área dela é completamente diferente da...

— Pode deixar que eu mesmo oriento, Wagner. Diz só pra... Cláudia... não é... pra ela ir ao meu escritório logo que eu chegar. E não diga mais nada. Nem se é coisa boa ou ruim. Deixa ela ficar tensa um pouquinho...

— Mas, ô Ramiro, o negócio é sério mesmo ou é só pra...

— Ô vascaíno!

Que é isso? Vamos fazer bastante dinheiro pra bancar a volta do Bebeto da Espanha pro Vascão, hein? Topas?

— Claro, pô.

— Ô, ô, ô, o Bebeto é um terror!

— Se o Flamengo não contratar ele antes...

— Flamengo? O que que há, Wagner... O Flamengo está vendendo até gandula... Aquilo lá só tem ladrão. Daqueles bem safados, que ainda raspam o fundo do tacho... Nem daqui a vinte anos o Flamengo vai ter bala na agulha pra comprar ninguém.

— O Flamengo fez uma vaquinha e trouxe o Zico, lembra?

— Mas o Bebeto já é patrimônio do Vasco... Além disso, aquilo foi em outra época... O tempo passa, você sabia?

— É, a garotada agora só quer saber do vôlei...

— Que nada, isso passa também... Ô, ô, ô, o Bebeto é um terror! Ô, ô, ô...

— Quer um chopp também?

— Não, vou tomar um guaraná... Eu estou dura. Você paga pra mim?

— Um guaraná dá pra eu pagar. Pelo menos por enquanto. Sabe, aquela conversa que a gente teve hoje de manhã não me sai da cabeça...

— Ô, Alexandre, você cismou com essa história do Doutor Ramiro. Não tem nada a ver. Que idéia! Eu não quero mais falar nesse assunto...

— Espera aí. Só um pouquinho. Não é sobre o Doutor Ramiro que eu quero falar. É sobre você. Você tem inteligência, sensibilidade, cultura, princípios éticos... E de repente você me veio com aquela conversa de "sobrevivente", fazendo quase um elogio da prostituição.

— Olha, você está me ofendendo. Eu não falei nada sobre prostituição. Se você me ofender mais uma vez, eu largo você sozinho aqui na mesa...

— Desculpe... Eu nunca pensei em ofender você... É que você citou como exemplo a personagem da Marguerite Duras, a menina francesa em Saigon, que virou uma prostituta. Pelo menos no filme do Jean-Jacques Annaud...

— Você entende tudo errado, Alexandre. O ciúme está te deixando cego. Eu citei aquela personagem apenas num sentido simbólico, na medida em que ela demonstra que o ser humano é capaz de suportar, de superar qualquer coisa, e de transformar um sofrimento inevitável numa fonte de prazer. Só isso.

— Sei... Mas esse não era o caso da menina de *O Amante*, porque ali só



havia prazer. Ela jamais menciona qualquer sofrimento. Acho que você então escolheu o exemplo errado.

— É, pode ser... Um lapso literário...

— Ou quem sabe um lapso freudiano... Um ato falho.

— Eu já disse que te deixo falando sozinho aqui e vou embora...

— Está bem... Está bem... Desculpe novamente. Eu prometo que não toco mais nesse assunto. É que eu estou tentando te conhecer melhor.

— Está tentando da maneira errada.

— Tudo bem. Vamos falar de outra coisa. Você foi à exposição do Krajberg no MAM?

— Não, eu não tenho ido a exposições. Tenho ficado em casa lendo e acompanhando a "novela" da queda do Collor pela televisão.

— O que é que você está achando?

— Não sei. Acho que ele cai. Mas eu estou torcendo para que dez milhões de pequenos "collors" caiam com ele. Senão o país vai acabar em "pizza". Mas eu acho difícil que o país mude tão profundamente. O Brasil é safadinho mesmo...

— O que é que você está lendo?

— Um romance norte-americano chamado *Vox*, sobre relações sexuais pelo telefone.

— É possível isso?

— Sei lá. Pelo menos é seguro. Mas a conta do telefone deve vir altíssima no fim do mês, e sobre isso, é claro, o livro não fala nada.

— Cláudia, eu preciso te dizer uma coisa muito difícil pra mim... Eu cheguei à conclusão de que eu estou apaixonado por você.

— Ô, Alexandre... Que coisa bonita... Mas é triste também... Porque eu não estou apaixonada por você... E mesmo se estivesse, tenho que ser franca: este seria o pior momento para me apaixonar por um homem na sua situação.. Não dá... Seria o roto namorando o esfarrapado...

— Eu sei. Isso eu já entendi muito bem. Mas a verdade é que eu não estou conseguindo trabalhar com você por perto. Eu fico muito perturbado. Estou pensando em largar esse emprego e vender o carro. Eu quase não uso, porque eu não posso botar gasolina...

— Você vai "comer" o carro, e depois?... Quando o dinheiro do carro acabar?

— Eu não sei. Deixo por conta do destino.

— Lá vem você com essa coisa de "destino". Dá uma olhada nos classificados de empregos dos jornais... Lá está cheio de "destinos" empilhados em tijolinhos. "Destino" de desempregado hoje em dia é continuar desempregado. Use a sua razão. Não largue o emprego agora. Nós dois podemos ficar amigos e logo tudo vai ficar mais fácil pra você. Paixão dá e passa. É como uma intoxicação...

— Sabe, Cláudia, quando a gente está apaixonado e o objeto da paixão está ao alcance dos nossos olhos, das nossas mãos, e mesmo assim ele é inacessível, isto provoca um sentimento de inferioridade, de impotência, que é uma verdadeira tortura psicológica. Tudo o que a gente acredita que é, é colocado em xeque. A pessoa perde o respeito e a estima por si mesma. Você começa a se achar repugnante, e acaba por encarnar o personagem e a se tornar realmente repugnante. Eu não quero isso pra mim...

— Eu também não quero isso pra você. Mas tenha um pouco de paciência. Tudo vai se ajeitar. Você vai ver. As coisas vão mudar.

— Como assim?

— Não sei. Eu só sei que elas vão mudar, e que não vai demorar. É uma intuição... As minhas intuições não falham. Tenha paciência. Você promete?

— Eu vou tentar.

— Está combinado. Agora eu preciso ir pra casa. Não precisa você me acompanhar. Fica mais por aqui, se quiser.

— Eu vou ficar um pouco mais. Preciso pensar uma coisas.

— Tchau. Eu adoro você, meu amigo... Nunca se esqueça disso, tá?

— Como é, Wagner, falou com a moça?

— Vou falar agora.

— Manda ela vir e me esperar na recepção.

— Ô, Ramiro, eu não sei se ela vai querer sair de lá. Ela anda de caso com um funcionário novo lá do Processamento. Um tal de Alexandre. Achei que você devia saber disso antes...

— Ah, é? E daí? É muito jovem esse Alexandre?

— Não. Tem uns trinta e poucos

anos.

— Porra, com trinta e poucos anos e ainda comendo poeira nessa firma, deve ser meio retardado o rapaz. O caso dos dois é coisa séria?

— Não, paquera de trabalho. Nada sério.

— Bom. E como é que você sabe disso? Quem te contou?

— Ninguém. Eu tenho olho treinado pra essas coisas. Quem é do ramo percebe logo.

— Certo. Mas a gente vai dar um jeitinho nisso. Boa bola, Wagner. Aliás, por falar em bola, ontem à noite estive numa reunião com a diretoria do Vasco. A gente está fazendo um grupo de pressão em cima do nosso presidente, o Calçada, pra ele tirar o Roberto Dinamite como técnico do time, o que é que você acha?

— Acho que está na hora mesmo... Você falou disso pessoalmente com o Calçada?

— Pessoalmente, claro. Falei: olha o Dinamite já queimou o filme dele.

— E ele?

— Ele é político. Se sentir firmeza do pessoal, ele tira.

— Seria um bolão, hein? Aí muda tudo no time. É isso aí, estou torcendo por vocês.

— Vou te convidar um dia pra uma dessas reuniões. Vou te apresentar ao Calçada. Aí você nos dá uma força lá. Você é sócio eleitor do Vasco?

— Ainda não.

— Pois nós temos que providenciar isso.

— Se você conseguir isso, você tem o meu voto de olho fechado.

— Deixa comigo, Wagner. Agora manda a menina vir aqui. E lembre-se, não faça nenhum comentário. E pode fazer cara feia que é bom. Vamos dar um sustinho nela, depois um chá de cadeira, e ela entra aqui mansinha...

— Vou dizer assim: o Doutor Ramiro deseja a sua presença imediatamente na sala dele. Se ela perguntar pra quê, eu digo: ele tem uma comunicação a fazer à senhorita.

— Está ótimo. Ela vai se borrar nas calças... Traz a ficha dela também, curriculum, dados pessoais, essas coisas...

— É pra já.

— E Dinamite fora! Impeachment nele! Conto contigo lá. Campeão do Brasil ano que vem.

— Pode contar, Ramiro. Você já é o meu candidato pra presidente do Vasco. Vou lançar a campanha.

— Calma, ainda não está na hora. Mas a hora vai chegar... Deixa comigo.



— Secretária eletrônica. Que saco!... Alô, Alemão. Aqui é o Alexandre. Hoje é sexta-feira. São três horas da tarde. Eu estou telefonando do serviço. Tenho que falar rápido antes que me peguem no telefone. É o seguinte: eu estou precisando conversar com um amigo. Não dá pra você me pagar um chopp hoje à noite? É que eu estou duro. Te ligo de novo do orelhão às sete horas, tá? Tchau...

— Seu nome é Cláudia?

— Sim senhor.

— Muito bem, Cláudia. Eu pedi pro Wagner te transferir pro meu setor, porque eu estou sobrecarregado aqui. A firma está com algumas dificuldades, e nós estamos precisando fazer um remanejamento no quadro de funcionários. Vou precisar que você me ajude nisso, por enquanto.

— Como assim, "remanejamento"?

— Precisamos fazer algumas demissões. Pode ficar tranqüila que por enquanto você não está na lista. Depois eu vou te passar a lista e quero que você calcule os dias que a firma deve a cada um, converse com eles, pague e despache. Esse serviço é só por uma semana. Enquanto isso eu vou te treinando como contato da empresa com as mineradoras. Pra fazer um acompanhamento. São clientes importantes, você sabe... É claro que se você se adaptar a esse tipo de tarefa, eu vou providenciar um aumento no seu salário, porque a responsabilidade também vai ser maior. Isso é justo.

— E eu vou começar quando aqui?

— Agora mesmo. Já começou. Vou pedir pro Wagner providenciar uma mesa aqui pra você. Ele já me trouxe a lista do pessoal que vai sair. Você já pode ir calculando os valores a pagar. Não se esqueça de descontar as faltas. Toma aqui...

— Isabel, Henrique, Luís Ferreira, Assis, Alexandre... O Alexandre também?

— Quem?

— O Alexandre, o que trabalha comigo lá no Processamento...

— Bom, se está aí, é porque vai ser demitido também. São onze nomes, se não me engano. Algum problema?

— Não, não senhor...

— Pois é... Demitir é sempre uma coisa chata... Mas a empresa está inchada. Houve muita contratação no meio do ano. Nós avaliamos por cima o número de contratos novos. A crise

está pior do que nós pensávamos. Agora, o jeito é enxugar o pessoal que está sobrando. Eu quero que você fale com eles. O Wagner é muito grosso pra essas coisas. Eles podem achar que é alguma coisa pessoal do Wagner e vão querer reclamar comigo, e eu não tenho tempo pra esse tipo de conversa. Além disso, a empresa não precisa justificar demissões. É pagar e mandar embora. É bom você ir se acostumando.

— Sim, senhor.

— E, sabe como é, os outros que ficaram vão passar a te respeitar mais a partir de agora.

— Não ficar com medo de mim, o senhor quer dizer...

— Pois é. A vida é assim. Você já deve estar percebendo que eu estou preparando você para um futuro cargo de chefia.

— Mas por que eu?

— Eu tive boas referências a seu respeito... E simpatizei com você. Bom, quanto à questão das mineradoras, eu quero começar logo a instruir você sobre os negócios em andamento. Você tem algum compromisso para depois do expediente?

— Não.

— Ótimo. Então vamos jantar juntos e eu lhe explico tudo. Vou sair daqui lá pelas sete horas. Agora eu preciso trabalhar. Vai analisando esta lista, que eu quero esta gente toda na rua na segunda-feira, está certo?

— Está certo...

— Então até daqui a pouco, Claudinha.

— Eu adoro Copacabana! Essa decadência maravilhosa... As melhores e as piores pessoas do Brasil vêm viver aqui. Não é uma maravilha? Eu adoro sentar nestes bares da Avenida Atlântica e assistir ao movimento dos gringos, das putas, dos malandros, dos pivetes, da polícia... Copacabana é celestial!

— Você já mora aqui há quanto tempo, Alemão?

— Eu vim pra cá rapazinho... Já estou aqui há mais de quarenta anos. E vou morrer aqui, anônimo, no meu apartamento vagabundo, naquele edifício sórdido, sitiado pelos bicheiros, pelas putas, pelos bandidos... Vou morrer aqui, no meio da sacanagem coletiva que é Copacabana...

— Posso pedir mais um chopp?

— Claro! Você disse que precisava falar comigo...

— Pois é. Não é nada de mais não. É a vida.



— Porra, com a sua idade, e preocupado com a vida? Ah, se eu fosse um franguinho novo como você...

— Sabe, Alemão, você já me conhece há mais de

quinze anos. Pra você, eu não mudei. Pra você eu continuo sendo aquele garoto que você conheceu nos anos setenta. Mas o tempo passou. E pode parecer estranho, mas eu já não sou nenhum "franguinho", daqui a três anos faço quarenta, e a verdade é que nós dois estamos envelhecendo juntos. Eu sei que quando eu tiver sessenta anos e você oitenta e poucos, você ainda vai estar dizendo: "Ah, se eu fosse um franguinho como você..."

— É, eu acho que vou... Tá bom, garoto. Qual é o problema?

— Eu levei o fora de uma menina, uma colega de trabalho, e eu acho que eu estou apaixonado por ela...

— Apaixonado! Meu Deus, há quanto tempo eu não ouço esta palavra... Não sabia que as pessoas ainda se apaixonavam...

— Porra, fala sério, Alemão...

— É sério! ... Dá uma olhada aqui em volta... Olha quanta mulher bonita. Olha aquela mesa ali, três gatonas. Copacabana tem a maior densidade de mulher bonita por metro quadrado, no mundo...

— Bom, Copacabana tem a maior densidade humana por metro quadrado, no mundo...

— Mas é diferente. De dia você só vê as velhinhas levando os cachorrinhos para passear. Mas de noite o bairro desabrocha. As velhinhas vão ver televisão e as mulheres mais gostosas deste país vêm em bandos, em miríades, pra Avenida Atlântica, atrás dos gringos e dos otários, ou quem sabe até de algum amor... É um espetáculo bonito de se ver...

— Alemão, eu não quero "miríades" de mulheres para olhar. Eu quero uma, uma só mulher pra ficar comigo.

— Ué, mas você é tão jovem... Arranja uma namorada.

— E o que eu estou tentando. Mas eu não tenho grana pra ir aos lugares, trabalho de manhã à noite, não conheço ninguém, não tenho nenhum grupo social, e nem telefone em casa eu tenho... Como é que, nestas condições,

eu posso arranjar uma mulher?

— Ah, agora está explicado por que você anda se apaixonando por coleguinhas de trabalho. São as únicas mulheres que você encontra... O coração é vagabundo. Ele acaba se abrindo pra quem fica perto... Escuta, você é um cara inteligente, sensível, informado... Por que você não vai sozinho aos lugares, aos museus, aos teatros, aos bares da moda... Lá você acaba encontrando meninas interessantes...

— Isso é ilusão sua. Você está por fora. As mulheres que vão a esses lugares estão quase sempre acompanhadas, e mesmo quando não estão, só falam com os que são apresentados por alguém que elas conheçam. Os outros são transparentes. Hoje em dia, se você abordar uma mulher numa mesa de bar para puxar assunto, ela no mínimo vai pensar que você é maluco.

— Não aqui na Avenida Atlântica.

— Mas aqui só tem puta, Alemão!

— E qual o problema? São mulheres, como quaisquer outras. Você quer assistir à aparição da Virgem Maria?

— Não é isso...

— Então! O que não falta aqui é mulher...

— O que eu ia dizer é que não existe imagem mais deprimente do que um homem bebendo sozinho numa mesa de bar. Isso assusta qualquer mulher...

— Meu amigo, não aqui na Avenida Atlântica. Aqui você só fica sozinho se quiser.

— Tudo bem. Vamos supor que eu concorde com você. Mas onde é que eu vou arranjar dinheiro pra pagar os "serviços" de uma puta? Além disso, eu nunca saí com putas na minha vida. Acho isso degradante...

— Degradante é a solidão. É ter boca e não poder beijar. É ficar em casa vendo filmes vagabundos na TV e não ter nem coragem de se masturbar porque não tem em quem pensar. Degradante é ter sonhos eróticos com a babá do seu sobrinho porque é a única mulher jovem e tesuda que ainda conversa com você. É acordar todo doído de manhã e não saber por quê. É ir trabalhar frustrado, triste, com o gosto da solidão amargando a boca. Isso, pra mim, é que é degradante. O resto é vida. Quanto à falta de dinheiro, se você for inteligente, você vai descobrir alguma forma de pagar os "serviços" dessas mulheres maravilhosas, que ganham a vida honestamente, trocando uma pequena parte do que está sobrando por uma parte grande do que está faltando. E elas precisam tanto de carinho, atenção, amor e alegria quanto qualquer outra mulher no mundo. Ou você pensa que elas são máquinas de

trepar "Made In Brazil"?

— É mais ou menos o que eu penso.

— Pois está errado!

— Alemão, eu não consigo me ver como um "cliente". Pra mim, isso é o fundo do poço...

— Ué, mas você é cliente em todas as outras atividades da sua vida... Quando não é coisa pior... Qual o problema? Além disso, pra elas você não é cliente, é o "Homem". O Homem, entendeu? E de um Homem se espera tudo, até dinheiro... Está errado? Eu acho que está certo. E se está errado, está assim desde que o mundo é mundo. Uma relação que atravessou intacta dez mil anos de história deve ter alguma boa razão para existir... Um mundo sem putas seria um deserto, uma região árida, cheia de trabalho e de esposas e maridos se odiando e de garotinhas querendo casar com otários ricos e de solidão amarga e de crueldade. Seria um inferno. Um mundo sem sentimento...

— E tudo por causa das putas?

— Claro! Por causa das putas! De quem mais?! As nossas putas são as melhores putas do mundo!

— Você não está exagerando um pouco, Alemão?

— Estou? Então por que você não experimenta o único remédio eficaz que eu conheço para dor-de-corno? Exceto o suicídio, é claro, que não é propriamente um remédio... Olha só aquela que vem vindo ali. Olha que mulher linda...

— A de vestido colante?

— É... Aquela que vem vindo pra cá... de vestidinho branco, todo florido... Olha que coxas! Que peitos!

— Tem o rosto bonito também. Os cabelos fartos.

— É a morena brasileira! A única obra a quatro mãos de Deus e do diabo! Que boca linda! Eu quero dar um beijo nessa boca!

— Pára, Alemão... Eu morro de vergonha...

— Que nada! Ela sorriu quando eu falei isso. Quem não gosta de um elogio? Quem não quer ser beijada? É por isto que você está sozinho... Você é tímido.

— Eu não sou tímido...

— Rapaz, como você é tímido! E eu que não sabia...

— Você é que é um velho debochado... Vai ficar igual àquele professor do *Anjo Azul*...

— É isso que eu sou? Muito bem. Que seja. Sou feliz com o meu deboche. O Brasil é um grande deboche. Mas e você? O que é? Um intelectual que não cria nada, só observa, um espectador sensível e crítico da criação alheia, e que trabalha numa merda de uma

empresa corrupta e safada, como todas as empresas que ainda não faliram, fazendo uma merda de um trabalho escravo e sem sentido, sob as ordens de um imbecil qualquer, para ganhar um salário que não paga nem o chopp da puta, o que dizer da própria puta... E ainda se apaixonou pela mocinha da mesa ao lado, que só deve estar lá para dar uma "mordida" no patrão... Vê se cai na real, Alexandre! Você está jogando a sua vida pelo ralo... Você é tímido e medroso, e escolheu o cativo do escritório porque se borra de medo da vida. E depois vem chorar no meu ombro e pedir conselhos...

— Eu não pedi conselhos...

— Claro que pediu! A expressão é que é feia... Mas, muito bem! Você me pediu conselhos e eu estou lhe dando um de graça: As putas, meu amigo! As putas!

— Você já bebeu demais, Alemão. Eu vou te deixar em casa.

— Não, me deixe na Prado Júnior, em frente à boate Barbarella, que lá eu me arranjo. E você, meu amigo, dirige de volta com cuidado, veste o pijaminha, ligue a TV, e não perca o programa de entrevistas desta noite, com o Diretor de Fiscalização da Receita Federal respondendo sobre as discrepâncias constitucionais dos novos artigos do projeto de Reforma Fiscal. Interessantíssimo! Aquilo sim, é que é pornografia! Deixa eu ficar com a minha simples e ingênua pornografia à moda antiga, aquela dos peitos e das bundas...

— Tá legal, eu te deixo na porta da tal Barbarella. Agora paga a conta e vamos, tá?

To be continued.

This is the first time "Made in Brazil" (the original title) is published.

Its author, Júlio César Monteiro Martins, was born in Niterói, in the Greater Rio, in 1955. He has published several short-story books: *Torpalium*, *Sabe Quem Dançou?*, *A Oeste de Nada*, *As Forças Desarmadas*, and *Muamba*. Monteiro Martins is also the author of three novels: *Artérias e Becos*, *Bárbara*, *O Espaço Imaginário* and a volume of essays: *O Livro das Diretas*.

He is one of the founders of the Brazilian Green Party and from 1992 to 1994 has worked as a lawyer for the Brazilian Center in Defense of Children's Rights. He has taught literary creation at the Goddard College in the US and is now a professor in Italy, teaching literary creation and Brazilian literature in colleges in Piza, Florence, Lucca and Pistoia.



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Simply Brazil

Everything about Brazil talks about grandiosity and provokes awe. Its size, its forest, the Amazon river, the little-known Pantanal, its Carnaval, its history, its poverty. In the next few issues will be exploring Brazilian history, ecology, climate, economy, culture and language. Just some facts about the subject you read *Brazzil* for.

For hundreds of years Brazil has symbolized the great escape into a primordial, tropical paradise. No country ignites the Western imagination as Brazil does. From the mad passion of Carnaval to the enormity of the dark Amazon, Brazil is a country of mythical proportions.

Roughly the size of the USA excluding Alaska, Brazil is a vast country encompassing nearly half of South America, and bordering all of the continent's other nations with the exceptions of Ecuador and Chile. After 40 years of internal migration and population growth, Brazil is also an urban country; more than two out of every three Brazilians live in a city. São Paulo, with more than 17 million inhabitants, is one of the most populous megalopolises in the world. Brazil's population is clustered along the Atlantic coast and much of the country, including the massive Amazon Basin, remains scarcely populated and inaccessible.

For most, the Brazilian journey begins in Rio de Janeiro. For some it goes no further. One of the world's great tourist cities, Rio has developed a highly advanced culture of pleasure. It revolves around the famous beaches of Copacabana and Ipanema, and is fuelled by the music and dance of samba, the beauty of Corcovado and Pão de Açúcar (Sugar Loaf Mountain), the athleticism of football, the happiness to be found in an ice-cold *cerveja* (beer), the camaraderie of *papo* (chitchat) and the cult of the body-beautiful. This hedonism reaches its climax in the big bang of ecstasy that is Carnaval

— four days of revelry and debauchery, unrivalled by any other party on the globe.

The state of Rio de Janeiro is blessed with some of the country's best beaches: from the world-renowned Búzios to the unknown and undeveloped Ilha Grande. Inland, the coastal mountains rise rapidly from under a blanket of lush, green, tropical forest, culminating in spectacular peaks. The mountains are punctuated by colonial cities and national parks that are home to Brazil's best hiking and climbing.

The Amazon is the world's largest tropical rainforest, fed by the world's largest river, and home to the richest and most diverse ecosystem on the earth. It is a naturalist's ultimate fantasy! Though it is threatened by rapid and senseless deforestation, the Brazilian Amazon still offers years of exploration for the adventurous traveler.

South of the Amazon, in the center of the continent, is Brazil's best kept secret — the Pantanal. The world's largest wetlands, the Pantanal is home to the greatest concentration of fauna in South America. When the floodwaters recede in March, the Pantanal becomes an ornithologist's playground, with over 200 bird species displaying their stuff: macaws, parrots, toucans, rheas and *jaburu* storks are just a few of the more exotic species to be seen. Caimans (alligators), deer, capybaras, anteaters, anacondas, river otters, and the rare jaguar also thrive in the Pantanal, although several of these species are severely threatened by poaching.

The Iguacu Falls, at the border of Argentina, Paraguay and Brazil, may be Brazil's most dazzling spectacle. The mighty waterfalls are one of the natural wonders of the world and are superior, in size and grandeur, to both Niagara and Victoria.

Wherever the traveler goes in Brazil, from the standing-room only crowds of Copacabana to the quieter white-sand beaches along the banks of the Amazon, Brazilians are at their beaches playing. In Brazil, the beach is the national passion — everything and everyone goes there. Fortunately, with over 8000 km of coastline, there are loads of superb beaches, so you should have no problem finding your own tropical hideaway.

The mixing of races in Brazil — Indian, black and white — is most pronounced in the historic Northeast. Miscegenation and the tenacity of the traditional way of life have created a unique and wonderful civilization, with much of Brazil's most beautiful music dance and art, and a series of fascinating 16th and 17th-century cities like Recife, Olinda, Fortaleza, São Luís and, of course, Salvador.

Once the capital of Brazil, and one of the richest cities of the New World, Salvador is today the center of Afro-Brazilian culture. Against a backdrop of 17th-century colonial houses, gilded churches and lively beaches, Salvador da Bahia breathes Africa: the rhythms of *afoxé*; the dance of *capoeira*; the spirituality of Candomblé, the Afro-Brazilian religion, and the many colorful pageants and festivals, particularly from December to Carnival.

Perhaps Brazil is not the paradise on earth that many travelers once imagined, but it is a land of often unimaginable beauty. There are stretches of unexplored rainforest, islands with pristine tropical beaches, and endless rivers. And there are the people themselves, who delight the visitor with their energy, fantasy and joy.

Stop Press

Some prices in Brazil have increased dramatically

since this book was researched. The strength of the Brazilian currency, the real is a major factor, after many years of steady decline against the US dollar, the real has actually been appreciating. In Rio de Janeiro, for instance, prices have increased by about 50% on average.

FACTS ABOUT THE COUNTRY

HISTORY

Indians

Anthropologists believe that at least 20,000 years ago American Indians migrated across the Bering Strait from northeastern Asia. They were hunter-gatherers who followed the animals across the land bridge connecting Asia and North America. The tribes were highly mobile and, once they crossed into Alaska, they moved south to warmer climates. Eventually, they reached the Amazon Basin in Brazil and spread out from there. It's also likely that a separate, later migration took place across the oceans, jumping from island to island.

The Brazilian Indians never developed an advanced, centralized civilization like the Inca or Maya. They left little for archaeologists to discover; only some pottery, shell mounds and skeletons. The shell mounds (*sambaquis*) are curious. They are found on the island of Marajó, the home of Brazil's most advanced pre-Columbian civilization, and along the coast in the south. Typically as tall as a human and about 50 meters long, the mounds are naturally formed by the sea and were used as burial sites and sometimes as dwellings.

The Indian population was quite diverse. At the time of the Portuguese conquest, the Tupi people were most prevalent on the coast and best known to the white conquerors. Today, most of the animals in Brazil, nearly all the rivers and mountains, and many of the towns have Tupi names.

There were an estimated two to five million Indians living in the territory that is now Brazil when the Portuguese first arrived. Today there are fewer than 200,000. Most of them live in the hidden jungles of the Brazilian interior.

The Indians of Brazil, as the Portuguese were to learn, were divided into many groups and were primarily hunter-gatherers. The women did most of the work while the men, who were magnificent archers and fishers, went to war. They lived in long communal huts. Music, dance and games played a very important role in their culture. Little surplus was produced and they had very few possessions. Every couple of years the village packed up and moved on to richer hunting grounds.

This lifestyle, which came to symbolize the ideal of the noble savage in European minds and inspired many social thinkers such as Rousseau and Defoe, was punctuated by frequent tribal warfare and ritual cannibalism. After battles, the captured enemies were ceremonially killed and eaten.

Early Colonization

In 1500, Pedro Álvares Cabral sailed from Lisbon, bound for India, with 13 ships and 1200 men. Following Indies trailblazer Vasco da Gama's directions, his fleet sailed on a southwesterly course in order to exploit the favorable westerly trade winds in the Southern Hemisphere. The slow sailing ships of the fleet were vulnerable to the strong equatorial current, which took them further west than intended. Some historians say it was Cabral's

secret destination all along, and his official “discovery” was reported to the king in such matter-of-fact terms that it seems that the existence of Brazil was already well known to mariners. In fact, Portuguese records dating from 1530 suggest that the country had been colonized for more than 40 years.

Cabral landed at present-day Porto Seguro on 22 April. He and his crew were immediately greeted by some of the many Indians living along the coast. Staying only nine days, the Portuguese built a cross and held the first Christian service in the land they dubbed Terra de Vera Cruz (Land of the True Cross). The Indians watched with apparent amazement and then, complying with the exhortations of their guests, knelt before the cross. But it wasn't Catholicism that grabbed their attention. It was the building of the cross. The Indians, living in a Stone Age culture, had never seen iron tools.

Cabral sailed on, leaving behind two convicts to learn the Indians' ways and taking some logs of the *pau brasil* — brazil wood, which produces a red dye. Subsequent Portuguese expeditions were disappointed by what they found in Brazil. They had little interest in colonization; instead they sought the riches of India and Africa where they established trading stations to obtain spices and ivory. Brazil offered the merchants little: the Indians' Stone Age culture produced nothing for the European market, and the land was heavily forested, barely passable and very wild.

However, the red dye from brazil wood provoked the interest of a few Portuguese merchants and the king granted them the rights to the brazil-wood trade. They soon began sending a few ships each year to harvest the trees. This trade depended entirely on Indian labor, which they procured in exchange for metal axes and knives — objects that are used to this day by Brazilians contacting unknown Indians.

Brazil wood remained the only exportable commodity for the first half of the 16th century — long enough for the colony to change its name from Terra de Vera Cruz to Brazil, an act that was later interpreted, as reports of Brazilian godlessness reached superstition-ridden Portugal, as the work of the devil. But the brazil-wood trade was already in jeopardy. It was never terribly profitable and the most accessible trees were rapidly depleted. French competition for the trees intensified and fighting broke out. The Indians stopped volunteering their labor.

In 1531, King João III of Portugal sent the first settlers to Brazil. Martim Afonso de Sousa was placed at the head of five ships and a crew of 400. After exploring the coastline he chose São Vicente, near the modern port of Santos in São Paulo state, as the first settlement. In 1534, fearing the ambitions of other European countries, the king divided the coast into 12 parallel captaincies. These hereditary estates were given

to friends of the Crown (*donatários*) who became lords of their land. Each captaincy comprised 50 leagues (about 300 km) of coastline and unlim-

ited territory inland.

This was one of the earliest European attempts to set up a colony in the tropics. The king's scheme was designed to minimize the cost to the Crown while securing the vast coastline through settlement. He wanted to give the captaincies to Portuguese nobility, but the wealthy nobles were interested in the riches of Asia. So instead the captaincies were given to common *fidalgos* (gentry), who lacked the means to overcome the obstacles of settling Brazil. They were hampered by the climate, hostility from the Indians and competition from the Dutch and French. One of the *donatários*, Duarte Coelho, wrote to the king: “We are obliged to conquer by inches, the land that your Majesty has granted us by leagues.” Four captaincies were never settled and four were destroyed by Indians. Only Pernambuco and São Vicente were profitable.

In 1549, the king sent Tomé de Sousa to be the first governor of Brazil, to centralize authority and to save the few remaining captaincies. Despite the fact that the Indians had recently driven the Portuguese from the area, the king chose Bahia for Sousa to rule from; the Baía de Todos os Santos (Bay of All Saints) was one of Brazil's best bays, as was the land surrounding it.

Ten ships and 1000 settlers arrived safely. On board were Portuguese officials, soldiers, exiled prisoners, New Christians (converted Jews) and the first six Jesuit priests. The great Caramuru, a Portuguese living among the Indians and married to a chief's daughter, selected a spot on high ground for Salvador da Bahia, the new capital of Portuguese Brazil, a position it held until the colonial capital was transferred to Rio in 1763.

The colonists soon discovered that the land and climate were ideal for growing sugar cane. Sugar was coveted by a hungry European market that used it initially for medicinal purposes and as a condiment for almost all foods and even wine. To produce the sugar cane, all the colonists needed were workers. Growing and processing the cane was hard work. The Portuguese didn't want to do the work themselves so they attempted to enslave the Indians.

Up and down the coast, the Indians' response to the Portuguese was similar. First they welcomed and offered the strangers food, labor and women in exchange for iron tools and liquor. They then became wary of the whites, who abused their customs and beliefs, and took the best land. Finally, when voluntary labor became slavery and the use of land became wholesale displacement, the Indians fought back and won many victories.

The capture and sale of Indian slaves became Brazil's second largest enterprise. Organized expeditions from São Paulo hunted the Indians into the Brazilian interior, exploring and claiming vast lands for the Portuguese and making fortunes supplying the sugar estates with Indian slaves. These expeditions were called *bandeiras* (flags). Each group had its own flag, and the men who followed them came to be known as *bandeirantes* (flag-bearers). Their bravery was eclipsed only by their brutality.

The Jesuit priests went to great lengths to save the Indians from the slaughter. They inveighed against the evils of Indian slavery in their sermons, though they said little about black slaves. They pleaded with the king of Portugal. They set up *aldeias* (missions) to settle, protect and Christianize the Indians.

Fear of God failed to deter the colonists. The monarchy was ambivalent about Indian slavery and too weak to



do anything about it. Most of the Indians not killed by the guns of the *bandeirantes* or the work on the sugar plantations died from introduced European diseases and the alien life in the missions. The Jesuits may have delayed the destruction of the Brazilian Indians, but they certainly didn't prevent it. Nonetheless, the Jesuits battled heroically to save the Indians. One Brazilian statesman wrote: "Without the Jesuits, our colonial history would be little more than a chain of nameless atrocities."

By the end of the 16th century, about 30,000 Portuguese settlers and 20,000 black slaves lived in isolated coastal towns surrounded by often hostile Indians. There were about 200 prosperous sugar mills, mostly in Pernambuco and Bahia. In an often quoted passage, a historian lamented in 1620 that the Brazilian settlers were satisfied with "sidling like crabs along the coastline from one sugar plantation to another".

But there were good reasons for this. The export economy looked only to Europe, not inland where the forests were dense, the rivers were wild and hostile Indians prevailed. Sugar was extremely lucrative, whereas the legendary gold of El Dorado was elusive. The sugar trade needed the rich coastal soil and access to European markets. Thus the Portuguese settled almost exclusively at the mouths of rivers on navigable bays. Where sugar grew — mainly Bahia, Pernambuco and Rio — so did the fledgling colony.

The captaincy system failed, but the sugar trade succeeded. The sparse settlements that would eventually encompass half the continent already had the elements that were to define it even into the 19th century: sugar and slavery.

Sugar & Slaves

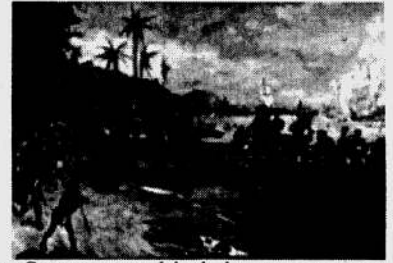
The sugar plantations were self-sufficient economic enclaves. They were geared to large-scale production that required vast tracts of land and specialized equipment to process the sugar cane. In Brazil, this meant the sugar baron needed land, a fair amount of capital and many workers, typically 100 to 150 slaves, both skilled and unskilled.

By the 1550s the wealthier sugar barons began to buy African slaves instead of Indians. The Africans were better workers and more immune to the European diseases that were killing the Indians faster than the Portuguese guns. Soon tremendous profits were being made by merchants in the slave trade. The infamous triangular trade brought slaves and elephant tusks from Africa, sugar, sugar-cane liquor and tobacco from Brazil and guns and luxury goods from Europe.

Throughout the 17th century, blacks replaced Indians on the plantations. In the early 1600s, about 1500 slaves were arriving each year. From 1550 through to 1850, when the slave trade was abolished, about 3½ million African slaves were shipped to Brazil — 38% of the total that came to the New World.

Those Africans who didn't die on the slave ships generally had short and brutal lives. The work on the plantations was hard and tedious. During the busy season slaves worked 15 to 17 hours a day. But it was the working and living conditions, not the amount of work itself, that were largely responsible for the high mortality rate of Brazil's slaves. Disease was rampant in Brazil; many succumbed to dysentery, typhus, yellow fever, malaria, syphilis, tuberculosis and scurvy.

The plantation owners ruled colonial Brazil. Their control over free whites who worked as sharecroppers was almost total, and over slaves it was absolute. Slaves were dependent on their masters. Some were kind, but most were cruel and often sadistic.



Slave families were routinely broken up. Masters mixed slaves from different tribes to prevent collective rebellion. The slaves from Islamic Africa, who were themselves culturally sophisticated, were particularly feared by the white masters.

Resistance to slavery took many forms. The misery of some slaves manifested in *banzo*, the longing for Africa, which culminated in a slow suicide. Documents of the period refer to slaves who would stop eating and just fade away. Many slaves fled, mothers killed their babies and sabotage and theft were frequent, as were work slowdowns, stoppages and revolts.

Those that survived life on the plantations sought solace in their African religion and culture in their dance and song. The slaves were given perfunctory indoctrination into Catholicism. Except for the Islamic element, a syncretic religion rapidly emerged. Spiritual elements from many of the African tribes, such as the Yoruba, Bantu and Fon were preserved and made palatable to the slave masters with a façade of Catholic saints and ritual objects. These are the roots of modern Macumba and Candomblé, prohibited by law until very recently.

Portugal was not an overpopulated country. There was no capitalist revolution and no enclosures, as in England, forcing the peasantry off the land. Consequently, the typical Brazilian settler emigrated by choice with the hope of untold riches. These settlers were notoriously indisposed to work. They came to Brazil to make others work for them, not to toil in the dangerous tropics. Even poor whites had a slave or two. There was a popular saying that "the slaves are the hands and the feet of the whites".

The sugar barons lived on the plantation part time and escaped to their second houses in the cities, where they often kept mulatto (of mixed black and European parentage) mistresses. The white women led barren cloistered lives inside the walls of the *casa grande* (big house). Secluded from all but their family and servants, the women married young — usually at 14 or 15 years of age — and often died early.

Sexual relations between masters and slaves were so common that a large mulatto population soon emerged. Off the plantations there was a shortage of white women, and so many poorer settlers lived with black and Indian women. Prostitution was prevalent. Many of the free mixed-race women could only survive by working as concubines or prostitutes. Brazil was famous for its sexual permissiveness. By the beginning of the 18th century it was known as the land of syphilis; the disease had reportedly wrought devastation even in the monasteries.

The church was tolerant of any coupling that helped populate the colony. Many priests had mistresses and illegitimate children. As Gilberto Freyre, Brazil's most famous social scientist, said of the priests, "a good part if

not the majority of them assisted in the work of procreation, and their cooperation was so gratefully accepted that the courts did not arrest or issue warrants for any cleric or friar on the charge of keeping a concubine”.

In the poorer regions of Pará, Maranhão, Ceará and São Paulo, the settlers couldn't afford black slaves, and so Indian slaves were more common. Here, miscegenation was more prevalent between whites and Indians and just as tolerated (this is evident in the racial mix in those states today). As in the rest of the colony, sexual relations were rather licentious. As the Bishop of Pará summed it up: “The wretched state of manners in this country puts me in mind of the end that befell the five cities, and makes me think that I am living in the suburbs of Gomorrah, very close indeed, and in the vicinity of Sodom”.

17th Century

Sugar plantations were the first attempt at large-scale agricultural production, not just extraction, in the New World. Thanks to a virtual monopoly and increasing European demand, they were highly profitable. The sugar trade made the Portuguese colonization of Brazil possible. In later years, as Portugal's Asian empire declined, the tax revenues from the sugar trade kept the Portuguese ship of state afloat.

Although Spain and Portugal had divided the New World exclusively between themselves with the Treaty of Tordesillas, competing European powers — principally France and Holland — were not deterred from South America. France had successfully operated trading stations in Brazil for many years and had friendly relations with many Indians, who saw the French as a lesser evil than the hated Portuguese.

In 1555, three boatloads of French settlers led by Admiral Nicolas Durand de Villegagnon landed on a small island in Baía da Guanabara. They intended to add a large part of southern Brazil to their empire, which was to be called Antarctic France. After some bloody battles, they were finally expelled by the governor-general of Brazil, Mem de Sá, in 1567. In a second attempt in 1612, the French took São Luís but were driven out by the Portuguese a few years later.

The Dutch posed a more serious threat to Portuguese Brazil. Dutch merchants had profited from the Brazilian sugar trade for many years, but when Portugal was unified with Spain, the traditional enemy of the Dutch peaceful trade quickly collapsed. The Dutch set up the Dutch West India Company to gain control of part of Brazil. A large expedition took Bahia in 1624. A year later, after bloody and confused fighting, the Portuguese retook the city. They repulsed two more attacks in 1627.

The Dutch next conquered Pernambuco in 1630, and from there took control of a major part of the Northeast from Sergipe to Maranhão and founded what they called New Holland. With their superior sea power the Dutch sailed to Africa and captured part of Portuguese-held Angola to supply slaves for their new colony. In 1637, the

Dutch prince, Maurice of Nassau, took over as the governor of New Holland. An enlightened administrator, he was successful in increasing the number of sugar plantations, creating large cattle farms and



re-establishing the discipline of his troops and civil administrators. Hospitals and orphanages were founded and freedom of worship was guaranteed in an attempt to win over the local population.

But Nassau was undermined and frustrated by a lack of support from Holland. When he returned home in 1644, the rot set in. The Pernambucan merchants, resenting the Protestant invaders, funded black and Indian soldiers who fought the Dutch on land. The Portuguese governor of Rio de Janeiro and Angola, Salvador de Sá, sailed from Rio and expelled the Dutch from Angola. Finally, when provisions failed to arrive, the Dutch troops mutinied and returned to Europe. A peace treaty was signed in 1654.

Bandeirantes

Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, *bandeirantes* from São Paulo continued to march off into the interior to capture Indians. Most *bandeirantes*, born of Indian mothers and Portuguese fathers, spoke both Tupi-Guarani and Portuguese. They also learned the survival skills of the Indians and the use of European weaponry, and wore heavily padded cotton jackets that deflected Indian arrows.

Travelling light in bands that ranged from a dozen to a couple of hundred, they would go off for months or years at a time, living off the land and plundering Indian villages. By the mid-1600s, they had traversed the interior as far as the peaks of the Peruvian Andes and the lowlands of the Amazon forest. These super-human exploits, more than any treaty, secured the huge interior of South America for Portuguese Brazil.

The *bandeirantes* were ruthlessly effective Indian hunters. The Jesuits, who sought desperately to protect their flock of Indians — who had come to the missions to escape *bandeirante* attacks — built missions in the remote interior, near the present-day borders with Paraguay and Argentina. Far from São Paulo, the Jesuits hoped that they were beyond the grasp of the *bandeirantes*. They were wrong, and this was to be their last stand. The Jesuits armed the Indians and desperate battles took place. The *bandeirantes* were slowed but they were never stopped. Finally, with the collusion of the Portuguese and Spanish crowns, the missions fell and the Jesuits were expelled from Brazil in 1759.

Gold

El Dorado and other South American legends of vast deposits of gold and precious stones clouded European minds and spurred on the roving *bandeirantes*. Despite incessant searching, riches failed to materialize until the 1690s, when *bandeirantes* discovered a magical lustre in the rivers of the Serra do Espinhaço, Brazil's oldest geological formation, an inaccessible and unsettled region inland from Rio de Janeiro.

Soon the gold rush was on. People dropped everything to go to what is now the southern central part of Minas Gerais. Unaware of the hazardous journey, many died on the way. In the orgy to pan, no one bothered to plant, and in the early years terrible famines swept through the gold towns. The price of basic provisions was always outrageous and the majority suffered. But the gold was there — more than seemed possible.

When gold was first discovered, there were no white settlers in the territory of Minas Gerais. By 1710 the population was 30,000 and by the end of the 18th century it was half a million.

For 50 years, until the mines began to decline, Brazil-

ian gold caused major demographic shifts in three continents. *Paulistas* came from São Paulo, followed by other Brazilians, who had failed to strike it rich in commercial agriculture. Some 400,000 Portuguese arrived in Brazil in the 18th century, many headed for the gold fields. Countless slaves were stolen away from Africa, to dig and die in Minas.

Fuelled by competition over scarce mining rights, a Brazilian species of nativism arose. Old-time Brazilians, particularly the combative *Paulistas*, resented the flood of recent Portuguese immigrants who were cashing in on their gold discoveries. The recent arrivals, numerically superior, loathed the favorable treatment they saw the *Paulistas* receiving. Gold stakes were more often settled by guns, not by judges, and armed confrontations broke out in 1708. The colonial government was faced with a virtual civil war, which lasted over a year, with miners carrying pans in one hand and guns in the other, before government intervention slowed the hostilities.

Most of the gold mining was done by black slaves. An estimated third of the two million slaves who reached Brazil in the 18th century went to the gold fields, where their lives were worse than in the sugar fields.

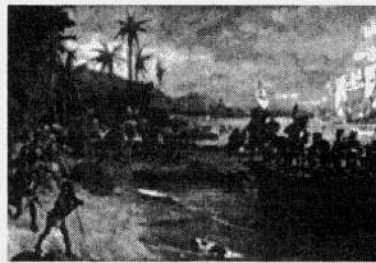
Most slave owners put their slaves on an incentive system, allowing the slaves to keep a small percentage of the gold they found. A few slaves who found great quantities of gold were able to buy their own freedom, but for the majority disease and death came quickly.

Wild boom towns arose in the mountain valleys; Sabará, Mariana, São João del Rei, and the greatest, Vila Rica de Ouro Preto (Rich Town of Black Gold). Wealthy merchants built opulent mansions and churches. Crime, gambling, drinking and prostitution ruled the streets. A class of educated artisans created some stunning baroque church

architecture. Portuguese officials provided a sense of European civilization. The absence of white women led to a large number of mulatto offspring.

Most of Brazil's gold wealth was squandered. A few merchants and miners became incredibly rich and lived on imported European luxury goods. But the gold did little to develop Brazil's economy, create a middle class or better the common worker. Most of the wealth went to Portuguese merchants and the king, until it was ultimately traded for English goods.

By 1750, after a half-century boom, the mining regions were in decline, the migration to the interior was over and coastal Brazil was resuming to center stage. Apart from some public works and many beautiful churches, the only important legacy of Brazil's gold rush was the shift in population, from the Northeast to the Southeast. Some stayed in Minas Gerais and raised cattle on its rich lands. Many ended up in Rio, whose population and economy grew rapidly as gold and supplies passed through its ports.



Excerpts from *Brazil - A Travel Survival Kit* - 2nd edition, by Andrew Draffen, Chris McAsey, Leonardo Pinheiro, and Robyn Jones. For more information call Lonely Planet: (800) 275-8555. Copyright 1992 Lonely Planet Publications. Used by permission.



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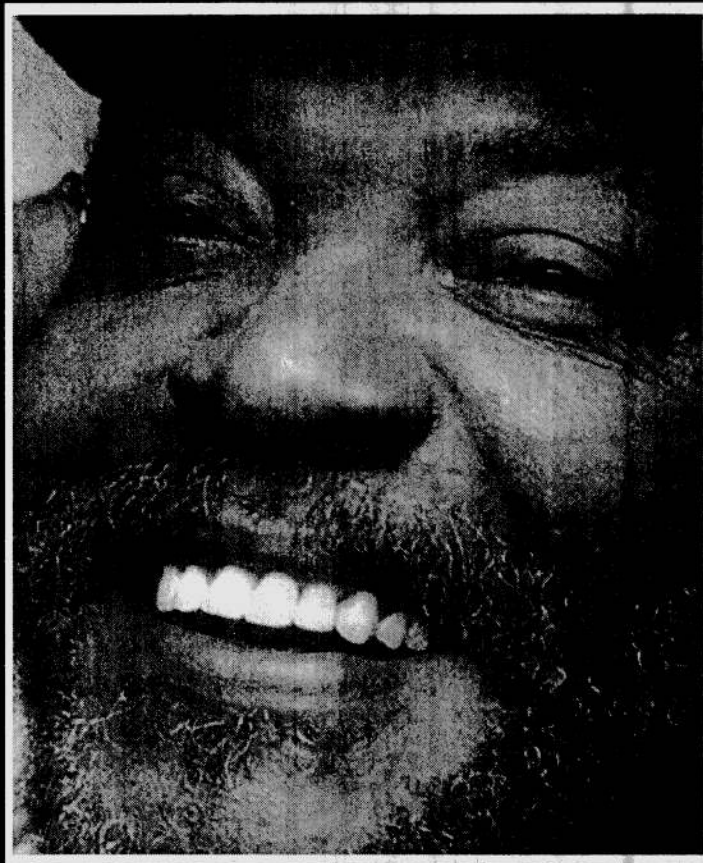
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Too Tasty Martinho

At 58, with 29 discs to his credit, and a prestigious record of service to Brazilian music, Martinho da Vila has given Brazil another gift of talent and musicality with *Tá Delícia, Tá Gostoso*. The whole country has been humming the tunes of his latest album. The recording is a milestone to be celebrated by all who love samba.

BRUCE GILMAN

Never before has Martinho da Vila made a recording whose title was so strong an indicator of what awaited the listener. Coming at a time when many were beginning to think that Martinho's time had passed, *Tá Delícia, Tá Gostoso* (It's Delicious, It's Tasty) climbed the charts with the same trajectory of his greatest hits. Competing side by side with the new artists of *sambanejo* (Raça Negra-like groups), Martinho had been all but forgotten by the public, as were other artists faithful to the rhythm and instrumentation of traditional samba: Paulinho da Viola, João Nogueira, Beth Carvalho, and Grupo Fundo de Quintal.

Lacking the philosophy, poetry, and harmony of "real samba," the visionless invasion of *sambanejo* had been a thorn in the side of samba for some time. Leader of the group Raça Negra, Luiz Carlos, stated recently that Martinho's problem was that he talked too much about politics. Martinho has for many years demonstrated his empathy for African culture and its origins, often denouncing the situation of Blacks in Brazil.

Carlos felt that it was time for Martinho to come back to the theme of a woman, the constant theme in the music of Raça Negra.

Martinho's long-awaited reaction to that lineage of samba was resoundingly celebrated by his fans and colleagues at his bar, "Butiquim do Martinho," in Rio's Vila Isabel neighborhood. *Tá Delícia, Tá Gostoso* is expected to sell over a million and a half copies and guarantee the sambista a Duplo de Platina (Double Platinum). Sales like these are unprecedented for traditional samba today, a genre that had been retired from the best selling lists. The recording is a milestone to be celebrated by all lovers of samba.

Tá Delícia, Tá Gostoso

Zé Catimba and
Alceu Maia

Assim como
adolescente
O cupido me pegou
Me apaixonei por seu
beijo
Sem você eu nada sou

Vem me salvar boca a
boca
tô morrendo de amar
Vem fazer amor bonito
Vem pra se deliciar
Você é fêmea no cio
Deixa seu macho
dengoso
Quando diz no meu
ouvido
Tá delícia, tá gostoso

Tá, tá, tá
Tá delícia, tá gostoso

É amor é paixão
É você a dona do meu
coração

Devagar, Devagarinho

Eraldo Divagar

É devagar, é devagar
É devagar, é devagar,
devagarinho

Devagarinho
É que a gente chega lá
Se você não acredita
Você pode tropeçar
E tropeçando
O seu dedo se arrebenta
Com certeza não se agüenta
E vai xingar

É devagar, é devagar
É devagar, é devagar,
devagarinho

Eu conheci um cara
Que queria o mundo abarcar
Mas de repente
Deu com a cara no asfalto
Se virou, olhou pro alto
Com vontade de chorar

É devagar, é devagar
É devagar, é devagar,
devagarinho

Sempre me deram a fama
De ser muito devagar
E desse jeito
Vou driblando os espinhos
Vou seguindo o meu caminho
Sei aonde vou chegar

It's Delicious, It's Tasty

As an adolescent
Cupid shot me
I feel in love because of
your kiss
Without you I'm nothing

Come to save me mouth
to mouth
I'm dying of love
Come make beautiful
love
Come to please me
You are a bitch in heat
Let go and make your
man relax
When you tell me in my
ears
It's delicious, it's tasty

It is, it is, it is
It's delicious, it's tasty

It is love, it is passion
It is you the owner of
my heart

Slow, Very Slow

Slow, slow
Slow, slow, very slow

Very slowly, we get there
If you don't believe that
You will trip
And tripping
You'll stub your toe
And surely you won't put
up with that
And you're going to swear

Slow, slow
Slow, slow, very slow

I met a guy
Who wanted to do every-
thing in the world
But suddenly
He fell on his face
He turned, eyes to the
heights
And felt like crying

Slow, slow
Slow, slow, very slow

I was always known
As being very slow
And in this way
I hurdled life's thorns
I'm following my own path
I know where I'm going

This 12 track synthesis of Martinho's work is sheer joy. Vivid cover art by Elifas Andreato once again delights the eye and sets the tempo for what lies inside the jewel case. All tunes flaunt the type of instrumentation preferred by those who oppose sambanejo. There is a profusion of percussion and string instruments, but just a hint of keyboards - the favorite refuge of those who play sambanejo. The arrangements, clear and with little elaboration, were crafted by the band members themselves.

And Martinho's choice of musicians was not accidental. We find him surrounded by familiar friends and family. Rildo Hora, one of Brazil's top samba producers is on board again as are other Martinho regulars like Claudio Jorge, violão; Alceu Maia, cavaquinho; Gordinho, Ovídio, and Paulinho da Aba, percussion. The backing vocalists are noteworthy not only for their collective cohesion and their individual contributions, but also because three of the singers are Martinho's gifted children from his first marriage to Anália: Martinho Antônio, 33; Analimar, 30; and Mart'nália, 26. Mart'nália and Tuñico Ferreira also perform with the *bateria*. There is no nepotism here; all are formidable musicians.

The plum, however, is the presence of João de Aquino. Aquino's violão playing reflects the intelligent absorption of a variety of influences. He has been one of the lesser known but more influential players, composers, and arrangers on the fringe of the big time for some years and is a familiar and welcome figure at the most demanding recording sessions. It is no small feat to synthesize Martinho in 12 tracks, and long-time fans may argue that some of the forms, rhythms, and sounds Martinho has been identified with for years: samba-enredo, vibrant African influences, and his familiar signature, the *samba de partido alto* (a type of samba with short, light refrains that the singer follows with improvised verses) are missing. Yet the relaxed warmth of Martinho's voice, the very tight arrangements, and the high caliber of musicianship that gives the entire project its unruffled, solid groove, establish *Tá Delícia, Tá Gostoso* as a pinnacle for traditional samba and Martinho as a permanent resident of the best seller's charts.

For this project, there was considerable pressure exerted upon Martinho by his record label to come up with a hit. Martinho, viewing his career as a type of religion, resisted at first. Like any religious devotee he needed to have more than just the catechism. Martinho has always believed that artists who started the recording process with the illusion of making big money were lost. Enjoying the recording process had always been his key to success, not the other way around. He was hesitant also because efficient marketing and promotion has always been essential, even for established artists with high quality recordings and music that appeals to the public at large. And Sony had backed off in the past after initially promising to promote several of Martinho's releases that could have done very well.

Taking his time developing the concept, Martinho selected a repertoire of themes and lyrics that would not only reconquer his public, but also the fans of *sambanejo*. Of the 12 compositions, each has its own individual attraction, so much so that it is more difficult than usual to predict which will turn out to be the one

with the greatest popular appeal. Although Martinho's own compositions have dominated his 29 album discography, one important distinction marks this recording as a turning point in his career of almost 30 years: *Tá Delícia, Tá Gostoso* is his first work primarily as an interpreter.

Of the 12 tunes, 3 have already become hits, and 5 others are potent contenders. One of these challengers is "O Gurufim Do Cabana." The title, reflecting a play on the slang word *bacana*, translates in *favela*-speak to "Wake of the Playboy." A samba medley with an unstoppable groove and burning *cavaquinho*, it is an ode to the *ginga malandra* and to the characteristic flair of the people living in Rio's *favelas* (shanty towns).

The next in line for hit status is the only track that was co-written by Martinho, "Por Favor Me Ajude" (Please Help Me). This tune will remind his fans of past hits like "Pequeno Burguês" (A Little Bourgeois), the romantic mockery from the 60's in which Martinho made fun of the *vestibular* (university placement exam) and exhibited his wit and talent for wry interpretations.

The poignantly beautiful poetry of Toninho Geraes, coupled with Rildo Hora's passionate piano and string arrangement on "Mulheres" (Women), assured a success from the beginning. The tunes syncopated *cavaquinho*, *violão*, and *bateria* accentuate its formal symmetry while the interplay between tension-building patterns and sudden releases reinforce the structure and transports the listener.

After the success of "Mulheres" the disc's title track, "Tá Delícia, Tá Gostoso" climbed the charts. Its suggestive lyrics, seductive refrain, impressive backing vocals, and enticing string arrangement by Jorjão Carvalho made it an immediate hit.

Although "Devagar, Devagarinho" (Slowly, Very Slowly) cries for a whisper of *cuica*, its impromptu feel and textual richness overshadow this omission. With my foot tapping on automatic pilot to the same staccato *cavaquinho* and riveting *surdo* as "Mulheres," it became immediately obvious why the whole project triggered into an explosive success when this track started getting air-play.

These first three hits from *Tá Delícia, Tá Gostoso* are almost confessional summaries that catalog the changes in Martinho's personal life. Fans tend to see artists as magical figures with envious lives. In reality, it is not like this. Like most *sambistas*, Martinho, comes from humble origins and has been vulnerable to exploitation. He was raised in the *favela* and lived among its crooks and drug dealers. For each one of his discs that was sold, Martinho saw his small percentage only months after the release. When his first record became a hit, he was the most famous penniless person in Brazil.

Today, with wide recognition, promoters still believe he deserves prestige and respect, but not the large sums of money pop artists receive. Thus, he understood what was happening when Paulinho da Viola, the godfather of his daughter, was slighted at the 1995 New Year's Eve tribute to Tom Jobim; an artist's fee is based on his current status on the sales charts. Sales of traditional samba were down, and Paulinho hadn't recorded in years.

Another misconception for many is that composers whose *enredos* are chosen for

Carnaval become rich. There are, in fact, many composers who have had 5 to 10 winning *samba-enredos* whose lives were no better afterwards. The hard life of the *sambista* amplified Martinho's drinking. He was involved in a number of automobile accidents. The largest accident fractured his skull, his legs, and two fingers on his right hand. Afterwards, he was interned in an alcohol detoxication clinic. His marriage to a beautiful woman named Clediomar (33 years his junior) and the birth of their son, Preto, may have been the catalyst that convinced Martinho it was time to get serious, curb his drinking, and start focusing on what was important.

With his head in order, he worked extremely hard last year to insure the new disc's success. Traveling all over Brazil to dozens of TV and radio stations, giving interviews and a marathon of shows, Martinho promoted the project. He performed entire shows without repeating a single type of samba, launching into *samba-choro*, *samba-canção*, *samba de partido alto*, *samba de terreiro*, *samba-enredo*, *sambalção*, *samba de breque*... He carried on with the energy of a musician just beginning his career. The success of *Tá Delícia*, *Tá Gostoso* is for Martinho no secret. Coming back to the front line of media attention was the most trying period of his entire career.

Today he thanks God that his life has entered a new era, and he is looking forward to spending time with his family, a family that literally plays together. Additional plans include recording with João Bosco and the realization of a dream that has been on the back burner for years, the opening of a venue that will be dedicated to the performance of first rate music and plays alternatively, the Teatro Martinho da Vila, in his beloved Vila Isabel.

Recommended Discography

Release dates have been omitted as the conversion from LP to CD modified the issue dates.

Label	Title
Sony	<i>Tá Delícia, Tá Gostoso</i>
Columbia	<i>Ao Rio de Janeiro</i>
BMG	<i>Casa de Bamba</i>
Columbia	<i>Samba do Trabalhador</i>
Sony	<i>Vai, Meu Samba, Vai</i>
BMG	<i>O Carnaval de Beth Carvalho e Martinho da Vila</i>
Sony	<i>O Canto das Lavadeiras</i>
Sony	<i>Festa da Raça Brasileira</i>
RCA	<i>Coração Malandro</i>
BrazilOid	<i>Batuqueiro</i>
RCA	<i>Canta, Canta, Minha Gente</i>
BMG	<i>Acervo Especial</i>
BMG	<i>Acervo Especial 2</i>
BMG	<i>Série Aplauso</i>
Sony	<i>Martinho da Vila</i>
BMG	<i>Tendinha</i>
BMG	<i>Samba de Enredo</i>
Tropical Music	<i>Meu Samba Feliz</i>

Mulheres Women

Toninho Geraes

Já tive mulheres de todas as cores De várias idades, de muitos amores Com umas até certo tempo fiquei Pra outras apenas um pouco me dei	I've already had women of all colors Of various ages, of many loves With some I stayed for a while For others I gave just a little
Já tive mulheres do tipo atrevida Do tipo acanhada, do tipo vivida Casada, carente, solteira, feliz Já tive donzela e até meretriz	I've had very arrogant women And others very shy of experience Married, poor, single, happy I've had a virgin and even a prostitute
Mulheres cabeça e desequilibradas Mulheres confusas, de guerra e de paz Mas nenhuma delas me faz tão feliz Como você me faz	Women with good sense and flaky women Confused women, women of war and peace But none of them made me as happy As you do
Procurei em todas as mulheres a felicidade Mas eu não encontrei e fiquei na saudade Foi começando bem, mas tudo teve um fim Você é o sol da minha vida, a minha vontade Você não é mentira, você é verdade É tudo que um dia eu sonhei pra mim	I looked for happiness with all the women But I couldn't find it and kept longing for it Everything started well but everything had an end You are the sun of my life, my desire You are not a lie, you are the truth (You) are everything that I dreamed for one day

Martinho joined this lower income neighborhood's *escola de samba* over 30 years ago and even modified his name to express his allegiance.

After pulling off his success as an interpreter, Martinho recently saw another shining facet of success when Simone recorded an entire disc of his compositions on her Polygram/Mercury release *Café com Leite*. For those who missed the beautiful duet "Ex Amor" with Simone and Martinho that appeared on Polygram's samba compilation *Casa de Samba* last year, here is an even better opportunity to grab a copy of this title as well as 11 other classic Martinho compositions. Simone's tribute to Martinho, also produced by Rildo Hora, has already sold over 500 thousand copies and was chosen by readers of the music magazine *Musicalidade* as the best new release of 1997.

Probably the only setback for Martinho last year was the defeat of his *samba-enredo* for his *escola de samba*, Vila Isabel. The episode generated a controversy involving the directors of the *escola* (those who approve the *enredos* and choose the best sambas submitted) and the drug traffickers. Anytime a composer loses, he experiences the typical sour grapes symptoms. He refuses to go to Carnaval and complains that the chosen samba is trash. As Carnaval nears, however, the same composer swallows his pride and concedes that his *escola's* samba is the best.

Over time, Martinho has won more than he has lost with Vila Isabel. In fact, almost every time Martinho entered an *enredo*, he has won. Some of his sambas lost, but they are eternal: "Iemanjá Desperta" (Goddess of the Waters Wakes Up), "Tribo dos Carajás" (Tribe of the Carajá Indians), and "Minha Vida Tá Legal" (My Life is Okay). Next year the composer of such classic Carnaval pieces as "Carnaval de Ilusões" (Carnaval of Illusions), "Sonho de Um Sonho" (Dream of a Dream), and "Raízes" (Roots), and who started the trend toward more concise and colloquial lyrics in *samba-enredos*, promises to be on the floats of the *escola* dear to his heart.

At 58 years old, with 29 discs to his credit, and a prestigious record of service to the Black movement and to Brazilian music, Martinho José Ferreira doesn't appear to regret the decision he made after his release from the army in 1971 to dedicate himself to an artistic career. His hits came one after the other. In 1991 he was recognized with the Prêmio Shell award. And while the names of some of his colleagues dropped from the charts, the name Martinho da Vila never left the front line of samba artists, demonstrating it has enough strength to bear any low tide in the market. Today people are talking about Martinho's rediscovery. It's a good day for samba to push the Raça Negras to a different market niche.

Bruce Gilman plays cuíca for Mocidade Independente Los Angeles, received his MA from California Institute of the Arts, and teaches English and ESL in Long Beach, California. You can reach him through his E-mail: cuica@interworld.net

Short Takes

JORGE DA SILVA

The passing of **Antônio Carlos Jobim** two years ago has rekindled a passion for his music unequalled in his lifetime. Countless tribute albums and reissues now dot the musical landscape, offering us a wealth of recordings that previously went unnoticed, unappreciated or in some cases, unrecorded.

Producer **Lee Ritenour's** *A Twist of Jobim* is one such project. Ritenour, who began his professional career with **Sérgio Mendes** and has regularly incorporated the influence of Brazilian music on his own albums, has now turned to create a tribute album to the late Brazilian composer from an American perspective.

"From the beginning, it was my intention to create a sort of fabric of American musicians to pay tribute to Jobim's songs and to Jobim himself," says Lee. "I wanted to prove that his songs are universal, that they stand the test of time in the 90s as well as they did in the 60s when most of these songs were written. I wanted to use the best American jazz and pop musicians that I could get my hands on in this period to interweave them into a sort of wonderful twist of his music, if you will."

A Twist of Jobim is an all-star event that combines the talents of many great musicians including **Al Jarreau**, **Dave Grusin**, **Art Porter**, **El DeBarge**, **Herbie Hancock**, **Oleta Adams**, **The Yellowjackets**, with 11 tracks from the Jobim songbook. Time honored favorites such as "The Girl From Ipanema" and "Dindi," showcase the magic between the songwriter and today's top jazz musicians. Lee calls upon **Alan Pasqua** and **Ernie**

Watts to revisit "Children's Games," a tune he earlier covered with **The Yellowjackets**, who this time around appear on the lesser known "Mojave."

Al Jarreau and **Oleta Adams** bring their distinct vocal styles to *A Twist of Jobim* with two favorites and in doing so, will reshape the perception of both singers' repertoire. Listen to how Jarreau purposely "undersings" the lyrics of "The Girl From Ipanema" as if to pay homage to the original vocal by **João Gilberto**. And **Oleta's** passionate vocal magic on the duet "Waters of March" only enhances the lyrics of this Jobim masterpiece.

A good example of the masterful quality of *A Twist of Jobim* is the opening track "Água de Beber," which takes on new life as a result of Ritenour's intuition. **Dave Grusin's** piano compliments the melody as Lee's use of the instrument sets a relaxing pace for the popular bossa. Grusin also teams up with Brazilian percussionist **Cássio Duarte** (he and **Paulinho da Costa** are the only Brazilians on the album) for a thought-filled rendering of the lovely ballad "Bonita."

One of the keys to the success of *A Twist of Jobim* is the level of ensemble play. This satisfying interaction is a direct result of Lee's dedication to arranging these Jobim jewels without disturbing their own originality. "A number of his songs are almost perfect," explains Lee. "And that was the hard part of planning *A Twist of Jobim*. You have to respect that balance between the original and the desire to work with it. The true test of any great songwriter is his music's ability to stand the test of time. I spent a long time on the arrangements to make sure it came out the way I envisioned it."

Part of this vision is placed in the capable hands of saxophonists **Eric Marienthal** and **Ernie Watts**. Marienthal is featured on the jazzy "Captain Bacardi," and his melodic inventiveness transforms

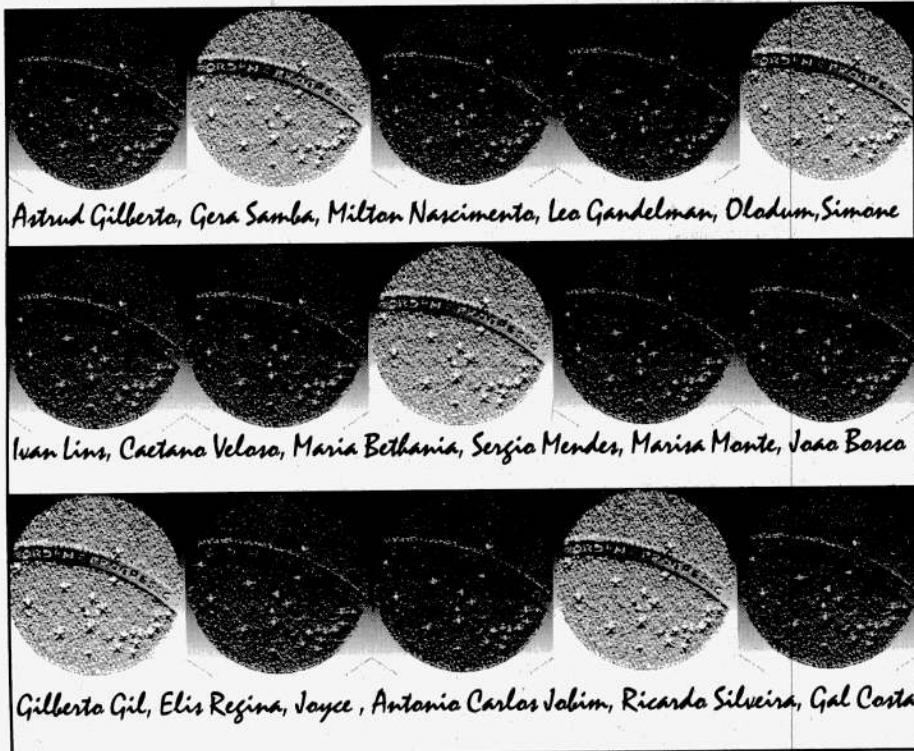
the song in ways that surprised **Lee Ritenour's** expectations of a special reunion: "Not many people remember that **Jobim** wrote a few blues tunes. **Dave Grusin** and I used to play this song quite often years ago, and when I invited him to play on the album, he immediately remembered our history with the song."

Marienthal, who's close enough to **Brazil** to understand the way music integrates with the rest of life, follows Lee's direction and the song swings and sways with a straight ahead feel not hinted at in the original. And "Stone Flower," with its propulsive drive gives **Hancock**, **Steve Tavaglione**, **John Pattitucci** and **Russell Ferrante** room to stretch.

In **New York** about a year and a half ago, Ritenour assembled his first star-studded gathering to pay tribute to **Jobim** at **Lincoln Center**. That evening became the catalyst for *A Twist of Jobim* when Lee and his Brazilian wife, **Carmen**, were overwhelmed by the spirit of the moment. The memories linger here: **Herbie Hancock** recalls his **New York** performance with "Stone Flower" recaptured in this recording. **Dave Grusin** reflects on "Bonita." **Brazil's** superstars took the stage to celebrate where it all began for bossa nova in 1962.

Listen to *A Twist of Jobim* and you'll soon realize that **Lee Ritenour's** vision of **Antônio Carlos Jobim's** music is remarkably similar to the creative flux that originally spawned bossa nova. A development of combined musical styles to reflect the fashion of the day.

Adults worldwide have been captured by the warmth and emotion of **Jobim's** melodies, and now new generations are discovering that the more things change, the more they really do stay the same. **Lee Ritenour** has found an exciting way to broaden that idea, making **Jobim's** musical legacy relevant for today's contemporary jazz.



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THE CULTURAL PULSE

Plays

Rio

O Carteiro e o Poeta (The Mailman and the Poet) — Written by Antonio Skarmeta and directed by Aderbal Freire-Filho. With Rogério Fróes and Marcos Winter. The story about the imaginary friendship between Chilean poet Pablo Neruda and the mailman who delivered his mail when Neruda was in exile in Spain.

Como Encher um Biquíni Selvagem (How to Fill Up a Wild Bikini) — A comic view of loneliness in the big city. Boy wonder Miguel Falabella wrote and directs. Starring Cláudia Jimenez.

A Dama do Cerrado (The Savannah Lady) — Written by Mauro Rasi. Brazil's most successful playwright at the moment. A comedy about a woman who decides to tell her hairdresser about her secret lover, a politician, and what happens after the revelation. Starring Suzana Vieira and Otávio Augusto.

Ninguém Me Ama, Ninguém Me Quer, Ninguém Me Chama de Baudelaire (Nobody Loves Me, Nobody Wants Me, Nobody Calls Me Baudelaire) — Written and starred by Ivan de Albuquerque. With participation of Leyla Ribeiro and Lúcio Mário Filho. While getting ready to present a conference on Vampirism, a group of college students is visited by vampires.

São Paulo

Bar Doce Bar (Bar Sweet Bar) — Musical Comedy. A group of friends discuss and sing their lives under the watchful eye of a caring waiter. Written by Luís Alberto de Abreu, directed by Ednaldo Freire. Aldo Avilez, Fernando Petelinkar and Tico d'Godoy star.

Corpo a Corpo (Clinch) — Adman has an existential crisis in a world a little too competitive for his taste. Oduvaldo Viana Filho wrote. Directed by Eduardo Tolentino de Araújo. With Zé-Carlos Machado.

Trair e Coçar... É Só Começar (To Betray and to Scratch... All you Have to Do Is Start) — The adventures of a bumbling maid. Starring Clarisse Derzie and Roberto Pirillo. Written by Marcos Caruso, directed by Attilio Riccò.

Vacalhau & Binho — Sketches based on Zé Fidelis, an old-guard radio comedian. Carlos Alberto Soffredini wrote, adapted and directed.

Movies

American films just released: *The English Patient* (*O Paciente Inglês*), *Spitfire Grill* (*Spitfire Grill, o Recomeço*), *Star Trek: First Contact* (*Jornada nas Estrelas: Primeiro Contato*), *She's the One* (*Nosso Tipo de Mulher*), *Jerry Maguire* (*Jerry Maguire: A Grande Virada*), *Mars Attacks* (*Marte Ataca*), *Crash* (*Crash - Estranhos Prazeres*), *Curdled* (*Eles Matam e Nós Limpamos*), *Sleepers* (*Sleepers: A Vingança Adormecida*), *Surviving Picasso* (*Os Amores de Picasso*), *Space Truckers* (*Piratas do Espaço*), *American Buffalo* (*American Buffalo*), *Scream* (*Pânico*), *Heavy* (*Paixão Muda*), *Hype!* (*Hype*), *The Ghost and the Darkness* (*A Sombra e a Escuridão*), *That Thing You Do* (*The Wonders: O Sonho Não Acabou*), *The Quiet Room* (*Alma Silenciosa*), *I Shot Andy Warhol* (*Um Tiro para Andy Warhol*), *Kazaam* (*Kazaam*), *Matilda* (*Matilda*), *Flipper* (*Flipper*)

Beautiful Thing (*Delicada Atração*) — England — 1996 — A couple of adolescents (both are 16) fall in love and decide to face the music and fight their families for their right to live together. By Hetti MacDonald with Linda Henry and Scott Neal.

Corisco e Dadá (*Corisco and Dadá*) — Brazil — 1996 — The story happen in Bahia in 1927. *Cangaceiro* (backlands outlaw) Corisco kidnap Dadá who is still a child. She will grow up to love him and to be a real *cangaceira* herself. Directed by Rosemberg Cariry with Chico Diaz, Dira Paes, Antônio Leite and Regina Dourado.

Crede-Mi (*Believe Me*) — Brazil — 1996 — Experimental film with Northern backlands people playing Thomas Mann's *The Elect*. Directed by Bia Lessa and Dany Roland.

Pequeno Dicionário Amoroso (*Little Love Dictionary*) — Brazil — 1996 — A chance meeting between two youngsters develops into a torrid love story. Directed by Sandra Werneck with Andréa Beltrão, Daniel Dantas, and Tony Ramos.

Salam Cinema (*Salve o Cinema*) — Iran — 1995 — The big commotion provoked by a casting call when 5,000 people show up willing to play a role. Directed by Mohsen Makhmalbat. With Azadeh Zangeneh, Marvan Keyhan, and Feizolah Ghashghai.

Trois Vies et une Seule Mort (*Três Vidas e uma Só Morte*) — France/Portugal — 1996 — Marcello Mastroianni interprets three roles, that of a salesman, an Anthropology professor, and a businessman. Directed by Raoul Ruiz.

Books best-sellers

Fiction

1. *O Mundo de Sofia* Jostein Gaarder
2. *Cinco Dias em Paris* Danielle Steel
3. *A Comédia da Vida Privada* Luís Fernando Veríssimo
4. *Novas Comédias da Vida Privada* Luís Fernando Veríssimo
5. *Mas Será o Benedito?* Mário Prata
6. *O Homem que Calculava* Malba Tahan
7. *O Xangô de Baker Street* Jô Soares
8. *Ponto de Fuga* Morris West
9. *Cruzando o Paraíso* Sam Shepard
10. *Legítima Defesa* Jonathan Kellerman

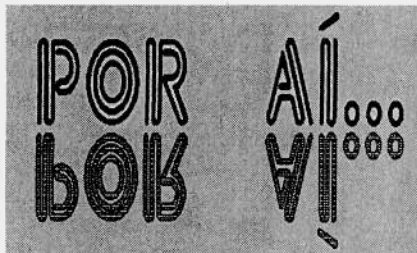
Nonfiction

1. *O Princípio Dilbert* - Scott Adams
2. *Chic — Um Guia Básico de Moda e Estilo* - Glória Kalil
3. *Notícia de um Sequestro* Gabriel García Márquez
4. *Crônicas de Repórter* - Pedro Bial
5. *João Saldanha* - João Máximo
6. *Conexão Manhattan* - Lucas Mendes
7. *Antônio Carlos Jobim — Um Homem Iluminado* - Helena Jobim
8. *O Rio do Meio* - Lya Luft
9. *Vislumbre da Índia* - Octavio Paz
10. *Vinhos para Leigos* - Ed McCarthy/Mary E. Mulligan

Self-Help/New Age

1. *Inteligência Emocional* Daniel Goleman
2. *A Profecia Celestina* James Redfield
3. *O Monte Cinco* - Paulo Coelho
4. *A Inteligência Emocional e a Arte de Educar Nossos Filhos* - John Gottman e Joan DeClaire
5. *Almas Gêmeas* - Mônica Buonfiglio
6. *A Cura Através da Terapia de Vidas Passadas* - Brian L. Weiss
7. *As Sete Leis Espirituais do Sucesso* Deepak Chopra
8. *A Décima Profecia* - James Redfield
9. *Muitas Vidas, Muitos Mestres* Brian L. Weiss
10. *Sem Medo de Viver* Zibia Gasparetto

According to weekly
newsmagazine *Veja*



THE AMBASSADOR STAYS

Speculations about the impending return to Brazil of Brazilian ambassador in Washington, Paulo Tarso Flecha de Lima, 63, seem to be unfounded. The rumors became more insistent after several of Flecha de Lima's close advisors were transferred to posts in other countries. Besides, the ambassador had a series of health problems in 1995, including a stroke in August and two brain surgeries. According to the embassy, however, "he is feeling great and has totally recovered. He has received more than 4,000 visitors in 1996."

The Itamaraty, the Brazilian Foreign ministry, has also been incisive: "If Ambassador Flecha de Lima returns to Brazil, we will send him back to Washington. That's where President Fernando Henrique Cardoso wants him." Good news for princess Di, who will be able to continue visiting her good friend Lúcia, the ambassador's wife, without having to stretch her flight.

DOING AS BRAZILIANS DO

A youth movement model developed and used with success with Brazilian street children has been adapted to assist youngsters in San Francisco, California. The Brazil Project of the International Child Resource Institute (ICRI) has announced the recent implementation of a pilot program called RYSE (Rising Youth for Social Equity) inspired by the Brazilian effort. One of the key beliefs of the program is that children should have a voice in decisions affecting their lives. RYSE youth will develop a microenterprise program run and staffed by the youngsters themselves. For more information, call (415) 863-1100 or send E-mail to: kidryse@aol.com

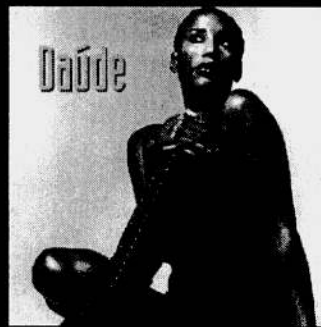
BRAZIL ON STAGE

Vestido de Noiva (The Wedding Dress), one of the most celebrated plays by late Brazilian playwright Nélson Rodrigues (1912-1980), is having its American premiere 54 years after being written. The Yankee version, translated and adapted by Rodrigues's son Joffre and Toby Coe, will start its five-week-long run March 15 at the Theater 40, in Beverly Hills.

In *Vestido de Noiva* Nélson Rodrigues explores the mystery behind the hallucination of a woman who has just been in a car accident. For tickets call Theatix (213) 466-1767.

NEW BLOOD

Americans can now taste the fresh sound of the latest musical Brazilian sensation, Daúde (dah-oo-gee). Maria Walderlurdes Costa de Santana Dutilleux — Daúde comes from her little brother inability to pronounce her name made up by the names of her parents Waldemiro and Lourdes — is from musical-talent-rich Bahia, and she has been making waves and getting critical praise not only in Brazil, but also in Japan and Europe where Daúde's album held a steady place for two months on the World Charts.



Her sound is a mix of soul, hip hop, funk, bossa nova, samba, and Northeastern rhythms. Tinder Records is releasing the singer's debut album, *Daúde*, the same CD that sparked the singer's career in Brazil and earned her the Sharp Award (the Brazilian Grammy) for Revelation of the Year.

"The disc," wrote *The Beat* magazine, "with its feverish dance shakedown interspersed with penesive numbers, is no doubt one of the year's greatest revelations." To get the CD or more information call (800) 900-4527.

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PERSONAL

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Coração Brasileiro - Every Monday, 8:00 PM - 10:30 PM with Dennis Miller - 88.1 FM - WMBR
Brazilian Style of Music - Every Friday, 11:00 am - 2:00 pm, 91.5 FM, WMFO with Marlon Catão

CHICAGO

The Sounds of Brazil - Every Saturday, 10:00 pm - Midnight, 95.5 FM, WNUA with Scott Adams
Show Brazil - Every Friday, 8:00 am - 11:00 am, 91.5 FM, WMFO with Edna Moreno

DENVER

Brazilian Fantasy - Every Sunday, 4:00 pm - 6:00 pm, 89.3 FM, KUVU

LOS ANGELES

TV

Brazil TV - Continental, Channel 38 (call cable); Buena Vision, Channels 6 & 56 (Mon. - 8:30 pm); CVI-LBCTV, Channel 65 (Wed. - 6:30 pm); CVI, Channel 27 (Tue. - 8:30 pm)

RADIO

Sounds of Brazil - Every Thursday, Noon - 2:00 pm, KPFK, 90.7 FM with Sérgio Mielniczenko
Brazilian Hour - Every Saturday and Sunday, 9:00 am - 10:00 am, KXLU, 88.9 FM with Sérgio Mielniczenko

MIAMI

RADIO

Brazilians Love Jazz - Every Sunday, 8:00 pm - 10:00 pm with Gina Martelli - 93.9

SATURDAY 1

NEW YORK

9:00 PM - Samba Novo at SOB's
FORT LAUDERDALE

8:30 PM & 10:30 PM - Raízes do Brasil and show de mulatas at Brazil Brazil - (954) 561-8200

SAN FRANCISCO

10:00 PM - Pandemonium at Bahia Cabana

ANAHEIM, CAL.

7:00 PM - Lois sings Brazil at Ginga Brazil

LONG BEACH

8:00 PM - SambaLá's floor show at Tonys

SUNDAY 2

POMPANO BEACH, FL

9:00 PM - Ricardo Fábio & Show de Mulatas at Brazilian Tropicana Restaurant - (954) 781-1113

MONDAY 3

NEW YORK

9:00 PM - Brazilian Night at Café Wha - (954) 781-1113

TUESDAY 4

LOS ANGELES

9:00 PM - Axé at Zabumba

THURSDAY 6

SAN FRANCISCO

8:00 PM - Damien Trio at Sol y Luna (415) 595-2274

FRIDAY 7

HOLLYWOOD, FLOR.

9:00 PM - Clauduarte Sá at Brazil Samba Café - (954) 920-4426

COCONUT GROVE, FL.

11:00 PM - Live Brazilian music at Grove Place - (305) 448-2553

LOS ANGELES

8:30 PM - Banda Terráquia at Zabumba

9:00 PM - Ana Gazzola at Cava - (213) 658-6600

9:30 PM - MILA Samba School at Café Danssa

ANAHEIM, CAL.

7:00 PM - Sérgio 2000 at Ginga Brasil

SATURDAY 8

NEW YORK

9:00 PM - Katende at SOB's

SAN FRANCISCO

10:00 PM - Entre Nós & Aquarela at Bahia Cabana

LOS ANGELES

10:00 PM - Christiane Callil & The Girls from Ipanema at the Hollywood Roosevelt Hotel (213) 466-7000

9:30 PM & 11:30 PM - Kátia Moraes at La Vé Lee

9:30 PM - ULA Samba Band at Zabumba

FORT LAUDERDALE, FLOR.

8:30 PM & 10:30 PM - Raízes do

Brasil and show de mulatas at Brazil Brazil - (954) 561-8200

ANAHEIM, CAL.

7:00 PM - Sérgio 2000 at Ginga Brazil

LONG BEACH

8:00 PM - SambaLá samba school at Tonys

SUNDAY 9

POMPANO BEACH, FLOR.

9:00 PM - Ricardo Fábio & Show de Mulatas at Brazilian Tropicana Restaurant - (954) 781-1113

MONDAY 10

NEW YORK

9:00 PM - Brazilian Night at Café Wha - (954) 781-1113

WEDNESDAY 12

LOS ANGELES

12:00 NOON - Economic Update on Brazil by Antônio Bonfim & Sebastian Edwards at Lunaria Restaurant. Call Brazil-California Chamber of Commerce (310) 665-0166

THURSDAY 13

LOS ANGELES

7:00 PM - Kátia Moraes at Rhino Records - 1720 Westwood Blvd, Westwood (310) 474-8685

SAN FRANCISCO

8:30 PM - Damien Trio at Orocco (415) 595-2274

FRIDAY 14

HOLLYWOOD, FLOR.

9:00 PM - Clauduarte Sá at Brazil Samba Café - (954) 920-4426

COCONUT GROVE, FLOR.

11:00 PM - Live Brazilian music at Grove Place - (305) 448-2553

SAN FRANCISCO

8:00 PM - Damien Trio at Borders Books (415) 595-2274

LOS ANGELES

8:30 PM - Banda Terráquia at Zabumba
 9:30 PM - Kátia Moraes at St. Mark's (310) 452-2222

ANAHEIM, CAL.

7:00 PM - Lois sings Brazil at Ginga Brasil

SATURDAY 15

NEW YORK

9:00 PM - Juliana Aquino at SOB's
FORT LAUDERDALE, FLOR.

8:30 PM & 10:30 PM - Raízes do Brasil and show de mulatas at Brazil Brazil - (954) 561-8200

SAN FRANCISCO

10:00 PM - Entre Nós at Bahia Cabana

ANAHEIM, CAL.

7:00 PM - Kléber Jorge with Zefão at Ginga Brazil

LONG BEACH

8:00 PM - SambaLá samba school at Tonys
LOS ANGELES

10:00 PM - Christiane Callil & The Girls from Ipanema at the Hollywood Roosevelt Hotel (213) 466-7000

9:30 PM - ULA Samba Band at Zabumba

calendar - march 97 - u.s.a.

MONDAY 17

NEW YORK

9:00 PM - Brazilian Night at Café Wha - (954) 781-1113

THURSDAY 20

SAN FRANCISCO

8:30 PM - Damien Trio at Orocco (415) 595-2274

FRIDAY 21

NEW YORK

8:00 PM - Bebel Gilberto & Juliana Aquino in Bahia & Tropicalia at Town Hall (212) 957-9183

HOLLYWOOD, FLOR.

9:00 PM - Clauduarte Sá at Brazil Samba Café - (954) 920-4426

LOS ANGELES

8:30 PM - Banda Terráquia at Zabumba
9:00 PM - Ana Gazzola at Cava - (213) 658-6600

ANAHEIM, CAL.

7:30 PM - Sérgio 2000 at Ginga Brasil

SATURDAY 22

NEW YORK

9:00 PM - Brazilian Beat Band in Spring Carnaval Ball at Cache Cache (former Indigo Blues) (212) 388-2288

9:00 PM - Samba Novo at SOB's

SAN FRANCISCO

10:00 PM - Lisa Silva & Voz do Brazil at Bahia Cabana

ANAHEIM, CAL.

7:00 PM - Sérgio 2000 at Ginga Brasil

LOS ANGELES

9:30 PM - Kátia Moraes at La Vé Lee
9:30 PM - ULA Samba Band at Zabumba
10:00 PM - Christiane Callil & The Girls from Ipanema at the Hollywood Roosevelt Hotel (213) 466-7000

LONG BEACH

8:00 PM - SambaLá samba school at Tonys

MONDAY 24

NEW YORK

9:00 PM - Brazilian Night at Café Wha - (954) 781-1113

THURSDAY 27

SAN FRANCISCO

8:30 PM - Damien Trio at Orocco (415) 595-2274

FRIDAY 28

LOS ANGELES

8:30 PM - Banda Terráquia at Zabumba

9:00 PM - Ana Gazzola at Cava - (213) 658-6600

ANAHEIM, CAL.

7:30 PM - Lois sings Brazil at Ginga Brasil

SATURDAY 29

MIAMI

9:00 PM - Thirty Years of Jovem Guarda at Gusman Center for the Performing Arts (305) 358-5885

SAN RAFAEL, CAL.

8:00 PM - Balé Folclórico da Bahia at Marin Civic Center (510) 762-2277

SAN FRANCISCO

10:00 PM - Entre Nós at Bahia Cabana

ANAHEIM, CAL.

7:00 PM - Lois & guest at Ginga Brasil

LOS ANGELES

9:30 PM - Kátia Moraes at Luna Park (310) 652-0611

9:30 PM - ULA Samba Band at Zabumba

10:00 PM - Christiane Callil & The Girls from Ipanema at the Hollywood Roosevelt Hotel (213) 466-7000

LONG BEACH

8:00 PM - SambaLá samba school (Puxador tryouts) at Tonys30

MONDAY 31

NEW YORK

9:00 PM - Brazilian Night at Café Wha - (954) 781-1113

COMING IN

APRIL

FRIDAY 4

HOLLYWOOD, FLOR.

9:00 PM - Clauduarte Sá at Brazil Samba Café - (954) 920-4426

COCONUT GROVE, FL.

11:00 PM - Live Brazilian music at Grove Place - (305) 448-2553

ANAHEIM, CAL.

Ginga Brazil - 821 N. Euclid, (714) 778-0266

BERKELEY

Ashkenaz - 1317 San Pablo Ave. (510) 525-5054

Nino's - 1916 Martin L. King Jr. (510) 845-9303

LOS ANGELES

14 Below - 1348 14th St., Santa Monica (310) 451-5040

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Tony's - 701 Long Beach Blvd.

(310) 628-9789

La Vé Lee - 12514 Ventura Bl. - Studio City - (818) 980-8158

Zabumba - 10717 Venice Blvd Culver City - (310) 841-6525

MIAMI

Brazil Samba Café - Hollywood (954) 920-4426

Scala Miami - (305) 371-5604

NEW YORK

Blue Note - 131 West 3rd St. - (212) 475-8592

Café Wha - 115 MacDougal St. - (212) 254-3706

SOB - 200 Varick St. (212) 307-7171

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Scala Brazil - 35-50 31st St. - Astoria (718) 937-0352

OAKLAND, CAL.

Yoshi's - 6030 Claremont Ave. (510) 652-9200

S. FRANCISCO

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Chambord - 152 Kearney St. (415) 434-3688

Coconut Grove - (415) 776-1616

TV & RADIO

- Love 94

TV

BTN (Brazilian TV Network) - 11:00 pm - 1:00 am, DCI ch. 40, S. South ch. 51, Adelphia ch. 52, Gold Coast ch. 99

Luqui Corporation - Jornal Bandeirantes - 11:00 pm - 1:00 am, Dynamic ch. 20, S. South ch. 41, Gold Coast ch. 44, DCI ch. 45

NEW YORK

RADIO

Brasil com S - Every Saturday, 9:00 PM with Judith King, 88.3 FM - WBGO

Canta Brasil - Every Saturday, 8:00 AM - 93.1 FM - WPAT
Rádio Amazônia - Every day, 6:30 PM on short wave - 6.185 MHz

TV

Brazil News - Every Wednesday, 8:30 PM - Channel 34
Brazil Update - Every Saturday, 3:30 PM - Channel 69
Brazilians in America-TV - Every Sunday, 5:30 PM - Channel 16

Media Flux: Brasil - Every Saturday, 4:00 PM - Ch. 16

S. FRANCISCO

Brasileirinho - Every Wednesday, 9:30 PM, KZSC, 88.1 FM with Renato Frota

Brazil Musical - Every Sunday, 1:00 PM - 5:00 PM, Radio Bilingue, 91.5 FM via satellite, with Ricardo and Amarina Pugh - Fresno

Canta, Brasil - Every Sunday, 6:00 PM - 8:00 PM - KKUP, 91.5 FM, with Xuxu, Maria José and David Heyman

Programa de Domingo - Every Sunday, 1:00 PM - 2:00 PM, KSQQ 96.1 FM with Lino Bugatti

A Taste of Brazil - Every Sunday, 11:00 PM - 12:00 AM, KKSF, 103.7 with Dick Conte

Só Da Brasil - Every Friday, 8:00 PM - 9:00 PM, KUSF, 90.3 with Jorge Lima & Simone Odum

WASHINGTON, DC

Waves of Patropi - Every Saturday, 6:00 PM - 9:00 PM, WDCU, 90 FM with André Lacerda

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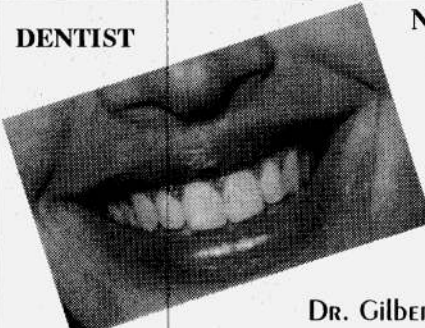
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like stance he assumed while candidates to his Right flayed the PT standard-bearer. Hence he could maintain credibility as a pragmatic social democrat rather than as a stalking horse for neoliberalism.

The New Government and Its Policies

Cardoso took over a country coming off two years of substantial economic growth coupled with six months of low inflation. Moreover, he represented a continuation of the previous administration's policies with a much strengthened popular mandate and enhanced congressional support. He pushed ahead determined to consolidate the measures that had contributed greatly to the country's economic



resurgence. Relatively free from need to trade cabinet positions for congressional support, Cardoso put together an upper echelon ranging from competent to distinguished, drawing upon highly qualified and experienced cadres of his PSDB, the PFL, the PTB, and the PMDB as well as several nonpartisan technicians. In keeping with their contributions to the victorious campaign, Magalhães and Sarney remained influential brain trusters from their seats in the Senate, with the former's son, Luiz Eduardo (b. 1955), presiding over the lower house and Sarney elected Senate president, as the elder Magalhães contented himself for the time being with the chairmanship of the Foreign Relations Committee. In testimony to how far Brazil had come, Cardoso's choice of military ministers was almost routine, falling upon ranking active-duty officers. Moreover, civilianization of the Special Affairs Secretariat was continued under Ambassador Ronaldo Mota Sardenberg.

Influential advisers included Vice President Marco Maciel (b. 1940), Sérgio Vieira de Motta (b. 1941), PSDB general secretary, as communications minister; former University of Campinas rector Paulo Renato de Souza (b. 1944) heading the Education Ministry; Eduardo Jorge Caldas (b. 1942) as secretary general of the presidency; and Clóvis Carvalho (b. 1938), former deputy finance minister, directing the presidential staff. Continuity of economic policy was further guaranteed as Pedro Sampaio Malan (b. 1944) moved over from the Central Bank to the Finance Ministry, being replaced there by Pêrsio Arida as Emar Bacha took his place at the helm of the National Economic and Social Development Bank (BNDES).

Colleagues from the São Paulo PSDB were heavily represented with Motta, Souza, newly elected senator José Serra (b. 1942) as planning secretary, and Adib Jatene (b. 1929) back as health minister.

The PFL placed former Recife mayor Gustavo Krause (b. 1946) and Santa Catarina's Reinhold Stephanes (b. 1939), both with previous cabinet experience, in Environment and Social Security; the Agriculture Ministry went to Paraná senator José Eduardo Andrade Vieira (b. 1939), PTB president, owner of Bamerindus bank, and a former industry and commerce minister. The PMDB joined in with Nelson Jobim (b. 1946) and Odacir Klein (b. 1943) of Rio Grande do Sul as justice and transportation ministers and a northeasterner as secretary of regional integration. *Tucano* Dorothea Werneck (b. 1948) from Minas Gerais got the Industry and Commerce Ministry, colleague Paulo Paiva (b. 1940) became labor minister, and the Science and Technology Ministry stayed with a carryover compatriot.

Former finance minister Luiz Carlos Bresser Pereira (b. 1934) agreed to serve as secretary of administration, and Ambassador Luiz Felipe Lampréia (b. 1941) became foreign minister. By incorporating as culture minister a leading PT moderate, Francisco Weffort (b. 1938), with whom he had long been associated, Cardoso helped draw that party's teeth. Coupled with a policy of extending sub-cabinet positions to PPR moderates, this put the administration at a decided advantage in dealing with Congress.

A first priority was to push through constitutional amendments to provide better balance between revenue and expenditures to undergird economic stability. Constitutional amendments eliminating state monopoly in the petroleum and telecommunications fields were passed with surprising ease, but overhauling the tax system and administrative reform occupied the entire second semester. The politically explosive issue of social security reform was left for 1996. Since new taxes would be effective only in 1996, Cardoso broadened privatization to include significant interests in the Vale do Rio Doce mining empire and government telecommunications companies. Legislation was passed to facilitate foreign as well as Brazilian private-sector investment in energy, transportation, and telecommunications — which made up a major portion of Cardoso's proposed \$100 billion infrastructure plan. A firmer hand was shown than by his politically less strongly based predecessors in forcing state and local governments to assume service on their \$26 billion of public-sector debt burdening the financial markets. In the social field, Mexico's Solidarity Program was adapted to Brazil's less centralized governmental system and lack of a ruling party, and Brazil's program was placed under the watchful eye of First Lady Ruth Cardoso, herself a respected social scientist. Yet the president encountered resistance from entrenched interests and was repeatedly frustrated by the lack of discipline in Brazil's parties and by legislators' voracious appetites for patronage. This created tension between the PFL and PSDB and made relations with Antônio Carlos Magalhães and Sarney less harmonious. Inflation around 2.5 percent for the

year and GDP growth near 5 percent kept Cardoso's popularity relatively high.

Political Organizations and Machinery of Government

Continuities have overshadowed change as Brazil's political system has proved resistant to basic change. Historically, Brazilians have combined excessive faith in the transforming power of constitutional engineering with disregard for the need to develop adequate political parties of a national scope. Also contributing to failure to develop institutionalized democracy is the fact that co-optation (participation manipulated from above) has prevailed over effective mobilized participation of the populace in response to social modernization and economic development.

A Flawed Party System

In the aftermath of the 1994 elections, Brazil's party system remained fragmented to the degree of chaotic. The combination of excessively permissive requirements for recognition as a national party and failure to institute a less irrational electoral system encouraged the persistence of parties that aggravate divisions within the body politic rather than aggregate interests. Brazil's parties have "alternated between being instruments of domination and of political representation," since they have been cadre parties born on the issue of opposition versus support for the regime and built from above with an almost exclusively electoral function. Generally both artificial and fragile as vehicles for expressing society's interests and demands, parties in Brazil have never found significant space in decisionmaking, where the executive bureaucracy has played a dominant role. Although after a long period of narrowly circumscribed powers Congress has come to reassert itself in many areas of policymaking, it has not been able to do so consistently. Its antiquated internal procedures render it unable to keep up with a legislative agenda largely defined by the president even when he may be politically weak.

A major obstacle to drastic restructuring of the party system resides in Brazil's peculiar electoral system; it minimizes both responsibility of representatives to constituencies or meaningful party discipline while encouraging alliances of transitory electoral convenience at the state and local levels. These alliances are often contrary to the parties' alignments on the national scene. This critically dysfunctional feature remains impervious to reform for the powerful reason that those with the authority to change it — the sitting Congress — are its chief beneficiaries. National legislators repeatedly have backed away from significant change because their individual prospects for reelection might be lessened by rationalization of the electoral system.

The flaws of the electoral and party system are intimately related to grotesquely unrepresentative apportionment of Congress. Chamber of Deputies seats for the three big states — 70, 53, and 46 (an increase of 10 from 1990 for the premier

state) — are disproportionate to population ratio — 34 million, 16.7 million, and 13.2 million. In short, each São Paulo congressman represents 486,000 persons compared to 315,000 for a Minas Gerais representative and 287,000 for each deputy from Rio de Janeiro. At the other extreme, each of Roraima's eight congressmen represents but 36,000 inhabitants, their Amapá counterparts 42,000 citizens, and those from Acre 58,000 persons. Put another way, the fewer than 6.5 percent of the electorate in Brazil's nine smallest states elect 72 deputies compared to the 70 chosen by São Paulo's 22 percent of the national electorate. The distortion is so profound and extensive that a majority of the lower house represents only two fifths of Brazil's population, and half the Senate speaks for an inexpressive one seventh of all Brazilians. There is a political triple standard of one per 486,000 for São Paulo, one per 89,000 for the five smallest states, and one per 297,000 for the rest of the country. It takes the fifteen least populous states plus the Federal District to equal São Paulo's population, but they have 146 congressmen to the leading state's 70. Moreover, for the Senate the corresponding figures are one per 11 million for São Paulo, one for each 235,000 in the five smallest states, and one per 1.9 million in the other twenty-one states. Certainly, it is difficult to consider this to be "representative democracy" in any but the most elemental and general sense of the term. Yet Brazilians seem as little concerned with these gross inequities as they do with the absurdity of their electoral system.

A System Resistant to Reform

Obstacles to modernizing and democratizing Brazil's political system are not limited to the party-electoral-legislative sphere. The bureaucratic apparatus inherited from past regimes manifests strong continuities with undemocratic traditions. In keeping with the elites' dominant political mentality of preventing conflicts from leading to sharp change, over generations they have maintained the state's stability in the face of great social inequalities by bolstering patrimonialism. Thus, a state relatively autonomous from society and oriented more toward order than progress intervenes preventively in social conflicts to avoid emergence of new organized forces that could threaten its role. This is done less through outright repression than by bringing conflict into the public arena — which in turn further blurs the fuzzy distinction between public and private. In this way certain "rent-seeking" groups are able to survive within a fragmented pattern of modernization, with society in general paying the bill.

The state apparatus is still marked by a closed style, low transparency, very limited accountability, strong clientelistic ties, and a low capacity for implementation and enforcement. What Camargo and Diniz have termed "the overload of expectations about the state's performance" persists, for nothing has yet happened to change the paradox of a state "strong in terms of the prerogatives accumulated, but weak in

its capacity for implementation." Congruently, O'Donnell stresses the "predominance of personal relations, clientelism, strong regionalism, scarce or nonexistent party discipline, and highly diffuse ideologies" as obstacles to consolidating Brazilian democracy.

Jaguaribe's analysis holds that *cartorial* groups acquire parcels of public power that give them control of strategic sectors and influence the regulatory action of the state in detriment to collective interests, creating niches of immunities and privileges. The situation is aggravated by incompatibility between a comparatively modern state and a primitive party system as well as by broad powers for Congress that leave the president with insufficient power for conducting the government. Acutely aware of these analyses, Cardoso has undertaken to remove the structural bases of such progress-hindering behavior in order that the attitudes undergirding them may weaken over time.

Soldiers, Property Owners, and Workers

Brazil's armed forces remain more than just a potent veto group, if far less than the regime's tutor. The country's 1964-1984 ruling institution still retains a capacity to be arbiter of national life — should it again develop the will to do so. Recent years, from the 1986 elections and constituent assembly through presidential succession and the 1990 and even the 1994 elections, have demonstrated growth, not deterioration, in the power and influence of the propertied strata. With the military having vacated the center of the political arena, these elements have come increasingly to the forefront. Indeed, nearly half the 1987-1990 Congress — whose role expanded greatly with democratization — were linked to business and capital; the body elected in 1990 had perhaps the highest concentration of landowners in the republic's history. In contrast, labor has gained attention but not policymaking influence and remains the short leg of this tripod — still involved in emancipating itself from government controls.

The Armed Forces:

Watchfully Waiting in the Wings

Participation by the Brazilian military in governmental affairs is near a historical low, and activity in the political realm is at ebb tide. Yet military disengagement from responsibility for conduct of the nation's affairs came only at the beginning of 1985, and this after more than two decades in the saddle. Moreover, since the traditional role of the armed forces has been that of arbiter rather than ruler, and as they exerted great influence during the Sarney years, their period of abstinence from overt political involvement dates only to 1990. In striking contrast, their tradition of exercising "moderating power" dates to before the founding of the republic more than a century ago.

Brazil's armed forces are seeking to define their role in a drastically changed international environment before succeeding in redefining their domestic mission.

The end of the Cold War removed a long-preserved foreign threat and all but eliminated the internal enemy, as the domestic Communists both lost their external sponsor and abandoned revolution as a goal and violence as a tactic. Moreover, the military has had to absorb significant budgetary cutbacks as well as see pay and perquisites sharply eroded. A key point to bear in mind is that the

Brazilian armed forces have not "gone back to the barracks," because they have never been fully subject to civilian control as that image implies. They have always at least done a significant degree of coaching from the sidelines and have been ready to step in if the game of politics got out of hand — they being the judges of whether this has occurred. In their preponderant self-image, subject to exceptions and variations in intensity, the armed forces have saved the nation, constitutional order, republic, or the country's Christian, Western, and democratic values on at least twenty-seven occasions dating back to independence in 1822. Although manifesting little disposition to again become directly responsible for the conduct of government, they were showing even less inclination to forgo the capacity to do so should conditions sharply deteriorate. Thus the military's political behavior is heavily mortgaged to the success or failure of democratic politics.

Potential danger resides in the fact that the middle ranks of the officer corps are composed of individuals who opted for a military career when this was the main channel to political influence and even high governmental office. Although there is no strong evidence that significant numbers chose to enter the academies primarily for this reason, this possibility cannot be disregarded. Moreover, as junior officers they saw their hierarchical superiors run the country for two decades and may harbor latent ambitions to do the same. For anyone assessing trends within the armed forces, the formative experiences of the various cohorts of the officer corps must be borne in mind. Lieutenants and captains have been socialized since



decompression if not after the transition to civilian rule. But majors on average have eighteen years service since becoming cadets, and this rises to twenty-five years for lieutenant colonels and thirty-two for colonels. For the brigadier generals, thirty-nine years in the service is the average; this increases to forty-four for the divisional generals. The dozen and a half top-ranking generals average forty-seven years since matriculation; they were schoolboys during the Estado Novo and at the academy between the end of World War II and the Korean conflict. Direct memories of Vargas will persist in the upper reaches of

the military well beyond the turn of the century.

Property Owners: Still on Top

Democratic politics has not put a crimp in the dominance of the propertied elements of Brazilian society. Indeed, with the withdrawal of the military from direct exercise of power and the at least temporary neutralization of the progressive wing of the Catholic Church, they increased the scope of their political activity and range of influence after 1985. Furthermore, the outcomes of the most recent elections were highly advantageous to their continued leading role in national political life. Hence predictions that the balance of power would shift drastically to the left through the installation of fully competitive electoral politics have proved unfounded — as reaffirmed by the 1994 elections.

Brazilian social scientists who have closely studied this topic, concentrating on the industrial sector, have pointed out a strengthening of this sector's organizational capabilities that extended to gaining electoral offices and occupying appointive positions in the economic side of the federal executive. Landowners were especially effective in defending their interests within the 1987-1988 constituent assembly. The impact of this expanded role of entrepreneurial elites on Brazil's political development, retarding modernization and enhanced governmental rationality, stems from the fact that the strengthening of their capacity for organization was done without breaking the historical pattern of representation of business interests in the state apparatus. The direct access of groups, associations and individual companies to segments of the state bureaucratic apparatus persisted as the dominant trait in articulation between the public and private sectors.

In addition to sectoral organizations like the National Confederation of Industries (CNI) and state affiliates — especially the São Paulo branch (FIESP) — urban propertied groups operate through a variety of associations and institutions.

The Working Class and Trade Unions

The political clout of labor in Brazil is still well below its potential. Although greater than in the past, it falls far short of that in Argentina or Mexico. A major limitation on labor's influence is the fact that as the union movement slowly and belatedly escaped from government control and co-optation, it was beset by deep doctrinal and organizational divisions. This still prevailing lack of unity, along with serious leadership deficiencies, undercuts its effectiveness in the political arena. As numerous as working-class voters have become, they have not yet been mobilized overwhelmingly in support of any one party — including the PT. From a comparative perspective the inability of the Brazilian trade union movement to develop a capability for delivering a large vote to one party or candidate — rather than some support to several (by definition offsetting and often countervailing)

— is striking. Equally dramatic is its inability to mobilize and conduct a successful general strike, even in periods of severe losses in real purchasing power and strong antigovernment sentiment.

The key political actors with respect to the pre-1964 labor movement are gone from the scene. Goulart is a distant memory, the present PTB is not a working-class party, the CGT (General Workers Command) of the early 1960s has no connection to the organization bearing these initials in the 1980s and 1990s, and the PCB, important in the labor movement before the military regime, is no longer a significant factor. A thin thread of continuity was maintained into the early 1980s through the docile and co-optable Ary Campista, who was finally forced to yield the presidency of the National Confederation of Industrial Workers (CNTI) in 1983 after two decades in control of the country's largest union organization. His successor, Joaquim dos Santos Andrade (b. 1926), was socialized into the labor movement before 1964, but those who pushed him aside by the late 1980s began their careers well into the military regime.

Santos Andrade played a leading role in convoking the National Conference of the Working Class (CONCLAT) in 1981 out of which came the National Pro-CUT (Single Workers Center) Commission. In this group he was in conflict with PT-oriented elements led by São Paulo metalworker Lula da Silva and their allies — products of union activism at the plant level and the waves of strikes that had accompanied *abertura* at the end of the 1970s. This division was deepened by alignment on opposite sides in the 1982 São Paulo elections, as Santos Andrade's group undercut the PT's dreams of major electoral impact. Mid-1983 saw a general strike attempt that enjoyed some success only in São Paulo and Rio Grande do Sul. In its aftermath Lula and the PT group founded the Single Workers Center (CUT).

With central national labor organizations legalized in 1985 and CUT winning the competition for union affiliation, CONCLAT was transformed in 1986 into the General Workers Center (CGT). Santos Andrade stayed close to the PMDB and attempted to maintain his position through clientelistic and manipulative tactics and government favor. As Lula moved further into the political arena as party leader and frequent candidate, fellow metalworker Jair Meneguelli (b. 1947) assumed leadership of CUT. In April and May 1985 they led a prolonged strike of autoworkers and related São Paulo unions that resulted in a settlement very close to that the employers had offered almost two months earlier.

Hoping to capitalize on dissatisfaction with the collapse of the Cruzado Plan house of cards, they catalyzed a general strike effort in December 1986 that fell far short of making a dramatic impression of strength upon the soon-to-be-convened constituent assembly. With an eye to erasing this embarrassment, CUT tried again in August 1987, but this effort resulted in a full-blown fiasco; fewer than 10 million refrained from working compared to per-

haps twice that number eight months earlier. In its aftermath Santos Andrade lost ground to younger leaders advocating "results-oriented unionism" against priority for ideological considerations and PT aims in the labor movement.

Luiz Antônio Medeiros, a São Paulo metalworker the same age as Meneguelli, and that state's electricians leader, Antônio Rogério Magri (forty-six at the time) undertook to build support for a labor movement concentrating on material gains rather than political causes but free from the opportunism represented by Santos Andrade. CUT and CGT needed to establish credibility and hoped to influence the presidential race, and in March 1989 they held a two-day general strike against the government's economic program. Roughly 40 percent effective compared to 20 percent in 1987, it set the stage for Magri to lead the General Workers Confederation (CGT) against Santos Andrade's rump CGT.

These organizations, like their member unions and federations, remained bureaucratic, unrepresentative, and unable to effectively channel the aspirations of the rank and file — hence incapable of directing their political behavior. After Magri was elevated to Collor's cabinet, the way was clear for Medeiros in 1991 to found the Força Sindical (FS) as a frontal challenge to CUT. His ability to garner affiliation of important unions as well as secure international funding to supplement his pipeline to the government enabled Medeiros, ably assisted by secretary general Emilson Simões de Moura ("Alemão"), to build the FS into a powerful and effective movement — although well behind CUT's 1,800 unions with 17 million affiliated workers. For his part, Meneguelli found himself losing ground, and in May 1994 he was replaced by Vicente Paulo da Silva (b. 1959), known popularly as "Vicentinho," leader of the São Bernardo do Campo-Diadema metalworkers—Lula's and Meneguelli's springboard. Yet representatives of public employee unions predominate in the CUT's national directorate.

Organization of rural workers in Brazil trails far behind the modest progress in urban areas. Indeed, the situation may even lag behind that temporarily achieved in the early 1960s through the peasant leagues movements of Francisco Julião and progressive Catholic Church elements. If one takes into account the currently far greater organization of landowners, rural workers' political influence has declined in relative terms rather than just stagnated in an absolute sense. Yet there is little doubt that in the years ahead as agrarian reform returns to the center of the political arena, the rural union movement will become a more important factor in a number of states, if not necessarily on the national scene.

The above text was excerpted from *Brazil: Culture and Politics in a New Industrial Powerhouse* by Ronald Schneider, Westview Press, 1996, 256 pp.

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