



May 17, 1963

**Memorandum of Conversation from Chairman Mao's
Reception of the Delegation of the Brazilian Communist
Party (The Old Party)**

Citation:

"Memorandum of Conversation from Chairman Mao's Reception of the Delegation of the Brazilian Communist Party (The Old Party)," May 17, 1963, History and Public Policy Program Digital Archive, PRC FMA 111-00608-04. Translated by Sergey Radchenko.

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Summary:

Chairman Mao discusses Manuel Jover Telles's visit to China, the Brazilian economy, and factions within the Brazilian government.

Credits:

This document was made possible with support from the Henry Luce Foundation.

Original Language:

Chinese

Contents:

- English Translation
- Chinese Transcription

**Memorandum of Conversation from Chairman Mao's Reception of the Delegation of the
Brazilian Communist Party (The Old Party)**

Time: April 17, 1963, 8:30 pm-10:30 pm and April 18, 4 pm-7 pm

Place: Hangzhou

Chairman Mao: Welcome to you.

[Manuel Jover] Telles: We are very happy to see you today, we have brought greetings to you from comrade [Luíz Carlos] Prestes and the [PCB] Central Committee.

Chairman: Thank you. Thank comrade Prestes on my behalf. How is his health? He came to China in 1959, and spoke with me once. He is relatively old, about the same as I. [Mao was 70 years old—ed.]

Telles: 65 years old.

Chairman: Then, he is a bit younger than I. You came from Brazil, you passed through many places and have not had a rest. Do you feel tired?

Telles: We went via Africa, Paris, and Moscow.

Chairman: That's more than half the globe.

Telles: We left Rio de Janeiro on March 27, and came to China on March 31. We only arrive here from Beijing this morning.

Chairman: There are positive sides to visiting South China. You can go to see Shanghai. Shanghai is only three hours away from here.

Telles: Comrade Mao Zedong surely knows the goal of our visit to China. We have been entrusted by the Central Committee to come and report on our situation and to understand the views of the Chinese comrades concerning the split in the international communist movement. In Beijing we reported on our situations to comrade Wu Xiuquan and comrade Li Qixin, and comrade Peng Zhen spoke to us about the problems of the split of the international communist movement.

Chairman: I know about this in general terms. I am not too sure what questions comrade Peng Zhen spoke to you about [but] I already know about your report.

Comrade Wu Xiuquan (hereafter, Wu, to Chairman Mao): Comrades Peng Zhen and Kang Sheng spoke to them about the content and the process of development of the Sino-Soviet split, problems of the Sino-Indian border, the problem of Yugoslavia, the problem of the Caribbean Sea [likely a ref. to the Cuban Missile Crisis – trans.], revolutionary strategy and tactics, and so on.

Chairman: I've already looked at the Brazilian situation that you have spoken about to comrades Wu Xiuquan and Li Qixin. This helps me understand the Brazilian situation but there are some other questions I am not too clear about.

Telles: We are fully able to provide even more information, possibly the last time we were unable to speak clearly, but we listen to your disposition [zhipei], if you have any views on our report, or if you have views on other problems of our party, we are very willing to listen, we won't see it as interference in internal affairs. Although our party's history is fairly old it [the party] is still fairly backward [luohou].

Chairman: For example, foreign debt reaching 3.1 billion US dollars, what kind of foreign

debt is this? Does this include foreign investments?

Telles: It does not count investment by foreign companies, this refers purely to payment for goods.

Chairman: of a financial nature?

Telles: Yes. In recent years, Brazil lives by borrowing, repays debts by borrowing, and the debt is growing ever larger. In reality, actual cash never reaches Brazil.

Chairman: In terms of foreign investment in heavy and light industry, your report only has percentages but does not have absolute numbers. The report only has the sum for years 1955 to 1961, more than 500 million [sic; 5 billion?—trans.] US dollars, but I don't know the numbers for before 1955.

Telles: In Beijing comrades already pointed out this issue. We can't provide absolute numbers. One can say that just US direct investment certainly exceeds 2 billion US dollars.

Chairman: Moreover, it's probably not limited to just US investment?

Telles: There are also other countries. In Brazil, current foreign investments, not counting the US, come from West Germany, France, and Britain. Japan is also recovering its economic power in Brazil. The increase in West German investments is very quick, mainly in the car industry and the machine tool industry. Japan's is mainly in the shipbuilding industry. Italy also has some investments.

Chairman: And doesn't Canada also have some?

Telles: Canada has big enterprises, for instance [a] light and electricity company, but most of its shares are in the US hands, real Canadian capital, [Canadian] penetration are not that great. Generally speaking, the percentage of US investments is on the decline but it is growing in absolute numbers. Our report pointed out that annual automobile production has reached 130,000, the main part is in foreign hands, mainly in the hands of the US capital. Around the automobile market there sprang up some auxiliary industries, such as the automotive parts industry. The majority of these automotive parts industries are national capitalists, they have relations with foreign capital. This year after the change of the presidential system, Brazil is going to pay off 800 million US dollars of US debt. Last month, the Finance Minister Santiago Dantas went to the US. It is planned to renew a US loan in order to repay debt. It was originally planned to borrow 1.5 billion US dollars, to use it for paying off debts for three years but the US has only given the amount necessary for paying off this year's debt, the rest remains for later, to hold Brazil by the pigtail. This has something to do with [João] Goulart's 3 Year Plan, it also has something to do with the Alliance for Progress. It does not touch on the causes of economic difficulties. Their reliance on the Three Year Plan of the Alliance for Progress [sic] is not at all in accordance with the interests of the Brazilian people.

Chairman: Can you say that the Brazilian national capitalist class has already captured political power?

Telles: The composition of the present government is still very complex. I already mentioned in the report that the specifics of the current Brazilian situation is that the Brazilian nation has already divided into two groups: one, the patriotic group, and the other the sell-out group. The patriotic group of the national capitalist class belongs to our common anti-imperialist front. The sell-out group includes the sell-out elements of the national capitalist class and the large landowners. Therefore, the specifics of the political situation in Brazil are that there is often conflict between these two groups. Sometimes it relaxes, and sometimes it sharpens. There was a sharpening in 1954, there was the suicide of [Getúlio] Vargas, I already mentioned that in the

report. The latest instance is the struggle of the general strike of July 5 of last year.

So, with these struggles, what means does one use to resolve them? The entire process is in the hands of the capitalist class. The result of the struggle is that the capitalist class reaches a compromise. The current government is a product of a compromise. After a compromise, the government has become increasingly stable in its position. This government has large landowners, big capitalists and representatives of the national bourgeoisie. In general, it's a product of a compromise. Recently we saw a dispatch of the Xinhua Agency, it looks as if the whole process has sharpened again. The head of the war ministry Kuluai'erqitu [Amaury Kruel] fired the commander of the First Army A'erweisi [Osvino Ferreira Alves]. This head of the war ministry has ties to the large landowners, and the commander of the first army, by contrast, has connections with the leftist forces, he represents the national bourgeoisie. One can say that the position of the capitalist class in power has been consolidated, but it is unable to control it entirely. They would [like?] to extend their control, so they want support of the workers, and they are making economic concessions to the workers. Of course, at the same time these concessions facilitate the struggle of the working class.

Chairman: Can one say that Vargas represented the national bourgeoisie?

Telles: No. Vargas was a big landowner from South Rio Grande. He came to power following the movement of 1930. In 1929 there was a crisis on the Rio stock market, the world economic crisis impacted Brazil, the national bourgeoisie looked for a way out, the US was also wantonly acting in Brazil, [it] wanted to get rid of the British influence in Brazil. At the time, the bourgeois class was developing, they wanted to take advantage [of the situation] to occupy a position of political power. The petit-bourgeoisie were disappointed with the uprising of 1924, and also thought that this was an opportunity. The party at the time still had many weaknesses both in terms of ideas and the organization. Under such circumstances, the U.S. put out money to support the Vargas group and attained the victory of the movement. Vargas became president but the Americans were not able to completely displace Britain's position, because Britain continued to oppose them.

In 1932 the coffee plantation owners from Santa Catarina, who had ties to the U.K., started an insurrection, and the government was forced to come to terms with them. Vargas obtained money from the U.S. and gave subsidies to these coffee plantation owners. Germany took advantage of the opportunity and also got into Brazil, establishing a Corporate Fascist Party [Brazilian Integralist Action (Ação Integralista Brasileira, AIB) party?], this party indeed became a mass movement.

In 1937 Vargas, on the pretext of opposing communism, established the New State [Estado Novo], and, all the way through 1945, fully exercised personal dictatorship. In 1938 Vargas made a talk on a cruiser, announcing that Brazil fully supported Hitler. In 1938 there was a political coup that prompted cheers from Berlin. Afterward, due to the development of the Second World War, the US declaring war against Germany, there was an upsurge in the people's anti-fascist struggle. It was only then that Vargas declared war on Germany.

After the war, the British were unable to protect their interest in Brazil because they could not even take care of themselves, and the enterprises belonging to the nationals of the Axis powers came under the control of the Brazilian government. The US set up an air base and a naval base in Brazil's northeastern part, forced Brazil to sign the Washington agreement, and obtained a position of absolute preponderance in Brazil. During this period Vargas also made concessions to the workers' movement.

Before 1930 labor unions were unrecognized by the government. After continuous struggle, now the government could not help but recognize them. But Vargas plagiarized Italy's labor charter in setting up Brazil's labor law. In it, he decreed the extend of the power of the labor unions and regulations concerning social insurance, and dressed himself up as the protector of the

labor movement. After the coup of October 28, 1945 Vargas was expelled from power.

Among the capitalist class, Vargas is quite smart. He also understands how to use cadres. At that time the world war ended, and the people wanted democracy and amnesty of political prisoners. Vargas saw that the situation was not right, He preferred cutting off a finger to preserve an arm and made concessions to the democratic movement. But in 1945 he was still expelled from power.

In the elections of 1950 he was once again elected President. He opted for a strong policy against imperialism, [established a] state oil monopoly, set up the minimum worker wage, and attempted to establish contacts with other European countries. At the time the whole country was on the eve of an election. Vargas wanted to gain victory for his group. He did not dare to resort to tough measures against the people's movement. Therefore, the most reactionary forces, with US support, carried out a coup. At the time Vargas basically had every condition to resist. At the time every democratic force, including our party, initiated contact with him, asking him to arm the people.

But at the time the repressive apparatus was split. If Vargas opposed the coup, there would have been a civil war. Vargas understood that, he preferred to kill himself. He was unwilling to let the people rise up to chop off his arm. Can't say that Vargas was a representative of the national bourgeoisie.

Chairman: After Vargas's death, what factions does the government have?

Telles: He was succeeded by Vice President Café Filho. This person participated in the coup. He had no ability to obstruct the mass movement. Therefore, there was another election. [Juscelino] Kubitschek was elected. The people who supported him in gaining power were the same as those who supported Vargas.

Imperialism wanted to impede him from taking power, they wanted to organize a coup. But on November 11, 1955 the democratic forces within the army launched a counter-coup, organized [sic; probably "prevented"—trans.] their coup. Kubitschek gained power, he is a typical representative of the bourgeoisie. However, I would not [word missing, probably "say"—trans.] that he was a representative of the national bourgeoisie. His thinking was progressive. He wanted to promote Brazil's capitalist development but he wanted to rely on American imperialism and he would not dismantle the structure of large land ownership at the cost of sacrificing the wide masses.

From 1955 to 1956 he established Brazil's auto industry. At the time he could basically rely on the national capital to manage [it]. There already were national capitalist enterprises, which began to produce cars. The U.S. discovered that they could not impede the development of national capitalism, so it became involved in the development of the auto industry. Kubitschek also turned to Japan for capital and established a ship-building factory. He also turned to West Germany for capital, and set up an auto factory and heavy industry. Kubitschek's time was the time of economic development but it was carried out relying on an unprecedented influx of U.S. and other foreign capital.

At the same time, Kubitschek utilized contradictions between all the foreign countries. After the elections, [Jânio] Quadros gained power. Quadros is a representative of the big capitalists of São Paulo.

The capital possessed by São Paulo's big capitalist class accounts for 50 to 60 percent of Brazil's capitalist class. Quadros is not the same as Kubitschek. Kubitschek relied on inflation to drive economic construction but Quadros resorted to financial austerity. Quadros's internal policy was to obey the IMF while his external policy was to promote the principle of self-determination for all countries.

During his rule, [Brazil] began restoring diplomatic relations with all the socialist countries, stepped up the oppression of the people, yet also sought the markets of socialist countries. There were contradictions with the U.S. Therefore, Quadros was forced to resign, there was the August [1961] incident. At the time Vice President Goulart was in China. Fascist generals declared that they would not allow Goulart to return home. They wanted to establish fascist rule. There was a universal internal strike against the establishment of a fascist dictatorship. Led by [Leonel] Brizola of Rio Grande do Sul, it resolutely opposed fascist tyranny.

Brizola organized a legal broadcast network. At the time the third army, stationed in Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina and Paraná, stalled and did not listen to the orders of the fascist generals in Rio de Janeiro, marching north to the border area between São Paulo and Paraná, where it established fortifications. The fascist generals ordered troops into the South but entire regiments and battalions would not listen to orders, there was a split. At the time, Rio Grande do Sul already established more than a hundred worker volunteer battalions [check unit], preparing for war.

Chairman: Did these worker volunteer troops have weapons?

Telles: They did not yet have weapons, they paraded in the street, practicing military drills. The state of Goiás had two thousand peasants with home-made weapons, they advanced on Brasília. At the time our party's direction was to advocate the civil war. Our slogan was: protect constitutional rule, dismantle the big land ownership system, and throw off U.S. control. When Goulart returned home, he returned to Brazil via Rio Grande do Sul. As the leadership was in the hands of the national bourgeoisie, they knew that if a civil war starts, it could lead to the Communists organizing an enormous armed force. Then they adopted a compromise policy, organized a parliamentary government, paralyzing the entire movement. The basic problem was not resolved. Contradictions sharpened again.

The conflict between two big factions sharpened again in 1962. The main movement this time was the political general strike. This was shortly before the elections. Some ministers resigned and participated in the elections. Goulart had no choice but to reorganize the cabinet. The U.S. attempted to organize a cabinet that would be completely subservient to them. The national bourgeoisie, on the other hand, tried to strengthen their position in the government. The two sides acted wantonly, and the struggle of contradictions sharpened. Under these circumstances, workers, under the party leadership, carried out a general strike, proposed to organized a national democratic government, raised the banner of land reform, but did not have the power to impede the new compromise.

The capitalist class and the big landowners were afraid of the insurrection of the masses and renewed their compromise, yet the problem was unresolved. On August 15 of the same year there was a new general strike, 2 million people participated, in the end the capitalist class compromised again, and the question was once again unresolved. In last year's October elections, the most reactionary forces suffered some kind of defeat. The tendency is the isolation of the reactionary forces and the progress of the revolutionary forces. The consciousness of the masses has greatly increased.

I already mentioned that during this election, the position of the national bourgeoisie in the government was strengthened, undisguised U.S. agents were not elected into the parliament. All the candidates of the number one U.S. agent in Brazil [Carlos] Lacerda in the state of Guanabara failed to be elected. The most reactionary candidates from the northeastern state of Pernambuco were also not elected. Miguel Arraes was elected governor of the state. He had been attacked as a communist candidate. The state of Pernambuco is the center of the Northeast, it has influence on other states. The industrialization of this state is the highest in the northeast, and the population is the greatest.

Although we have no illusions with regard to newly elected Arraes, but this definitely is

beneficial for our work in the northeast. In the Congress we also organized a nationalist parliamentary front, in which all the party deputies participate. The sides that I just mentioned are all divided into two big groups.

Chairman: Which group does Goulart belong to?

Telles: Goulart says that he belongs to the nationalist parliamentary front but in reality he has contradictions with this front.

Chairman: Doesn't he belong to the labor party?

Telles: He is the leader of the labor party [Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro, PTB; Brazilian Labor Party] but he is not implementing the party program. The labor party program also proposes a thorough land reform and expropriation of imperialist enterprises.

We are currently facing a situation of a struggle between two big groups. The new phenomenon is this: the worker's movement has progressed. The peasant movement has also developed. The united front has also developed. So what's the result? Although we worked very hard, the nationalist capitalist class still holds the power of leadership. It is like a mischievous boy kicking a ball. First he gets the ball out and lets everyone play. Then, just as the ball is being kicked around in a lively fashion, and is about to be kicked into the goal, suddenly he takes the ball away, preventing everyone from finishing the game.

The basic revolutionary force is not sufficiently strong. It can't come in to take the ball. Basically, two factions are contending, possibly leading in the prospect to an extremely big struggle. The party has concluded that it was not sufficiently prepared in the past, that it overestimated the national bourgeoisie, saw the peaceful road as the absolute. Under the circumstances of several instances of sharpening struggle between the two big groups, the party was in no position to exercise control, and made mistakes.

Be it as it may, Brazil's revolutionary force is still developing. The peasant movement is developing. In the last few years, we accumulated forces, promoting the development of the situation. As a result, the two factions' struggle intensified. The force with the leadership power compromised and could not resolve the problem. A new conflict emerged. As for the national capitalist class, the conclusion of the last few years: every time the people rise, they reach a compromise with imperialism. But after compromise, there is still struggle. Where is the weak point? The peasant movement is very weak. The reason is that we underestimated the significance of the peasant movement.

Chairman: In the end, to what group do the national bourgeoisie belong? I am still not clear. If you say they belong to the sell-out group, they still have conflict [with them], if you say that they belong to the people's faction, they still reach compromise with the sell-out group.

Telles: I think the national bourgeoisie still are a part of the national democratic united front. The national bourgeoisie is divided into two factions. One faction capitulates and sells out, the other cooperates with the people.

Chairman: Does this latter part already participate in the government?

Telles: Some do.

Chairman: Is Brizola a typical national capitalist?

Telles: Brizola has always been close to Goulart. But they also have contradictions. Brizola has criticized Goulart's government. Brizola basically represents Rio Grande do Sul's capitalist class but local capitalists are different from capitalists of another place.

The initial rise of the capitalist class of São Paulo was through the export of coffee, cocoa, sugar, and so on. From landowners they became capitalists, so this capitalist class has ties to the land. They are simultaneously large landowners. But in Rio Grande do Sul land was parceled out early into small holdings. The capitalist class developed from the handicraft industry, it has nothing to do with the land.

Chairman: Can one say that Brizola has also ascended the political stage?

Telles: He has prestige at the national level. He was a governor in the past.

Chairman: And now?

Telles: He is no longer a governor. By the Brazilian law, those who have not resigned from governor's posts cannot compete in the gubernatorial elections. Afterwards, he was elected as a deputy from the State of Guanabara. He received 300,000 votes. In the crisis of August 1961 he gained many people's support.

Chairman: Does he have any relations with you?

Telles: He does. We used to struggle together with him. But we have no illusions. He is Goulart's left arm. He does television broadcasts, which is advantageous for us [check: not clear whether he is in charge of broadcasting or whether he just makes frequent appearances]. Because Brazil's television industry is very developed. Just in Rio de Janeiro there are 600,000 TV sets. In his television speeches his slogans are anti-imperialist and anti-feudal.

Chairman: It's good that you have told me these things today. For now I still cannot voice my opinions because I have not yet seen the documents of your congress of representatives. But I believe that you can find answers in practice. Is the policy right or wrong? Practice will show. China came up a long road. When it started, all it knew was that it wanted revolution. But how to carry out a revolution? Which way to go? This was not clear. We committed mistakes of rightist deviation. We only united with the capitalist class, and did not struggle against them.

One can also say that we committed mistakes of revisionism. We also committed dogmatist mistakes. In 1927 China had a big revolution [sic], at the time there was also a strong worker's movement. Also several tens of millions of peasants were organizing and rising under our leadership. At the time we were not prepared for the treachery of the national bourgeoisie, that is to say, we were not prepared for the treachery of Jiang Jieshi. Therefore, the revolution lost.

We were forced to take up arms, and fought a 10-year civil war. During the civil war we committed mistakes of leftist deviation three times. Only with the end of the civil war was it possible to correct the mistakes. It was only during the anti-Japanese war that we began to follow a correct party policy. Because after overcoming rightist and leftist mistakes one could sum up the experience, and make the entire party stand united. After Japan's capitulation, Jiang Jieshi attacked us again. We were prepared for it. Not only were we prepared organizationally, but we were prepared militarily. So we beat back Jiang Jieshi's attack. It would be best if you could study China's tortuous road.

Wu: They already prepared to send over ten people. We are ready to systematically introduce China's revolutionary experience to them when they come.

Chairman: If China's experience may be of reference – not just the facade but also the experience of defeats – we can provide it for your reference. The important one is the experience of defeats. Thank you very much for coming to China. You have introduced your conditions to us and also understood our conditions. Thank you, and please pass my greetings to comrade Prestes.

Telles: We will definitely take these greetings with us. I would like to once again express

gratitude for the reception we have had while in China. Many of the questions that used to be unclear have now become clear. We are ready to take all of these back with us. Please forgive me for taking so much of your time.

Chairman: Is this your first time in China?

Telles: Yes. But because we have work, we have to go back soon.

Chairman: Later you will have another chance.

(After taking a photo with the foreign guests Chairman Mao and others bid farewell.)

第1

毛主席接 巴西的共 党（老党）代表的

：一九六三年四月十七日下午八 三十分到十 三十分和四月十八日下午四 到七

地点：杭州

毛主席：欢迎你。

特斯（以下 特）：今天很高 到您，我 了普列斯特斯同志和我 党中央向您 候。

第2

主席：你，代我 普列斯特斯同志，他身体好？一九五九年他 中，同我 一次，他年 比 大，同我 差不多。

特：六十五。

主席：那比我小一点。你 巴西，去 很多地方，一直 有休息，很累了吧？

特：我是 非洲，巴黎，莫斯科的。

主席：那走了半 地球 多。

特：我 三月二十七日离 里 ，三月三十一日到 中。今天上午才 北京 身到 里。

主席：到中 南方 有好，可以到上海看看， 里去上海只有三 小。

特：毛 同志一定知道我 中的目的。我 主要是受党中央的委托 我的情 和了解中 同志 共 主 分歧 的看法的。在北京，我 向伍修 同志，李 新同志 告 我的情，彭真同志也同我 共 主 的分歧。

主席：我已 大体上知道。彭真同志同你 什么，我不太清楚，你的 告我已 知道。

伍修 同志：（以下 伍，毛主席）：彭真，康生同志向他 中分歧的 容和 展程，中印 境，南斯拉夫，加勒比海 和革命的 略，策略 等等。

主席：你 向伍修，李 新同志的巴西情 我已 看到，我了解巴西情 有助，但有 是不很清楚。

第3

特：我 完全可以提供更多的材料，可能上次我 有能力 清楚，但完全听您支配，如果您 告有什么意，或我党的 有什么意，我很愿意听，不 是什么干涉 政。我党的 史 然相 老，但是相 落后。

主席：比如，外 三十 美元，是什么性 的外？包括不包括外 投？

特：外企 投不算，粹指 款而言。

主席：是 政性的？

特：是的。巴西几年 都是靠借 日子，以 ，欠 越 越多。上， 款是拿不到巴西的。

主席：外 重工 和工 的投，你 告中只有百分比，有 字？告中只有一九五五年到一九六一年的投 ，五 多美元，但是一九五五年以前的不知道。

特：在北京，同志也提，我提不出字。可以，美的直接投，肯定超二十美元。

主席：并且不止美投吧？

特：有其他家。巴西目前的外投除美以外，有西德，法，英。日本在巴西的力量也重新恢复。西德投增加很快，主要在汽工和机器制造。日本主要是在造船工。意大利也有一些投。

主席：是不是有加拿大？

特：加拿大有很大的企，例如光与公司，但在大部分股票都在美手里，真正加拿大的本，侵入不太大的，美投的百分比在下降，但在增加。我

第4

的告中提到汽车量到十三万，大部分是掌握在外本手里，主要是美本手里。着车市，就生出一系列的助型工，比如汽零件的制造。些汽零件的工大多是民族本，他同外本生系。今年改制以后，巴西要向美清八美元的。上月派了政部圣地哥丹塔斯到美去，打算重新同美借款，已。原打算借十五美元，供三年之用，但美只借今年清的目，其余的留着以后抓巴西的子。同古拉特的三年划有，同取步同盟也有。它有触造成困的原因。他依靠取步同盟的三年划，并不符合巴西人民的利益。

主席：可不可以：巴西民族已掌握了政？

特：目前政府是成分复的。我再告中已，巴西目前局的特点，是巴西民族已分成了集，一是的集，一是的集。民族中的集，是于我反帝一的。集包括民族和大庄主中的派。因此，巴西政局的特点，是集之常生突，有候和，有侯尖。一九五四年曾一度尖化，生了瓦加斯自的事件，我在告里已提到。最近一次是去年七月五日的工斗。所有些斗，是用什么法解的呢？整程都是在下，斗的果是行妥。目前的政府是一

第5

妥的物。通妥，政府越越固自己的地位。政府有大庄主，大与民族的代表加，之是妥的物。最近我看到新社的，似乎都整程又尖化了。部克埃尔企把第一阿尔斯解除，部同大庄主有系，而第一同左派力量有系，代表民族。可以，在政中的地位在固，但有完全能控制。他想要一步控制，因此要利用工人的支持，向工人作性的步。然，些步同也是由于工人本身的斗促成的。

主席：瓦加斯可不可以是代表民族？

特：不能。瓦加斯是南里格朗德州的大庄主，是通一九三零年的上台的。一九二九年券交易所生暴，世界危机影到了巴西，民族要找出路；美又在巴西大肆活，要排斥英在巴西的力；在展中，他想趁此占据政中的地位；小一九二四年的起失望，也是一机；党在思想上和上都有很多弱点；在种情下，美出支持瓦加斯集，取得了的胜利。瓦加斯成了，但是美有能完全取代英的地位而代之，因英反抗它。一九三二年，同英有系的圣卡塔林那的咖啡庄主行暴，政府被迫同他成，瓦加斯向美取得款，津些咖啡庄主。德趁机也侵入巴西，成立了法西斯的全体主行党，党的确也形成了一

第6

群。一九三七年，瓦加斯借口反共，成立了新家，一直到一九四五年，完全行人裁。一九三八年，瓦加斯在一艘巡洋上表了演，巴西完全支持希特勒。一九三八年，生了一次受到柏林喝彩的政。后，由于第二次世界大的展，美德宣，人民反法西斯斗高，瓦加斯才向德宣。了一次，英在巴西的利益保不住了，因他自不暇，心民的企，收到了巴西政府的控制。美在巴西北部辟了空和海基地，强迫巴西了盛定，取得了在巴西的优地位。瓦加斯在段期工人也作出了步。一九三零年以前，工是不政府承的，了不的斗，到了候政府就不得不承了。但是瓦加斯是抄意大利的工章制定巴西的工法的，其中定了一套工的利和社保例，把自己扮成工人的保者。一九四五年十月二十八日政，瓦加斯又被排除在政之外。瓦加斯在中是比明的，也懂得使用干部。世界大束，人民起要求民主，大赦政治

犯，瓦加斯形不，采取了宁可割掉一指也要保存一胳膊的政策，民主作了步。但是到一九四五年，他终究是被排除在政之外。一九五零年，他又再度，帝主改而采取了强硬的政策，由家石油，定工人的最低工，企同洲其他国家取得系。全正在大前夕，瓦加斯想取自己一派的胜利，不敢采取强硬的手段待群，

第7

于是，最反的力量，在美支持下，行了政。瓦加斯本完全有件反抗，的民主力量，包括我党在，都主同他系，要他武人民。但是机器生了分裂，如果瓦加斯反政，引起。瓦加斯很明白，他宁愿自，也不愿人民起砍掉他的胳膊。不能，瓦加斯是民族的代表。

主席：瓦加斯死后，政府由哪一派？

特：有副卡菲菲洛任。人是加搞政的，他有能阻止群。于是又一次行，比契克，支持他上台的就是原支持瓦加斯的。帝主想阻止他上台，想搞政，但一九五五年十一月十一日，中的民主力量了反政，了他的政。比契克上台，他是典型的代表，不，我不是他是民族的代表。他的理是展，他要推巴西本主的展，但要依靠美帝主，又不取消大庄制的构，以大群的牲代价。一九五五至一九五六年，他在巴西建立了汽工，本完全可能靠民族本。已有了民族本的企，始生汽。美不能阻止民族本的展，便插手汽工的展。比契克向日本求金，建立了造船厂。也向西德求金，建立了汽厂和重工。比契克的期是展的期，但是靠美本和其他外本空前的入而行的。同，比契克也利用了各外本的矛盾。后，夸得斯上台。夸德斯是圣保

第8

大的代表。圣保的大有的本占巴西的百分之五十至六十。夸得斯和比契克不同，比契克是靠通膨搞建，而夸德斯是通政。夸德斯的政策，方面是服基金，外方面是主各的自的原。在他任，始同各社主家复交，加榨人民，但又求社主家的市，同美有矛盾。因此，夸德斯被迫，生了八月事。副古拉特正在中，法西斯宣布不古拉特回，要建立法西斯治，人工，反建立法西斯政，南里格朗德州以布里佐拉首，反建立法西斯裁。布里佐拉了法制播网。在南里格朗德，圣卡塔林那和巴拉那州的第三，徐步不服里的法西斯的命令，北到圣保和巴拉那州交界，建筑工事。法西斯命令向南，但整整的不听命令，生分裂。南里格朗德州已成了一百多的工人志愿，准。

主席：些工人志愿有武器有？

特：有武器，他上街游行，行事。果斯州有千民，持着土制的武器，向巴西利。我党的方是促爆，我的口是保法法制，取消大庄制，美的控制。古拉特回，他是道南里格朗德州回到巴西的。由于在民族手里。他知道如果爆，共党人千千万万的武。于是他采取了妥的政策，了制政府，使整

第9

下。根本有解，矛盾又尖化。大派的突，一九六二年又尖起，次主要是政治性的工。快要行。有些部，加。古拉特不得不重新。美企一完全听命于他的新，民族想加强他在政府中的地位，双方大肆活，矛盾斗尖。在种情下，工人在党的下行了工，提出民族主民主政府，高底土改的旗，但是有力量能阻止新的妥。和大庄主害怕群起，又重新妥，于是有解。同年八月十五日，又生了新的工，有百万工人加，果又妥，是有解。去年十月，最反的力量遭到了某种失。向是：反的力量孤立，革命的力量前，群的悟有很大提高。次，民族在政府中的地位加强了，露骨的美的代理人在中有。美在巴西的代理人拉瑟在瓜巴拉州主要的候人都落了。北伯南步哥州的最反的候人也落了。米格尔阿拉伊斯州，他是被攻共党候人的。伯南布哥州是北部的中心，其他州有影，一州在北部工化最高，人口最多。然我新的阿拉伊斯不抱幻想，但肯定有利于我在北的工作。我在也成了民族主，所有政党都有加。才到的所有方面，都划分大集。

主席：古拉特哪一集？

第10

特：古拉特是民族主义，但上他与有矛盾。

主席：他不于工党？

特：他是工党的人，但他不行工党的。工党的也提底土改，收帝主企。我在是面大集斗的局面，新的象是：工人有展，民也有展，一也有展。那么呢？然我做了很大的努力，但是民族掌握。它象一踢球的淘气孩子，先把球扔出大家玩，球正打得激烈，快打球，就忽然把球拿走，大家打不成。基本的革命力量不强大，不能抓住球。基本上是派，前途可能致非常巨大的斗。党的是自己以往有足的准，民族高估，把和平道路化。几次生大集斗尖的情，党都无法控制，犯了。然如此，巴西革命力量是在展，民在展。近年，我一直在蓄力量，促局的展，派斗因而尖。掌握的力量妥，不解，又生新的突。于民族，几年的：每人民起，他就同帝主妥。但妥以后，又有斗。弱点在哪里？民很弱，原因之一是我低估民的意。

主席：民族究竟哪一集？不清楚。它集吧，它又有突，它人民一派吧，它又同派妥。

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特：我民族仍是加民族主民主一的。民族分派，一派投降，一派同人民合作。

主席：后面一派是不是已政了？

特：有一部分。

主席：布里佐拉是不是典型的民族？

特：布里佐拉一向同古拉特很接近，但他也有矛盾，布里佐拉古拉特政府也提出批。布里佐拉基本上代表南里格朗德州的，地方的同其他地方的不一。圣保等地的起初是通咖啡，可可，糖等的出，由庄主本家的，因此些同土地有系，同又是大庄主。但是南里格朗德州很早就把土地分成小。是手工展起的，同土地有系。

主席：可不可以，布里佐拉也是登上政治舞台的人？

特：他在全有威望，前任州。

主席：在呢？

特：在已不是州了。据巴西法律，不去任州，就不能州。后他就到瓜巴拉州州，得到了三十万票。一九六一年的八月危机中，他曾得到很多人的支持。

主席：他同你有有系？

特：有。曾同他一起斗，但我他不抱幻想。他是古拉特的左臂。他搞播，我有好。因巴西事很，光是在里，就有六十万部机，他在

第12

中主要的口是反帝反封建的。

主席：今天你告我的些情很有好。在我不能我的意，因你代表大的文件我有看。但我相信你在中找到回答的，政策究竟不，考明。中曾走了很的一段路，始只得要革命，究竟如何革命？走什么道路？搞不清楚。我犯右的，同只有有斗。也可以，修正主的，我犯，教主的我也犯。一九二七年，中有大革命，那也有很强大的工人，民在我下，也有几千万了起。那就是有准民族叛，即是，有准介石叛。因此革命失了。我被迫拿起武器，打了十年。在期我又犯了三次左，一直到束，才得到正。抗日期，我在党的政策上才走上了正确的道。因翻了右的和左的，可以作，因此使得全党一起。日本投降后，介石又攻打我，我就有了准，不有政治上上的准，而且有事上的准。因此把介石的攻打下去了。最好你能研究我中走的曲折道路。

伍：他已准派十人。我准他了之后把中革命系的向他介。

主席：如果中可以考的，不是正面的，而且有失的，可以供你考，重要的失的。很感你到中，向我介了你的情，也了解了我

第13

的情。你，并代我候普列斯特斯同志。

特：我一定把候回去。我愿再一次表示我在中期的接待的感。前很多不清楚的，在都搞清楚了。我准把些都回去。原我占用了您么多的。

主席：你是第一次中的？

特：是的。但因我有工作，所以很快就要走了。

主席：以后有机的。

(毛主席等同外合影后握)

十八日的

主席：昨天同你，今天很高同你吃，借此机可以点。我看你家有很好的件，有八百五十万平方公里，七千多万人口，源很丰富，前途很有希望。是不能解你家的，依靠无的，依靠大民和革命的知分子，依靠你根据列主原，根据你自己的具体情，立的定你的方政策。无的革命，有一天胜利的。照抄外，程也是免的。我党期也是照抄外，犯右的和左的，就是我昨天大体上的那一些，一直到建党十四年以后，在征的遵上才始批些，改路，机构才立考自己的。我采取的方，是助犯的同志改正，采取

第14

助的度，所以我党的大多。除的人跑到人那里去的之外，另有的人死也不承，如王明，他在共管你拉丁美洲工作的。王明很率，他曾犯教主的，使革命力量失百分之九十以上，抗日初期，又犯投降主的，相信民党比相信共党要害。他的路受到批，我把他中央委。我就是采取种方式方法待犯的同志，了犯的人的大多。因此，我比的，并且因而取得抗日的胜利。抗日束后，介石第二次叛，反共党，但是我已有了准。

和平渡的口后是迎的，如做党的路很危。一九二七年第一次大革命的失，然有提和平渡的口，上也是有取政的心。第一要人的是的右机主的者秀，大党不懂得防叛，不理解叛，怎付的叛，有思想准。介石的叛教育了我，他搞白色恐怖。你家在有白色恐怖，你事上合法，你利用合法自由是必要的，并且很有利，因可以展群。我看你的材料到革命的。什么叫？？第一民，民是半无者同小有者。半无者是，小有者是中，无于占人口大多的民如果不取不，就是去取去他。第二是要民族左派，不是民族右派，民族

第15

右派是不能接受无的。民族右派常同帝主和封建力妥。第三是要知分子中的左派和中派。民族是削的，但了取政，了他自己的利益。他在一定段也利用工的力量。你家据你昨天工党有底土改的，是不是？

特：是的。

主席：好像你在有制定一解土地的，而他已有了一，在上他走在你前。

特：更准确地，他只是土改口，不能算是一土改，只是在他多中有么一。

主席：他不行的。民族是一回事，做是一回事，漂亮得多，做是另外一套。工人，民，小加上

民族左派即一切能反帝主和封建主的民族分子，已占人口大多，但是要取，有比工党更革命的口和是不可能的。口和行不要与反派相，而且也要同中派相。你知道，洲在有很多共党同社民主党差不多，只有些的，有原上的。下去，些党在群面前就得有存在的必要。例如英已有工党，法有社党，意大利有社党有拉盖特的社民主党，群：有了些党，究竟需要不需要共党？英不但工党而且保守党，有美肯尼迪的民主党，他把多口都拿去，如他也要全面和底裁。不

第16

要全面，而且要底。去美政府是反中立主的，在是成中立主。是全面底裁和中立主各有各的看法，他的全面底裁即是全面底。他所中立主即是打着中立主招牌站在他方面的。的中立主，他不成。是跟帝主要有。帝主的口，他要全面底裁，他也成中立主，于是怎同他生，同，同各反派，帝主走狗加以也成了。至于同工党怎加以，不格同他，又同他，必有一天工党：你加入我党好了，因彼此差不多。我同国民党合作，他即提出：你既然信仰我的三民主，承共主包括在三民主之，那就不必有一共党好了。你付民族比困，付反派比容易，看法是的。我去史上就是，民族同我建立一的候，我党的右机主就着展，一九二七年右机主使我革命遭受失。一九三七年抗日初期，我如果不克服右机主，中革命就不可能胜利。期，同民族的一破裂的候，民族叛，又生左机主。最近伊拉克的很值得主，不知道你注意到有？

特：去不清楚，到里后知道得多了一些。

主席：伊拉克的形本是比较好的。

第17

伍：一九五八年卡塞姆取得政的候，伊共力量很大。

主席：布加勒斯特以后，伊共天天和平渡，天天反教主，几次都攻中，把我成主要人，真正的人看成朋友。人就在和平渡，反教主中整我。事先他不知道，卡塞姆政府也不知道，不知道他的朋友明天早上要把他掉。一天早上就把政府推翻，卡塞姆被，伊共和其他好些人也被，抓了很多人。

伍：抓了一万八千人，了四千人。

主席：某些情似中的一九二七年的白色恐怖。不同的是我在白色恐怖后，即接受教，同国民党作斗。伊共有做，看有很大的反抗。因和平渡，反教主，群在政治上弱，人民解除了武，替反革命辟了道路。我同多外同志都我一九二七年和伊拉克的，至于各采取什么路各自己定。中的意只作考，革命明和判那些正确，那些不正确。做判的是革命社，而不是任何的人。事物的展往往不以人的主愿望行的，不一人的愿望或政党的愿望，甚至不以的愿望，往往背我的愿望而行。如中的一九二七年的革命失是背我愿望的，我要胜利而果失，拿起武器打仗有。（伍）你是先去是先打仗的？

伍：先加工作后去。

主席：使我于被，但被可能化主，人强迫我搞武斗，我就敢于武斗。怎打仗法有，

第18

因干一行。既然介石强加于我，我只好干，就走上武斗的道。一打就是二十二年，到一九四九年才建立人民共和。一九四五年世界大束的候，人民的愿望，我的愿望，党的愿望都想不要打仗了。但事的展背我的愿望，帝主同介石把强加我。但一九四五年我已跟一九二七年不同了，我有了准，昨天我你，不只有政治上的准，而且有上的准。一面准，一面希望有和平期。那帝主和介石都希望有一短的和平期，以便布置他的攻。所以那他也同我，做出了很好的定：和平建。就在和平建的口下，帝主和介石完成了的准，但在行准的同也不放必要的模比小的攻。一面判，一面是照打我。模不很大，大概在日本投降后十一月就全面攻我。如果我在以前不准好，不准在日本投降后取政，敢于胜利，那就被打垮。但同一九二七年不同，那有取政的心，因此有准，只是向好方面想，不坏方面想。所有中的些只作考，外到底是外，你有自己的，我只是作共主者，把要的意思同志听。我得太多了，你有什么有？

特：于巴西的工党，党是瓦加斯，目的是要引工人离革命，公要使工人共党的影。工党今天是最

能代表民族利益的党。至于，毛同志得很正确，只是停留在面上。他在工人，人中

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有影。于我待工党的方，我希望听听毛同志的意。我主行底土改，消除基本部中的外本，成立民族民主政府，即一政府。同了取工党的基，也指出他上不行他自己的，要是他能行自己的，我也愿意支持。并且我采取取工党各地基的策略。

主席：我只能一般地，不能具体。代表民族的工党，比之派更不好付，因代表民族的工党有各种欺性的口，它作出某种制度所可的步，如言，集，社等自由，目的是消真正的共主。是你自己的，看法很。因此，的党不能一概反，不能照反派一反民族政党。因此必使你要成他一些西，同根据他要消你一点和他只不做，你就仍有很多文章可作。巴西的家，的革命，民族革命任未完成，你的工在展，然的工展主要是依靠外本，或者按你的法：外本同民族本三分之一和三分之二的系，是不是？

特：三分之二是民族本，外本在巴西的在增加，但比重在小。我根据一点，巴西要展根本不需要外援。在我党的文件上，我完全有力量展自己的工，外本反而妨碍我的展。我交同志的附有一表，上面有官方的字，明十六年外本入巴西比流出去的少。是民族同帝主矛盾的原

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因之一。

主席：我不知道你的工是民族本是外本？

特：基本上是民族本，包括本，如里州的伏尔塔雷厂，年二百万吨，是的。

主席：完全有外本加的工？

特：在米斯吉拉斯州有一比利一美斯公司，但量比伏尔塔雷少得多。名上是比利的，上是美本。

主席：主要命是掌握在民族本手里是在外本手里？

特：外本控制汽工，圣保与里市的力生与分配的百分之八十，肉冷藏和包的全部，磨粉和面粉加工的全部。在家也搞力工，如保阿丰索的水站和其他企都是的。之，外本的增加，相少，民族本的比重增加。里，我想向毛同志解一，即在取步盟正划把帝主的企移到同人民不易生摩擦的部。如力，等公用事部，他要提高利即要提高收，同人民的利益直接突，他要求移金。民族同他妥，助他移，付出高的金，吧些公用企收有。不在巴西，在全拉丁美洲也。取步盟在村也行活，企建立自己在村的地，他搞改良主，如把巴西北部分食品，些都是美的剩余物。不怎么搞，

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之不能根本制度，只是在村扶植富作依靠。有些人如前圣保州州卡瓦略平托也助他搞。要民高价地主的土地，果只有有的民才能，形成富。

主席：不能解的。俄沙皇一八六一年解放奴，也培植一批富，果有消封建力，反而生新的矛盾，新的富同失去土地的新矛盾。（看表）

已不早了，是不是先吃去？

以下是桌上的

主席：外本的，根据你的材料能不能：由于外已三十美元，然外直接投的比重小于本本，但加上外，帝主本仍然占优？

特：是的，外直接投，加上外，又加上巴西外易主要依一的市即美市的一事，可以占优的仍是帝

主。

主席：那么，可不可以巴西是一半殖民地半封建家？

特：是半封建半立的家。

主席：任是反帝反封建？

特：是的，是民族民主革命、

主席：点，拉丁美洲是不是大致相同。

特：是的，大致一，但展水平不同，巴西是世界上不家中最的家，去年的量有三百多万吨。

主席：巴西的生活水平在拉丁美洲占第几位？

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特：很不平衡，南部的生活水平同阿根廷，拉圭差不多高；北部和北部很低，同玻利，巴拉圭差不多；但平均，低于阿根廷和巴拉圭。

主席：阿根廷的工是不是比？

特：有些工，但外投比重很大。最近政府把石油美，受到的反。

主席：委瑞拉的工怎么？

特：委瑞拉除了石油外，有什么工。

主席：哥比呢，听工占拉美第四位？

特：哥比工近年有很大展。

主席：巴西的粮食能不能自自足？

特：小不能，要口。面粉厂都掌握在美本手中，他阻巴西小的生。近年小生一直在下降，一百二十万吨降至四十万吨。但是大米，玉米，木薯等不但能自，而且有剩余，可以出口。

主席：巴西有有旱的？

特：北部由，其余地的河流分布比均。北有一寒多角形地，有河流。稍微南一点，有一圣佛西斯科河，但它向北只伸到塞尔希佩就出海了。可以法使它改道，再向北延，流旱多角形地的中心，就能解一地方的旱。不工程十分浩大，目前不上。

主席：阿河听是全世界水量最充沛的河流，是不是？

特：是的，有些地方旱季也有四十多公里，洪水季六十多

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公里。但有一一共不到一百公尺，整河的水都在几十公尺中流，很大，可以在里搞一很大的水站。但阿河并不是世界上最的河，最的是密西西比河。

主席：我的江是世界第四位。第一是密西西比，第二是尼河，第三是阿河，第四就是江。在地方干旱，也利用太湖的自江的水灌溉。

特：我次的目的毛同志一定很清楚，于共主分歧的，我看了材料，也听了彭真同志的介，已很

清楚。我知道今天这里并不是种最适合的地点，不，毛同志有什么要充的，我也很愿意听。

主席：我有什么要充的。（离餐桌外到沙发上坐）里坐。

以下是后的

主席：取得政的无，如不注意反 派 要复辟，政 是保不住的。

在我的年青人，革命才多大，在的大生，那也不七八，不知道去的困，斗，要靠老一的人把去的告他。（翻）你今年几？（翻答：三十二。）解放才十八。（又在座的伍，江，李，等年后）教育青年要靠他四位，而不能靠他（指翻）。青年人

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激烈的斗，要靠他父一的革命者把斗的告他。我在有些青年民不做活，也要靠老教。（看表）我得多了，就到里！你道而。

特：今天我再一次代表我代表感在中 段期，中 同志我 好的招待，特是我有机同毛 同志面，我得很高。我，我是由中央委 派到中 的代表，目的是代表中央 下一次中央全 作一些准工作，我下一次的中央全 要第一次 共 主的分歧。我上一次的中央全 之所以不能 方面的 是因我 只有片面的情。次我到中，才知道我去所知道的情不是片面的，而且是 的。我回去后要努力使党 事出，把在有的地位，行原性的。同志 我提供了 的材料。祝同志在社 主 建 中取得再大的成就，祝毛 同志身体健康，！

主席：！

（外 起身告，毛主席送至外）