

# MANIFESTO OF OCTOBER 7, 1932

*To the Brazilian Nation - To the country's workers and labor unions - To men of culture and thought - To the youth of schools and trenches – To the armed classes!*

## I

### Conception of Man and the Universe

God leads the destinies of peoples. Man must practice on earth the virtues that elevate and enhance him. Man is worthy by work, by sacrifice in favor of Family, of Fatherland and of Society. Worthy by study, by intelligence, by honesty, by progress in the sciences, in arts, in technical capacity, aiming at the welfare of the Nation and the moral enhancement of the people. Wealth is a temporary good that does not magnify anyone if it is not complied with their holders' strictly enforced duties to Society and the Fatherland. Everyone can and must live in harmony, respecting and cherishing each other, each distinguishing themselves in their aptitudes, because every man has a vocation and is the set of those vocations that realizes the greatness of Nationality and social happiness.

Men and classes, therefore, can and must live in harmony. It is possible for the more modest workers to climb a high intellectual or financial position. Each rises according to his vocation. All men are liable to social harmonization and all superiority comes from one superiority that exists above men: their common and supernatural purpose. This is a profoundly Brazilian thought, that comes from the Christian roots of our history and is in the inmost of all our hearts.

## II

### How we understand the Brazilian Nation

The Brazilian Nation must be organized, one, indivisible, strong, powerful, rich, prosperous and happy. For this we need all Brazilians united. But Brazil can not achieve the perfect and intimate union of its children, as long as there are States within the State, political parties fractionating the Nation, classes fighting classes, isolated individuals, exercising personal action on government decisions; ultimately each and every process of division of the Brazilian people. For this reason, the nation needs to organize itself into professional classes. Every Brazilian will enroll in his class. These classes elect, each by itself, their representatives in City Councils, in the Provincial Congresses and General Meetings. The elected to the Municipal Councils elect their president and the mayor. The elected to the Provincial Congress elect the governor of the Province. The elected to the National Congress elect the Chief of the Nation, and before him respond ministers of his choice.

## III

### The Principle of Authority

One Nation, to progress in peace, to see their efforts bear fruit, to achieve prestige in its Interior and Exterior, needs to have a perfect conscience of the Principle of Authority. We need Authority capable of taking initiatives for the benefit of each and every one; able to prevent the rich, the powerful, the foreigners, the political groups to influence government decisions, undermining the fundamental interests of the Nation.

We need hierarchy, discipline, without which there will be only disorder. A government that comes from the free will of all classes is representative of the Fatherland: as such should be assisted, respected, esteemed and prestigious. In it should stand the people's trust. To the government should be provided the means to maintain social justice, the harmony of all classes, always seeking the higher interests of the Brazilian community. Hierarchy, trust, order, peace, respect, here is what we need in Brazil.

## IV Our Nationalism

Cosmopolitanism, that is, foreign influence, is a deadly evil to our Nationalism. Our duty is to combat it. And that does not mean ill will toward friendly Nations, to the children of other countries, who work here also aiming the enhancement of the Brazilian nation and whose descendants are integrated in the life of our own people. We refer to customs, which are rooted primarily in our bourgeoisie, enraptured by this civilization that endangers Europe and the United States. Our homes are impregnated with foreignness, our lectures, our way of facing life, are not Brazilian anymore. Brazilians from the cities do not know national thinkers, writers, poets. Are ashamed of the *caboclo* and the black of our land. They acquire cosmopolitan habits. Do not know all the difficulties and all the heroism, all the sufferings and all the aspirations, dreams, energy and courage of the Brazilian people. Always covering it with opprobriums and ironies, belittling the races which we come from. Magnifying everything foreign, showing contempt for all national initiatives. Having given us an inadequate political regime, they would rather, before the disasters of the Fatherland, accuse the Brazilian of being incapable, instead of confessing that the regime was the incapable one. Skeptical, disillusioned, exhausted of delights, all that these powerful or those big and small bourgeois talk about, distils a poison that corrodes the soul of the youth. They created ethnic prejudices originated from countries that want to dominate us. Despised all our traditions. And seek to implement the immorality of customs. We are against the pernicious influence of this pseudo-civilization, who wants to standardize us. And we are against the influence of communism, which represents soviet capitalism, Russian imperialism, that seeks to reduce us to a captivity. We stand up, in a great nationalist movement, to affirm the value of Brazil and all that is useful and beautiful, in the Brazilian character and customs, to unite all Brazilians in one spirit: the Amazonian *tapuio*, the northeastern, the countrymen of northern and central provinces, the *caiçaras* and *piraquaras*, cowboys, *calús*, *capichabas*, *calungas*, *paroarás*, miners, cattlemen and drovers of Minas Gerais, Mato Grosso, settlers, ranchers, aggregates, small craftsmen of São Paulo; *ervateiros* of Paraná and Santa Catarina, the *gaúchos* of the Pampas, the working class of all regions, the youth of the schools, traders, industrialists, farmers, teachers, artists, employees, doctors, lawyers, engineers, workers of all railways; soldiers, sailors - all that still have in their hearts their greater love and enthusiasm for Brazil. We must rely on our glorious traditions, we have to assert ourselves as a people united and strong, that nothing can divide. Nationalism for us is not just the cult of Flag and National Anthem, is a profound awareness of our needs, of character, of trends, of aspirations of the country and the value of a people. Such is a great campaign that we will undertake.

## V We, the Parties and the Government

We, united Brazilians, of all Provinces, propose to create a culture, a civilization, a genuinely Brazilian way of life. We want to create a public right of ours, according to our realities and aspirations, a government that guarantees the unity of all the provinces, the harmony of all classes, the initiatives of all individuals, the supervision of the state and nation-building. Therefore, our ideal does not allow us to enter into agreements with regional parties because we do not recognise these parties, we recognize the nation.

Until we see Brazil organized without the evil of selfish partisanship, the Brazilian State expressing classes, addressing the nation by the brain of its elites, we will not rest, in the propaganda which we impose.

Our Fatherland can not continue to be shredded by the governors of States, by parties, by the struggling classes, by warlords. Our country needs to be united and strong, solidly built, in order to escape from foreign domination, that threatens it every day, and save itself from the internationalist communism that is entering its body, like a cancer. For this reason we do not collaborate with any partisan organization that seeks to divide brazilians. We repeat the phrase from the legendary Osório, when he wrote in the fields of Paraguay, saying he did not recognize parties, because they divided the nation and this must be cohesive in the hour of danger. We swear, today, union, faithfulness to each other, faithfulness to the fate of this generation. Or those in power realize our political thought, or we, the Brazilian Integralist Action, declare ourselves outlawed, spontaneously, of the false political life of the Nation, until the day that we are such a large number, that we will restore our citizenship rights, and by the force of that number will conquer the Power of the Republic. So we will march through the Future and there will be nothing to stop us, because the consciousness of the Nation and the honor of Brazil march with us.

## VI

### **What we think of the conspiracies and the graft of groups and factions**

We declare ourselves enemies of all conspiracies, of all plots, conjurations, backstage haggings, secret confabulations, seditions. Our campaign is cultural, moral, educational, social, openly, in plain, with open chest and head held high. Those who struggle with principles need not to plot anything in darkness. Those who march on behalf of clear, defined ideas do not need masks. Our Fatherland is grievously lacerated with conspiracies. Politicians and governments deal with immediate interests, which is why they conspire. We preach loyalty, honesty, uncovered opinions, the struggle in the field of ideas. Confabulations of the politicians are defibrating the character of the brazilian people. Civilians and the military revolve around people, for the lack of clarity in programs. All their programs are the same and these men are separated for reasons of personal and group interests. For this reason, they plot against each other. And meanwhile, communism plots against all. We preach openness and mental courage. We are for Brazil united, for the Family, for the Property, the organization and legitimate representation of classes; for religious morality; for direct participation of intellectuals in the government of the Republic; by the abolition of the States within the State; for a beneficial policy of Brazil in South America; by a nationalist campaign against the influence of Imperialist countries, and, uncompromisingly, against russian communism. We are the revolution in march. But the revolution with ideas. Therefore, honest, loyal and brave.

## VII

### **The social question as regarded by the Brazilian Integralist Action**

The social question must be solved through the cooperation of all, according to justice and the desire of each one for progress and improvement. The right of ownership is fundamental for us, considered in its natural and personal character. Capitalism today plots against this right, based in unbridled individualism, marking the face of the liberal-democratic economic system. We must adopt new regulatory processes of production and trade, so that the government can avoid damaging imbalances to social stability. Communism is not a solution because it is based on the same fundamental principles of capitalism, with the aggravating circumstance of reducing all the bosses to one and enslaving the working class to a minority of cruel officials all recruited in the bourgeoisie. Communism destroys the family to better enslave the worker to the State; destroys human personality to better enslave man to the community; destroys religion to further enslave man to the instincts; destroys individual initiative, kills stimulus, sacrifices all of humanity, for a dream, falsely scientific, that promises to accomplish as soon as possible, that is, at least 200 years from now. What we wish to give to the worker, the farmer, the soldier, the sailor is the possibility to rise according to their vocation and righteous desires. We intend to give everyone the means to achieve, by their qualities, work and constancy, an increasingly better position, both in and outside of their class, and even in the government of the Nation. We do not teach the worker the doctrine of cowardice, disillusionment, hatred, resignation, like communism, or anarchy, the doctrine of submission, of inevitable ostracism, conformation with the

impositions of politicians, like liberal democracy. We teach the doctrine of courage, hope, love of Country, of Society, of Life, in what it has of most beautiful and achievable, of just ambition to progress, to own property, to elevate himself and the family. We do not destroy the person, like communism, nor oppress, as liberal democracy; we dignify them. We want workers with the guarantee of wages suited to their needs, taking an interest in the profits according to their effort and ability, head held high, taking part in studies of subjects that concern them; with an enlightened sight, as a free man; taking part in the decisions of the government, as a superior being. Finishing factionalisms, regionalisms; organizing the nation, with workers participating in the government, by their legitimate representatives, with an oversight exercised by the Integralist State on all productive activities, the doors will be open to all aptitudes. The organized classes will ensure their members, in collective agreements, of the needs for the work or production of each, in a way that does not, as it has been until now, put those who are unemployed to the humiliation of job applications, often received with contempt by those whom they seek, which leads to fair riots. Free the workers and the petty bourgeoisie of the criminal indifference of liberal governments. Save them from the slavery of communism. Transfigure the worker, hero of the new country, the superior man, enlightened by the noble ideals of material, intellectual and moral elevation, these are our purposes. To the State, the competence to protect all.

## **VIII**

### **The Family and the Nation**

The importance we attach to Producing and Working Classes is as great as we do to the family. It is the basis of happiness on earth. One of the few possible fortunes. In what consists the happiness of man? These tiny things, so smooth, so simple: the stroking of a mother, a father's word, the tenderness of a wife, the love of a son, a brother's embrace, the dedication of relatives and friends. Solidarity in misfortune, in sickness, in death, that no State, in its bureaucratic or legal term, will never prevent, in any time. Communion in the joys, the triumphs, the fights, all the moments of comfort, the stimulus of every day, the hope of perpetuity through blood and affectionate remembrance, here is what the family is, perpetual source of spirituality and renewal, while projection of the human personality. Take family away from man and what stays is an animal; make him a piece working in the state and we will have the automaton, unhappy, downgraded from its superior condition. What affection, what comfort, what consolation can the State give to this "economic entity", in times of great afflictions, or at the time of death? Who will encourage him in times of sorrow, that will be so inevitable in the regime of communist bureaucracy as in any other regime? At the supreme moment, science, public life, social life, community life, individualistic selfishness are not enough; it is necessary that the heart enters a man's life and speaks this language that is not of the compassion of a stranger, of formalist philanthropy, of official support, nor of an absurd socialization of affections: - but the profound language of long-nurtured and stimulated affinities. Man can not turn himself into a bee or a termite. Man and his family preceded the State. The State must be strong to keep man and his family intact. Because the family is establishing the virtues that consolidate the state. The State itself is a large family, a group of families. With this character he has authority to trace the paths to the Nation. Based on the rights of the family the State has the duty to achieve social justice, representing the producing classes. We intend, at this grave time for the Brazilian family, to subscribe its defense in our program. It is to defend the family of the worker, merchant, industrialist, farmer, peasant, businessman, physician, pharmacist, lawyer, engineer, magistrate, scientist, artist, teacher, employee, soldier and sailor, against disruption, prostitution and ruin, that we wish the Strong State, based on the living forces of the nation.

## **IX**

### **The City, Center of the Families, Cell of the Nation**

The city is a gathering of families. The man and the woman, as professionals, as agents of production and progress, must enroll in their respective classes, in order to be supported by them, in times of sickness and unemployment. Thus, those who work and produce are guaranteed by their own class, they do not rely on

favors from political leaders, warlords, local directories, electoral canvassers. It is the only way to make vote free and conscious. Classes elect their representatives to the municipal councils, as we said, and they elect their president and mayor. Municipalities should be autonomous in all matters relating to their peculiar interests, because the city is a meeting of residents who aspire to local progress and welfare. Administrative morality can be enforced by the classes themselves, because what determined the demoralization of Municipal Councils, in the liberal system, was graft, the support that local political bosses had from leaders of state policy. With parties extinct, the municipal government will rest on the willingness of the classes. Within these, no foreign influence could be exerted, because everyone feels supported by the class to which they belong. There will be no ways of making political persecution, because the local government will be free from injunctions of men who, living outside the municipality, meddle in their business, as has been common. The city, therefore, headquarters of families and classes, will be managed with honesty, will be autonomous and will be directly linked to national goals.

## X The Integralist State

We intend to conduct the Integralist State, free of any principle of division: political parties; statisms in the struggle for hegemony, class struggles, local factions; warlordisms; disorganized economy; antagonisms between the military and the civilians; antagonisms between state militias and the Army; between the government and the people; between the government and the intellectuals; between those and the popular masses. We intend to operate the classic powers (Executive, Legislative and Judicial), according to the impositions of the Organized Nation, with bases in its Productive Classes, in the City and the Family. We intend to create the supreme authority of the Nation. We intend to mobilize all technical capabilities, all scientists, all artists, all professionals, each acting within its sphere, to realize the greatness of the Brazilian Nation. We intend to take as the basis of the Great Nation, the man of our own land, in his historical, geographical, economic reality, in his character, his nature, his aspirations, studying it deeply, according to science and morality. From this biological and psychological element, deduct social relations, with secure standards of law, education, economic policy, legal grounds. As the dome of this building, we will accomplish the supreme idea, the synthesis of our civilization: in philosophy, in literature, in the arts which express the meaning of our national and human spirit. We intend to create, with all the racial elements, according to mesological and economic imperatives, the Brazilian Nation, saving them from the errors of capitalist civilization and and the mistakes of communist barbarism. Create in a single expression the Economic State, the Financial State, the Representative State and the Cultural State. We intend to raise the Brazilian population, in an unprecedented union, in a force never achieved, in a hope never imagined. We intend to lay the foundations for an educational system to ensure the survival of the Nation in the future. We intend to inject energy to the youth, pluck them out of the disbelief, apathy, skepticism and sorrow in which they live, teach them the lesson of courage, instilling in them the certainty of the value that each has within himself, as the son of Brazil and of America. Drive the popular masses in a great affirmation of rejuvenation. Shake the fibers of the Fatherland. Save it from its depression, its dismay, its sorrow, so it walks, starting the New Civilization, which, by our strength, by our audacity, through faith we will come from Brazil, ignite our continent, and influence even in the World. For this, we will fight the ironists, the indifferent, the disillusioned, the unbelievers, because this time we swore not to rest a moment, until we are victorious or dead, because with us wins or dies the Fatherland.

**These are the paths of our march!**