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Attraction and Division: Lithuanian organizations in Brazil under surveillance of the Political Police (1924–1950)

Most Lithuanian immigrants in Brazil established themselves in the State of São Paulo where they worked on coffee farms. Soon after arriving to São Paulo, they began to join into organizations because of the national feeling appeal, different political ideologies, and through social networks. In such organizations, two main poles have attracted and divided the preference of Lithuanians: the “communities”, with a strong catholic and nationalist appeal, and the left-wing movements, mostly with communist orientation.

Political movements carried out by foreigners were systematically surveilled by the Brazilian Political Police, particularly by the DEOPS/SP (São Paulo State Department of Political and Social Order, for its acronym in Portuguese). DEOPS was Founded in 1924, but played an important role during the Getúlio Vargas period (1930-1945). Vargas government was remarked by authoritarian politics. In 1930 he began a so called “revolution” against traditional oligarchy, but was in fact a Coup d’état. Vargas assumed dictatorial powers, censoring the press, excluding poli-

tical parties, weakening trade unions, and used Political Police to control social and politic movements especially leftists. Vargas also maintained a nationalist political view introducing laws and restrictions for immigrants’ cultural and political manifestation. In 1934 he was elected president by parliament. With a new coup d’état, in 1937 he created the “Estado Novo” (New State) based on Italian fascism constitution. Therefore, during the 1930’s and the 1950’s, DEOPS/SP kept Lithuanian residents in São Paulo under strict surveillance.

DEOPS registers, now available for public access, gathered a large amount of documentation regarding this community. These documents include material both from surveillance – reports by informers, and from direct repression material, including material apprehended from the immigrants – newspapers, leaflets, society’s statutes and photographs. Ironically, the organ that was responsible for silencing dissident voices ended up preserving a wealth of documents that would have had hardly survived otherwise. In this paper, our proposal is to analyze Lithuanian

organizations and publications that have been under the alert surveillance of DEOPS/SP, in order to understand the origins and development of social and political movements created by Lithuanian immigrants in Brazil.

The promise of an easy land purchase made Brazil the main destination among Lithuanians during 1926 and 1930. In this paper we rely on the *Immigration and Colonization Service Report* which refers to the number of Lithuanian immigrants in São Paulo. Lithuanians started to be inscribed into the Brazilian registers only after the country's independence, in 1918. Those who entered Brazil earlier, were classified as Russians. According to these records, 20,918 Lithuanians entered São Paulo, among which 16,625 were classified as "catholics" and 4,293 as "non-catholics". The register of 1940 refers to 25,721 Lithuanians.

Unlike other national groups, which concentrated around farms or in certain regions in the countryside of the State of São Paulo, Lithuanians dispersed in more than one hundred locations. In farms, however, they were subjected to meagre work conditions which were worsened by the fall of coffee price caused by the collapse of the New York Stocks Market, in 1929. As a result of this, the majority of Lithuanians moved to São Paulo city, in search for employment in the rising industries.

For Lithuanian immigrants the end of the 1920's was highlighted by the formation of their community. The Church was the first institution to gather them in São Paulo city. In 1928, the community started to articulate organizations of a catholic association, the *Lietuvių Rymų Katalikų Š. Juozapo Bendruomenė* headed by Jeronimas Valaitis. Their main purpose, besides assembling catholics, was to build a church for Lithuanians.

From 1928 onwards, the Lithuanian government started to contribute to the community management, particularly through the Lithuanian consulate, established in São Paulo. The main task of the then consul Petras Maciulis

was helping out Lithuanian immigrants with the exploitation and fraud cases. As a consequence, the consul sought to cooperate with the already existing Lithuanian associations, including those whose ideological stance was close to that of left-wing political groups. The most significant association of the period was the *Lietuvių Išėivių Globos Draugija*. Founded by Antanas Dutkus, the association purpose was to support newly arrived Lithuanians in legal proceedings and as well as provide mutual assistance. It would last for a short time though, due to internal ideological differences.

However, as Brazilian laws prohibited foreign institutions, including consulates, to acquire property it was necessary to create an association which would be legally accountable to the Brazilian government. That is why *Sajunga, Aliança Lituano-Brasileira de Assistência Social (Lithuanian-Brazilian Social Welfare Alliance)* was founded. By receiving resources from Lithuania, the association was able to construct five schools and several sport clubs.

At the same time, associations that engaged into social criticism, started to rise among Lithuanian workers. During the 1910's and 1920's, the daily life in the city of São Paulo was marked by strikes organised by workers' organizations influenced by anarchist, and later, communist ideas. Inside factories and labor unions, immigrants were attracted by political movements that sought to soften their harsh work and living conditions.

Thus, throughout the 1930's, several Lithuanian leftist organizations, such as, the *Clube Lituano de Cultura Artística e Esportiva (Lithuanian Club of Artistic and Sportive Culture)*¹, the *Clube Lituano de Cultura de Vila Zelina (Vila Zelina's Lithuanian Club of Culture)*² and the *Conjunto de Amadores Dramáticos, Rytas (Collective of Amateur Drama Actors)* were operating³. All of them were later closed by the Political Police, and the *Clube Lituano de Vila Zelina's* members were identified and arrested by the DEOPS/SP. Likewise, the

Clube Lituano de Cultura Artística e Esportiva was considered by the police authorities as a “communist lair”, where meetings were held spread “subversive” ideas.

The presence of Lithuanians with different political orientations resulted in conflicts that marked the way this group functioned in the Brazilian society. The first such conflict took place when Brazilian authorities, through the Secret Police of the State of São Paulo (DEOPS), closed left-wing newspapers and associations. Members of these associations accused the Lithuanian consul of collaborating with that repressive body and persecuting the activists. This was a severe matter, as Brazilian legislation determined the expatriation of foreign activists arrested for the practice of political crimes. The conflict resulted in violent demonstrations as October 25th, 1930, when Lithuanian communists organized a public march, in which they sang the *International*, vandalized a publishing house and the Lithuanian consulate building, as well as threatened the priest Jeronimas Valaitis with death.

Consequently, the priest was too scared to fulfil his religious functions, and the only remaining option for him was to returning to Lithuania. The division between catholics and communists marked the daily life of Lithuanians living in São Paulo in a permanent way, for it was not an isolated episode; on the contrary, we can see it as a milestone in the daily life of the Lithuanian community in Brasil.

In the publications of Lithuanian immigrants, continual attacks were part and parcel of their daily life. A newspaper *Lietuvis Brazilijoje* is an example of this stand, and it was published in partnership with the consulate since 1928. In its pages we find several calls for Lithuanian people to keep away from communists, as well as harsh criticism of pro-communist, on so-called “red creed” associations. In 1933, two articles attracted the attention of the Secret Police, and as such, they were translated from Lithuanian

to Portuguese and filed along with the record of the *Clube Lituano de Cultura de Vila Zelina*. One of the articles criticized a festival held by the so-called “culturalists”, that had ended in fighting and vandalism, but the reasons for the case being so were not indicated. In an article, titled “*Culturalist” festival without culture*”, the author pointed out that for a long time the district of Vila Zelina in São Paulo sheltered Lithuanian communists “*that besides the festivals(...) they (i.e. - the “culturalists”; author’s note) go around nailing red cloths and distributing communist newsletters, spreading communist literature*”⁴.

Lithuanian left-wing organizations also printed several newspapers which were, obviously, clandestine. Among the most important of these were *Garsas*, *Darbinikų Žodis* and *Mūsų Žodis*. Such newspapers indicate political and community organization among Lithuanians, as maintaining a clandestine media in the 1930’s was not an easy task, in terms of both regarding the technical side and the necessary articulation for the clandestine execution and distribution. Needless to say, this kind of press was at the center of attention of the Political Police as through the discourse used by the immigrants it would be able to spread “subversive” ideas and “doctrines strange to the country”. Thus, the police made special efforts in identifying places where they were published in order to arrest people behind them and expel them from the country.

The first Lithuanian newspaper considered as communist by the police was *Garsas*, published by Alfonso Marma and Adolpho Zovkas. It did not last long. The police have not preserved any copy of this publication, which makes difficult to recover its editorial and ideological proposal. The only reference we have is a letter sent by Zigmąs Paskaulis to *Garsas’* office, which was confiscated by the DEOPS/SP in the post office. In the letter, the sender mentions that among all the Lithuanian newspapers in São Paulo, *Garsas* was the only

one that “*cared more for Soviet Union*”, before asking if the editors had received any other newspaper in Lithuanian from the USSR⁵.

According to the police, the *Garsas*' publications featured the collaboration of the *Sociedade dos Lituanos no Brasil*, in the neighbourhood of *Bom Retiro* in São Paulo city. As a consequence of a denouncement, the *Garsas*' office was raided by the Political Police on July 3rd, 1930 and had its material confiscated. Adolpho Zovkas and Affonso Marma were able to escape, while Casimiro Ramanauskas and Vicente Tomachautz, who were present during the raid, were arrested. The activists were put on trial in order to be expelled from the country by official decree.

Though *Garsas* was considered as the first communist newspaper to be published in Lithuanian language, it should be mentioned that it had no direct connection with the PCB, Brazilian Communist Party. It was in fact *Darbinikų Žodis* the first Lithuanian newspaper, to be actually connected to the PCB. Established right after the closure of *Garsas*, the aforementioned publication was published by the Lithuanians Abrahão⁶ and Tzia⁷ Kovalsky, Albino Kynas⁸ and Leon Shofferman. According to the police investigation, the path of Abrahão Kovalsky as a communist militant started in Lithuania, from where he escaped to Russia. As a member of the Communist International (Comintern), he was sent to Germany, where he frequented Communist Party meetings, and where he met his future wife Tzia.

The Kovalskys had illegally entered Brazil in 1928 landing from a ship in the city of Santos in São Paulo State for a supposedly touristic travel, but instead headed to São Paulo, where they contacted another communist activist Albino Kynas. When arrested, Kynas stated to the police to he had become a “communist” in Brazil and admitted to having enrolled in the PCB in 1931. The typography was assembled in the house of the Kovalskys, and it was there that both the *Darbinikų Žo-*

dis newspaper in Lithuanian and the *Undzer Vort* in Yiddish were printed. *Darbinikų Žodis* strictly followed the directives of the PCB and the Communist International (Comintern) which at that moment defended the independent policy without allying to other left-wing groups, especially to the social-democrats, whom they accused of fascism. In Latin America, this policy was named as *Obreirismo* (*Workerism*). In one of its editorial letters, *Darbinikų Žodis* declared that the solution for Brazil depended on the struggle between proletarians and the government and capitalism. It also associated the Brazilian reality to the coup of 1930, lead by Vargas, who besides being authoritative, represented the interests of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. In this context of criticism and denouncement, the image of the Soviet Union emerged, promoted by the newspaper as “*the land of workers, where there would not be unemployment, hunger, and the workers would live in good conditions, without exploitation*”. This idealized image was powerful enough to attract those who were systematically submitted to harsh labour conditions in Brazil. Following the Soviet Union model was seen as mean of achieving an objective possibility of another kind of social organization. Thus, the idealized representation of the USSR was shaped as a response to the present needs between the workers living in Brazil while having no relationship to the actual process in the USSR.

Darbinikų Žodis encouraged the enrollment of workers in the Brazilian Communist Party (PCB), as this one was “*already organized*”. We may suppose two things from this recommendation: first, the perception that there would be groups of Lithuanian communists that were not affiliated to the party. Second, that even though the newspaper was aimed to reach a specific and limited national group, more so because of the language it used, it proposed the integration to broader organizations of the working class in a shared struggle.

At this point, it is necessary to note a peculiarity of the Communist Party's action during the 1930's. Working in the city of São Paulo, where a significant share of the population was made up of immigrant workers from various origins, internal divisions were established, with the purpose of acting along with each nationality. Thus, national origin was used as a strategy to reach all the workers in all their diversity. This aim can be found across in *Darbinikų Žodis*' subtitle, which indicates "Lithuanian Fraction". This intention was fairly successful, if we consider the associations and newspapers produced by Lithuanian immigrants in comparison to the other nationalities. For example, Polish and Russian immigrants were never able to publish their own left wing periodicals. Having enough information about *Darbinikų Žodis* ideology and activities, the State police resumed investigations aiming to invigilate the work of Tzia Kovalsky. In March 18, 1932, Abrahão and Tzia Kovalsky were arrested, along with Albino Kynas and Leon Shofferman, while they were printing copies of the newspapers. All of them were put on trial and expelled from Brazil.

A little more than one year after closing *Darbinikų Žodis*, another clandestine newspaper *Mūsų Žodis* began to circulate. The Police's references to *Mūsų Žodis* publication are scarce. The State police was not able to find the print house or to identify its editors. In a report about Communist Party activities, investigators even suggested that the newspaper was not printed in Brazil⁹. Thus, we don't know ways that allowed it to be spread secretly, and are not even sure about the period of its circulation.

Analyzing the ideological content of *Mūsų Žodis*, we see some changes in the Brazilian Communist Party's (PCB) directives. Following the Communist International, the PCB initiated a creation of a broad front uniting left-wing associations to fight the advancement of fascism. Thus, the PCB supported the formation of the ANL, *Aliança Nacional*

Libertadora (National Liberator Alliance) directed by Luiz Carlos Prestes. Anti-imperialism and agricultural issues were topics presented in other articles of *Mūsų Žodis*. However, the newspaper had propaganda-oriented aims, and was not concerned with long theoretical explanations of political concepts. It was dedicated to emphasize the party's directives with short texts filled with political mottos. Also disputes among Lithuanians in their own organizations were emphasized, by pointing out that the Catholic Church and Lithuanian Consulate worked as denouncers of communist workers.

In search of information in the Lithuanian communist newspaper *Mūsų Žodis*, the police chief in charge sent a letter to the Lithuanian consulate requesting more information about the newspaper. The consul stated to know nothing about it. However, he made use of the situation to request an investigation on the *Lietuvių AIDAS Brazilijoj* newspaper. His intent was to close the newspaper and to expel its editors, Kostas Uckus¹⁰ and Antanas Dutkus¹¹, as a newspaper which "insulted" the Lithuanian government could not be favorable "to the development of good relationships between the two friendly countries" and concluded that: "It is exactly at this moment (...) when His Excellency, Mr. President of the Republic of Brazil has suspended the constitutional warranties, considering that the most fierce prevention and repression measures have become necessary, more than ever, and the closing of *Lietuvių AIDAS Brazilijoj* newspaper is perfectly legal(...) as it is in the interest of Brazil to expel its two directors and editors"¹²

The law referred to by the consul was the National Security Act, one of the most repressive laws ever enacted in Brazil that simplified and enlarged the deportation of foreigners involved in political activities. The latter request reveals the parallelism of the Lithuanian consulate and the Politic Police in their efforts to silence left wing criticism.

The *Lietuvių AIDAS Brazilijoj* came into being in 1927. In the pages of this periodical we see a critical stance towards the Lithuanian president Antanas Smetona. Moreover, the Lithuanian elite was called “feudal”, and deemed as being responsible for Lithuanian emigration, a traumatic period, and also deemed as being responsible for the terrible living conditions that the immigrants met in Brazil. In this sense, such criticism was a nuisance to the consulate. The newspaper also adopted an anti-clerical stance, as can be seen in the article: “*What does the Church serve for?*” which claimed that this institution was the “*worker’s worst enemy*” and that the priests lived voluptuous and luxurious lives¹³.

Unlike other Lithuanian newspapers, that belonged to, or were supported by, organizations such as the consulate or the Communist Party, *AIDAS* was sustained by commercial advertisements, collaborators, and sales. After the denouncement by the Consulate, Dutkus and his newspaper were investigated. The police classified Dutkus as a “moderate socialist”. The newspaper’s distribution was finished in 1938, at a time the, when nationalist decrees forbade the printing and distribution of any printed matter in a foreign language throughout the country.

In November 1935, communists tried to initiate revolutionary changes under the leadership of Luiz Carlos Prestes. With the failed attempt, the political repression increased, alongside hundreds of arrests. Such a situation caused the disgruntling of all the Lithuanian associations identified with the communism that still existed. In general, the stressful atmosphere and the possibility of being expelled from Brazil created a lot of disorganization among communist associations in Brazil.

During the Vargas period (1930-1945) 778 people in total were expelled. Among the nationalities with the greater number of persons expelled between 1930 and 1945 were the Portuguese, with 17 % of the total, Spanish

13.05%, Japanese, 10.84%, Polish, 8.49%, Italian 7.57%, Lithuanian, 7.18%, Russian, 5.87%. If we compare the percentage of entrances and deportations, we may see that the number of Lithuanians expelled was comparatively higher than other nationalities. Relying on such data, it is safe to conclude that Lithuanians during that time in Brasil were politically active and received heightened a supervision by authorities.

Among the thirteen Lithuanians expelled from Brasil there was a woman, Beruta Maria Vanaite. Her imprisonment was not based on any criminal record that would prove her being a communist activist. On the contrary, accusations were entirely based on her personal relationships. As evidences of being guilty, it was pointed that she was an “unwanted foreigner”, having had relationship with a “young man”, who was a leader of the Communist Youth¹⁴.

In 1937, Getulio Vargas staged another *Coup D’état* and implemented a regime inspired by Italian fascism, which was named *Estado Novo*. In 1938 he adopted a set of laws forbidding political manifestations by immigrants. With the beginning of World War II, the restrictive measures became even more visible. Lithuanian organizations had to fit in to these new provisions. Through a telegram the Minister of Justice of Brazil requested the governor of São Paulo to conduct “a more rigorous treatment of the foreign societies”. Such a recommendation was forwarded to DEOPS, which afterwards invited the presidents of the immigrant associations to account for their activities. Thus, in January 17, 1942, Juozas Vasiliauskas, who was the president of *Sąjunga*¹⁵, was called to clarify his organization purposes. The inquiry found that the association had a beneficial, sportive and cultural nature, without any political inclinations. Yet the officer warned that the association should not promote any listening of foreign radio transmissions.

While *Sajunga* was not a target for systematic investigations, it was not the case for “*Rytas*”, a collective of amateur drama actors⁶⁶. We do not have any documentation regarding its foundation. However, after the closure of other communist associations, *Rytas* started gathering Lithuanians who were opposed to the Consulate and *Sajunga* policies, including Communists. In order to avoid being closed by the DEOPS, *Rytas* tried to meet all legal requirements of the Brazilian government so that they could keep working. Investigations about *Rytas* were initiated on June 7, 1939. At this time, a denouncement letter signed by a “Friend of Brazil” indicated that secret meetings were held for discussing communist issues. Nothing was found during the investigation, but *Rytas* remained under surveillance.

On 29th March, 1943 *Rytas* held a meeting to regularize their status, in regard to the nationalization laws imposed by the Estado Novo’s government, which prohibited the use of foreign names in associations. Thus, their name was changed to *Cruzeiro do Sul* (*The Southern Cross*). In a drama festival held on the 21st May, 1944, the DEOPS investigator noted that several individuals who attended the event were already reported by the police. The report emphasized that some songs were sung in “Slavic language”, violating legal restrictions and showing that the association “was particularly interested in Russian matters” (communism), concluding that “as it confirms suspect elements in its leaderships, we have already arranged to infiltrate one of our representatives in its board of members”⁶⁷.

Since May 1944, the police started to produce systematic reports on that association’s activities: meetings, celebrations and attendees. Such information gathered by spying on individuals, allowed the police to evaluate their actions and detect any political crime by Keeping only a single secret informer, the police made *Rytas*’ members believe they were free of surveillance.

During 1947 and 1948, Brazil received a new wave of Lithuanian immigrants, this time from Displaced Persons Camps from Germany. In 1945, the allied nations decided that all foreigners in German territory would be treated as “displaced persons”. In Germany refugee camps were formed and maintained by the Allies, except the USSR. Initially, those camps were supervised by the International Red Cross, and later were handed over to the UNRRA (*United Nations Relief Repatriation*), which was replaced in 1947, by the IRO (*International Refugee Organization*), an organization granted legal protection by United Nation. Following the international treaties some countries, including Brazil, opened their borders to receive them.

In refugee camps in Germany, political organizations were established, forming *Vlikas – Vyriausias Lietuvos Išlaisvinimo Komitetas*, which on 14th June, 1949. Issued the *Lietuvių Charta*. The document urged Lithuanians to maintain their national identity abroad and to fight for the independence of Lithuania from the USSR. The latter urge was also interpreted as a fight against communism on more general terms.

According to the Immigration and Colonization Department data, 11,287 displaced persons entered the state of São Paulo between 1947 and 1949. Among these, 439 were Lithuanians. However, those numbers should not be considered as absolute, as immigrants sometimes concealed their real nationality.

Despite being less numerous, Displaced Persons had a definite impact on the Lithuanian community in Brazil. In contrast to the immigration at the beginning of the century, this one was formed by people with a higher education who had lived through the development of an independent Lithuania. Their political views can be synthesized as a mix of conservative Catholicism, nationalism and anti-communism. By uniting themselves to spread agitation against the Soviet government, they started to be viewed in a

positive manner by the police authorities. A significant sign of this favourable view is in a report presented by “Zequinha”, a DEOPS agent who had infiltrated the Lithuanians.

We see that Zequinha attributed them an important political role, as he was able to find “good elements” among these Lithuanians DPs, or in other words, individuals willing to collaborate in a decisive manner to “annihilate the communists”. He proposed to hold meetings where “*Letters from Lithuania would be read, holding conferences of refugees who came here and had experienced communism*”.¹⁸ A set of reports made by the DEOPS proves that “displaced persons” contributed to a positive view of Lithuanian “cultural activities”, such as, for instance, the dance groups, choir and the *Mūsų Lietuva* newspaper, incidentally the only Lithuanian newspaper in circulation until present day.

After the end of World War II, the left-wing was reorganizing its objectives, by resuming its connections with the Lithuanian communists in other South American countries, and also with the USSR. In order to achieve this, an international congress was held in Montevideo on 24-26th August, 1946. Five Lithuanians from São Paulo attended it: Paulina Cernauskas, Jeronymo Bubenas, Afonso Kucinskas, Vladas Burkas and Magdalena Latvanine. Participants brought fifty petitions to Montevideo, with 4,000 signatures of Lithuanians residing in Brazil, expressing “*congratulations to the Soviet Lithuania, to the Red Army, and to Stalin*”. Funds to the value of 100,000 *Cruzeiros* (Brazilian currency) wish were raised for the reconstruction of the URSS were handed to the Soviet ambassador in Uruguay, Jacob Z. Suriz.

Ten resolutions were approved in the congress. Among these, a demand for South American governments not to receive anymore displaced persons and to deport DPs as war criminals to the USSR. Likewise, they defended the recognition of the “Soviet Lithuania” and did not acknowledge its former

consuls. They also proposed supporting Lithuania financially and founding a committee to coordinate the work of the so-called progressist Lithuanians, citing the *Darbas* newspaper, which was being published in Uruguay, as the main press organ.

In 1947, the DEOPS/SP arrested these five Brazilian participants. Based on investigations of communist activities, the authorities found out about the Lithuanian Communist Congress in Montevideo. Those police operations accorded to political changes that took place in Brasil. In 1948, the PCB was once again was deemed as illegal, and repressions renewed. Thus, Lithuanians who had attended that congress were arrested and investigated in order to deport them according to the 1948 administrative rule. However, they could not be deported as they had children born in Brasil or were married to Brazilians, conditions that would legally hinder the deportation. The Ministry of Justice authorized them to be freed, though with restrictions. Every month they had to present themselves to the DEOPS. Only in 1966 was the case terminated.¹⁹

The repressive process against the communist Lithuanians was over in 1948 when *Rytas*, the collective of amateur drama actors, that was under police surveillance since 1944, was closed. In 1947, *Rytas* received a visit from Luiz Carlos Prestes, the PCB’s leader, who made a speech and took some photos there in order to raise funds for the association. This visit served as an excuse to close *Rytas* as the Brazilian Communist Party was proclaimed as illegal. A report to the secret service on 14th December, 1947 pointed out that after closing *Rytas*, there was an “*absolute silence regarding communism*”.²⁰

This “*absolute silence regarding communism*” should be interpreted as a final result of the association’s closure and the arresting members of the Montevideo congress. It was not an exaggeration. After this event there were no records of any other relevant leftist associ-

ation or publications in Lithuanian language, though still from time to time, leftist activists were still arrested and even a newspaper made on mimeograph machine was found. The political struggle among communist and anti-communist Lithuanians had come to an end.

The Lithuanian immigrants did not constitute a homogeneous body eager for “keeping their traditions” in a foreign country, but plural and heterogeneous groups, often in conflict. By forming their institutions, at the same time they strengthened the feeling of national origin and defined their ideological stance. That is why what is denominated as a “community” may be understood as a disciplining and normative instance, as being part of it and receiving its benefits implied accepting a political stance. Internal conflicts fostered a state of ongoing pressure which consequently resulted in the persistence and proliferation of extremist feelings. It was exactly these different stances that DEOPS sought to interfere, evaluating the scope of the endorsed projects and looking for collaborators. Thus, it is important to re-consider the operation of the State mechanisms in order to understand the insertion of the immigrant groups

in the formation of a society. The example of Lithuanian associations in Brazilian society during the Vargas period is a case in point.

Nuorodos

1. *Pront. n.º 2155*. DEOPS/SP, APESP.
2. *Pront. n.º 539*. DEOPS/SP, APESP.
3. *Pront. n.º 7168*. DEOPS/SP, APESP.
4. *Pront. n.º 539*. DEOPS/SP, APESP.
5. *Pront. n.º 522*. DEOPS/SP, APESP.
6. *Pront. n.º 1456*. DEOPS/SP, APESP.
7. *Pront. n.º 1529*. DEOPS/SP, APESP.
8. *Pront. n.º 1467*. DEOPS/SP, APESP.
9. *Pront. n.º 2431. Vol. 9* DEOPS/SP, APESP.
10. *Pront. n.º 2748*. DEOPS/SP, APESP.
11. *Pront. n.º 78284*. DEOPS/SP, APESP.
12. *Pront. n.º 2748*. DEOPS/SP, APESP.
13. *Pront. n.º 5452*. DEOPS/SP, APESP.
14. *Pront. n.º 2885*. DEOPS/SP, APESP.
15. *Pront. n.º 51*. DEOPS/SP, APESP.
16. *Pront. n.º 71681*. DEOPS/SP, APESP.
17. *Dossiê 30-J-8-001*. DEOPS/SP, APESP.
18. *Dossiê 30-Z-79.1*. DEOPS/SP, APESP.
19. *Pront. n.º 87770*. DEOPS/SP, APESP.
20. *Dossiê 30-J-001*. DEOPS/SP, APESP.

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TRAUKA IR SKILIMAS: BRAZILIJOS LIETUVIŲ ORGANIZACIJOS POLITINĖS POLICIJOS AKIRATYJE (1924–1950)

The main task of this research is to study political activities of Lithuanian residents in São Paulo state between 1924 and 1950 under the restraint of the Political Police. This research is based on the DEOPS / SP (São Paulo State Department of Political and Social Order; in Portuguese) surveillance archives. They help us to analyze inner struggles of Lithuanian communities in São Paulo state which were born out of antagonistic political views, especially between communists and anti-communists.

Pagrindinis šio straipsnio tikslas – ištirti lietuvių, gyvenusių San Paulo valstijoje 1924–1950 m., politinę veiklą politinės policijos suvaržymų metu. Šis tyrimas remiasi DEOPS / SP (portugalų kalba: San Paulo valstybinis politinės ir socialinės tvarkos departamentas) slaptaisiais archyvais. Jie padeda analizuojant San Paulo valstijos lietuvių bendruomenių vidines kovas, kurias sukėlė skirtingos politinės pažiūros, ypač komunistų ir antikomunistų.