

Brazil

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Brazil is considered authoritarian from 1919 through 1945. According to the U.S. Department of State (2011), “From 1889 to 1930, the government was a constitutional republic, with the presidency alternating between the dominant states of Sao Paulo and Minas Gerais. This period ended with a military coup that placed Getulio Vargas, a civilian, in the presidency; Vargas remained as dictator until 1945.”

This suggests that Brazil cannot be coded as any of the Geddes’ (2003) autocratic regimes until 1930. We code oligarchic regime for the period of 1919-1929. Geddes (2003, 248) also suggests that when more than 60% of the population is illiterate, we should code oligarchy. Love (1970, 9) confirms that less than 5% of the population voted in every election before 1930.

Delfim Moreira da Costa Ribeiro of the Republican Party of the state of Minas Gerais (PRM) served as president from 1918 to 1919. In 1919 Eptácio Lindolfo da Silva Pessoa, PRM, became president. In 1922 Artur da Silva Bernardes, PRM, became president. In 1926 Washington Luís Pereira de Sousa of the Republican Party of the state of São Paulo (PRP) became president. Since we code Brazil as oligarchic regime until 1929, we code no SOLS change for any of these leadership transitions during this period.¹

In 1930 a revolution sought to unseat Washington Luís Pereira de Sousa. The rebels were successful and the military junta handed Getúlio Dorneles Vargas, Non-Party, the “provisional” presidency (Alexander 1956, 233; Marley 1998, 638). This is a SOLS change, despite the provisional government, because Vargas became a dictator and ruled for fifteen years. Vargas immediately made clear that he had no intention to stick to the constitution. After pressure mounted, he developed a new constitution in 1934 that he didn’t follow either. After a communist uprising he declared a national emergency and ruled by decree, creating the Estado Novo (Sellers and Tomaszewski 2010, 117-9). “Vargas; authoritarian regime could be described as a paternalistic dictatorship, in which people accorded the populist dictator all the attributes of benevolent charismatic leadership (Sellers and Tomaszewski 2010, 119).” Vargas had the support of workers, despite curtailing their rights, and “was strongly supported by the military leadership” who “Vargas placed at the centre of political decision-making (Sellers and Tomaszewski 2010, 120).” “In fact, Vargas’ Estado Novo was a form of ‘paternal dictatorship’ that enjoyed the support of the military to the extent that it was ‘a military regime in essence, despite the civilian status of the president and many of his ministers’ (Sellers and Tomaszewski 2010, 120).”

According to US Library of Congress (1997), “Under the Estado Novo, state autonomy ended, appointed federal officials replaced governors, and patronage flowed from

¹ Note that WSM uses PRM and PRP to refer to Republican Party Minas and Republican Party Paulista just indicating that they are the same party from different states. According to our regional expert, the PRM and PRP were allies that traditionally alternated the presidency and vice-presidency and represented the same type of landed interests.

the president downward. All political parties were dissolved until 1944, thus limiting opportunities for an opposition to organize. In the process, Vargas eliminated threats from the left and the right. At the local level, “colonels” survived by declaring their loyalty and accepting their share of patronage for distribution to their own underlings... Vargas took care to absorb the rural and commercial elites into his power base.”

Upon the recommendation of our regional experts, we code Vargas as a personalist regime. While the military supported him, they played little role in day-to-day governance. Johnson (1964, 225) describes that “the Army helped Vargas in 1930 and forced him out in 1945, but the officers never tried to take power”.

By the end of the Second World War, Vargas’ dictatorship was in crisis. Vargas decided to call for elections and pre-designated Eurico Gaspar Dutra, the Minister of War, as his candidate (Delgado 1992, p. 273 and Mota et. al. 2009, p. 504).² However, the opposition wanted the military to overthrow Vargas. As a result, the military issued an ultimatum asking Vargas to resign. Therefore, in October Vargas and his entire cabinet abdicated (TIME magazine 1945). The next day, the judge of the Supreme Court, José Linhares assumed power as provisional president (Delgado, p. 273 and Heenan and Lamontagne, p. 293). He became “acting” president, without any party membership (Siegel 1966, 49). This is not a SOLS change.

One month later, presidential elections were held, and the official candidate, Eurico Gaspar Dutra, won with the support of the rightist Social Democratic Party (PSD). Dutra was the candidate of the PSD but had also been endorsed by the Brazilian Labor Party and both were parties that had been organized by Vargas (Roett 1999, 10). “The Dutra administration was supported by the same conservative interventionist army that had backed the previous regime” (US Library of Congress 1997). While Dutra and Vargas were close, we code a SOLS change here. The country became democratic in 1946, and thus the Dutra’s SOLS is expanded beyond Vargas. Furthermore, the labor wing of the Vargas support base was largely excluded, but the traditional elite wing was maintained. We code a SOLS change.

(After Brazil became democratic and before 1960, Brazilian politics was contested by two parties, the Social Democratic Party (PSD) and the Brazilian Labor Party (PTB), both of which had been created by Vargas. PSD had a more rural bend, while PTB was labor-oriented. The two parties also had an alliance during this period. Thus, leader transitions that brought to power leaders from these different parties might be considered minor SOLS changes. Yet, one of our regional experts suggested that they should be treated as separate supporting groups. Thus, we code regular SOLS changes here.)

² Delgado (1992) states “Getulio Vargas had thought the launching of General Eurico Gaspar Dutra as the official candidate, who after his travel to Europe had evolved towards a more democratic position.” Vargas also wanted to break the opposition accepting the support of communist groups. However, Dutra, as part of the military, did not like this coalition. Dutra belonged to a faction of the Armed Forces. Indeed, he was the Ministry of War in Vargas’ government. However, there was other faction led by the Commander in Chief Goés Monteiro who sent an ultimatum to Vargas to resign. Finally, Dutra joined Goés Monteiro, and Vargas resigned, but he was not expelled from Brazilian political scenario.

Vargas was again elected as president in 1951 as representative of the PTB. The PSD had nominated a different candidate to compete with Vargas in this election, which further suggests Vargas and Dutra's SOLS should be considered as different (Roett 1999, 107). Thus, this is a SOLS change. Vargas five-year period in office was cut short due to his suicide in 1954. After the Vargas suicide, the Vice President Joao Fernandez de Campos Café Filho assumed the presidency for the remaining one year. Café Filho was from neither of Vargas' two parties, but, because he can be considered a provisional leader (De Mattei 1998, 100; Geddes, 164), we code no SOLS change here.

Café Filho had to leave office due to health problems, and was replaced by the President of the Legislative Chamber, Carlos Coimbra da Luz as interim president (Heenan and Lamontagne, 294; Ruddle and Gillette, 22). Since Luz (and Ramos as well) is an acting president for Filho we cannot code a SOLS change until a transition to next regular leadership comes. And there was no regular leadership transition in 1955.

Coimbra da Luz was removed from office some days later, and was replaced by the Vice President of the Senate Nereu de Oliveira Ramos, as acting president (Heenan and Lamontagne, 294; Ruddle and Gillette, 22). The coalition ticket (PSD-PTB) led by Kubitschek and Goulart won the presidency and the vice presidency. They belonged to the *getulista* group, those who followed Getulio Vargas (Eakin [1997] 1998, 49). This last change is a SOLS change because Kubitschek was not Fernandez de Campos' pre-designated successor.

In 1961, there are three leadership changes: Kubitschek (PSD), Quadros (the Christian Democratic Party: PDC), Mazzilli (PSD), and Goulart (PTB). Opposition candidate, Janio Quadros, whom Lentz (1994, 107) describes that as "nominated for the presidency by the PDC," won the presidency in 1961, but Goulart was again elected as vice president, even though Quadros had his own presidential nominees (Alexander 2003, 126). Janio da Silva Quadros won at the head of a coalition of diverse political forces. While we do not code the country as democratic at the time, the fact that Da Silva Quadros was from the oppositions suggests that he was not Kubitschek's pre-designated successor. Therefore, we code a SOLS change here.

After a few months in office, Da Silva Quadros resigned alleging certain pressures. The Congress accepted his resignation in the middle of a chaos climate. His vice president, Joao Marques Goulart was to take over, but he lacked the approval of the military, business leaders, and large parts of the political elite. Therefore, the President of the Chamber, Pascoal Rainieri Mazzilli (PSD) took office as provisional ruler (Heenan and Lamontagne, 294; Bello, 344). This is not a SOLS change. Once Marques Goulart arrived to Brazil, he did not assume his office immediately because his relations with the military were not good. The military sought a change in the regime from a presidential to a parliamentary one. So, once this reform took place, Marques Goulart (PTB), elected under a presidential regime, took office as president under a parliamentary regime. We code this as a SOLS change despite the fact that Goulart was da Silva Quadros' vice president. He belonged to a different party than

his predecessor Da Silva Quadros and had been elected separately. In Brazilian system, the president and the vice president could come from different parties.

In 1964, there are three leaders including one acting president: Goulart, Mazzilli (acting), and Castello Branco (Mil). Goulart was overthrown by a military coup because a series of crises. Mazzilli is installed as an interim leader beholden to the military very briefly until the military agrees that Castello Branco will be the president. Therefore, the SOLS change occurs with the transition from Goulart to Mazzilli, which is when the military takes over.³ The coup initiated a 21-year period of military government headed by Castelo Branco, which lasted until 1985 when Brazil came to a new democratic transition. While a number of military leaders assumed power during the military rule, none of these are SOLS changes since they belonged to the same regime. There is a leadership change from Costa de Silva to Medici in 1969. Geddes (2003) codes the country from 1964-1985 as a pure-Military regime. In October 15, 1965 the military dissolved Brazil's 13 existing parties and created a new, two-party system to replace them. As a result, National Renovating Alliance (ARENA) was created as the party of the military government and the Brazilian Democratic Movement (MDB) was invented as the party of the opposition (Schlager et al. 2006, 170). Two-party system imposed by the military simplified voter choices: Brazilians voted either in favor or against the regime (Schlager et al. 2006, 170). Considering the fact that ARENA is a military-support party we code the SOLS from 1966 to 1984 as Mil/ARENA.

By 1982 several mobilizations and protest pushed for the democratization of the country. These protests were led by the unionists in collaboration with the Catholic Church. In April 1984, the opposition achieved an amendment in the Constitution introducing direct elections. In that election, the opposition controlled the electoral college. As a result, the military accepted the victory of the opposition ticket, Tancredo Neves as president and José Sarney as vice president. The transfer was scheduled for March 1985 but due to a heart problem Neves was unable to take office. In that situation, José Sarney sworn as acting president, and after Neves death, he was declared as constitutional president of Brazil. Sarney was a member of the PFL (Liberal Front Party). He was a cofounder of the PFL when the PFL was established in 1984 for the purpose of opposing the presidential candidacy of Paulo Maluf in 1985 elections (Encyclopædia Britannica n.d.). So, the change from the military to Sarney is a SOLS change. This also inaugurates a period of presidential democracy in Brazil.

After five years, there were presidential elections in 1989 in which Fernando Collor de Mello won for the Party of National Reconstruction (PRN). He took office in 1990. The change from Sarney to Collor de Mello is a SOLS change. However, in 1992 Collor de Mello faced an impeachment, and as a result, he resigned that year. He was followed by his vice president Itamar Franco for the rest of the term. This is also a SOLS change. Although Franco

³ Note: While Mazzilli served as acting president, being consistent with the provisions of the constitution, the onset of his status as acting president was determined by the military's decision to declare the presidency vacant. Further, the military made it clear to Mazzilli that the military would retain control of decision-making power. Mazzilli's second term thus coincides with the beginning of a military regime, which is a SOLS change, and we do not code him as an interim leader since the military was already determining the course of Brazilian politics (See Arceneaux 2001, 144-145; Skidmore 1990, 18-19).

temporally belonged to PRN, he left PRN before he became President on December 29, 1992. According to Archontology.org (2009), “In the runoff election Collor and Franco emerged victorious and took their offices on March 15, 1990. Franco frequently disagreed with the president over a general course of the administration and ultimately quit PRN on May 5, 1992.” Although Cahoon (2011) lists Franco as non-party, he was a member of the Brazilian Democratic Movement Party (Partido do Movimento Democrático Brasileiro: PMDB). Since 1985, the country is coded as presidential democracy.

After Franco, the presidency was assumed by Cardoso (Party of the Brazilian Social Democracy: PSDB) and then by Lula da Silva (Labour Party: PT), each one belonging to a different party. So, each leader change is a SOLS change.

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- Pre-1945 coded by Anna Carella in March 2010
 Post-1945 coded by Arturo Maldonado (Vanderbilt) on July 26, 2010
- Pre-1945 revised by Michaela Mattes on August 1, 2012
 Pre-1945 revised by Naoko Matsumura on August 15, 2013
- Post-1945 updated by Mariana Rodriguez on February 7, 2012
 Post-1945 updated by Naoko Matsumura on June 5, 2012
 Post-1945 updated by Naoko Matsumura on June 8, 2012
 Post-1945 updated by Matt DiLorenzo on July 16, 2012
- Combined by Ahra Wu (Rice) on September 7, 2013
 Edited by Andrew Wood (Rice) on May 22, 2014
 Edited by Michaela Mattes on September 26, 2014