BRAZIL

Politics in a Patrimonial Society

Fourth Edition

Riordan Roett



Westport, Connecticut London

Contents

Tables	xi	
Preface	xiii	
Acknowledgments	xv	
1		
A NATION OF REGIONS: THE PHYSICAL AND SOCIAL		
SETTING	1	
GEOGRAPHY	1	
CLIMATE, VEGETATION, AND MINERAL RESOURCES	2	
REGIONS AND REGIONALISM IN BRAZIL	4	
FEDERALISM	5	
LOCAL GOVERNMENT	6	
THE REGIONS	7	
The North	9	
The Northeast	9	
The Southeast	10	
The South	11	
The Center-West	11	
THE SIGNIFICANCE OF REGIONALISM	11	
SOCIAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE	12	
NOTES	13	
2		
THE BRAZILIAN POLITICAL SYSTEM IN PERSPECTIVE	15	
THE HISTORICAL SETTING	15	
The Colonial Period	15	

•

-

-

Independence and the Empire	18
The Old Republic (1889–1930)	21
The Transitional Republic: The Vargas Era (1930-1945)	22
The 1946 Republic	24
The Military Republic (1964–1985)	25
The New Republic	27
THE POLITICAL GIVENS	29
Elites in Brazil	29
The Patrimonial State	33
Social Dualism	36
IMPLICATIONS OF THE POLITICAL GIVENS IN BRAZIL	37
NOTES	38
3	
POLITICAL PARTIES AND ELECTIONS	41
PARTIES UNTIL 1946	42
THE 1946 REPUBLIC	45
THE MAJOR PARTIES: THE "BIG THREE"	47

THE MINOR PARTIES	50
THE COMMUNIST PARTY	53
THE CONGRESS: PARLIAMENTARY FRONTS, ELECTORAL	
ALLIANCES, AND UBIQUITOUS POPULISM	53
THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM	57
POLITICAL PARTIES FROM 1964 TO 1977	58
A NEW POLITICAL PARTY SYSTEM	63
NOTES	74

THE MILITARY AND POLITICS TO 1964	77
THE MILITARY ENTERS POLITICS	79
	.,
1945–1954: THE MILITARY AS GUARDIANS	81
1954–1964: THE MILITARY AS PARTICIPANTS	86
THE NATIONAL WAR COLLEGE	89
1961–1964: THE MOVEMENT TOWARD INTERVENTION	90
THE COUP OF MARCH 31, 1964	91
CONCLUSION	93
NOTES	95

THE PATRIMONIAL STATE AND SOCIETY IN BRAZIL	97
THE CHURCH	99
Background	99
The Church Modernizes	100
Challenges to the Church	104
THE LABOR MOVEMENT	107
THE RURAL LABOR MOVEMENT	114
THE INDUSTRIALISTS	117
THE STATE BUREAUCRACY AND NATIONAL PLANNING	120

•

CONCLUSION	125
NOTES	126
6	
THE MILITARY REPUBLIC, 1964–1985	129
THE REVOLUTION DEFINES ITSELF: THE INSTITUTIONAL	
ACTS	130
Institutional Act No. 1, April 9, 1964	130
Institutional Acts Nos. 2, 3, and 4	133
The Failure of the Opposition to Unite	134
The Crisis of December 1968	135
Institutional Act No. 5, December 13, 1968	136
The President Incapacitated	137
The U.S. Ambassador Disappears	138
THE URBAN GUERRILLA MOVEMENT IN BRAZIL	139
CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT NO. 1, OCTOBER 20, 1969	142
THE FOURTH GOVERNMENT OF THE MILITARY REPUBLIC:	
GENERAL ERNESTO GEISEL (1974–1979)	145
THE FIFTH GOVERNMENT OF THE MILITARY REPUBLIC:	
GENERAL JOÃO FIGUEIREDO (1979–1985)	151
The Labor Unions	151
Pressures and Counterpressures to Liberalization	152
THE NOVEMBER 1982 ELECTIONS	155
THE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE ECONOMIC CRISIS,	
1982–1983	155
THE PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION	156
NOTES	158
_	
7 THE BRAZILIAN ECONOMY	159
EARLY ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT	159
POSTWAR ECONOMIC DEVELOTMENT	160
ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE DURING THE MILITARY	102
REPUBLIC	164
The 1973 Oil Shock	164
The Figueiredo Government	167
THE BRAZILIAN DEBT CRISIS	168

THE CRUZADO PLAN		
THE DEBT MORATORIUM		
THE BRESSER PLAN		
A NEW FINANCE MINISTER		
THE COLLOR PLAN		
CONCLUSION		
NOTES		
e		

8 .	•
BRAZILIAN FOREIGN POLICY	181
FROM INDEPENDENCE TO 1964	182

,

THE CASTELLO BRANCO PERIOD (1964–1967)	187
THE COSTA E SILVA (1967–1969) AND MÉDICI (1969–1974)	
GOVERNMENTS	188
THE GEISEL ADMINISTRATION (1974–1979)	191
FOREIGN POLICY IN THE 1980s	193
REGIONAL ECONOMIC INTEGRATION	194
REGIONAL DIPLOMACY	197
THE AMAZON AND THE ENVIRONMENT	200
CONTROVERSY IN THE ARMS INDUSTRY	206
NUCLEAR ENERGY	209
CONCLUSION	211
NOTES	212
9	
TOWARD THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY: THE SOCIAL	
ACENDA IN RDAZII	215

AGENDA IN BRAZIL	215
POSTWAR IMPROVEMENTS	216
PUBLIC HEALTH	218
EDUCATION	219
COMMITTING TO THE SOCIAL AGENDA	220
CONCLUSION	221
NOTES	221
Bibliography -	223
Index	231

Tables

1.1	Regions of Brazil	8
2.1	Historical Phases of the Brazilian Patrimonial Regime	16
3.1	Votes and Percentages of Vote Obtained by Major Parties in	
	Four Presidential Elections, 1945, 1950, 1955, and 1960	48
3.2	Party Representation in the Brazilian Federal Chamber,	
	1948-1962, Selected Years	51
3.3	Who Voted in Brazil, 1945–1963	54
3.4	Votes and Percentages of Vote Obtained by Major Parties in	
	Five Congressional Elections, 1945, 1950, 1954, 1958, and	
	1962	56
3.5	Representation by Party in Elections, November 15, 1982	67
3.6	Distribution of Brazil's Presidential Voting by Parties: Left,	
	Center, and Right, November 1989	72
4.1	Self-Assessment by Brazilian Army Cadets of Families'	
	Economic Status, 1962–1966	83
4.2	Birthplace of Brazilian Army Cadets, 1964–1966	84
9.1	Human Development Index Ranking for Selected Latin	
	American Countries	217

•