



## Background Guide

*1964 Brazilian  
coup d' état*



# LETTER FROM THE DIAS

Dear Delegates,

My name is Mia Stone-Molloy, and I am pleased to welcome you to Brazilian Coup 1964 as your Crisis Manager. I am a freshman at Brown studying Political Science and History. I am from Los Angeles, but I am also a Brazilian citizen, where much of my family still lives. I have researched this period, and the decades following it, in depth, as it is an important part of my country and family's past. I am also currently involved in the "Opening the Archives" project, which investigates this era of Brazilian history and has publicly available documents which I encourage you to look through. I hope that you will experience some of my passion for this subject and take this opportunity to learn more about it. I started Model UN this year, and I have been both a delegate and a director. I look forward to my first time as a crisis manager, and I hope to run a fun and educational crisis.

The coup of 1964 truly turned the tides of Brazilian history, installing a dictatorship that lasted 21 years. And as we saw in the most recent election, Brazilian politics is still being influenced by the results of this time. It is more important than ever now to learn the history that led to the coup. I hope that, in your research, you will learn more of Brazil's complex and fascinating history, and particularly the interests and power structures that lead to events like those of March 31st, 1964.

I look forward to your intelligent debate and creative ideas and hope that you will come prepared to engage fully with the subject matter and share your thoughts. Research will be the best way to have an interesting and productive committee. If you have questions or need research recommendations, I have plenty and I would love to hear from you! I look forward to seeing you in March!

Best,  
Mia Stone-Molloy '22  
Crisis Manager



# LETTER FROM THE CHAIR

Dear Delegates,

My name is Antonella Portugal, and I am honored to be Committee Chair for the Brazilian Coup of 1964. I was born in Peru but have spent the majority of my life in Connecticut. I am a current sophomore at Brown studying Political Science and Public Policy with a focus on American politics and law, government, and ethics. While this is my first time chairing for BUCS, I have been involved with Model UN since high school, both as a delegate and a director.

I am very excited to be chairing this historically important committee and I hope you are as well. If you haven't studied this event already, I hope you use your time preparing for BUCS to really develop and strengthen your knowledge of Brazil and history of American intervention as a whole. This is a great time for you to re-shape history, however that may end up. I hope this guide serves as a useful foundation for the history leading up to the coup of 1964, but even more so I hope you bring your own unique backgrounds and research to provide a fun and enriching committee experience.

I also ask that, due to the tumultuous and impactful nature of the event that we are dealing with, you respect the gravity of the events we are simulating. This was a sensitive period fraught with violence and controversy, the effects of which Brazil still feels today. Remember that this is your committee, and while ultimately only you have the power to decide the outcome, I hope you keep in mind the UN values of collaboration, respect, and diplomacy.

Have fun and see you in March!

Best,  
Antonella Portugal '21  
Committee Chair



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# RULES OF PROCEDURE

## Position Papers

Please submit a position paper by the conference deadline February 28, 2019, to the committee email [brazil@browncrisis.org](mailto:brazil@browncrisis.org) to qualify for awards, by February 24, 2019 if you wish to receive feedback. The position paper should cover your position on all topics and include a brief summary of the general positions of your delegate. Please limit the paper to one page with double-spaced type in 12-point font. The paper should be submitted as a Word document, saved with the title of your position in the name. Be sure also to include your name, school, and position in the body of your email and on the first page of your position paper.



# HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

## Politics

### República Velha (1889-1930)

On November 15, 1889, a military revolt abolished the Brazilian empire, ending the monarchy that had led Brazil since its declaration of independence from Portugal in 1822.<sup>1</sup> The transition from monarchy to federal republic dramatically altered the structure of Brazilian governance, as former provinces became independent states through the 1891 constitution.<sup>2</sup> Through the newly-formed dual federalist structure, states were given a vast array of concessions, which included the ability to tax exports of goods to other states within the federation, to broker loan deals and debt payments with other states or foreign actors, and to raise their own militia forces.<sup>3</sup> Socially, however, the power dynamics remained virtually the same, as the *paulista*—the landowning oligarchy that was mostly concentrated in the coffee regions of São Paulo—cemented their political power by aligning themselves with the military

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<sup>1</sup> “Brazil’s First Republic,” Guide to Brazil, The Brazilian Report, last modified October 15, 2017, <https://brazilian.report/guide-to-brazil/2017/10/15/brazil-first-republic/>.

<sup>2</sup> Robert M. Levine, *The History of Brazil* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1999).

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

so as to promote their own personal economic interests.

Yet, this alliance did not last; in November of 1894, a group of military leaders, who were autocratic and often brutal, seceded in an episode known as the *República da Espada*, or “Sword Republic.”

Consequently, the armed forces yielded power to Prudente José de Moraes Barros, a civilian and *paulista*.<sup>4</sup> The rise of a *paulista* to power demarcated the beginning of what is known as the *café com leite* (“coffee with milk”) alliance between *paulista* landowners and the dairy-producing elite mostly concentrated in the state of Minas Gerais and the (“Oligarchs Republic”). The rise of the economic elite meant that, while it was nominally a democracy, Brazil became a corrupt state in which the presidents exclusively came from the two aforementioned states.<sup>5</sup> Voter rights were not yet institutionalized (voting ballots were not yet secret, e.g.), and as such there was no shortage of intimidation tactics utilized to attempt to sway elections. Elites that controlled the economy used methods like *coronelismo*, in which powerful landowners forced their populations to vote for them, in order to maintain their

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<sup>4</sup> The Brazilian Report, “Brazil’s First Republic.”

<sup>5</sup> Rebecca Duran, “History of Brazil Republic,” *The Brazil Business*, last modified February 13, 2014, <https://thebrazilbusiness.com/article/history-of-brazil-republic>.



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power. This system of favoring states, although meant to maintain the stability necessary for trade, soon came under fire as non-favored states and other civil actors began advancing their agendas, often resulting in brutally repressed rebellions against the central government. One of the most notable of such rebellions was the Canudos War (1896-1897).

The 1920s saw many uprisings against the government, as the growing urban middle class and junior military officials—*tenentens*—started resenting the *café com leite* elite and the preferential treatment it received through government concessions and legislature.<sup>6</sup> By 1926, the *tenentes* developed a somewhat nationalistic ideology pushing for political and economic development led by the military. The primary concern of the *tenentens* was not to uphold democracy, but to promote reformation and modernization through a strong, centralized government that would put an end to regionalism and promote the social interests of the people of Brazil, not its elite. These rebellions never gained the support of the population – most

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<sup>6</sup> “The Coffee Presidents” in History of Brazil, Encyclopedia Britannica, accessed February 3, 2019, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Brazil/The-coffee-presidents>.

importantly, of the urban middle class, which the *tenentens* saw as crucial in the overthrowing of the *paulista* system.

Although the *tenentens* movement was never able to overthrow the system, two events in the late 1920s weakened the *paulista* elite. First, coffee prices declined precipitously because of the Great Depression. This breakdown caused a rupture in the “coffee with milk alliance”.<sup>7</sup> Second, the elite stationed in São Paulo tried to install yet another national president, bypassing democratic voting procedures. This was felt by the population as being the “last straw”, and a revolution led by the states of Minas Gerais, Paraíba, and Rio Grande do Sul, which culminated in a coup in 1930.

## Vargas Era (1930-1945)

In 1930 a revolution abolished the Old Republic. A tumultuous, corruption-filled election ended with the assassination of the vice-presidential candidate. In response, the military decided to pursue a bloodless coup, hoping to end a period of widespread discontent. Getúlio Vargas, a former member of the military, finance minister, and Governor of Rio Grande do Sul stepped up as provisional president

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid.



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from 1930 until 1934, when he was officially elected president. He ran on a platform of anti-corruption, agricultural, and educational reform.

When his own 1934 constitution prohibited him from beginning another term, Vargas seized authority as a dictator via the "the Cohen Plan": a loyalist of Vargas, General Dutra, claimed that a communist revolt was being planned against the government. In response, Vargas held a nationwide radio address, claiming the necessity of emergency powers for himself to combat the situation and announcing that he was going to implement them. Through these newfound powers, he dissolved Congress, canceled the 1938 elections, and implemented a new constitution that gave himself nearly complete control of the government.

During his regime, Vargas expanded a centralized police force, put dissidents in prison, imposed censorship, and abolished political parties. Following both pressure and assistance from the United States, he also created a revised tax structure that made state and local administrations dependent upon the central authority, granted the secret ballot, gave women the right to vote, introduced educational reforms, enacted social-security laws, and gave workers a wide range of benefits, including a

minimum wage. Though his reforms gave him a name as the protector of the poor, few of the benefits actually helped the rural lower classes in practice.

During World War II, Vargas hesitated to take sides, preferring the politically advantageous role as the peaceful mediator. However, political pressure from the United States combined with the first domestic mass political mobilization of students forced Vargas to finally side with the Allied. His first action was to send 25,000 troops to Italy as part of the Allied army, followed by a formal declaration of war on Germany. Meanwhile, the population became more aware of the hypocrisy in fighting fascism abroad while essentially the same system was imposed in Brazil itself.<sup>8</sup> It was public knowledge that Vargas had close ties with the *Ação Integralista Brasileira* (AIB, Brazilian Integralist Action), or Green Shirts, a growing fascist movement nicknamed for the green shirts they wore in their military-style marches.<sup>9</sup>

Additionally, the US ambassador held serious concerns with Vargas, worrying that he was similar to Perón in Argentina.

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<sup>8</sup> James Green, "Politics of the Military Dictatorship in Brazil: 1964-1985," Lecture, February 4, 2019.

<sup>9</sup> Victoria Ann Langland, *Speaking of Flowers: Student Movements and Collective Memory in Authoritarian Brazil* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004).





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In response to these mounting tensions, Vargas relaxed his tight control by freeing political prisoners, allowing opposition parties to exist once again, and reinstating popular elections. Vargas's goal was to stay in power until a constituent assembly could rewrite the constitution and allow him to be legally reelected. However, even though the people marched for and demanded this, the war ministry forced Vargas' resignation and restored democracy, ending the Estado Novo. A new constitution was written in 1946.<sup>10</sup>

## Second Brazilian Republic (1946-1964)

Vargas maintained such popular support that he was reelected president in 1951 as a member of the *Partido Trabalhista Brasileira* (Brazilian Workers Party, PTB), which he founded in 1945. This presidency resulted in much less political change, as Vargas was hindered by recent economic crises such as the failure of his public investment program and massive inflation.<sup>11</sup> His main policies involved moving away from foreign dependency and increasing nationalized

industry through import industrialization substitution (ISI), a concept started in Argentina that refers to economic strategy "promoting domestic production of previously imported goods to foster industrialization."<sup>12</sup> He also centralized and expanded the educational system, hoping to create a new generation of scientists, technicians, and bureaucrats to propel his industrialization plans forward.<sup>13</sup> One of his main goals, at the suggestion of his minister of labor João Goulart, was to increase the minimum wage. Meanwhile, military pay was declining rapidly, earning Vargas and Goulart resentment from the military. In a concession to his anti-populist opposition, led by the right wing *União Democrática Nacional* (National Democratic Union, UDN) and journalist-turned-politician Carlos Lacerda, Vargas fired Goulart in 1954. He did, however, implement Goulart's 100% minimum wage increase. Still, after several exposés of financial scandal were published by the right-controlled media, Vargas was unable to completely win back his worker base.

Vargas's bodyguard, in an effort to please

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<sup>10</sup> "The Coffee Presidents," Encyclopedia Britannica.

<sup>11</sup> Thomas E. Skidmore, *The Politics of Military Rule in Brazil: 1964-85* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

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<sup>12</sup> "Import Substitution Industrialization," Encyclopedia Britannica, accessed February 2, 2019, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/import-substitution-industrialization>.

<sup>13</sup> "The Coffee Presidents," Encyclopedia Britannica.



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his boss, planned an assassination attempt on Carlos Lacerda, in what came to be known as the "Rua Tonelero" incident. Lacerda was merely injured, but a military officer with him was killed.<sup>14</sup> In response, 27 generals met and wrote a manifesto demanding that Vargas resign, charging him with "criminal corruption" and creating an economic crisis.<sup>15</sup> In response, he shot himself in his home, blaming the US for manipulating coffee prices and international oil companies for harming his plans for Brazil. This was a reference to the radical nationalist sentiment emerging across Brazil. After his death there was a surge of support for him and his followers.<sup>16</sup> People flooded into the streets, attacking the US embassy and burning stands selling *O Globo*, an anti-Getulista daily newspaper. Vargas' rise and fall created a long-lasting sympathy for his populist, cult-of-personality brand of politics. It also created several economic and political issues that would define politics for decades: how to treat foreign investors, what the national capital should be, how to maximize trade gains, how to control

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<sup>14</sup> Green, "Politics of the Military Dictatorship in Brazil."

<sup>15</sup> "The Coffee Presidents," Encyclopedia Britannica.

<sup>16</sup> "1954: Brazilian President Found Dead," BBC, accessed April 19, 2009.

wages, how to treat unions, and how to cooperate in times of high tempers.<sup>17</sup>

After Vargas's death, his Vice-president Café Filho took power until illness caused him to step down in 1955. He was replaced by Carlos Luz, President of the Chamber of Deputies for 3 days, before the Minister of the Army Nereu Ramos took office, serving until 1956. Then, the elected Juscelino Kubitschek was inaugurated.<sup>18</sup>

Kubitschek, a member of the centrist *Partido Social Democratico* (Social Democratic Party, PSD), ran on a platform of hope and progress. He outlined a plan for National Development, including 31 goals regarding energy, transport, food, base industries, education, and, finally, building a new capital city in Brasilia. He founded SUDENE, the regional development authority of the Northeast, where most rural poverty existed. He built a good deal of new infrastructure, focusing on transregional roads to integrate Amazonia and assist in the construction of Brasilia. He promoted industrial development with a focus on the automobile industry, while avoiding state owned enterprise in all industries except the hydroelectric industry. He encouraged

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<sup>17</sup> Green, "Politics of the Military Dictatorship in Brazil."

<sup>18</sup> "Brasil: Uma Historia - Eduardo Bueno," archived from the original June 26, 2014.



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foreign investment with incentives such as profit remittances, tax cuts, privileges for importing machinery, and land distribution. However, he also ended relations with the IMF over its proposed, heavily austere stabilization program.<sup>19</sup>

Even before he took office the opposition party, *União Democrática Nacional* (National Democratic Union, UDN), criticized Kubitschek for his ties to Vargas and his communist sympathies, and rumors of a military coup were brewing. He responded by avoiding large political clashes and downplaying ideology, focusing instead on widely supported policies.<sup>20</sup>

In 1961 the conservative Janio Quadros, the former mayor and later governor of São Paulo and a member of the *Partido Trabalhista Nacional* (National Labor Party, PTN), was elected in the first peaceful transition between parties in Brazil since 1889. He focused on empowering the *povo* (the rural poor), as well as creating an independent foreign policy. Domestically, he established some socially conservative policies such as outlawing gambling and the ability of

women to wear bikinis at beaches.<sup>21</sup>

Quadros' foreign policy sought to create new markets for Brazilian products and prioritize the developing world. Though he was against imperialism and colonialism, he strove to affirm that Brazil was fundamentally a Christian, western nation in order to maintain relations with the US without necessitating complete deference (seeking to establish neutralist policy).<sup>22</sup> He succeeded in re-establishing relations with the Soviet Union and Cuba, as well as giving the order of Cruzeiro do Sul, the highest order of chivalry, to Che Guevara. This in turn lost him support of the UDN in Brazil and resulted in widespread criticism of him by the Brazilian media.

Additionally, he was unable to reconcile the split factions in Congress, and thus failed to get any of his legislation passed.<sup>23</sup>

Quadros resigned 8 months after taking office. He made sure to send his vice president, the progressive former minister of labor to Vargas João Goulart (who was elected on a split ticket) to China during the period of his resignation so that Goulart would not immediately take office. Quadros hoped that this would help him

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<sup>19</sup> Green, "Politics of the Military Dictatorship in Brazil."

<sup>20</sup> "The Coffee Presidents," Encyclopedia Britannica.

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Jânio Quadros, "Brazil's New Foreign Policy" *Foreign Affairs* 40, no. 1 (October, 1961): 19-27.

<sup>23</sup> "The Coffee Presidents," Encyclopedia Britannica.



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regain his political clout, as Congress would demand that he be reinstated because they didn't want Goulart to take power. Instead, Congress accepted his resignation and Goulart was named president.<sup>24</sup>

Marshal Odílio Denys tried to stop Goulart's succession to the presidency, accusing him of putting Communist leaders in the unions, and expressing fear that he might have communists infiltrate the Brazilian armed forces. The legalists, however, composed of the PTB, other leftist groups, some centrists, and some military officers who believed that the only way to protect democracy was to uphold the constitution always, fought back. They were led by Governor of Rio de Janeiro and Goulart's brother-in-law Leonel Brizola. General Machado Lopes of the third army in Rio Grande do Sul, advised by Brizola, had Goulart enter through his state through Uruguay. The first army in Rio de Janeiro and second in São Paulo, led by their ministers of war, planned an attempted coup. Lopes, however, threatened to sink the ships in Pôrto Alegre, blocking the Navy's path, and essentially began a civil war.<sup>25</sup> The

military conceded, and the parties compromised by adopting a parliamentary system which would limit Goulart's power until a January 1963 vote could decide which system to preserve. Thus, in August 1961, João Goulart took power. The post of Prime Minister of the new parliamentary system was held by Tancredo Neves. Executive power was held by parliament with congressional majority.<sup>26</sup>

## Goulart's Opposition

Goulart's opposition was dominated by the same forces as Vargas's opposition, who saw him as basically a continuation of Vargas. The head of this opposition was once again Carlos Lacerda, now the governor of Guanabara. The opposition also controlled much of the media, including *Jornal do Brasil*, the now massively influential *O Globo*, *Estado de São Paulo*, and *Correia da Manhã*.<sup>27</sup> They additionally had the support of the *Instituto de Pesquisas e Estudos Sociais* (IPES, Institute of Research and Social Studies) and *Instituto Brasileiro de Ação Democrática* (IBAD, Brazilian Institute for Democratic

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<sup>24</sup> Green, "Politics of the Military Dictatorship in Brazil."

<sup>25</sup> Green, "Politics of the Military Dictatorship in Brazil."

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<sup>26</sup> John Pike, "Military" in *Texas Revolution*, accessed February 5, 2019, <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/brazil.htm>.

<sup>27</sup> Green, "Politics of the Military Dictatorship in Brazil."



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Action), two conservative think tanks dedicated to fighting Communism in Brazil through funding anti-Communist politicians and creating and disseminating propaganda.<sup>28</sup> Women also played a large role in the opposition, in groups such as CAMDE (Guanabara), LIMDE (Belo Horizonte), along with their counterparts in São Paulo, Recife, etc. The Catholic Church also mobilized people, particularly women, against Goulart, arguing that Communism would “Nationalize the Family” and destroy Christian values.<sup>29</sup> Large landowners and foreign investors, particularly those from the United States, also participated in the opposition as they feared Goulart’s economic reforms.<sup>30</sup>

## Economy

Brazil declared independence from Portugal in 1822 and began the transition

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<sup>28</sup> Marcos Corrêa, “A propaganda política do golpe de 1964 através dos documentários do Ipês (Spring 2006),” *Revista de História e Estudos Culturais*, retrieved March 29, 2013.

<sup>29</sup> Margaret Power, “Who but a Woman? The Transnational Diffusion of Anti-Communism among Conservative Women in Brazil, Chile and the United States during the Cold War,” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 47: 93-119.

<sup>30</sup> Green, “Politics of the Military Dictatorship in Brazil.”

from an imperial economy. Slavery was finally abolished in 1888, far later than most other countries. As a former occupied colony, Brazil’s economy was largely defined by cycles of export booms in commodities, such as sugar, gold and diamonds, rubber, and coffee. The main importer of Brazilian products was Germany, with whom they remained close economic partners even throughout the beginning of World War II, leading to some backlash from Allied powers.<sup>31</sup>

In the 1930s, under Vargas, Brazil began to industrialize, seeking to enter the world stage and join the era of modernization. Vargas also sought to diversify after the Great Depression hit Brazil, a devastating hit combined with a battle with the economically stronger US over coffee prices. The ultimate decline in prices crushed the economy, planting the seeds for nationalist, anti-western sentiment surrounding economic affairs.<sup>32</sup> This was also the time when Brazil first found oil, started a decades long movement to nationalize oil with the rallying cry “*o petróleo é nosso*” (the oil is ours).<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Preston E. James, “Brazil,” *Encyclopædia Britannica*, accessed February 4, 2019, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Brazil/The-economy>.

<sup>33</sup> “The Coffee Presidents,” *Encyclopedia Britannica*.



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By 1940, the US's "Good Neighbor Policy" gave Brazil large loans with which to industrialize, and Brazil began to export rubber to the Allies in exchange for continuing access to loans and credit. Loans subsided, however, over time, creating the first of Brazil's two major short-term economic problems: inflation. Political and economic turmoil in Brazil gave foreign lenders and creditors less faith in the Cruzeiro, the Brazilian currency of the time. This meant loans were hard to come by, encouraging austerity cuts by the government in order to get loans. This included devaluing the currency, decreasing investment in state industries, opening up to foreign investment, cutting social services, and stagnating wages. The cut wages, however, just led to strikes, which led to increased wages, which caused companies to raise prices, decreasing the buying power of wages, leading to more strikes, causing the cycle of unrest and inflation to repeat.<sup>34</sup>

The second major economic issue was the balance of payments crisis. Brazil's limited export economy meant that drops in prices in, usually, the coffee market, left Brazil with no money with which to buy imports. This was a big issue,

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<sup>34</sup> "The Coffee Presidents," Encyclopedia Britannica.

considering Brazil's growth (6% GNP growth a year since 1940, quite high for a developing country) greatly relied on imported capital. Even Brazil's currency was made in the US and Europe. If Brazil could not buy imports, the economy halted. Brazil also needed money for debt servicing, repaying the debt created mostly during Brasilia's expensive construction.<sup>35</sup>

Ever since independence, even as the country was first permitted to engage in international trade and began doing so, particularly with Great Britain, the government had an extensive tariff system. This was mostly to raise revenue, however, and tariffs raised about half of all government revenue before World War I. In response to the balance of payments crisis in the 1950s, however, trade barriers began to be used to deliberately alter economic conditions and achieve goals. The government hoped that closing off imports will force Brazil to engage in technological innovation and increase the activity of more "modern" industries. It also began a period of economic planning, including promoting vertical integration and creating several government enterprises. One example is Petrobras, a state-owned Brazilian oil and gas monopoly founded in 1953, which quickly began exploration and became a

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid.



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fundamental part of the economy. In 1953 the government even began to use several exchange rates, attempting to use them to manipulate which industries engaged in trade and which did not. In 1957 the country instituted Law 3244, which created an entirely new system of tariffs as well as the administrative capability to easily alter and create tariffs to suit new goals. This new system favored domestic producers of manufactured consumer goods and allowed importation of capital and intermediate goods. These tariffs were partially successful, completely eliminating imports of certain goods, but never succeeded in ending the balance of payments crisis.<sup>36</sup>

A period of rapid growth began in 1950 to the early 1960s. Celso Furtado's 1959 book *The Economic Growth of Brazil: A Survey from Colonial to Modern Times* brought the concept of development into popular politics. Manufacturing became the main contributor to GDP. By 1960, the number of industrial workers more than doubled.<sup>37</sup>

This growth, as well as deficit spending, government financed industrial expansion (involving printing money

and kickbacks to better fund these programs), subsidized business loans, and the practice among Brazilians of obtaining loans from foreign banks when domestic credit was restricted, came more huge spikes in inflation (39.5% in 1960).<sup>38</sup>

Long term, structural concerns remained in the 1960s. Brazil, even during this period of growth, lacked huge amounts of basic infrastructure: electrical power could not meet demand, requiring severe rationing, there were only 5,518 miles of paved highway, the railroads were old and low technology.<sup>39</sup>

Meanwhile, education was suffering. Only 10% of those enrolled in the first grade would go on to finish primary school, only 15% of those who entered secondary school graduated. Funding was inadequate and families needed their children to work. There were two tracts for secondary school: professional trade schools and the schools that allowed a student to take the *vestibular*, the university entrance exam. Only the elite could send their kids to the latter, so although federal universities were free, using half of the federal education budget, they were filled only with upper class, white young men.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> "The Coffee Presidents," Encyclopedia Britannica.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.



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Rural, poor areas were suffering as much as they always had. There was lots of empty, uncultivated, fertile land, owned privately or publicly, and yet there were millions landless. The police were controlled by the wealthy in these areas, preventing the landless from settling in these areas. Families in the poor Northeast constantly migrated as they sought to escape drought. Many were abused by landowners, working for months without salaries. Their illiteracy and lack of social capital kept them from fighting back. In addition, the cultural influences of the *compadre* (co-godfather) system made the poor see at the powerful as benevolent and important for guidance. They therefore never had the will to demand reform. Many of poor families from rural areas sought to improve their situations by moving to large cities. Men worked as janitors, bus conductors, and runners for the numbers racket, women as domestics and shop clerks. There were few formal jobs with the minimum wage and social security. Urban slums (*favelas*) constructed on hillsides grew and came to symbolize the growing income gap. Rural zone strikes spread to urban areas marking massive civil discontent.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> "The Coffee Presidents," Encyclopedia Britannica.

Unions, because of laws made during the *Estado Novo's* corporatist structure, were controlled by the labor ministry in the government. Membership was required, and each worker had one day's salary a year given to the ministry to be distributed amongst the unions. Since unions therefore relied on the government for funding, they limited themselves to actions they knew they would have government support on. Strikes and collective bargaining were also generally illegal unless approved by the court under very specific circumstances.<sup>42</sup> By 1961, foreign debt had grown from 87 million dollars to 297 million dollars, industrial production had 80% growth, with and inflation was at 43%. Around 1961, the US began to step in on issues of poverty, feeling compelled by the recent Cuban revolution. The perception in the United States, was that the poverty in the Northeast was pushing the people to the brink of revolution. They established the Alliance for Progress, the US Agency for International Development, the Brazilian Peace Corps projects, and Food for Peace.

## Culture

Brazilian culture became more famous than ever in the late 1950s. *Bossa nova* (a mixture of Samba and Jazz meaning "new trend")

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid.





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was spreading across the world, with Frank Sinatra performing *bossa nova* songs while “The Girl from Ipanema” became the second-most played song in the world. Black Orpheus and its Afro-Brazilian cast was hitting the theaters in the US.

In Brazil, youths were becoming more involved in politics than ever through churches and universities. Many literacy programs flourished after Paulo Freire argued that it was possible to teach adult peasants to read. The first federal university was created in Rio de Janeiro in 1920. The National Union of Students was established in 1937, growing out of the *Casa do Estudante do Brasil*, the original international representative body of Brazilian students that also provided resources to low income students and hosted events. The UNE, however, wanted to also participate in politics. Many young people favored communism, and 1962 brought new desires for peasant organization and even guerilla movements.

## Current Situation

When 1963 began, the nation awaited a referendum that would decide whether Goulart will remain in power. On January 6, he won by a large margin and

has subsequently changed the nature of the government back to a presidential democracy. He finds his country in a deteriorating political and economic state. Goulart plans to institute bottom-up reforms such as land reforms and nationalization of enterprises; this makes him a socialist threat in the eyes of the United States, as well as right wing Brazilians and the military. His country is now split over whether to join the Non-Aligned Movement or side with the United States, and the rural underclass has become the target of mobilization attempts by the government and Marxists alike.

This is a critical moment for Brazil—your actions will decide whether Brazil recovers its democracy, slides back into fascism, or embraces revolutionary socialism.



# COMMITTEE MEMBERS

## Castello Branco

Castelo Branco was born in the Northeast to a general and a woman from a family of intellectuals. He attended the Rio Pardo Military School in Rio Grande do Sul, then the Military School of Realengo in Rio de Janeiro. He earned the rank of first lieutenant in 1923 and worked to lead a unit that overcame revolts in São Paulo in 1925. He then taught at the Military School of Realengo in 1927 before becoming involved in the Brazilian Revolution of 1930. The next year he attended the Command and General Staff College (ECEME), finishing as first in his class. During World War II he spent three hundred days in Italy fighting as head of the third Section of the Brazilian Expeditionary Force (FEB). He was promoted to colonel in 1945 before becoming chief of staff of the army.<sup>43</sup>

## Carlos Lacerda

Carlos Lacerda was born in Rio de Janeiro into a family of politicians. As a law student, Lacerda was somewhat left-wing, but became conservative in the 1940s. He worked as a journalist at the *Diário de Notícias* in 1929, before founding *Tribuna da Imprensa* in 1949. He was elected to Rio's legislative chamber in 1947, then a UDN representative for Rio state in the

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<sup>43</sup> John W. F. Dulles, *Castelo Branco: The Making of a Brazilian President* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press 1978).

Chamber of Deputies in 1950. He was a staunch critic of Getúlio Vargas. He survived an assassination attempt in August 1954. Later that year, he was re-elected to the Chamber of Deputies with the most votes of all candidates. He also belonged to President Juscelino Kubitschek's opposition. He became governor of Guanabara in 1960.<sup>44</sup>

## Vernon Walters

Vernon Walters was born in New York City to a British immigrant and insurance salesman. For much of his childhood he lived in Britain and France, until he, at sixteen, left school and returned to the United States, to work with his father as an insurance claims adjuster and investigator. In 1941 he joined the Army, serving in World War II in Africa and Italy. He acted as an aide and interpreter for several Presidents. In the 1960s, he became a U.S. military attaché in France, Italy, and Brazil.<sup>45</sup>

## Amélia Bastos

Amélia Bastos is a retired primary school in Rio, as well as a devout Catholic and relative of multiple generals. She is also

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<sup>44</sup> "Carlos Lacerda, 63, Brazilian Politician." *The New York Times*, May 22, 1977, <https://www.nytimes.com/1977/05/22/archives/carlos-lacerda-63-brazilian-politician-publisher-was-contender-for.html>.

<sup>45</sup> Guido Crainz, *Autobiografia di una Repubblica. Le radici dell'Italia attuale* (Donzelli, 2009), p. 54.



# COMMITTEE MEMBERS

married to a general in the army. She founded the group CAMDE (Women's Campaign for Democracy), a conservative women's group, with the help of her brother, a member of the army secret service, and several churchmen. She sought to protect traditional family values against communism.<sup>46</sup>

## Lincoln Gordon

Lincoln Gordon was born in New York City. He attended Harvard University, then received a Doctor in Philosophy from Oxford as a Rhodes Scholar. He served as program vice-chairman of the War Production Board, then worked in the Bureau of Research and Statistics of the War Production Board, then joining the staff of the Requirements Committee to design the Controlled Materials Plan, handling the use of scarce materials during World War II. He then worked as Director of the Marshall Plan, Minister for Economic Affairs, and as an ambassador in London. He worked to develop the Alliance for Progress in 1960 and began serving as the ambassador to Brazil in 1961.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> June E. Hahner, "'Women's Place' in Politics and Economics in Brazil Since 1964," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 19, no. 1 (1982): 83–91.

<sup>47</sup> Robert D. McFadden, "Lincoln Gordon Dies at 96; Educator and Ambassador to Brazil." *The New York Times*, December 21, 2009, [https://www.nytimes.com/2009/12/21/us/21GORDON.html?\\_r=1](https://www.nytimes.com/2009/12/21/us/21GORDON.html?_r=1).

## Augusto Trajano de Azevedo Antunes

Augusto Trajano de Azevedo Antunes was born in São Paulo. He began his career as a civil engineer, graduating from the Escola Politécnica de São Paulo. He founded ICOMI (Industry and Trade of Minerals) in 1942 and began mining activities in Amapá in 1948, beginning mining activities in Amapá and is now one of Brazil's wealthiest people.<sup>48</sup>

## Ivan Hasslocher

Ivan Hasslocher founded *Instituto Brasileiro de Ação Democrática* (IBAD) in 1959, serving from then on as director-president. He was also director-president Sales Promotion, Inc., the publicity agent for right wing political ideas and candidates. He also served as a vital member of the national board of Democratic Popular Action (ADEP), handling electoral campaigns.<sup>49</sup>

## Artur da Costa e Silva

Artur da Costa e Silva was born in Rio Grande do Sul. He finished first in his class at the Military College of Porto Alegre as commander of the cadet corps. He then attended the Escola Militar de Realengo in Rio de Janeiro in 1918. He became second Lieutenant in 1922, stationed with the 1st Infantry Regiment in Vila Militar until 1922,

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<sup>48</sup> Elio Gaspari, *Ditadura Derrotada* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Intrínseca, 2014).

<sup>49</sup> Jan Knippers Black, *United States Penetration of Brazil* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1977).



# COMMITTEE MEMBERS

when he participated in *Tenentist* rebellion and imprisoned for six months. He was trained in the United States in 1944, then began serving as a military attaché in Argentina in 1950. He then commanded the third army in Rio Grande do Sul from 1957 to 1959, before commanding the fourth Army in Pernambuco from 1961 to 1962. He became chief of the General Personnel Department, then the chief of the Department of Production and Works, before being promoted to general in 1952.<sup>50</sup>

## Pascoal Ranieri Mazzilli

Pascoal Ranieri Mazzilli was born in Cacond to poor Italian immigrants. He briefly began a legal education, before leaving school and working for a time as a tax collector. In the Revolution of 1932, he fought as a first lieutenant. He then became a journalist, reporting mostly on financial matters. In 1940 he completed law school. He began serving as the president of the Chamber of Deputies of Brazil in 1958.<sup>51</sup>

## Augusto Hamann Rademaker Grünewald

Augusto Hamann Rademaker Grünewald was born in Rio de Janeiro in 1905, to a family of German and Danish descent. He fought in World War II and attended

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<sup>50</sup> Fábio Koifman, *Presidentes Do Brasil: De Deodoro A Fhc.*

<sup>51</sup> Hélio Vianna, *História do Brasil* vol. III, (São Paulo: Editora Melhoramentos, 1963), 314.

military training in the United States. He later became admiral of the Brazilian Navy, acting as the commander of several important Naval ships including the “Cacocim” and “Carioca.”<sup>52</sup>

## Márcio de Sousa Melo

Márcio de Sousa Melo was born in Santa Catarina, Brazil. He entered the army at nineteen as a *praça* and worked his way through the ranks before becoming the marshall of the Air Force. He earned the *Ordem do Mérito Aeronáutico* in 1951.<sup>53</sup>

## Olímpio Mourão Filho

Olímpio Mourão Filho was born in Minas Gerais. He was a major leader of the *Ação Integralista Brasileira* (AIB) nationalist, right wing movement that became significant during the Getúlio Vargas government. He was the editor of the Cohen Plan, which helped Vargas stay in power by creating the artificial threat of an international communist conspiracy. He was also a general in the army.<sup>54</sup>

## Odylio Denys

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<sup>52</sup> “Augusto Rademaker” in *The Government of Brazil*, archived from the original on August 28, 2015, retrieved November 10, 2012.

<sup>53</sup> “Márcio de Sousa Melo,” *Biblioteca da Presidência da República.*

<sup>54</sup> Ib Kern, *Não há anjos no poder: histórias vivas de um repórter* (2007) [There are no angels in power: Vivid stories from a reporter].



# COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Odylio Denys was born in the state of Rio de Janeiro. He studied at the Realengo Military School, becoming an officer in 1915, serving in Bagé. In 1921, he was promoted to first lieutenant, and in 1922, he participated in a *tenentist* revolt. In 1930, he began to command the School of Infantry Sergeants of Vila Militar, before being transferred to the 2nd Infantry Regiment. In 1933 he was then chosen to be the Cabinet officer of the Minister of War, General Góis Monteiro. In 1937, he was promoted to lieutenant colonel and assigned to command the seventh army in Porto Alegre. In 1938, he was appointed to command the first army in Petropolis and in 1946, he became the general secretary of the Ministry of War. He was promoted to army general in 1952. He commanded the Eastern Military Zone until 1960, when he was appointed Minister of War.<sup>55</sup>

## Tancredo Neves

Tancredo Neves was born in Minas Gerais to a family of Portuguese and Austrian descent. He studied law in Belo Horizonte. He was a sympathizer of the 1930 Revolution and Getúlio Vargas.

Beginning in 1934, he served a member of the legislative chamber of his hometown before being elected to the Minas Gerais state legislature in 1947. In 1950 he served in Brazilian Chamber of Deputies before

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<sup>55</sup> Galeria de Comandantes da 3ª DE, Consultado em 17 de dezembro de 2014.

becoming Minister of Justice three years later. In 1956 he joined a "carteira de redesconto" (a board of directors) at the "Bank of Brazil," until 1958, when he was nominated secretary of the Treasury. He became Prime Minister in 1961.<sup>56</sup>

## Júlio de Mesquita Filho

Júlio de Mesquita Filho was born in São Paulo to the owner of a major newspaper. He studied in Europe, returning to Brazil to study law. He wrote for the "Estado" during the First World War. In 1917 he joined the *Liga Nacionalista* (Nationalist League), seeking to democratize the oligarchic Brazil. He was one of the founders of the *Partido Democrático* (Democratic Party) in 1926. He supported the Revolution of 1930 but was ultimately disappointed with Getúlio Vargas. He was arrested 17 times and taken into exile by the dictatorship. He continued to be a journalist critical of various leftist governments.<sup>57</sup>

## Amaury Kruel

Amaury Kruel was born in Santa Maria. In 1921 he graduated from the Escola Militar do Realengo. In 1923 he was involved in demonstrations in support of the *Revolução Federalista* (Federalist Revolution) in Livramento. He also took part in the 1930

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<sup>56</sup> Acervo Estadão, "Tancredo Neves," retrieved March 13, 2014.

<sup>57</sup> *Trajectoria de um jornalista liberal*, Júlio de Mesquita Filho Estado de S. Paulo, November 25, 2009.



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revolution. In 1933, he graduated from the Escola do Estado-Maior. Between 1936 and 1937 he commanded the Municipal Police of Rio de Janeiro. He was in the Brazilian Expeditionary Force (FEB) in Italy in World War II. In 1959 and 1961 he acted as a military advisor for Brazil at the United Nations. He has been Minister of War since 1962.<sup>58</sup>

## Aloysio De Andrade Faria

Though a pediatrician by training, Aloysio De Andrade Faria is a banker and businessman in Brazil.<sup>59</sup> He was born on November 9, 1920 in Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais. Faria holds a B.A. from the University of Minas Gerais, and a Master of Science from Northwestern University. He only practiced the medical profession for a couple of years, soon taking over the medium sized bank owned by his father, the Banco da Lavoura de Minas Gerais, in 1949, after his father's death.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Aspásia Camargo, *Diálogo com Cordeiro de Farias: Meio Século de Combate*, Biblioteca do Exército, 2001, 293.

<sup>59</sup> "About US", [aloyiodeandradefaria.org](https://aloyiodeandradefaria.org), accessed February 3, 2019, <https://aloyiodefaria.org/about/>.

<sup>60</sup> "Aloysio de Andrade Faria", *Forbes Billionaires*, *Forbes*, accessed February 3, 2019, <https://www.forbes.com/profile/aloyzio-de-andrade-faria/#522cec453aff>.



# QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

- Is abandoning democracy necessary to save Brazil from Communism?
- What role should the United States have in Brazilian politics? Should Brazil try to chart a separate path on the world stage?
- What will be the constituency of this new government? Who will it serve?
- How can you improve the lives of everyday Brazilians?



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# Brown University Crisis Simulation



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