Country: Brazil

Year: 1945

Leader: Linhares

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Linhares' party affiliation as none. Lentz (1994: 104) writes, "Linhares was chief justice when the army overthrew Getúlio Vargas, and, in accordance with the constitution, he succeeded Vargas as president on October 29, 1945. Linhares proceeded with plans for democratic elections in December of that year and sought to ensure that the election was waged freely and fairly." Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação de História Contemporânea do Brasil (CPDOC) (2020) writes, "In the presidency of the Republic, Linhares replaced almost all federal interventionists in the states, appointing members of the Judiciary to their posts. The top priority of his administration was to direct the succession process, which ended with the victory of General Eurico Dutra in the December 1945 election."

Years: 1946-1950 Leader: Dutra Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies Dutra's party as Partido Social Democrático (PSD). Perspective monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) corroborate party affiliation as PSD. Lentz (1994: 104-105) writes that Dutra was "a supporter of the coup that installed Vargas as head of state in 1930." As president, he "banned the Brazilian Communist party and broke off diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union." Huber and Stephens (2016: 10) identify PSD as center-right.

Years: 1951-1953 Leader: Vargas Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as leftist. CHISOLS identifies Vargas' party as Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro (PTB). Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PTB and identifies the party as leftist. World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PTB and identifies the party as center-left. Huber and Stephens (2016: 10) identify PTB as center-left. Funke et al. (2020: 89) identify Vargas as a "left-wing populist."

Year: 1954

Leader: Café Filho Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as leftist. CHISOLS identifies Café Filho's party as Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro (PTB). Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PTB and identifies the party as leftist. Lentz (1994: 105) writes, "[Café Filho] was elected to the Chamber of Deputies again in 1945 and served as floor leader for the Social Progressive party. He became the Social Progressive party's nominee for vice president in 1950, and through an arrangement with Vargas's Labor party, he was elected vice president under Vargas." World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PTB and identifies the party as center-left. Huber and Stephens (2016: 10) identify PTB as center-left.

Year: 1955

Leader: Oliveria Ramos

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies de Oliveira Ramos' party as Partido Social Democrático (PSD). Huber and Stephens (2016: 10) identify PSD as center-right. Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PSD and identifies the party as centrist. World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PSD. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 47 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of PSD as 5.8.

Years: 1956-1960 Leader: Kubitschek Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies Kubitschek's party as Partido Social Democrático (PSD). Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PSD but identifies the party as centrist. World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PSD. Huber and Stephens (2016: 10) identify PSD as center-right.

Years: 1961-1963 Leader: Goulart Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as leftist. CHISOLS identifies Goulart's party as Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro (PTB). Political Handbook of the World (2005-2006) elaborates, writing, "Goulart's leftist administration, after being widely criticized for inflationary policies, governmental corruption, and prolabor and alleged pro-Communist tendencies, was overturned by the military in March 1964." Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PTB and identifies the

party as leftist. Lentz (1994: 108) writes, "Goulart, who was out of the country at the time [President Jânio Quadros resigned], was the constitutional successor to the office, but the military feared his leftist leanings and led the opposition to his assuming the presidency." World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PTB and identifies the party as center-left. Huber and Stephens (2016: 10) identify PTB as center-left.

Years: 1964-1966

Leader: Castello Branco

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as none. Manzano (2017) corroborates HoG and identifies ideology as rightist. Political Handbook of the World (2005-2006) elaborates, writing, "Marshal Humberto de Alencar Castello Branco, who served as president from 1964 to 1967, vigorously repressed subversive and leftist tendencies." Lentz (1994: 108) writes, "As army chief of staff, Castello Branco was a leader of the military opposition to the presidency of João Goulart," which, "feared his leftist leanings." As president, "Castello Branco instituted a purge of leftists in the government."

Years: 1967-1968 Leader: Costa de Silva Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS does not identify party. Encyclopedia Britannica (2019a) identifies Costa e Silva's party as Aliança Renovadora Nacional (ARENA). Manzano (2017) corroborates HoG and identifies ideology as rightist. Political Handbook of the World (2005-2006) elaborates, writing, "The policies of Castello Branco were continued under Artur da Costa e Silva (1967-1969) and Emilio Garrastazú Medici (1969-1974)." Lentz (1994: 109) states that Costa e Silva "participated in the military ouster of Goulart in April of 1964," previously writing that "the military feared [Goulart's] leftist leanings." Huber and Stephens (2016: 10) identify ARENA as rightist. In V-Party (2020), 10 experts identify ARENA's ideology as "Right" (2.083) in 1970.

Years: 1969-1973 Leader: Medici Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies Médici's party as Aliança Renovadora Nacional (ARENA). Manzano (2017) corroborates HoG and identifies ideology as rightist. Political Handbook of the World (2005-2006) elaborates, writing, "The policies of Castello Branco were continued under Artur da

Costa e Silva (1967-1969) and Emilio Garrastazú Medici (1969-1974)." Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as ARENA. Lentz (1994: 109) writes that Médici "was serving as commander of the National Military Academy when the military overthrew the government of President João Goulart," previously writing that "the military feared [Goulart's] leftist leanings." Lentz continues, "He was instrumental in preventing a clash between rival army troops following the coup and soon gave his support to the military government." World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as ARENA and identifies the party as conservative. Huber and Stephens (2016: 10) identify ARENA as rightist. In V-Party (2020), 10 experts identify ARENA's ideology as "Right" (2.083) in 1970.

Years: 1974-1978 Leader: Geisel Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies Geisel's party as Aliança Renovadora Nacional (ARENA). Manzano (2017) corroborates HoG and identifies ideology as rightist. Political Handbook of the World (2005-2006) elaborates, writing, "Despite periodic disturbances [from the authoritarian rule of his predecessors], the ease with which power was passed to President Ernesto Geisel in early 1974 suggested that the military and its allies were still firmly in control." Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as ARENA. Lentz (1994: 110) writes, "When [Geisel] returned to Brazil [in 1950], he became involved in the Cruzada Democratica, a conservative nationalist movement." Lentz later writes, "Geisel was initially reluctant to take part in a military coup against Goulart, but as Brazil's economy continued to deteriorate, he joined with the military junta that ousted Goulart on April 1, 1964," which "feared [Goulart's] leftist leanings." World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as ARENA and identifies the party as conservative. Huber and Stephens (2016: 10) identify ARENA as rightist. In V-Party (2020), 10 experts identify ARENA's ideology as "Right" (1.922) in 1974 and 1978.

Years: 1979-1984 Leader: Figueiredo Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies Figueiredo's party as Aliança Renovadora Nacional (ARENA). Political Handbook of the World (2005-2006) draws a connection between Figueiredo and his predecessor, Geisel: "On March 15, 1979, João Baptista Figueiredo was sworn in for a six-year term as Geisel's hand-picked successor." Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as ARENA. Lentz (1994: 110-111) corroborates Political Handbook,

writing, "In January of 1978 Geisel announced his selection of João Baptista da Oliveira Figueiredo as his successor. Figueiredo was approved by ARENA and replaced Geisel on March 15, 1979." Lentz also writes that Figueiredo "was active in the military coup that ousted President Goulart on April 1, 1964," out of fear of Goulart's "leftist leanings." World Statesmen (2020) corroborates party affiliation as ARENA and identifies ARENA as conservative. Huber and Stephens (2016: 10) identify ARENA as rightist. Perspective Monde (2020) identifies Figueiredo's party affiliation as "militaire, Alliance pour le renouveau national, Parti social démocratique," military, ARENA, PDS. Party Facts states that ARENA existed in the years 1966-1979, and that PDS existed in the years 1979-1993. In V-Party (2020), 9 experts identify PDS's ideology as "Right" (1.842) in 1982.

Years: 1985-1989 Leader: Sarnay Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies Sarney's party as Partido do Movimento Democrático Brasileiro (PMDB). However, Political Handbook of the World (2005-2006) identifies Sarney's party as the Liberal Front Party (Partido dâ Frente Liberal- PFL). Encyclopedia Britannica (2005) elaborates, writing "Founded in 1984, the Liberal Front Party (PFL) was established ostensibly to oppose the presidential candidacy of Paulo Maluf in Brazil's 1985 elections... The new party subsequently joined the Democratic Alliance (Aliança Democrática; AD) in support of the candidacy of Tancredo de Almeida Neves." Political Handbook of the World (2005-2006) adds that the Democratic Alliance was "composed of the PMDB and PFL, in support of the candidacy of Tancredo Neves." Encyclopedia Britannica (2005) further identifies PFL as "center-right". Political Handbook also points to Sarney's rightist leaning, writing, "During the ensuing three years, despite promulgation of a new, substantially liberalized constitution in October 1988, Sarney's popularity eroded sharply, with leftist parties registering significant gains at municipal elections in November." Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PMDB but identifies the party as centrist. Lentz (1994: 111) writes, "Sarnay remained a supporter of the military government," which had ousted Goulart out of fear of Goulart's "leftist leanings." Lentz continues, "Sarnay left the Democratic Social party in objection to their nominee, Paulo Maluf. Sarnay and others founded the Liberal Front party, which they later joined with Tancredo Neves's Brazilian Democratic Movement." World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PMDB but identifies the party as "center-left". Huber and Stephens (2016: 10) identify PMDB as centrist. In V-Party (2020), 10 experts identify PFL's ideology as "Right" (1.781) in 1986.

Years: 1990-1991 Leader: Mello Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies Collor de Mello's party as Partido da Reconstrução Nacional (PRN). Political Handbook of the World (2005-2006) corroborates this party identification and elaborates, writing that Collar ran "on a free-enterprise platform." Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PRN and seems to identify the party as rightist. Lentz (1994: 112) writes, [Collor] was nominated for president by the National Reconstruction party, founded in March of 1989 to promote his candidacy. He campaigned on a platform to end government corruption and improve the Brazilian economy." World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PRN and identifies the party as "conservative". Funke et al. (2020: 91) identify Collor de Mello as a "right-wing populist."

Years: 1992-1994 Leader: Franco, Itamar

Ideology: centrist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies Franco's party as Partido do Movimento Democrático Brasileiro (PMDB). DPI as well as Huber and Stephens (2016:10) identify PMDB's ideology as centrist. Political Handbook of the World (2015) elaborates, stating, "[PMDB]'s membership is large and very diverse, with various wings espousing different ideologies." In the Global Party Survey 2019, 47 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of MDB as 6.2. World Statesmen (2019) writes that PMDB was renamed MDB at the end of 2017. In V-Party (2020), 10 experts identify PMDB's ideology as "Center" (0.022) in 1990 and "Center" (0.068) in 1994. In V-Party (2020), 9 experts identify "some visible disagreement" in PMDB in 1990 and 1994. Encyclopedia Britannica (2020) states, "Franco was picked by Fernando Collor de Mello to be his vice presidential running mate in the 1990 presidential election. Representing the newly organized centrist National Reconstruction Party (Partido da Reconstrução Nacional [PRN]; later renamed the Christian Labour Party [Partido Trabalhista Cristão; PTC]), Collor and Franco won the election.... [Franco] was an economic nationalist opposed to neoliberal market reforms." Ortiz de Zárate (2016) states, "On January 15, 1980, Franco was among the hundred senators and deputies who, led by Guirmarães, founded the Brazilian Democratic Movement Party (PMDB), which rescued most of the militants and leaders of the extinct MDB and outlined a centrist ideology..."

Years: 1995-2002 Leader: Cardoso Ideology: centrist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as centrist. CHISOLS identifies Cardoso's party as Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira (PSDB). Political Handbook of the World (2005-2006) describes the PSDB as a centrist coalition, writing, "The PSDB was launched in June 1988 by a number of center-left congressional deputies from the PMDB's histórico faction, plus others from the PDS (under PP, below), and the PFL and the PTB and PSB (below)." Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PSDB and identifies the party as centrist. World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PSDB and identifies the party as social-democratic. Huber and Stephens (2016: 10) identify PSDB as center-left. In V-Party (2020), 10 experts identify PSDB's ideology as "Center" (0.37) in 1994, "Center-right" (0.936) in 1998, and "Center-right" (0.881) in 2002. In V-Party (2020), 9 experts identify "negligible visible disagreement" in PSDB in 1994 and 1998 and "some visible disagreement" in PSDB in 2002. Encyclopedia Britannica (2020) states, "[Cardoso] returned to Brazil in 1968, founded the Brazilian Center for Analysis and Planning, and established a reputation as one of the foremost members of the left-wing opposition. Cardoso entered politics in 1986 when he was elected senator from São Paulo. In 1988 he cofounded the centre-left Brazilian Social Democratic Party." Ortiz de Zárate (2016) states, "Dirigente del centroizquierdista Partido de la Social Democracia Brasileña (PSDB) y ministro de Hacienda en el Gobierno de Itamar Franco... En 1980 el sociólogo sostuvo contactos con el líder sindical paulista Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva para la puesta en marcha de un gran partido de izquierda en Brasil que captara el voto de las clases trabajadoras y los sectores universitarios progresistas, pero el proyecto no cuajó y Lula siguió adelante con su Partido de los Trabajadores (PT), exponente de un socialismo filomarxista con el que el sociólogo no comulgaba... Según los observadores, la perspectiva de Lula, con su imagen de sindicalista rudo, convertido en presidente atemorizó a sectores del establishment partidarios del liberalismo económico con pragmatismo y a las clases pudientes, que convergieron masivamente con el electorado centroizquierdista propio del PSDB para votar por Cardoso." [Leader of the center-left Brazilian Social Democracy Party (PSDB) and Minister of Finance in the Government of Itamar Franco... In 1980, the sociologist had contacts with the São Paulo union leader Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva for the start-up of a large left-wing party in Brazil that would capture the vote of the working classes and progressive university sectors, but the project did not work and Lula went ahead with his Workers' Party (PT), an exponent of a philomarxist socialism with which the sociologist did not agree... According to observers, the perspective of Lula, with his image as a tough trade unionist, turned president, frightened sectors of the establishment that favor economic liberalism with pragmatism and the wealthy classes, who massively converged with the PSDB's own center-left electorate to vote for Cardoso.] On the PSDB, Ortiz de Zárate (2016)

states, "El PSDB se configuró como un partido animado por intelectuales formados en el pensamiento marxista y empresarios, sobre todo del área metropolitana de São Paulo pero también de los estados de Minas Gerais y Paraná, partidarios de una economía de mercado socialmente orientada y, por tanto, alternativa al modelo neoliberal aplicado por el Gobierno Sarney con resultados muy poco convenientes." [The PSDB was configured as a party animated by intellectuals trained in Marxist thought and businessmen, especially from the São Paulo metropolitan area but also from the states of Minas Gerais and Paraná, supporters of a socially oriented market economy and, therefore, alternative to the neoliberal model applied by the Sarney government with very unconvincing results.]

Years: 2003-2010 Leader: Lula da Silva Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as leftist. CHISOLS identifies Lula da Silva's party as Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT). Political Handbook of the World (2015) elaborates, writing, "Following Lula da Silva's inauguration in 2003, the party shifted from a leftist-socialist to a more center-left social democratic orientation." Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PT and identifies the party as leftist. World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PT and identifies the party as center-left. Huber and Stephens (2016: 10) identify PT as center-left since 2002. In V-Party (2020), 10 experts identify PT's ideology as "Center-left" (-1.437) in 2002 and 2006 and "Center-left" (-1.292) in 2010.

Years: 2011-2015 Leader: Rousseff Ideology: left

Description: HoG identifies ideology as leftist. CHISOLS does not identify party. Encyclopedia Britannica (2019b) identifies Rousseff's party as Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT), which Political Handbook of the World (2015) corroborates. Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PT and identifies the party as leftist. World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PT and identifies the party as center-left. Huber and Stephens (2016: 10) identify PT as center-left since 2002. In V-Party (2020), 10 experts identify PT's ideology as "Center-left" (-1.292) in 2010 and "Center-left" (-1.45) in 2014.

Years: 2016-2018 Leader: Temer Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as centrist. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Encyclopedia Britannica (2019c) identifies Temer Lulia's party as Partido do Movimento Democrático Brasileiro (PMDB). DPI identifies PMDB's ideology as centrist. Political Handbook of the World (2015) elaborates, stating, "[PMDB]'s membership is large and very diverse, with various wings espousing different ideologies." Huber and Stephens (2016: 10) concur with DPI. Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PMDB and identifies the party as centrist. World Statesmen (2019) identifies party affiliation as Movimiento Democrático Brasileiro (MDB), but writes that PMDB was renamed MDB at the end of 2017. Thus, Temer Lulia would have belonged to PMDB in 2016 and then MDB in 2017. MDB is identified as centrist, and PMBD is identified as center-left. In V-Party (2020), 10 experts identify PMDB's ideology as "Center-right" (0.66) in 2014, and 9 experts identify PMDB's ideology as "Center-right" (0.791) in 2018. In V-Party (2020), 9 experts identify "negligible visible disagreement" in PMDB in 2014, and 8 experts identify "negligible visible disagreement" in PMDB in 2018. Cardenas (2020) states, "Having joined the centre-right Brazilian Democratic Movement Party (Partido do Movimento Democrático Brasileiro; PMDB)... Temer sought to turn the economy around by adopting pro-market policies, pushing for the enactment of new labour laws and the restructuring of pensions, and introducing austery measures, including cuts in public services." Ortíz de Zárate (2018) states, "Buen representante de la clase política tradicional, constitucionalista experto y con una reputación de hábil muñidor de alianzas transversales entre bastidores, el veterano Temer lidera desde hace 15 años el Partido del Movimiento Democrático Brasileño (PMDB), una fuerza vagamente centrista... Tres aspectos destacan en el Gabinete Temer, que supone el desalojo traumático del PT tras 13 años en el poder: su perfil predominantemente liberal conservador..." [A good representative of the traditional political class, an expert constitutionalist, and with a reputation as skilled man of transversal alliances behind the scenes, the veteran Temer has led the Brazilian Democratic Movement Party (PMDB) for 15 years, a vaguely centrist force... Three aspects stand out in the Temer Cabinet, which represents the traumatic eviction of the PT after 13 years in power: its predominantly liberal conservative profile...]

Years: 2019-2020 Leader: Bolsonaro Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Perspective Monde (2021) identifies Bolsonaro's party as Partido Social Liberal (PSL) and identifies the party as center-right. World Statesmen (2021) corroborates party affiliation as PSL and identifies the party as conservative. Huber and Stephens (2016) identify PSL as center-right. In V-Party (2020), 10 experts

identify PSL's ideology as "Right" (3.242) in 2018. DPI identifies PSL's ideology as rightist.

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