

*The Military
in Politics*

CHANGING PATTERNS
IN BRAZIL

By Alfred Stepan

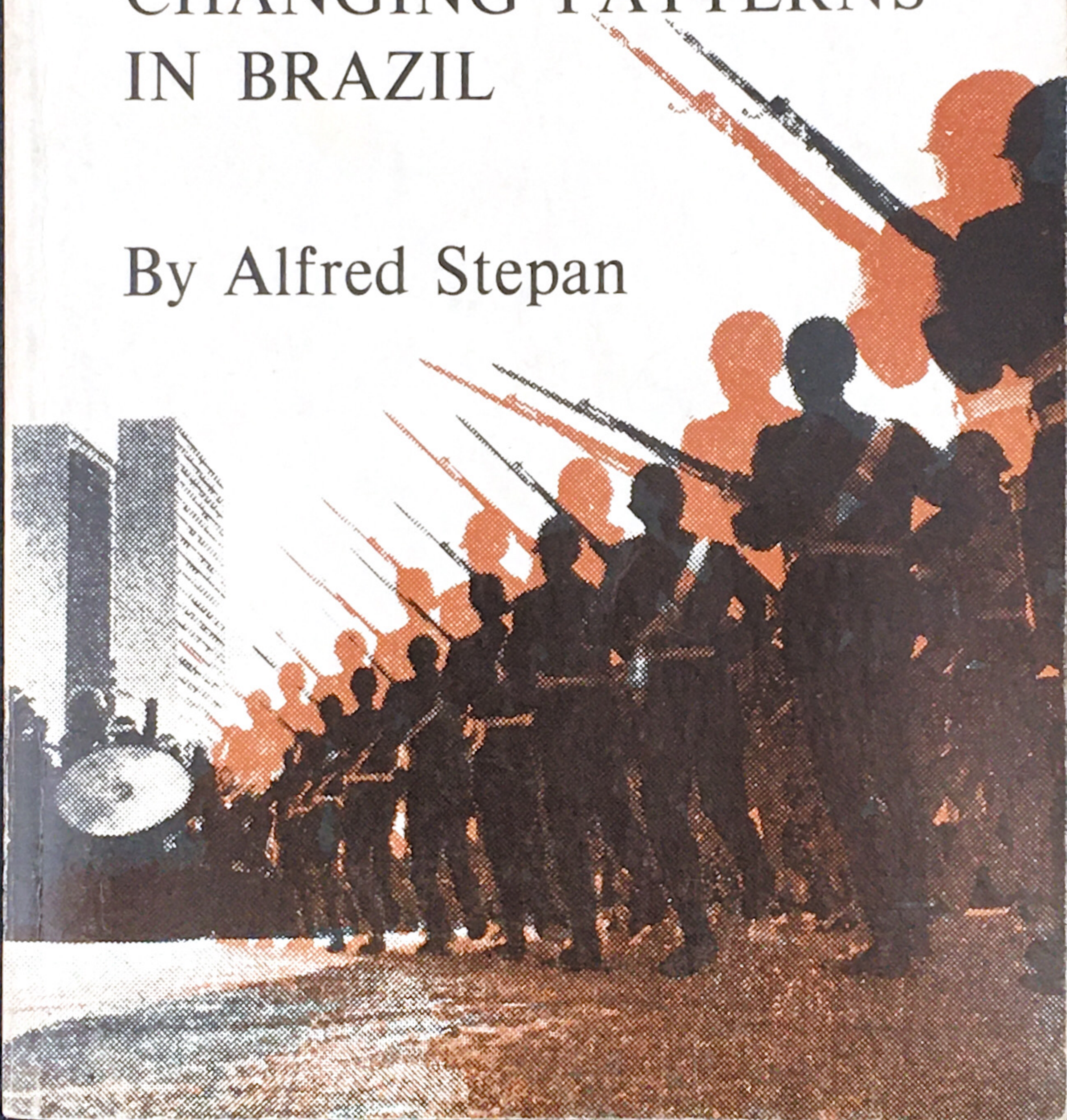


TABLE 5.1

CLASSIFICATION OF EDITORIAL OPINION IN REGARD TO LEGITIMACY OF PRESIDENT
BEFORE COUPS OR COUP ATTEMPTS; 1945, 1954, 1955, 1961, 1964

	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
	<i>President, president-elect, or vice-president with presidency vacant should be strongly supported. His blockage or removal would be illegitimate.</i>	<i>President, president-elect, or vice-president with presidency vacant is legal.</i>	<i>Ambiguous or neutral in regard to question of legitimacy of president, president-elect, or vice-president with presidency vacant.</i>	<i>President, president-elect, or vice-president with presidency vacant is acting illegally, or president-elect was illegally elected or vice-president with presidency vacant does not have authoritative claim to presidency.</i>	<i>President, president-elect, or vice-president with presidency vacant should not hold the presidency. He should resign, be impeached, not inaugurated, or forced from office.</i>
Successful Coups					
1945 Coup*				<i>Correio da Manhã Jornal do Brasil Diário Carioca Diário de Notícias O Jornal</i>	
1954 Coup	<i>Última Hora</i>			<i>Jornal do Brasil O Globo O Jornal</i>	<i>Correio da Manhã Diário Carioca Diário de Notícias O Estado de São Paulo Tribuna da Imprensa</i>
<i>(Successful Coup Movements continued)</i>					
1964 Coup	<i>Última Hora</i>	<i>Diário Carioca</i>		<i>Correio da Manhã Jornal do Brasil O Globo Diário de Notícias</i>	<i>O Jornal O Estado de São Paulo Tribuna da Imprensa</i>
Unsuccessful Coup Movements					
1955 Coup	<i>Diário Carioca O Jornal Correio da Manhã</i>	<i>Última Hora</i>	<i>O Globo Jornal do Brasil</i>	<i>O Estado de São Paulo Diário de Notícias</i>	<i>Tribuna da Imprensa</i>
1961 Coup		<i>Correio da Manhã Jornal do Brasil Diário Carioca Diário de Notícias O Globo Última Hora</i>	<i>O Jornal</i>		<i>Tribuna da Imprensa O Estado de São Paulo</i>

* In 1945 only five of the nine papers examined for other coups are included. *O Estado de São Paulo* was under government censorship. *O Globo* ran no editorials, and *Última Hora* and *Tribuna da Imprensa* had not yet been founded.

TABLE 5.2

CLASSIFICATION OF EDITORIAL OPINION IN REGARD TO LEGITIMACY OF MILITARY'S EXERCISE OF
MODERATING POWER BEFORE COUPS OR COUP ATTEMPTS; 1945, 1954, 1955, 1961, 1964

	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
	<i>Military has duty to remove president or block president-elect or vice-president with the presidency vacant from assuming office.</i>	<i>Military should play a major role in resolving the crisis and should not obey president if he is acting illegally. Military should not help put in power a president-elect or vice-president who is a threat to security and order of country.</i>	<i>Ambiguous or neutral in regard to role of military support of president, president-elect, or vice-president when presidency is vacant.</i>	<i>Military should support the president, president-elect, or vice-president when the presidency is vacant.</i>	<i>Military has no right whatsoever to remove president or block the president-elect or vice-president with presidency vacant. The executive needs the aggressive support of the military.</i>
Successful Coups					
1945 Coup*		<i>O Jornal Diário de Notícias Correio da Manhã Jornal do Brasil Diário Carioca</i>			
1954 Coup	<i>Diário Carioca Diário de Notícias O Estado de São Paulo Tribuna da Imprensa</i>	<i>Correio da Manhã Jornal do Brasil O Globo</i>	<i>O Jornal</i>		<i>Última Hora</i>
<i>(Successful Coup Movements continued)</i>					
1964 Coup		<i>Correio da Manhã Jornal do Brasil O Globo Diário de Notícias O Jornal O Estado de São Paulo Tribuna da Imprensa</i>		<i>Diário Carioca</i>	<i>Última Hora</i>
Unsuccessful Coup Movements					
1955 Coup	<i>Tribuna da Imprensa</i>	<i>O Estado de São Paulo</i>	<i>Jornal do Brasil O Globo Diário de Notícias</i>	<i>O Jornal</i>	<i>Correio da Manhã Diário Carioca Última Hora</i>
1961 Coup	<i>O Estado de São Paulo Tribuna da Imprensa</i>		<i>O Globo O Jornal</i>	<i>Jornal do Brasil Última Hora</i>	<i>Correio da Manhã Diário Carioca Diário de Notícias</i>

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