

## Glossary of Selected Terms

**belle époque:** literally, beautiful epoch; more freely, splendid era. The term, used in the French original, stands for France's Third Republic before World War I, a time when peace reigned between the country and its neighbors and the sciences, arts, and culture prospered, with a significant impact on other nations. While the establishment in Brazil, including the academies of letters and fine arts, largely imitated nineteenth-century French fashion and aesthetic style, a new generation of artists studied the European avant-gardes and, from the end of World War I, advocated an abandonment of the *belle époque*, a creative digestion of European modernity, and the search for Brazil's historical roots, reevaluating the country's Amerindian and Afro-Brazilian legacies. The 1922 Week of Modern Art in São Paulo showcased their work.

**bairrista spirit:** from *bairrismo*, localism; intense feeling of local/regional patriotism, in São Paulo sometimes approximating chauvinism.

**baiano:** a native of, or appertaining to, the state of Bahia.

**bandeirante:** participant in a *bandeira* (literally, flag; i.e., *bandeirantes* followed the flag of their leader). *Bandeiras* were colonial-era armed expeditions from São Paulo that set out to explore the hinterland, find precious metals, recapture runaway slaves, and enslave new Indians. *Bandeirantes* pushed forward the frontier (some would say: "made Brazil"), and in this sense of "pioneers" *paulista* elites consider themselves their heirs.

**brasilidade:** Brazilianness. The Modernists' search for Brazil's national identity was the expression of an increasing cultural and intellectual nationalism in the 1920s that soon became politicized. Vargas's regime, keen to rebuild state and nation, worked feverishly on shaping national culture but the contents of Brazilianness remained highly contested.

**à la brizolismo:** in a Brizola-like (populist) style, referring to populist leader Leonel Brizola (1922–2004).

**borgista:** a supporter of Rio Grande do Sul's long-time "president" Antônio Augusto Borges de Medeiros (1863–1957).

**Brigada Militar:** Military Brigade; since 1892 the name of the state armed forces of Rio Grande do Sul. With the installation of Vargas's Estado Novo, the Brigada Militar was subordinated to the federal armed forces; it gradually assumed police functions.

**café-com-leite:** coffee with milk, a popular drink in Brazil; used to describe the informal agreement between the two most populous and hegemonic states of the Old Republic, coffee-producing São Paulo and dairy producer Minas Gerais, to alternate the presidency between them. When the last president of the Old Republic, *paulista* Washington Luís Pereira de Sousa, violated this agreement and nominated another native of his own state, Júlio Prestes, he was interested in guaranteeing the continuation of his economic stabilization program. However, he caused indignation in Minas Gerais; *mineiros* would approach Rio Grande do Sul and, together with other dissident oligarchies, overthrow the government and end the rule of the Partido Republicano Paulista.

**carioca:** a native of, or appertaining to, the city of Rio de Janeiro (the equivalent for the state of Rio de Janeiro is *fluminense*)

**charqueador:** owner of a *charqueada*, a (rural) property in Rio Grande do Sul that produces *charque*: salted and dried beef (*charquear* means: to salt and dry meat).

**castilhismo:** the political philosophy, institutional edifice, and policies of Rio Grande do Sul's republican "patriarch" and first "president," Julio de Castilhos (1860–1903), who used Auguste Comte's positivism to foster conservative modernization and legitimate his "enlightened" rule. The developmental and educational dictatorship, installed by Castilhos and adjusted by his successors to suit changing economic and political conditions, remained an important normative influence on *gaúchos* when they took power in 1930.

**castilhista:** a supporter of Julio de Castilhos or an adherent of *castilhismo*.

**caudillismo:** Spanish term that describes the rise to power and rule of *caudillos*, regional and national strongmen who exercised personal

power. In Spanish America, independence resulted from a war of liberation that produced a highly militarized society. Military leaders—some from the property-owning elite, others from a more humble background—were admired for their heroism. After independence they often remained in command of military divisions or could mobilize a paramilitary force from the dependents living on the landed estates they had inherited or received as a reward for their services in the war. By exploiting their status as war heroes, further fostering their popularity among followers through political clientelism, and using violence against enemies, these strongmen, rather than far-away central governments of little-understood enlightened intellectuals, became the recognized civilian leaders. Widespread resistance against the central authorities' unpopular reform programs could produce new *caudillos*, as with Juan Manuel de Rosas in Argentina. In periods of political instability, especially at times of popular discontent or uprisings, only *caudillos* were able to restore law and order and prevent the undermining of the existing social pyramid. It was in such times that regional *caudillos* rose to national power. The chronic *caudillismo* during the three decades that followed Spanish America's political emancipation reflected the fact that real power rested in the provinces. Even after nations had been forged and the state and its bureaucracy strengthened, republican governments had difficulties in holding rival regional *caudillos* and military factions at bay. Moreover, bossism and patronage also characterized and fractionalized urban interest groups. In Brazil, the terms *caudilbismo* and *caudilho* are rarely used; while the more empirical *coronelismo* comes close, it has a different historical origin and meaning, and it is applied primarily to local politics. References to the *caudillismo* of the *gaúchos*, emphasizing the southern state's similarity to the River Plate states and exceptionalism within Brazil, fail to recognize both the nature of provincial conflicts in Rio Grande do Sul and the peculiarities of the state's *coronelismo burocrático*.

**chanchada:** popular musical comedy. From the 1940s to early 1960s, *chanchadas*, mostly produced by Atlântida studios in Rio de Janeiro, attracted large audiences. They originally incorporated carnival music, chiefly samba, into the soundtrack, but by the 1950s the carnivalesque element increasingly took the form of inversions of social norms, irreverent critiques of authority, and parodies of Hollywood movies.

**classes conservadores:** the (property-owning, wealthy, and educated) elites and traditional middle class.

**clientelismo (político) or (political) clientelism:** a personal relationship between the *patrão* (patron) and his *clientela* (clientele) that is based on an exchange of favors: the patron offers jobs, little services, and protection in exchange for labor, support, and loyalty.

**Consolidação das Leis do Trabalho:** The Consolidation of Labor Laws, or CLT, was approved on May 1, 1943. This labor code synthesized (most of) the legislation that had been promulgated since Vargas's 1930 Revolution and eliminated the inconsistencies and contradictions inherent to it. However, it was also innovative and included many new labor laws. With the CLT, workers' rights were, at least nominally, recognized. Moreover, this code also displayed, as John D. French has shown, signs of a relaxation of the repressive corporatist industrial relations system that the Estado Novo had established in 1937. Therefore it allowed for an engineered mobilization of workers. Numerous amendments and reforms would follow after Vargas's death but in its very core the CLT has survived until now.

**coronelismo:** The term is usually defined as either *mandonismo* (from *mandar*: to order; the habit and misuse of ordering, or just bossism) or a Brazilian variant of political clientelism that had its peak during the decentralized Old Republic (1889–1930) and became especially visible at election time. When landowners created a National Guard in 1831, essentially in order to counterbalance an army that had been founded after independence and often sided with revolutionary movements, they conferred the rank of a *coronel* (colonel) to themselves; commissions went almost exclusively to members of the (land- and slaveholding) elite. After the formal abolition of the Guard in 1918, they kept their honorific titles. By then large landowners faced increasing economic decline and their private power had long waned, a major difference from the heyday of *caudillismo*. However, these local bosses continued to command a considerable workforce, living under miserable conditions and held in personal dependence but representing a large percentage of the vote. At the same time, state governments gained more power but were still not strong enough to infrastructurally penetrate rural areas. From there the possibility for compromise arose: in order to retain social prestige and control over local politics, the *coronel* would have to subject himself to the ruling republican party. In exchange for loyalty and the collective vote of his dependents, state authorities would allow him to fill public posts with his relatives and favorites and provide funds for public works and communal services that neither the *coronel* nor the *município*, with its lack of financial autonomy, could raise on their own. At a time when the

traditional rule of local bosses was eroding, there could be no worse situation for a *coronel* than having the state government against him. The latter could shift its loyalties but needed the support of at least a substantial majority of the *coronéis* if it wanted to maintain the stability of the oligarchic system as a whole. Scholars have controversially discussed whether *coronelismo* continued to exist after 1930 and whether it extended to urban areas. Recent research by James P. Woodard has questioned the usefulness of the entire concept of *coronelismo*, pointing out that it is too simplistic to describe the wide variety of relations between local clans and state government. This concept would ignore the real bargaining power of rural bosses, particularly in dynamic regions, and underestimate both the *economic* dependence of families in decaying areas on public employment and opposition within *coronelismo*.

**coronelismo burocrático:** bureaucratic *coronelismo*; a concept developed by Sérgio da Costa Franco, Joseph Love, and others to describe a form of *coronelismo* in Rio Grande do Sul that differed from other states (under liberal-constitutionalist governments). At Brazil's southern frontier, with its highly militarized society and authoritarian polity, it was not primarily the economic position and social prestige of an *estancieiro-coronel* that implied control over local politics; rather such power resulted from his role in the machine politics of the ruling Partido Republicano Rio-Grandense. The government party required obedience from its local satraps and intervened in the (nominally autonomous) *municípios* when its hegemony was challenged. The *coronel* became a "bureaucratic *coronel*." It should be added that in the state's zones of foreign colonization large-scale landed property was absent and the hegemonic party had to look for other stewards. As with *coronelismo* more generally, this concept has been contested.

**desenvolvimentismo:** derived from *desenvolvimento*: development; an ideology and policy that aimed at closing the gap with the developed nations and focused on generating economic growth on the basis of rapid industrialization and investment in the infrastructure. In Brazil, the term is primarily linked to the government of Juscelino Kubitschek (1956–61) but in many ways this administration could build upon the think tanks, social services, technocratic advisory councils, financial institutions, planning agencies, and nationalized key industries it had inherited from Vargas. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, economists and social scientists at the Instituto Superior de Estudos Brasileiros (Superior Institute of Brazilian Studies) who were influenced by the ideas of *cepalismo* (derived from the Spanish name

of the United Nation's Economic Commission for Latin America) explored the causes for the country's underdevelopment. CEPAL advocated state-led development on the basis of import-substituting industrialization (by then an economic doctrine, rather than an emergency strategy) and domestic structural reforms. Kubitschek's government remained within the limits of modernization. It represented a bridge between Vargas's *nacional-desenvolvimentismo*, characterized by an economic nationalism that was no longer applicable if the country, lacking sufficient internal funding and know how, wanted to shift to the domestic production of consumer durables, and the military's more liberal economic strategy. Despite a strong nationalist rhetoric, Kubitschek already practiced "associated-dependent development." He produced significant economic growth and change (though not quite matching his slogan of "fifty years of progress in five") and invited foreign investment and technology. However, inflation increased and he neglected those "basic reforms," especially an agrarian reform, which only João Goulart would promise. Thereby Goulart left the *castilhista* consensus of a conservative modernization and prompted the military to intervene and restore it.

**estadonovista:** adjective referring to the Estado Novo, Getúlio Vargas's 1937–45 dictatorship.

**estancieiro:** owner of an *estância*, a large ranch.

**exaltado:** a person displaying an extreme enthusiasm and excitement (for a cause).

**favela:** a Brazilian shanty town, usually at the periphery of big cities. *Favelas* originated not only from the migration of former black slaves (and, before abolition, runaway slaves) and other marginalized groups from rural areas but also from the displacement of poor residents from downtown as a consequence of urban "improvements." The population of these shanty towns is rarely integrated into the reproduction process and survives in the informal sector of the economy.

**fazenda:** farm or estate; a *fazenda de café* is a coffee plantation.

**feira livre:** free market.

**Força Pública:** state armed force. With the installation of Vargas's Estado Novo, the Forças Públicas were subordinated to the federal armed forces; they gradually assumed police functions.

**gaúcho:** term of unclear etymological origins. The *gaúcho* (Spanish *gaucho*) is a herdsman or cowboy in the larger River Plate area, in

Rio Grande do Sul especially in the grasslands of the Campanha along the borders to Uruguay and Argentina. The term has become a synonym for a native of, or something appertaining to, Rio Grande do Sul (also *sul-riograndense*), though its sociological meaning never matched the state's socioeconomic structure during the twentieth century.

**getuliana:** academic or artistic works dealing with Getúlio Vargas and his era.

**getulismo:** derived from Getúlio Vargas. In Brazil, it is common practice to use first names when referring to a (popular/populist) public figure. *Getulismo* stands for (the official interpretation of or supporters' praise for) the political ideas and policies represented by Vargas, especially his *trabalhismo* and *desenvolvimentismo* (see also *varguismo*).

**Independência:** Independence. In contrast to Spanish America, Brazil's independence was not the result of a nation-wide war of liberation but of a more reformist, some would say: restorative, process. Brazil not only preserved the monarchical form of government; the empire also continued to be governed by the Bragança dynasty. However, the declaration of political emancipation "from above" in 1822 should not be separated from the aborted 1817 revolution in Pernambuco, then the country's economic center. Journalist Evarista da Veiga's "Let us have no excesses. We want a constitution, not a revolution" summed up the slaveholding elites' social conservatism, and this position is echoed by *mineiro* Antônio Carlos Ribeiro de Andrada's warning on the eve of Vargas's takeover of power: "let's make the revolution, before the people does it."

**integralista:** member of the Ação Integralista Brasileira.

**intendente:** intendent, the executive of a *município*, later prefeito (prefect).

**Intentona Comunista:** literally, the Communists' insane intention or plan (to overthrow the Vargas regime), expressing the official, deprecatory reading of three barrack revolts under Communist leadership in November 1935 (23. 11. in Natal, Rio Grande do Norte; 24. 11. in Recife, Pernambuco; and 25. 11. in the Federal District of Rio de Janeiro); a more appropriate, neutral translation would be Communist Conspiracy or Communist Complot. All three revolts, involving primarily enlisted men, were instigated under the banner of the popular front Aliança Nacional Libertadora that had been founded in March 1935. On July 5 that year—the anniversary of the 1922 and 1924 *tenentismo* revolts—its honorary president and Communist activist,

Luís Carlos Prestes, a former *tenente* who had been trained in Moscow and was in charge of a team of Comintern agents, called for the armed overthrow of Getúlio Vargas's government though, in orthodox Marxist terminology, no "revolutionary situation" existed. While Moscow hoped, rightly as it turned out, that in Chile the popular front could gain power through elections, an armed revolt seemed to be the only way to seize control of Brazil, and Brazilian delegates to the Comintern's seventh world congress declared it was do-able. Such a strategy, considered to be pure adventurism by some Communist dissidents, suited the leftist *tenentes* in the movement who were confident that these revolts would be the igniting spark for a popular revolution throughout Brazil. However, forced into illegality on July 11, the popular front lost its initial mass backing and converted ever more into the Trojan Horse of the Communists. The revolts were quelled by November 27. Vargas applied the National Security Law, in place since April 4 of that year, and declared a state of siege that allowed him to persecute the democratic opposition (not only Communists and popular front activists). On November 27 every year the army would commemorate the successful suppression of the *Intentona Comunista*, and in 1964 it would depict the coup as the ratification of its 1935 promise not to tolerate communism.

**interventoria:** the office/administration of an *interventor* (literally: intervener), a state's chief executive during the Provisional Government and the Estado Novo. The *interventor* was not an elected official but appointed by Vargas and vested with extraordinary authority. Still, a 1931 code (*Código dos Interventores*) established the rules for *interventor* government, and during the Estado Novo the appointee's decrees were subject to approval by an administrative department (*departamento administrativo*) that replaced the state's legislative assembly. This department also approved and watched over the execution of the budget and was to guarantee efficient public administration. The *interventorias* tamed, rather than broke, the power of regional and local oligarchies. While appointments could be contentious in the years of the Provisional Government (that of a left-leaning *tenente* and non-*paulista* in São Paulo triggered the events culminating in the 1932 "Constitutionalist Revolution"), after 1937 the relations between Vargas's satraps and local elites remained rather close. Some *interventores* originated in the state's dominant sociopolitical groups or used public funds and nominations for the administrative departments to build themselves a political basis in the region. They would still benefit from it after Vargas's overthrow in 1945.

**malandro:** literally (and in criminal proceedings), a vagabond, rough, or scoundrel; best translated as “scoundrel,” tongue-in-cheek for a person (usually of low social standing) for whom diligent and honest work and respect for societal norms have little meaning but who takes enormous pleasure from gaining little advantages through illicit acts, such as cheating authorities, bending rules, outfoxing officials, and stealing little things from his social superiors (an act of *malandragem*). The *malandro* acts alone, with great ingenuity, and so subtly that those affected almost do not notice. He does not set out to gain wealth or prestige; instead, he tries to survive in an unjust and unequal society and enjoy the small sensual pleasures of life. The *malandro* has become a popular icon.

**mineiro:** a native of, or appertaining to, the state of Minas Gerais.

**município:** municipality; a county-like administrative unit.

**Pátria:** Fatherland or Motherland; used when declaring patriotic allegiance to one’s native country.

**paulista:** a native of, or appertaining to, the state of São Paulo and its antecessor, the *capitania* (captaincy) of São Vicente. The latter had its administrative center first in São Vicente and later in São Paulo dos Campos de Piratininga.

**paulistano:** a native of, or appertaining to, the city of São Paulo.

**pecebistas:** members of the PCB, the Partido Comunista Brasileiro.

**pelego:** literally a sheepskin that is placed between a saddle and the horse; deprecatory name for the spineless leader of an official trade union in Brazil’s corporatist system who stood between the ministry of labor, which paid him, and the workers, to whom he was not accountable. This union bureaucracy benefited from representing the interests of employers and government, rather than rank-and-file members.

**perrepista:** a member of the PRP, the Partido Republicano Paulista.

**petebista:** a member of the PTB, the Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro.

**pornochanchada:** a genre in Brazilian cinema that gained prominence during the 1970s and in fact had little in common with the *chanchadas* that had dominated the film industry during the 1940s and 1950s. These films were not pornographic, but relied on double entendres, risqué humor, female nudity, and titillation. Under the conditions of severe censorship, sharp-tongued social criticism was no longer possible.

**primeiro mundo:** literally (and as a praise): First World. Despite the end of the cold war, breakdown of “real socialism,” and therefore superfluity of “neutral” and “non-alignment” policies for developing nations, the term has strangely survived. It should be replaced by developed nations or industrial countries.

**provisório:** literally, provisionals; forces that could be mobilized by Rio Grande do Sul’s government to reinforce the state’s Brigada Militar.

**Queima das Bandeiras:** “Burning of the Flags,” referring to the ceremony on Rio de Janeiro’s Russell Square on November 27, 1937, when, on Vargas’s orders, all state flags went up in flames—a symbolic act of ending state autonomy.

**queremista:** supporter of the 1945 *queremismo* campaign for the nomination of Getúlio Vargas as presidential candidate. *Queremismo* is derived from “queremos Vargas”: “we want Vargas.” The campaign began in March 1945 when the end of the Estado Novo was imminent and the opposition against Vargas and his policy of *nacional-desenvolvimentismo* and *trabalhismo* began to organize. Interestingly, it started in São Paulo from where it extended to the federal capital and other states. The *queremistas* called for the convocation of a constituent assembly and ensuing presidential elections, hoping that this would guarantee Vargas’s sustenance in power. The campaign was supported by the legalized Partido Comunista Brasileiro. Vargas’s overthrow by the military dashed the *queremistas*’ hope but the two parties the dictator had founded in the last months of the Estado Novo secured his election as a senator in his native Rio Grande do Sul (PSD) and São Paulo (PTB) and as federal deputy in six states (PTB).

**Reação Republicana:** literally, Republican Reaction; a conflict between primary and secondary regional oligarchies in 1922, revealing the fragility of the Old Republic’s clientelistic system of interstate compromise. The seeds of this conflict can be traced back to the presidency of Marshall Hermes da Fonseca (1910–14) who owed his office to the rivalry between São Paulo and Minas Gerais and the suggestion of a non-civilian (*gaúcho*) candidate by Rio Grande do Sul (notwithstanding the strong opposition of the urban middle class against a militarization of politics). For the first time, the *gaúchos* claimed control over national politics; their powerful man in the federal senate, Pinheiro Machado, a *castilhista* to the core, had become kingmaker, and he did his best to act as gray eminence in Fonseca’s administration. However, he failed to shift the political center to the

south. Hermes who let himself be maneuvered by military and civilian plotters intervened in several secondary states to depose the old oligarchies and Machado was not always able to protect those who were devoted to him. In 1914, São Paulo and Minas Gerais united their forces to prevent Machado's candidature (he was assassinated one year later) and reclaim the presidency for themselves. During the war years, *mineiro* Venceslau Brás governed Brazil. When his successor, *paulista* Rodrigues Alves, died briefly after his election in 1918, renewed destabilization could only be avoided by choosing a neutral candidate, Brazil's representative at the Versailles Peace Conference, Epitácio Pessoa, until 1964 the only president from a northeastern state. It was then when *paulistas* and *mineiros* reached the *café-com-leite* agreement; in 1922, a *mineiro* was to become president. However, they had not counted with the *gaúchos* who (unsuccessfully) opposed the candidature of Minas Gerais's Artur Bernardes and gained the support of Bahia and Pernambuco that had failed to secure the vice presidency for themselves. Their "republican reaction" was part of a wider political crisis, and it was essentially the threat of this intraoligarchic conflict extending to nonoligarchic sectors and becoming a social revolution that allowed for the re-cooptation of the dissident factions.

**republicueta:** diminutive of *república* (republic), that is, a small or miniature republic.

**ruralismo:** a policy that, in the words of Fernando de Azevedo, wanted to tackle the problems of rural life in order to civilize the country; especially used for the strategy of ruralizing education. During the interwar period, education reformers emphasized the need to extend public schooling to rural areas, adjust the contents and forms of education to the rural environment, and supply these schools with specially trained teachers. For the Vargas government, this was also an eminent political question. If the rural population could be fixed to the land, it would not migrate to the cities and thereby contribute to a further aggravation of the "social question." The state of Rio de Janeiro, placed under the command of Vargas's son-in-law, Ernani do Amaral Peixoto, in many ways pioneered *ruralismo*. During the Estado Novo, Peixoto focused on the construction of *escolas típicas rurais* (typical rural schools) that were to become "irradiating centers of civilization and progress." Eugenicist objectives fused with liberal principles of the Escola Nova (New School) reform pedagogics. After his election as governor during Vargas's 1951–54 administration, Peixoto continued to place emphasis on rural education, for instance by developing a pilot project for teacher training, the

rural normal course in Cantagalo. However, these initiatives failed to produce the desired results. Teachers could not be retained in rural areas, leaving a large percentage of the school-age population without access to education. Few children completed a primary school course.

**sindicato:** trade union. During the state-corporatist Estado Novo, unions were organized by trade, on a territorial basis, usually the *município*, and along vertical lines. As a consequence, workers of different trades were represented by different *município*-based official *sindicatos* that were forbidden to establish relations between themselves and to operate within the factories. Five or more *sindicatos* of the same trade within one state were allowed to unite in a *federação* (federation), and more than three federations of the same trade or of different professional categories in a national *confederação* (confederation). There was one confederation for each of the eight economic sectors that the regime had defined. However, federations of different trades and confederations of different sectors were not allowed to unite or directly cooperate. The ministry of labor watched over this system: it legalized and closed unions, coordinated their activities and arbitrated in disputes, collected the *imposto sindical* (union tax), compulsory even for unorganized workers, and determined for what purposes it was to be spent.

**situacionista:** somebody who represents the “situation” or status quo, that is, a member or supporter of the party or political group in power.

**técnico:** literally, technician; a specialist in the expanding government technocracy. The term *tecno-burocrata* (techno-bureaucrat) emphasizes the technocratic aspect of governance even more but has a more pejorative connotation, stressing bureaucracy, rather than efficiency.

**tenente:** lieutenant; in the context of *tenentismo* a junior officer (lieutenant to captain) or army cadet more generally.

**tenentismo:** The term refers to a radical reform movement of junior officers that organized during the political crisis of 1922 and disintegrated after the 1934 reconstitutionalization (though some of its activists would continue to play a prominent role in national politics). The 1922 and 1924 *tenente* revolts and the ensuing Prestes Column (1924–27) revealed that these junior officers were united in their rejection of inefficient oligarchic politics, including the neglect of the armed forces, but vague and divided with regard to the polity that was to replace the *café-com-leite* cartel. These divisions increased after

1927 and worried senior officers, like Pedro Aurélio de Góes Monteiro, who wished to strengthen the role of the army as a corporation. With Vargas's 1930 Revolution, the *tenentes* gained political influence and Góes Monteiro succeeded in uniting their dominant national-revolutionary wing and so-called civilian *tenentes*, like Oswaldo Aranha and Pedro Ernesto, in the *Clube 3 de Outubro* (Club October 3). It advocated centralism, state corporatism, economic nationalism, and social reforms and was to stop, or at least delay, reconstitutionalization. However, neither the Club nor the *tenentes-interventores'* electoral alliance, the União Cívica Nacional, could prevent the return of state particularists and the gradual decay of *tenentismo* as a political movement. As Góes Monteiro had wished, the Estado Novo strengthened the *corporate* power of the army. In 1964, it would take power as an institution.

**trabalhismo:** term that links the late Vargas era's labor doctrine and the regime's social policies, implemented through a corporatist trade union system. After 1942, Labor Minister Alexandre Marcondes Filho installed this structure, while simultaneously the Estado Novo's propaganda office, the Departamento de Imprensa e Propaganda, constructed the image of Vargas being the protector of the working class and, more generally, the father of the poor. The dictatorship disguised itself as an "economic" or "social democracy" that subordinated individual rights to the public good represented by the state, identical with the nation, and its leader. In contrast, liberals would define freedom in a formalistic, rather than authentic, way. During Brazil's post-war *democradura*, a formally democratic regime with remnants of a state-corporatist polity, unions remained subordinated to the ministry of labor. While scholars have shown the limited impact of Vargas's social policies, the dictator-turned-populist was successful in securing himself the support of labor and thereby preserving his own legacy. For many, especially the members and adherents of the Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro and its self-declared heir, the Partido Democrático Trabalhista, *getulismo* was/is almost identical to *trabalhismo*.

**udenista:** member of the UDN, the União Democrática Nacional.

**varguismo:** referring to Getúlio Vargas but much more distanced (and critical) than *getulismo* and therefore better suited to capture the contradictions in Vargas's legacy. The term *getulismo* is linked to the "invention" of *trabalhismo* and an increasingly populist style of leadership (even personality cult); it could not be sensibly applied to the

early, at times cruel, authoritarian-corporatist Estado Novo. Arguably, one could say that in the years before Vargas's death, *getulismo* politics collided with the remnants of a *varguista* polity and prevented the government from implementing new public policies. This would support Thomas E. Skidmore's argument according to which the military, when they intervened in 1964, used the techniques of Vargas's Estado Novo against those of his second administration.

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\* I would like to thank Gunter Axt, Frank McCann, James Woodard, and Lisa Shaw for some suggestions.

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