

THE LEGISLATIVE INFLUENCE ON THE FOREIGN POLICY OF JÂNIO QUADROS

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Abstract: This article aims to analyze the Executive-Legislative relations vis-à-vis the foreign policy, during the Jânio Quadros presidency and the Afonso Arinos chancellery. It is expected to be capable of explaining the influence of the Parliament on the Brazilian international behavior. In order to achieve these objectives, a research was made with primary data in libraries and sites from both parliamentary houses and from the chancellery, anchored in the case study methodology, in the historiographic and documental research. In conclusion, this article highlights the legislative importance on the agenda setting, the priorities, and the directions assumed in the implementation of foreign affairs.

Keywords: Jânio Quadros government; Executive-Legislative Relations; Foreign Policy; Congress; Decision-Making.

1 Introduction

The Legislative Studies and the Analysis of Foreign Policy are, each one, fields with intense life, but that do not always communicate. The possibility of fostering this union occurred in this work, turning to a historical case (Jânio Quadros government) and using primary documents (Annals and Congressional Diaries). This is a moment in the national politics in which the Executive-Legislative relations encountered impasses. Due to its univocal character, it deserved a qualitative profile - the case study was the method used - that could give voice to the parliamentary actors of the time and clarify the course of events. It was decided to try to reflect the fact together with the empiria, so that the text was more fluid.

The most general approaches were made within the limits of what is necessary for the understanding of the context, following the perspective of making the text lean. With a focus on institutional policy, the second part deals with the dynamics of national politics and how they are relevant in relation to foreign policy. Some medium and long-term structural patterns will be tied in as they adhere to the theme of the article. The third part discusses the legislative influence on the Brazilian international action during the presidency of Jânio Quadros. The emphasis is on accountability, but the positions taken in plenary and in committee are presented. The author hopes that the work will stimulate discussion about the period and about the phenomena analyzed,

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considering the possibilities of existing studies.

2 On institutional dynamics, leadership and government from January to August 1961

The Constitution of the United States of Brazil of September 1946, in Title I (Of the Federal Organization), Chapter II (Of the Legislative Power) defines the performance of the Congress and the congressmen. Article 49 allows a deputy or senator, after leaving the Chamber, to carry out a transitional diplomatic mission, or to participate in congresses, conferences and cultural missions abroad. Both houses, in accordance with Article 53, may open committees of inquiry. Article 54 gave power to any congressman to call to account and information in each of the houses the ministers of state. The unjustified absence mattered in a crime of responsibility and could generate the ministerial impediment. Legislative prerogatives over presidential impeachment and budget were ensured. Article 63 gave the Senate the power to approve heads of permanent diplomatic mission. Article 66 established exclusive powers of the Congress, among others: to resolve treaties and conventions; authorize the presidency to declare war and make peace; authorize the president and vice president to be absent; judge presidential accounts.

On the possibilities of interfering in the actions of the Executive, approaching the idea of checks and balances, the focus of the article will be in articles 54 and, to a lesser extent, in articles 49 and 63. The constitutional design generated a federal presidential republic, multi-party, proportional election in the Legislative and simple majority for positions of the executive and his vices. The vice-president occupied the presidency of the Senate and was first in the line of succession by reason of resignation, impediment or death of the holder. In the 1960 elections, the president-elect was Jânio Quadros (PTN), supported by the UDN, and the vice-president, João Goulart (PTB); they came from opposing political specters. Jânio Quadros was president of the Republic from January 31 to August 25, 1961, and had a heterogeneous cabinet.

Nuclear decision of the federal executive

Technicians and military

10

8

6

4

2

9

Politicians

Friends of Jânio

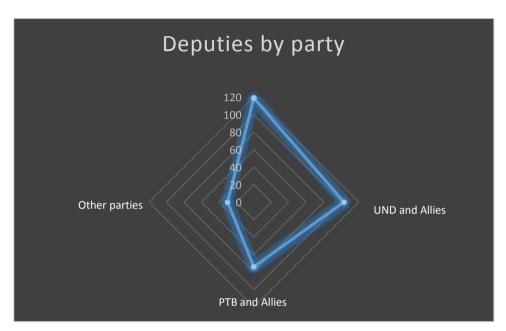
Graph 1: Government Profile Jânio Quadros

sources: Prepared by the author from: National Archive and Quadros Neto and Gualazzi, 1996.

The chart illustrates the type of government he intended to do: in profile linked to himself, with technicians in evidence and support of the political class - UDN, PTN and PDC in the allied base, inviting the other parties to compose the government. From this arch of alliances, the following ministerial distribution appeared: UDN, with four ministers; subtitles with a single ministry - PDC, PR, PSB, PSD, PTN -; military command of the Armed Forces; and a series of "friends" and "technicians." The composition of the government pointed to a technical decision-making center and a ministerial team close to the president, different from the more "political" tendency that had prevailed until then. Jânio is marked by a rapid and innovative decision-making process embodied in the "notes". In a 1979 interview, he criticized the absence of a program and authenticity in the parties with the highest voting power - PSD, PTB, UDN - and the weakness of parties that had programs - he quotes PL and PSB as examples. As a result, the former president considered the illegitimate Congress of the time (QUADROS NETO, GUALAZZI, 1996.

Mesquita et al. (2003) argue that the survival of a government through the "selectorate" - a group of people with a voice in the choice of leaders who have privileges conferred by leaderships - and the "winning coalition", which maintains the power of those in power and who receive privileges in return. For George Tsebelis, "veto-power actors," whose agreement is indispensable for making decisions that affect the status quo, are vital to the stability of policies and institutions. Jânio Quadros did not seem to want to please or strengthen the "selectorate" and ignored or opposed the actors with veto power, as can be seen in the readings of his grandson's

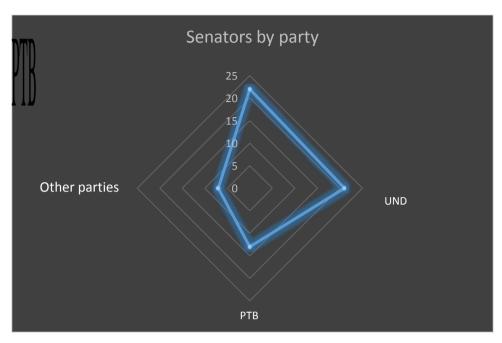
book (QUADROS NETO; GUALAZZI, 1996) and testimonials in the "Stories of power "(DINES, FERNANDES Jr.; SOLOMÃO, 2000). Executive-Legislative relations seem to be vital for democratic stability, according to the literature. Limongi, Przeworski, Chebub and Alvarez (1996) analyze the period 1950-1990 and maintain that the conditions for maintaining democracies are: growth without inflation; wealth; inequality in decline; favorable international climate and parliamentarism. Arend Lijphart (1999) says proportional representation democracies with presidentialism have greater potential for impasses; while parliamentarianism has decisions in consensus, something suitable for societies with high cleavage and polarization.



Graph 2: Profile of the Federal Chamber during the Government Jânio Quadros

source: Site of the Superior Electoral Court. Site of the CPDOC. Sites of the Chamber of Deputies and the Federal Senate. Author's elaboration.

In 1946, Brazil was a hybrid of presidentialism, federalism, proportional election and multipartyism, embodied in the concept of "coalition presidentialism", which aggregates and processes pressures and cleavages producing legitimate governments that are formed in a heterogeneous, plural form (ABRANCHES, 1988). As plural as can be seen in Figures 2 and 3, which also point to a predominance of the PSD in the Legislative.



Graph 3: Profile of the Federal Senate during the Government Jânio Quadros

Source: Prepared by the author from sites of the Superior Electoral Court, the CPDOC, the Chamber of Deputies and the Federal Senate.

The Executive negotiated with two legislative houses with very similar profiles, demanding attention to allied congressmen. According to Charles Pessanha (1997), the executive had no delegation, no prerogative to legislate in an emergency or extraordinary, and the total veto was only possible after the acceptance of 2/3 of the congressmen; On the other hand, the Legislature could control the Executive through legal production, budgetary control and the Court of Audit of the Union. During the period from 1946 to 1964 the legal initiative was associated with the Legislative, a tendency that is reversed from the rise of the to power of the military (PESSANHA, 1991). The political regime was diffuse, but parliamentarians participated in the formulation of policies and laws; in the relation between them and the executive powers, the patronage was used to obtain mutual cooperation (SANTOS, 2003). The party that Jânio Quadros was affiliated to when he was elected (PTN) owned 2% of the seats, despite his government coalition having reached 90%; and obtained an average of surveys per month at 1.71, while the predecessor Kubitschek (in power nearly ten times as long) had 0.9 (MACEDO, MIRANDA, 2016).

In order to conduct foreign policy as it wished, institutional support would be required from the government. The graphs show the support of the UDN - cabinet participant - and sectors of PTB and PSD to govern; however, if such support disappears, public policy could be contested by congressmen. Ending the argument, let's see in Table 1 below how the leadership of committees in the House:

Chart 1: Leadership of Committees in the Federal Chamber of Deputies

Standing Committee of the Chamber.	Committee presidency party.	Government, Opposition or Neutral?
Constitution and Justice	PSD	Neutral
Economy	PSD	Neutral
Education and Culture	PL	Government
Finanças	PTB	Opposition
Social legislation	PTB	Opposition
Budget and financial supervision	PSD	Neutral
Redaction	PTB	Opposition
External Relations.	UDN	Government
Health	UDN	Government
National security.	PR	Government
Public service.	PSP	Neutral
Transportation, Communication, Public Works.	РТВ	Opposition

Source: Prepared by the author from National Congress Diaries and House Diary.

In Chart 2 we see how this happened in the Senate, in a situation similar to that of the Chamber.

Chart 2: Leadership of Permanent Committees in the Federal Senate

Standing Committee of the Senate	Committee presidency party.	Government, Opposition or Neutral?
Agriculture, Livestock, Forestry, Hunting and Fishing	РТВ	Opposition
Constitution and Justice	PSD	Neutral
Economy	PSD	Neutral
Education and Culture	PSD	Neutral
Business.	UDN	Government
Social legislation.	PTB	Opposition
Redaction	PSD	Neutral
External Relations	PTB	Opposition
Public health	UDN	Government
National security	UDN	Government
Civil Servants.	UDN	Government
Transportation, Communication, Public Works	PSP	Neutral

Source: Prepared by the author from Diaries of the National Congress and Annals of the Senate.

Elections were direct, proportional and one round in 1958, with D'Hondt formula for distribution of seats, with coalition and open list voting, which changed only in 1962; in the Executive, the elections were majority, of one round (NICOLAU, 2001). From 1945 to 1964, there was a tendency for fragmentation (between 0.70 in 1945 and 0.84 in 1962) in the legislature, while the percentage of electorate over the population increased from 16.2 to 26, 5% (SANTOS, 2002). Interest groups were distributed on partisan and supra-party lines, as will be presented later. If in the Executive the tasks are divided between the ministries, the division of tasks in the legislature is expressed in committees, which reflected general tendencies of the election.

In the coalition presidentialism of that time, the Executive and the Legislative

Committees exercised an informative function in the decision making of congressmen, and the Parliament could assume diverse positions - active, reactive, and stamping - in front of other powers (ALMEIDA; SANTOS, 2011). The Legislature used to be reactive, even when policymaking relied on active congressmen. It can be said that today the degree of legislative participation in relation to foreign policy depends on the theme; and influence on international agreements and multilateral issues (DINIZ; RIBEIRO, 2008). Legislative committees shaped decisions, and polarization in them used to take place around a subject. On executive decisions, Congress could act with laws, anticipating reactions or shaping opinions (LINDSAY; RIPLEY, 1994). As will be seen below, congressmen at the summons of ministers for clarification seemed to be wanting to mobilize opinions and deal with expensive issues to their electorate. Apparently, in the standing committees the government enjoyed support. Let's look at their profile in the Senate and House, in Box 3:

Chart 3: Profile of Foreign Affairs Committees

Government, Opposition or	In the	In the Senate
Neutral?	Chamber	
Government	10	8
Neutral	14	6
Opposition	8	4

Source: Prepared by the author from Diaries of the National Congress and Annals of the Senate.

At the time, the most discussed subjects were the relations with western countries and the approach with socialist countries, subjects that mobilized varied groups of interests. Jânio thought of being a "predominant leader" at that time, and thought to govern in direct action with the people, having only mediators his ministers, who acted according to the "notes." The Hermann couple (1989) defines three decision-making systems - the predominant leader, with a centralized unit; single group, with one unit, subdivided internally; multiple actors, more decentralized. The executive's decision-making process created friction in the "power boards," in which, according to Putnam (1988), internal and external bargains occur in a "two-level game" that filters out possible strategies and agreements. The committees - including those of Foreign Affairs in both houses - and the legislative composition in general pointed to the need to negotiate, to debate, to refine positions and not to take them as given from personal decisions. Jânio, however, with a unique trajectory, did not see.

Viriato de Castro (1959) mapped the trajectory janista: in 1947, alderman in São Paulo by the PDC, obtained 1707 votes, having presented / displayed proposals for administration, public services and work; after resigning, obtained almost 18 thousand votes in 1950, being elected state deputy; in 1953, a new resignation, he became mayor of São Paulo with 284,922

votes, a position which he also resigned in 1954, and soon succeeded in the election for governor of Sao Paulo, with 660,264 votes. In his parliamentary activity, he worked for amnesty, artists, youth, administrative and political morality, and was critical of weapons of mass destruction (bacteriological and nuclear). His political positions had a strong influence of Christian sociopolitical ideology and the Western worldview, even though he strongly criticized American and European colonialism. Joel Silveira (1996) accompanied Quadros after being elected President, when the National Democratic Union, and noted Janista admiration for Nasser (Egyptian leader) and Tito (strong man of the former Yugoslavia), non-aligned leaderships, and also Lincoln, The unifyier of the USA. The long period in the PDC was due to its connection with the Social Doctrine of the Church. During his presidential campaign, the main flags revolved around austerity and anti-corruption.

His chancellor - Afonso Arinos de Melo Franco - thought in a similar way, as stated in a book written during his youth, in which, under the Christian sociopolitical ideology, he criticized capitalism and communism at the time (Franco, 1933). In his biographies (FRANCO, 1961, FRANCO, 1965, FRANCO, 1968), he demonstrated that his thinking was against oppression, in favor of institutions and the connection between Politics and Law, nonintervention and self-determination of peoples, which characterized him as a liberal par excellence. He came from a liberal political family, and his father - Afranio de Melo Franco - for example, had been Chancellor of the Vargas government between 1930 and 1933; in 1958, Arinos was a full professor, member of the Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute and the Brazilian Academy of Letters and was in his first term of Senator (ARINOS FILHO, 2009). In his actions in the Chamber, as Udenista leader, defended the Rule of Law in the liberal molds. He considered Brazil a country that should not enter into the neutralism of Nasser, Tito and other leaders, but rather create its own independence within the West.

Roughly, there were three groups within the Congress, in terms of political stance on foreign policy. Those who thought that the country should ally itself with the West, those who wanted a Brazil not aligned or following similar models, and those who turned to specific topics in foreign policy. In general, supporters of the government followed the first idea, the opponents of the second, and the neighbors of the third. As we can see below, the content of calls from authorities, the definition of the position of each country and the nomenclature used to define it, proves that there has been an indirect but efficient legislative influence on foreign policy. A posture that could have been more "western" did not occur, due to the incidence Of neutral and opposition congressmen and groups

3 The legislative influence in the foreign policy of Jânio Quadros and Afonso Arinos

Cox and Morgenstern (2002) considered that the trend in Latin America is of proactive presidencies along with reactive congresses, thus, between pure presidentialism and pure parliamentarism; the ministers appointed may serve to broaden support in the Legislature, and they themselves may influence the congressional agenda. In addition, they construct a framework of strategic possibilities in the relations between the powers, in which the Assembly can reject, bargain, demand or accept proposals of the Executive, and the latter can try to impose itself, to bargain, to commit itself to the Congress. In cases of unilateral action, there is an imperial presidency with a recalcitrant assembly; in the bargain, there is a coalition presidency and an assembly with whom one can talk; under the demands strategy, the president is nationally oriented, and the congressmen act parochially. In the Jânio government, the relations oscillated between the three possibilities, depending on the theme and the ministry involved.

In the case of Foreign Policy, one could say that it was closer to the bargaining model, for the most part, but oscillating to the national-parochial impasse or imperial-recalcitrant; in the first case, by the congressional profile; in the second, by the presidential profile. In general, the literature considers that in presidentialism² the international issues are associated with the Executive, and the Legislature is involved in acquiring, delegating powers without giving them up, exercising control (ex ante or ex post), authorizing / vetoing agreements or use of force, regulating on budget (RAUNIO, 2014).

Lisa Martin (2000) says that legislative participation in cooperation increases credibility (believing that the actors involved will honor the compromise) and the depth (density and complexity of what has been negotiated) of commitments between states, and as presidents act (take on representation and international negotiation), congressmen influence (use skills to achieve results close to their interests). She argues that Congress does not abdicate its power, but a delegation to the other power, maintaining its own mechanisms of control; for several reasons: to deal effectively with complex issues; solve problems of collective action and / or distribution of benefits; obtain information with those who have expertise, maintaining the possibility of vetoing actions; strategic actions, influencing them. Controls are exercised mainly in plenary and in committees, which may be mixed, if they are bicameral, or may be from one of the houses only.

Helen Milner (1997) writes on the subject, saying that cooperation is more affected by the domestic distributive consequences than by the actions of international entities. The composition of this distribution of power and benefits depends on the interests and preferences of the actors, the institutions and their arrangements, as well as the degree of information that each one has. In addition to the possibility of retaking the prerogatives that were delegated, through strategic vote in the evaluations on Executive actions, it is possible to influence the indications of

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² In parliamentarism, the main action is delegation. Calling ministers to attend legislature activities, providing clarification, is not uncommon activity.

this, manipulation of the dimensions; manipulation of the agenda that defines priorities (ANASTASIA; MENDONÇA; ALMEIDA, 2012). Therefore, in addition to the ex ante game, prior to major diplomatic actions, there are ex post, control actions, whether through constant "patrolling" or through an action when a subject becomes relevant, analogously to the functioning of a "security fire alarm".

Legislators can, therefore, influence presidents, positively or negatively. Pedro Ribeiro and Flávio Pinheiro (2016) analyzed the multiparty presidentialisms of Latin America and came to the conclusion that the main factors that generate legislative support for executive leaders are the size of the coalition, the ideological distance and the effective number of parties. A not-too-large, but majority, coalition with a relevant ideological distance, and an effective number of not too large parties assists in supporting the government; if there are many parties - a considerable number of them - with little or no ideological profile, with a large coalition taking over the congressional houses, support becomes rarefied. The second case is approaching in terms of the janista period.

There is the influence of lobbies on certain issues within committees, there are gradations of permeability to ideologies and a degradation of more conflictive action to a more law-abiding stance (KOLLMAN, 1997). Based on the idea that there are three types of external and defense policies - structural, strategic and crisis - Lindsay and Ripley (1994) comment on the influences of Congress on these policies. In those months of 1961, structural issues such as the reform of Itamaraty or the release of money for the ministry attracted less attention than the strategies of tying or untying relations, for example, or the perception that they were years of crisis, mainly due to the revolution in Cuba. Domestic and international dimensions are intertwined in the public policy that is foreign policy, whose multiplicity of themes, actors and agendas must be recognized (MILANI, PINHEIRO, 2013). The decisions of this public sector depend on "bases of support", and each action generates a responsibility associated with it (HILL, 2003). Analyzing the Yankee reality, they reach the conclusion that attitudes towards the world were divided between accommodationists, integrationists, hardliners and isolationists (HOLSTI; ROSENAU, 1996). At the time political polarization generated different types of attitudes aligned with varied bases of support, and impact on the Legislative.

The Congress dealt, under delegation, with tariffs, barriers and agreements. At that time, preferences differed about the degree of economic warm-up, the type of development, the degree of openness / protection, which was the best agreement; but the median legislator sought neither full openness nor autarky, with industrialization by substitution of imports prevailing (LIMA, SANTOS, 2001). The international insertion project, the decision-making system and internationalist thinking begin to change, paradigms have changed as identified by Hirst and Lima (2002) and Pinheiro (2004). From old Americanism (pragmatic or ideological) to Globalism (Hobbesian or Grotian), until this polarization begins to collapse with the end of the Cold War,

and with the rise of Pragmatic Institutionalists (PINHEIRO, 2000). Rivalry with them, already in a recent period, would come the nationalist autonomists, emphasizing the national development (SARAIVA, 2010).

If, on the one hand, there is an identification of thought, ideological, theoretical, on the other hand, there is an identity, in each "member" of one of the paradigms, in terms of practices, belonging to groups, parties, etc. Therefore, a society with strong cleavages necessarily generates a dispute about certain ways of thinking and making public policies. At that time the right approached associated capitalism, the preference for relations with the West, especially with the United States, was critical of socialism and often anticommunist. The left defended the development led by the state, with empathy for socialists, and eventually communists, being critical of imperialisms (BENEVIDES, 1999). The division of the social fabric of the 1950s and 1960s was reflected in the Legislative.

In the Chamber, there was a frequent debate, whether in ordinary sessions or in extraordinary sessions. Critics of communism were the main oppositionists, among them Oswaldo Zanello (PRP), Arruda Câmara (PDC), José Humberto (UDN), Daniel Faraco (PSD), Father Souza Nobre (PTB), Father Vidigal (PSD), Mendes de (PSD), Estefano Mikilita (PDC), Dirceu Cardoso (PSD), Geraldo Freire (UDN) and João Mendes (UDN). There are those who were said to support the government, or its acts, such as Adauto Cardoso (UDN), Derville Allegretti (PR), Oswaldo Lima Filho (PTB), Ferro Costa (UDN), Aurélio Viana (PSB), Lício Hauer PTB), Milton Reis (PTB), José Sarney (UDN). Some stated support for 'neutralism', Afro-Asian anti-colonialism and / or self-determination of peoples, such as Celso Brant (PR), Fernando Santana (PTB), Mario Martins (UDN), Almino Afonso (PTB), Nelson Carneiro). They questioned the rapprochement with the USA, the petebistas Jonas Bahiense and Ramon de Oliveira Neto.

Representatives José da Silveira (PSD), Neiva Moreira (PSP) and Emival Caiado (UDN) welcomed Soviet feats; while praising the West Aniz Badra (PDC) and Raimundo Padilha (UDN)³. It is worth mentioning the involvement of deputies in government missions, such as Iron Coast (UDN), present in the Mission to Eastern Europe. Saturnino Braga (PSD) headed the Brazilian delegation to the Interparliamentary Union, which included Hélio Ramos (PR), Waldir Pires (PSD), and others. Together with Unesco, Plinio Salgado (PRP) was represented. At the World Conference of Municipal Governments, Lourival Batista (UDN). At the 32nd session of the United Nations Economic and Social Council, Herbert Levy (UDN). In Santiago, Chile, at the Latin American Interparliamentary Meeting, Salvador Lossaco (PTB).

The representation gained density and complexity, as the two broad fronts were consolidated; to the left, the Nationalist Parliamentary Front (FPN), whose joint position was

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³ Raimundo Padilha (UDN) ocupou durante o período a presidência da comissão de Relações Exteriores da Câmara. Ivete Vargas (PTB) era a vice-presidente.

made explicit by the petebista Fernando Santana; to the right, the Partido Democrática Parlamentar (ADP), whose orientation was explained by the Udenista João Mendes. Aurélio Viana presented the position of the PSB, attracting Brazilian support to pacifist nations. Many Pessebistas were on FPN. There were deputies linked to specific international issues, such as Yakishigue Tamura (PSD), when Japan was the subject. On matters of the Church, the voices heard were Arno Arnt (PDC), Océlio Medeiros (PSD), Noble priest (PTB), Ferreira Martins (PSP) and Father Vidigal (PSD). Some, on occasion, defended Israel, such as Cunha Bueno (PSD) and Hamilton Nogueira (UDN). Thus, with the exception of broad fronts, there was no unified stance on foreign policy and its themes.

In the Federal Senate, the same was true. Debates on foreign policy took place in early March, when Silvério Del-Caro (PRP), Father Calazans (UDN), Novaes Filho (PSD), Caiado de Castro (PTB) and Heribaldo Vieira (PST) neutralist and / or against relations with the USSR and Cuba. At that moment, Lima Teixeira (PTB) defended to resume or create relations with socialist and Soviet countries. In May, Alô Guimarães (PSD) criticizes Soviet colonialism over Ukraine and other countries, while Dix-Huit Rosado, without a legend, recently detached from the UDN and future petebista, defends the maintenance of Brazil's relations with other countries in the world. Barros de Carvalho (PTB) went to the Far East with the Executive Branch in August, and some congressmen joined the delegation of Vice-President João Goulart during his visit to the People's Republic of China. Lino de Matos (PSP) and Saulo Ramos (PTB) are positioned on the Common Market of the American Countries.

Many of the senators who spoke on foreign policy, or called on anyone to do so, had experience in bilateral or multilateral missions (many of them linked to the UN or the ILO). Rarely did the legislative branch impede cultural agreements. In the case of economic agreements and to establish diplomatic relations or to increase them, the terms were different. Contacts with other countries and changes in foreign trade triggered "fire alarms" for some congressmen, and Jânio's victory at the polls was enough to trigger distrust and vigilance over the new president's external actions. Magazines and newspapers presented interviews by Jânio and Afonso Arinos about foreign policy guidelines. With only two months of government, the National Congress convenes the Foreign Minister every month to inform Congressmen of the governmental steps in this area. The House Rules of Procedure of 1959, which ruled many acts of the 41st Legislature (1959-1962) submitted to the Constitution of 1946, stated in its article 28, paragraph 8:

The Committee on Foreign Relations is responsible for expressing its opinion on international acts of which the Union has participated, or must participate, and, in particular, on any proposal, memorial message or document referring to Brazil's relations with foreign nations in treaties, establishment of dividing lines or borders, protection of Brazilian citizens abroad, expatriation, neutrality, international conferences and congresses, intervention in foreign countries, remittances of Brazilian troops abroad or the declaration of war, the conditions of armistice or peace, international arbitration, measures relating to the diplomatic service, agreements, agreements or norms of commercial exchange with foreign nations, foreign loans, the United Nations and financial, monetary or international organizations. (BRASIL, 1959)).

If the House or the committee were unconstitutional, it was possible to refer the matter to the Constitution and Justice Committees and / or the Federal Supreme Court. This led to the involvement of the Three Powers in some cases. While in the Small office of the Chamber each had a maximum of forty minutes for his speech in the Great Expedient, the speech was limited by the hours of operation, such as in the convocation of a minister for information request. This speech of the minister differs from the presidential message to the Congress, as well as from the ministerial speeches on his policies at the beginning of a mandate, since there is an interpellation by the deputies. Then takes place the "sabatina", a true ministerial accountability. The power to amend the Union Budget was also present in the Legislature (exercised over requests for special and supplementary credit), since most of the demands submitted in favor of the MRE were denied.

Resolution No. 2 of 1959 established the Senate Internal Rules, which had increases in 1960 and 1961; on Foreign Affairs stated in Article 95:

The Foreign Affairs Committee:

- a) to issue an opinion on all proposals relating to acts, international relations, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the matters of art. 5, XV, n and o, of the Federal Constitution (naturalization, entry, extradition and expulsion of aliens, emigration and immigration), and tourism;
- b) to give an opinion on the naming of heads of permanent diplomatic missions to foreign governments or to international organizations to which Brazil is a party;
- c) at the request of any Senator, on the motions provided for in art. 216, when referring to international public events or acts;
- d) to comment on the requirements referred to in Article 40 (BRAZIL, 1974, p.).

After Janio Quadros appointed Jose Ermírio de Moraes, a São Paulo businessman from the industry, to the embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany in Bonn, he obtained a favorable opinion from the Foreign Affairs Committee (CRE). Nevertheless, after a sabatina, its name was rejected by the plenary. An unusual event like this would only happen again in the 21st century. Shortly after the deliberation, Father Calazans (UDN) and Victorino Freire (PSD) pronounced against this senatorial measure. Other nominations for embassies took place in the period of Jânio Quadros as president: Israel, Ghana, Britain, Bolivia and South Korea. Also in the Chamber, at

CRE on May 17, Melo Franco spoke on the public policy of his portfolio, dodging questions at point-blank range, all loaded with strong political-ideological connotations.

This meeting was requested by Océlio Medeiros (PSD), resulting in a meeting that lasted from 3:30 p.m. to 8:00 p.m., and was attended by the following MPs, who registered to speak or intervened in apart: Bocaiuva Cunha (PTB); Océlio Medeiros (PSD); Raimundo Padilha (UDN); Mendes de Moraes (without caption, was of the PSP); Ivete Vargas (PTB); Hélio Machado (PSD, leader of the majority, diplomat); Paulo Sarasate (UDN, later linked to the "revolutionary bench", ARENA's embryo); Dias Lins (UDN); Fernando Santana (PTB); Oswaldo Lima Filho (PTB); Aloysio de Castro (PSD); Menezes Cortes (UDN lacerist); Euripedes Cardoso de Menezes (UDN); Hamilton Prado (PTN); San Thiago Dantas (PTB, on the eve of the UN appointment); Helio Machado (PDC); Pereira Pinto (UDN); Ruy Ramos (PTB); Lino Braun (PTB); Carmelo D'Agostini (PSD, formerly PSP); Hamilton Nogueira (UDN); Gabriel Passos (UDN); Lamartine Tavora (PTB); Also present, without asking the floor: Ferreira Martins (PSP); Henrique Turner (PSB); Moreira da Rocha (PR); Father Pedro Vidigal (PSD); Aloysio de Castro (PSD); Daniel Faraco (PSD); José Sarney (UDN); Field Epilogue (UDN); Lauro Cruz (UDN); Vasconcelos Torres (PSD)).

The minister was asked to explain Brazilian foreign policy, focusing on relations with Cuba. In his speech (FRANCO, 1999a) in CRE, he argues that principles and doctrines do not change in a government; but domestic and foreign policy then made the actions change. He says that it is a principle of fighting against technical-economic and ideological standardization / slavery. Independence would only be achieved, to avoid these evils, through an active stance in bilateral and multilateral relations. For him, Brazil should act in accordance with the principles of non-intervention and self-determination present in the inter-American conferences of the 1930s, and following the defense against ideological intervention established in the 1940s at American meetings against totalitarianism. Therefore, he maintained: "(...) we are a weak country for war, but strong for peace" (FRANCO, 1999a, p.725). To put itself above the two radicalisms, of the two extremisms that existed at the time, it would be necessary, in its view, to defend freedom, democracy, peace, against intervention and oppression.

In order for the motivation for the convocation to be clear, the petitioner, Océlio Medeiros (PSD), first to inquire, said that the presence of the minister in the House was due to the prerogative of democratic control of the Legislative over the Executive. Guillermo O'Donnell (1998) calls attention to horizontal accountability, which, unlike vertical, is expressed in the ballot box and is embodied in the possibility of one Power intervening in another to avoid corruption of the public thing or the usurpation of powers and rights. The pessedist then appeared to be reinforcing this dimension of administrative transparency, including by complementing the interpretation of acts by states with foreign states. However, Medeiros, when questioning the presidential prerogatives, questioning the neutrality towards Cuba, appears more like a veto actor

jammed in the opposition, than only a prosecutor of the governmental actions.

The questions are associated with Cuba and the following topics: self-determination, intervention, representative regime, neutrality. Afonso Arinos answering questions says that the country will not recognize the American state whose regime results from external interference, but rather that it will recognize countries that have self-determination, regardless of the representative regime. It affirms its commitment to American continental defense, to sovereignty, to peace, not to neutralism. Ivete Vargas (PTB) succeeds Medeiros in the stand, asking how independence is maintained in front of the two blocs, maintaining sovereignty and peace. The minister responds that what supports this possibility is collective solidarity, and again says to commit to the continental defense. Then it is the turn of Hélio Cabal (PSD), who besides being a parliamentarian, is a diplomat. This is the basis for his intervention in Articles 20 of the OAS Charter and 6 of the Rio Treaty. The first requires a resolution of disputes peacefully before problems are brought to UN mediation, and the second says that the consultative body must meet to take action to aggression without armed attack. Having this legal background, the parliamentarian asks how Brazil will act to resolve the Cuban-American conflict. To which the minister and the parliamentarian follow in ping-pong of question and answers.

In summary, the Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs was convened for consultation and not for an emergency. Argentines wanted a more regional solution, Mexicans wanted a solution from the United States. Cabal's response is that the problem of the memorandum deciding this is for Janio Quadros, not for the minister. Raimundo Padilha (UDN), the leader of the Committee, intervened to reject daydreams and fugues from the topic of the ministerial convocation by some parliamentarians, successively extending the meeting that began at 3:30 p.m. to 8:00 p.m..

The last question is from Hamilton Prado (PTN), who asks if the government will review positions, because of communism installed in Cuba, which overthrew democracy and destabilized the social order. Before San Tiago Dantas (PTB) made a complimentary speech to the minister, and said that self-determination and democratization are phenomena of the people, of free volition, that cannot be forged; there is the answer from Afonso Arinos to Prado. In a crescendo punctuated by effusive palms, he says that the defense against communism should not be repressive, it should be with social and human democracy, fighting misery, eliminating injustices, enabling jobs and living wages, and claims to defend it as a Catholic who wishes to see equality of possibilities and democracy exercised as a practice.

In June 1961, Afonso Arinos attended the Senate to speak again about foreign policy. In his presentation, he begins to talk about the Brazilian transformation from an agricultural civilization to an industrial one, a sense that can only be deepened through an international exchange policy. He says that the OAS is expected to solve transnational problems in a sociolegal way. For him, the Mission of Walter Moreira Salles existed to negotiate the country's

external debt, and generated more credit for the country and extension of term to pay off debts. He maintains that the approach to Cuba is aimed at maintaining peace in the region, and with the US political, financial and diplomatic understandings were maintained, and Adlay Stevenson Mission was scheduled for June 10. With Bolivia, it would resume the understanding of the binational railway, and says that the asylum requested by two Brazilian military in the Uruguayan embassy does not apply, since the country was not signed platinum agreement for diplomatic asylum. The Itamaraty reform refers to the attempt to increase material, administrative, human conditions, and thanks some parliamentary leaders for their support, the non-UDN majority.

Commenting on the country's presence at the Cairo Conference, he says that neutralism is a homogenous engagement anchored in conditions and principles that are not Brazilian, and says that, belonging to the western democratic bloc, it is possible to practice independence, seeking justice, peace and progress. He sees no contradiction in following the Hallstein Doctrine, recognizing West Germany, and pursuing trade with the German Democratic Republic. This would justify the non-binding "Protocol of Conversations" which referred to: increased trade, regulation of navigation between the two countries and maintenance of existing agreements. The João Dantas Mission in East Germany would serve the same purposes as the Roberto Campos Mission, which, occurring in tandem, ran across Western Europe, including German territory. The document generated in the GDR also existed with Norway, Sweden, France, Great Britain and Turkey. He criticizes, however, the agreement between the colonial powers, the European Common Market, which would be detrimental to Latin Americans. The mission system operated by Afonso Arinos had already existed on previous occasions, such as in the PRM-PRP period and the management of Vargas before the PTB. Itamaraty and the Ministry of Finance were practitioners of this system.

Although many ask for the floor during the coming of the minister, some give up, others only praise the former Senator. The most active in the debate compose the opposition to the government, with rare exceptions, they are: the applicant Jefferson de Aguiar (PSD); Lima Teixeira (PTB); Argemiro de Figueiredo (PTB); Silvester Péricles (PST); Mem de Sa (PL); Gilberto Marinho (PSD). Therefore, it can not be said that foreign policy was not politicized. Jefferson de Aguiar (PSD) inaugurates the debate demanding information abour the missions, from the actions of the Country in international organizations. He questions the relevance of relations with African countries and the presence in the meeting between Kennedy and Khrushchev. Criticizes the João Dantas Mission, for not being official.

Afonso Arinos responds by saying that commercial relations do not condition political relations, and in order to have mutual recognition, this must be expressed rather than tacit, and that negotiations on missions can only be presented when concluded, which is not the case. He also says that the major partners of the Soviet Union and communist China are the capitalist countries, and with Africa Brazil builds a democratic, mestizo presence, a tropical civilization

close to the reality of the other continent. Lima Teixeira (PTB) asked about relations with the USSR, self-determination, Pan American Operation (OPA) and sugar trade with the United States. The Foreign Minister says that the relationship with the Soviets is on the agenda, but it is more complicated to resume than to expand an already existing relationship with other socialist countries; and that on self-determination had already spoken in the House. It confirms that Brazil won 220,000 tons more than the quota of sugar exports to the US, but Cuba had two billion and the redistribution was made by Kennedy. Arinos was in favor of the OPA because it generated in the US a greater awareness of the Brazilian needs, which gave rise to the Alliance for Progress; but the first is very focused on the economic sector, and the second is very socially oriented, therefore, they were incomplete initiatives.

Argemiro de Figueiredo (PTB) addresses seven questions about: Brazilian position against communist Cuba; action at the UN; OAS position on intervention and representative democracy, and in view of this, the Brazilian position of support without intervening; sending Ambassador to Angola; asylum of anti-Salazar leaders; how to sustain self-determination and nonintervention given the intervention of communism. Arinos begins by rejecting the claim that Cuba is Communist, and says that it accepts the intervention of the United Nations depending on how it is done; even because prudence advises considering whether there is a possibility of direct offensive action. It affirms the commitment of defense against communism, even remembers that we are signatories of treaty of American collective action; but says that offensive action could spark Soviet reaction elsewhere. Regarding the intervention, it says that there is no treaty that obliges us to intervene because of the lack of a representative regime, which is mandatory text imposing non-intervention. The presence of Negrao de Lima in Angola had obtained prior approval from Salazar. He says that international law prohibits the activity of foreigners against political organizations of the States from which they come, while domestic law itself denies the possibility of action to subvert order.

Paulo Fender, a petebista linked to the Fernando Ferrari group, praises the eloquence and the elegance of the minister, is skeptical about the possibility of Cuba following international acts and treaties, says the João Dantas Mission and the presidentialist policy of Jânio Quadros in relation to discontinuous geographical areas compromise the classical tradition of Brazilian diplomacy. Silvestre Péricles (PST) says he has represented Brazil three times abroad, and asks if it is right to borrow in the East and the West. It also asks if one of the atomic powers is against self-determination or not intervention, if the country will maintain its position, and if Brazil will follow Article 141 of the Constitution. Melo Franco then maintains that after an atomic intervention everything passes into the domain of the past; therefore, medium and small powers should strive to avoid this. It denies that there have been missions to request credits, but when completed they will be sent to Congress. As for the article, it will be respected, even because the proposal came from the Udenistas Clemente Mariani and Milton Campos.

Mem de Sá (PL) asked whether the long-term credit to finance development comes from the West German fund for developing countries, if the country recognizes the Bonn government. Melo Franco says he does not know if credit for development comes from this fund for Africa, Asia, the Americas; says that increasing trade with Eastern Europe does not mean that the Federal Republic of Germany is no longer recognized. Gilberto Marinho (PSD) praises the minister, defends the rapprochement with African countries, criticizes the economic dependence and development based on foreign aid. Finally, he asks if any agreement was made with Frondizi's Argentina in Uruguaina, and whether this involves military personnel. The minister said that agreements were signed in an economic, cultural, friendship and consultation, but without dealing with military matters. Sérgio Marinho (UDN) summarizes some of the minister's ideas, followed by Vivaldo Lima (PTB), who also praises the former Senator, and the session ends.

Afonso Arinos de Melo Franco's new visit to the Federal Chamber of Deputies shows the Legislature's position on questioning the Executive's external actions. It occurs at the 125th session, on July 28, in response to the request of Cid Carvalho (PSD), and having as main interpellations the applicant's, Bocayuva Cunha (PSD), Fernando Santana (PTB), Father Nobre (PTB), Silvio Braga (PSP) and Salvador Lossaco (PTB). It revolved around the conferences held in Uruguay: the Latin American Free Trade and the Economic and Social Council of the Organization of American States. In the initial explanation, (FRANCO, 1999c), regarding the OAS meeting, He says that the priorities of resource allocation and agrarian reform were analyzed, in line with the Encyclic Mater et Magistra as well as with the project authored when Senator, presented together with José Joffily (PSD). On regional integration, he says that it is a continental effort to turn to each other, expanding exchanges and politico-economic relations; while missions abroad, as well as the relationship with Africa, serve as a means of overcoming the saturation of traditional markets and their bottlenecks. About South America, it highlights the good relations with Argentina, Chile, Colombia and Peru⁴.

He advocates the power of government, the state, to resolve conflicts and achieve general interests, and that the State expanded its powers after World War II, so it is incumbent upon it to intervene to generate development. On the German question, He says the same as in the Senate. In seeking relations with the USSR he hopes to contribute to peace, understanding, disarmament and progress. He says it is based on Christian, democratic humanism, considering that there are perfectibility and possibilities to overcome relations based on bargaining, geopolitics and pressures; therefore, it could not assume neutrality like Switzerland, which has previously been estranged from conflicts, nor assume neutralism, which is an active position different from the two great blocs. Finally, he thanked the support of the leaders of the House of PSD, PTB and

⁴ The Peruvian president visited the Brazilian Congress shortly after, on August 2, in a joint session, on which occasion the president spoke. The meeting of Uruguaiana took place between the president Jânio Quadros and Arturo Frondizi, then Argentine president.

UDN in supporting the reform of Itamaraty.

4 Conclusion

All requests for information were made by PSD members. In all three congressional presences, the main themes to be repeated are: Cuba, Soviet Union, Africa, Missions abroad, American and / or Western issues; issues linked to the Vatican or the Christian faith. The main concepts that appear are non-intervention, self-determination, international commitments, neutrality, neutralism, development. The committees reflect more on the political tension of the time, and in that they did not escape those of foreign relations, because the "national interest", but the party strategy, mainly of confrontation to the government did not reign. This can be understood in the following fact: in the first enlightenment, udenistas conform the largest number of interpellations, followed closely by petebistas. In the second, adding those who requested the word and those who spoke, there is a tie between UDN and PTB, eight for each side, followed by four of the PSD; however, the largest number of interventions came from the PTB, followed by the PSD. Finally, the PSD takes the lead in interpellations. The change reflects the parties' spirit of foreign policy and government. The polarization that crossed the parties found place in some subjects, such as relations with the West and with the socialist countries.

It should be emphasized that every cycle has a beginning, a middle and an end. As the opposition to the government escalated, from Governors like Carlos Lacerda and congressmen many from the UDN - more pressure was felt by the ministries. The Itamaraty was no exception. Rejecting criticism by stating the country as Western, the government did not shy away from PTB's calls. Soon after, the PSD that had lost to Jânio the presidential election and did not win the vice-presidency due to the agreement with petebistas, begins to react to the rise of the petebistas, tendency that will deepen with the time. Auro de Moura Andrade (PSD) convened an extraordinary session on 25 August to announce the resignation of Janio Quadros. From that moment the configuration of the Executive-Legislative relations changes and with this the decision-making process also changes.

It is observed that in democratic contexts, even under a regime where the Legislature delegates to the Executive the function of dealing with what is beyond the borders, the strength of the congressmen can be present to shape certain guidelines, or even boost them. The more polarized the Congress, the greater the political capacity of the minister to seek a break-even point in the turmoil of the clashes. The area of legislative studies could explore topics that approach other areas of knowledge, such as International Relations. The study sought to move in this direction by mobilizing primary sources to understand how executive decisions are influenced by legislative dynamics. Observing the Diaries and Annals of both parliamentary houses, it was possible to understand that congressmen have their role in shaping foreign policy.

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