

Brazil, May 17, 2022

Mr. Diego Garcia, Special Rapporteur on the independence of judges and lawyers

Ref.: Threats to democracy, disinformation and attacks on the Brazilian Judiciary

1 EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Democracy is being threatened in Brazil. Since Jair Bolsonaro's election in 2018, the Executive branch has attacked the Judiciary, the press, universities, non-profit organizations and social movements, imposing a significant threat to democratic pluralism in Brazil. Bolsonaro's government publicly encourages attacks on institutions and violence against political opponents, and undermines trust in constitutional procedures necessary to the protection of rights and the peaceful resolution of electoral and political conflicts.

Judges as the enemy. A vibrant system of checks and balances and limits to state power is an indicative of a healthy democracy. However, judicial authorities in Brazil, the Supreme Court (STF) and the Superior Electoral Court (TSE) in particular, face an unprecedented campaign of distrust and public threats to judges who decide against the government's agenda. On September 7th 2021, before a crowd of dozens of thousands of protesters, Bolsonaro uttered a series of direct threats to the Supreme Court, extolling disobedience to judicial decisions and even threatening specific judges. Such presidential attacks have become recurrent. Moreover, without any evidence, Bolsonaro publicly claims that the Brazilian electoral system can be and has been rigged, and has even claimed that the TSE judges are behind such alleged frauds.

Delegitimization through mass disinformation. Supporters of the Bolsonaro government have heavily relied on disinformation strategies. By taking advantage of under-regulated or even uncontrolled digital arenas and social media, the President and close allies have disseminated false or manipulated information regarding the Judiciary, presenting the Supreme Court as a national enemy.

Undermining public trust in the electoral system. Since the 30s, Brazilian elections have been overseen by the Electoral Justice. As an independent authority for organizing elections and safeguarding electoral integrity, the Electoral Justice is expected to act as an obstacle to a president's attempts to remain in power even in the face of an electoral defeat. President Bolsonaro said in several occasions the current electronic ballot system is not reliable, that it is subject to manipulation by political adversaries, and therefore not legitimate. Bolsonaro has supported disinformation and false claims on frauds in the 2018 elections, even though he himself was the winner. These manifest attacks on democratic legality undermine the authority of Brazil's Electoral Justice, building support for future attacks on the courts and even open disregard for electoral results that are not favorable to Bolsonaro and his political allies.

The Brazilian Judiciary under siege. Judicial independence in Brazil is facing challenges that are unprecedented since democratization in the 1980s. Access to an independent judiciary is a human right, and the existence of independent courts is an internationally recognized precondition to the exercise of other human rights. Its importance is emphasized within the United Nations. Therefore, given the severity and importance of the case presented, the situation described in this document requires adequate measures to be taken to reassure respect for judicial independence in Brazil.

2 INTRODUCTION

There is a global trend of democracies moving towards autocratic forms of governance, along several dimensions – what we could call a **worldwide de-democratization movement**. A few years ago, Freedom House (2018) issued the following warning:

Political rights and civil liberties around the world deteriorated to their lowest point in more than a decade in 2017, extending a period characterized by emboldened autocrats, beleaguered democracies, and the United States' withdrawal from its leadership role in the global struggle for human freedom.

***Democracy is in crisis.** The values it embodies—particularly the right to choose leaders in free and fair elections, freedom of the press, and the rule of law—are under assault and in retreat globally. [emphasis added]*

2020 was the **15th consecutive year of decline in global freedom¹, with the expansion of authoritarian governments**. The number of countries doing worse in democratic indicators has already surpassed those with democratic improvements by the largest margin since the negative trend began in 2006. According to the Freedom House², “*the long democratic recession is deepening.*”

The Covid-19 pandemic provided an excuse for the increasing use of authoritarian practices in many countries³. Several political leaders have expanded executive powers under the pretext of protecting human lives, like in the Philippines and in Hungary⁴. In Brazil, increasingly authoritarian practices have included attacks on the press and

¹ REPUCCI, Sarah; SLIPOWITZ, Amy. Freedom in the World 2021. Democracy under Siege. *Freedom House*. 2021. (Sep. 10, 2021). Available at: <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2021/democracy-under-siege>

² FREEDOM HOUSE. *Freedom in the World 2021*. NY, 2021. p. 1 (Sep. 4, 2021). Available at: https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/2021-02/FIW2021_World_02252021_FINAL-web-upload.pdf

³ FREEDOM HOUSE. *Freedom in the World 2021*. NY, 2021. p. 12 (Sep. 4, 2021). Available at: https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/2021-02/FIW2021_World_02252021_FINAL-web-upload.pdf

⁴ EDGELL, Amanda B; LACHAPPELLE, Jean; LÜHRMANN, Anna; MAERZ, Seraphine F. Pandemic backsliding: Violations of democratic standards during Covid-19. *Social Science & Medicine*. v. 285 (Set. 2021). Available at: <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0277953621005761>

individual journalists⁵, government-promoted disinformation⁶, and even threats to health workers and civil servants⁷.

In 2021, Freedom House⁸ warned that democracies are under attack in every region of the world **through the emergence of authoritarian populist leaders and groups that reject pluralism, persecute minorities, and attack the separation of powers, in a context of strong polarization and political and economic instability.** The report *Nations in transit – the antidemocratic turn*⁹ shows the strengthening of the

⁵ Brazil: Emergency measures legal instrument. Available at: https://github.com/vdemoinstitute/pandem/blob/master/by_country/Brazil.md#verbal-harassment-of-journalists-mevhar; Brazil's president attacks media instead of combatting coronavirus. *Reporters without borders*. (Mar. 31, 2020). Available at: <https://rsf.org/en/news/brazils-president-attacks-media-instead-combatting-coronavirus>; PHILLIPS, Tom. Brazil's Jair Bolsonaro says coronavirus crisis is a media trick. *The guardian*. Rio de Janeiro (Mar. 23, 2020). Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/mar/23/brazils-jair-bolsonaro-says-coronavirus-crisis-is-a-media-trick>; PARAGUASSU, Lisandra. Brazil's Bolsonaro says journalist 'wimps' more likely to die of COVID-19. *Reuters*. Brasília (Aug. 24, 2020). Available at: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-brazil-politics/brazils-bolsonaro-says-journalist-wimps-more-likely-to-die-of-covid-19-idUSKBN25K2G3>; PHILLIPS, Tom. Bolsonaro says he 'wouldn't feel anything' if infected with Covid-19 and attacks state lockdowns. *The guardian*. Rio de Janeiro (Mar. 25, 2020). Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/mar/25/bolsonaro-brazil-wouldnt-feel-anything-covid-19-attack-state-lockdowns>

⁶ FREELON, Kiratiana. Twitter Deletes Bolsonaro's Tweets. *Folha de São Paulo*. (Mar. 30, 2020). Available at: <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/internacional/en/brazil/2020/03/twitter-deletes-bolsonaros-tweets.shtml>; FREELON, Kiratiana. Social Networks Take Down Bolsonaro Posts for Lying about The Covid Vaccine. *Folha de São Paulo* (Oct. 26, 2021). Available at: <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/internacional/en/brazil/2021/10/social-networks-take-down-bolsonaro-posts-for-lying-about-the-covid-vaccine.shtml>; ROCHABRUN, Marcelo; BENASSATO, Leonardo. Brazil's Bolsonaro, infected with COVID-19, touts unproven drug. *Reuters*. São Paulo/ Brasília (Jul. 15, 2020). Available at: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-health-coronavirus-brazil/brazils-bolsonaro-infected-with-covid-19-touts-unproven-drug-idUSKCN24G2XR>; LONDOÑO, Ernesto. Bolsonaro Hails Anti-Malaria Pill Even as He Fights Coronavirus. *The New York Times*. Rio de Janeiro (Jul. 08, 2020). Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/08/world/americas/brazil-bolsonaro-covid-coronavirus.html>

⁷ Bolsonaro tenta intimidar ANVISA por vacina para crianças (Bolsonaro tries to intimidate Anvisa for children's vaccination). *UOL*. São Paulo (Dez. 17, 2021). Available at: <https://noticias.uol.com.br/ultimas-noticias/ansa/2021/12/17/bolsonaro-tenta-intimidar-anvisa-por-vacina-para-criancas.htm>; JUNQUEIRA, Caio. Ministro da Saúde fará audiência pública para avaliar vacina em crianças (Health Secretary will hold public hearing to evaluate children's vaccination). *CNN Brasil*. (Dez. 17, 2021). Available at: <https://www.cnnbrasil.com.br/saude/ministro-fara-audiencia-publica-para-avaliar-vacina-em-criancas/>.

⁸ FREEDOM HOUSE. *Democracies in decline*. NY, 2021c. (Sep. 11, 2021). Available at: <https://freedomhouse.org/issues/democracies-decline>.

⁹ FREEDOM HOUSE. *Nations in transit*. The antidemocratic turn. NY, 2021. (Sep. 11, 2021). Available at: <https://freedomhouse.org/report/nations-transit/2021/antidemocratic-turn>.

de-democratization process in Central Europe and Asia. All twenty-nine countries evaluated in the report had a democratic deterioration in the last four years.

In the same vein, in the publication of its 29th “World Report”¹⁰, in 2020, Human Rights Watch (HRW) warned about a “dark period for human rights” and identified an upward movement of autocratic leaders, placing Jair M. Bolsonaro alongside Recep Erdogan (Turkey), Rodrigo Duterte (Philippines) and Viktor Orbán (Hungary).

Across such different countries and contexts, these new leaders share certain features, among which an aggressive discourse against two institutional pillars of liberal democracy - civil liberties and checks and balances between the branches of government. Such authoritarian populist rhetoric is exclusionary by nature, intimidating the political opposition as “enemies” and putting what they call “the people” against the existing institutions.

Brazil under Bolsonaro fits in this context. **Bolsonaro's authoritarian assault** has been strongly felt within numerous institutions in the country, including those destined for promoting human rights. In particular, Bolsonaro has elected the Judicial branch as his main target. The president has followed a recurring and constant pattern of conflict and attacks on judges - from the dissemination of fake news from supporter networks to foster institutional distrust, to insults and personal attacks on specific judges during interviews, official speeches and public speeches to his supporters during mass demonstrations¹¹.

These patterns challenge the spirit of liberal constitutionalism, echoing instead old fascist anti-democratic and authoritarian extreme right tropes¹². Independent judges are a natural obstacle to such an illiberal agenda, which needs to undermine or co-opt

¹⁰ HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH. *World report 2019*, events of 2018. 2019, p. 1. (Sep. 7, 2021) Available at: https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/world_report_download/hrw_world_report_2020_0.pdf .

¹¹ HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH. Brasil: Bolsonaro ameaça pilares da democracia (Brazil: Bolsonaro Threatens Democratic Rule). *Human Rights Watch*. (Nov. 16, 2021) Available at: <https://www.hrw.org/pt/news/2021/09/15/379911> .

¹² ALBRIGHT, Madeleine. *Fascism: A Warning*. Harper Perennial. Nova Iorque, 2017.

institutional checks on state power.¹³ Given the importance of judicial independence as a pillar of liberal democracies, protecting constitutional guarantees and rights and checking would-be autocrats regardless of their electoral support, authoritarian populists typically **attempt to undermine and control the judiciary**. Moreover, in the case of Brazil, judges are essential not just for the impartial application of laws and the constitution, but also for the integrity of electoral proceedings.

In this endeavor, a typical strategy has been to enlist voters against judicial and electoral institutions through massive disinformation, relying on general **dissatisfaction with democracy**. Existing **feelings of anxiety and distrust towards institutions have been exploited and weaponized by leaders from the far-right**, who - molding it according to regional specificities - catalyze and channel public dissatisfaction against specific institutions that limit their power.

Brazil is heading in this direction. Between 2018 and 2021, the country dropped 5 (five) points in the Freedom House general index in a mere three-year-interval¹⁴. In this scenario, there have been **coordinated attacks on the Judiciary by the President Bolsonaro and his allies**. As with other illiberal governments, the attacks maintain constant tension between institutions, and between citizens and institutions. In the case of **Bolsonaro, this includes expressing public approval for non-democratic forms of government**, including the military dictatorship (1964-1985). In several occasions, **the President has supported and even appeared in demonstrations calling for the adoption of dictatorial measures against civil liberties and for shutting down the Supreme Court**¹⁵.

¹³ SCHEPPELE, Kim Lane. Autocratic legalism. *The University of Chicago Law Review*, v. 85, n. 2, p. 545-584, 2018.

¹⁴ FREEDOM HOUSE. Brazil. *Freedom in the World 2021*. (Nov. 16, 2021) Available at: <https://freedomhouse.org/country/brazil/freedom-world/2021> .

¹⁵ Bolsonaro volta a participar de atos contra Congresso e STF (Bolsonaro participates again in demonstrations against the Congress and Supreme Court). *Congresso em Foco*, (May. 03, 2020). Available at: <https://congressoemfoco.uol.com.br/area/governo/bolsonaro-volta-a-participar-atos-contr-congresso-e-stf/> .

As we mentioned, the judges targeted by Bolsonaro play a double role in limiting his power. Other than the "*Supremo Tribunal Federal*" (Supreme Federal Court, STF), there is the "*Tribunal Superior Eleitoral*" (Superior Electoral Court, TSE), which includes three STF judges in its composition.¹⁶ As we will show, the President has encouraged attacks on both Courts and its specific judges, threatening several times to disobey judicial decisions, and spreading disinformation to turn specific judges into enemies and targets for his followers.

This dynamic is visible in the COVID-19 pandemic. In early 2020, the Supreme Court decided whether States and Municipalities could take restrictive measures (such as social isolation) for the purpose of fighting the public health emergency according to local realities.¹⁷ The Court ruled that, within existing federative arrangements, States and Municipalities had the autonomy to adopt such measures, according to local realities and conditions and respecting the competences of other units of the federation. The decision made clear that this local autonomy did not exclude the Federal Government's own responsibility and specific competences for protecting public health. However, after the ruling, the President's Twitter account disseminated the false claim that the Court decided the Federal Government could not take measures to confront the pandemic.¹⁸ Such assertions were repeated by the President in different moments and contexts since 2020, even though they have been flagged as false by several media outlets, by the STF itself, and in the final report of the Senate Investigate Committee on the Pandemic ("CPI da

¹⁶ The TSE is composed by three Judges from among the Justices of the Supreme Federal Court, two judges from among the Justices of the Superior Court of Justice and two judges from among six lawyers of notable juridical learning and good moral repute, nominated by the Supreme Federal Court.

¹⁷ Action Against a Violation of a Constitutional Fundamental Right n° 672. STF. ADPF 672. Relator Ministro Alexandre de Moraes. Tribunal Pleno. J.10/02/2020 - 10/09/2020. DJe: 10/29/2020. Available at: <http://portal.stf.jus.br/processos/detalhe.asp?incidente=5885755>; Direct Action of Unconstitutionality n° 6341 STF. ADI 6341. Relator Ministro André Mendonça. Tribunal Pleno. J: 04/15/2020. DJe: 04/16/2020. Available at: <https://portal.stf.jus.br/processos/detalhe.asp?incidente=5880765>; Direct Action of Unconstitutionality n° 6343 STF. ADI 6343. Relator Ministro Alexandre de Moraes. Plenário. J: 04/30/2020. DJe: 06/25/2020. Available at: <https://portal.stf.jus.br/processos/detalhe.asp?incidente=5881008>.

¹⁸ AFONSO, Natália. #Verificamos: É falso que STF afastou Bolsonaro do controle de ações estratégicas contra pandemia de Covid-19 (#Wecheckedit: It is false that the Supreme Court hampered Bolsonaro's control of strategic actions against the Covid-19 pandemic). Rio de Janeiro. *Agência Lupa*. (Jul. 01, 2020). Available at: <https://piaui.folha.uol.com.br/lupa/2020/07/01/verificamos-stf-bolsonaro-covid/>.

Pandemia”).¹⁹ Throughout the pandemic, Bolsonaro criticized measures to promote social isolation and accused governors and the press of “spreading panic”, while participating in demonstrations against measures to combat COVID-19. Such demonstrations included anti-democratic demands, such as shutting down Congress and the Supreme Court²⁰.

Bolsonaro's attacks have so far sought to intimidate both the STF and the TSE. By attacking high courts, **Bolsonaro tests the limits of institutions, encouraging his supporters to act against the courts and its judges** (as we will detail below) **and eroding support for institutions in ways that end up strengthening his own illiberal, authoritarian agenda.**

3. THE BRAZILIAN SCENARIO: ATTACKS AGAINST THE BRAZILIAN SUPREME COURT AND THREATS TO DEMOCRACY

3.1 Brazil joins the group of countries governed by autocratic leaders

The 2018 national elections represent a turning point in Brazilian democratic history. For the first time since the end of the Brazilian military dictatorship (1964-1985), the country had a competitive presidential candidate who openly embraced the dictatorial regime, and sometimes even denied that there had been a military coup in Brazil. This should not be a surprise, considering his previous career in Congress. In 1993, in an interview to “Câmara Aberta” TV program²¹, Bolsonaro declared he was in favor of the

¹⁹ CARAMURU, Pedro. Bolsonaro diz ser inacreditável o que acontece no STF e apoiadores pedem fechamento (Bolsonaro says it is unbelievable what happens in the Supreme Court and his supporters call for its shutdown). *O Estado de São Paulo*. (Jun. 26, 2021). Available at: <https://politica.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,bolsonaro-diz-ser-inacreditavel-o-que-acontece-no-stf-e-apoiadores-pedem-fechamento,70003759872> . The STF’s official reply to Bolsonaro’s post was released in the court’s YouTube channel, at: <https://www.youtube.com/embed/lM77JJBrx1c?autoplay=1>. The “CPI da Pandemia” final report mentions the false claim in discussing the President’s involvement in the organized dissemination of disinformation during the pandemic (p.648 of the report, which can be found at:).

²⁰ Bolsonaro volta a apoiar ato antidemocrático contra o STF e o Congresso, em Brasília (Again, Bolsonaro supports anti-democratic demonstrations against Congress in Brasília). *GI*. (May. 30, 2020) Available at: <https://g1.globo.com/fantastico/noticia/2020/05/03/bolsonaro-volta-a-apoiar-ato-antidemocratico-contr-o-stf-e-o-congresso-em-brasilia.ghtml> .

²¹ Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ihvl497x37c>.

dictatorship and of torture, and that, if he ever became President, he would shut down Congress. When questioned by the interviewer about his proposal, Bolsonaro said that, for people to see actual change in the country, it would take “a civil war” and “the job that the military regime did not, killing some thirty thousand, [...] if some innocents are going to die, that’s all right”.²² In 1999, as a congressman, Bolsonaro stated that President Fernando Henrique Cardoso should be shot for his political decisions.²³

During his 2018 presidential campaign, in an interview to “Roda Viva” TV program, on “TV Cultura” channel²⁴, Bolsonaro stated that the military actions during the dictatorship were justified and that, if he had been there, he would have acted in the same way. On March 2019, the spokesperson for the government, General Rêgo Barros, officially stated that “*The president does not consider March 31st 1964 to have been a military coup*”.²⁵ The Bolsonaro government has consistently celebrated March 31st.²⁶ Even when confronted with cases of violence and torture by state agents, his support for the military remained strong. Indeed, encouraging and celebrating violence has been a common trope in Bolsonaro’s rise to power. The president notoriously celebrated Colonel Carlos Alberto Brilhante Ustra (1932-2015), whose role as a torturer has been recognized in judicial proceedings²⁷, as a “national hero”, expressly praising his role in torturing

²² BRANGON, Ranier. Nos anos 90, Bolsonaro defendeu novo golpe militar e Guerra (During the 90’s, Bolsonaro defended a new military coup and War). *Folha de S. Paulo*. (Jun. 03, 2018). Available at: <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2018/06/nos-anos-90-bolsonaro-defendeu-novo-golpe-militar-e-guerra.shtml?loggedpaywall>.

²³ OLIVEIRA, Clarissa. A frase em que Bolsonaro sugeriu fuzilar FHC por privatizar estatais (The phrase in which Bolsonaro suggested shooting FHC for privatizing public companies). *Veja*. (Oct. 14, 2021). Available at: <https://veja.abril.com.br/coluna/clarissa-oliveira/a-frase-em-que-bolsonaro-sugeriu-fuzilar-fhc-por-privatizar-estatais/>.

²⁴ Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IDL59dkeTi0>.

²⁵ <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2019/03/bolsonaro-determinou-comemoracoes-devidas-do-golpe-de-1964-diz-porta-voz.shtml>.

²⁶ WARTH, Anne; LINDNER, Julia. Planalto confirma ordem de Bolsonaro para comemorar aniversário do golpe de 1964 (Executive’s Office confirms Bolsonaro’s order to commemorate the 1964 Coup’s anniversary). *O Estado de S. Paulo*. São Paulo. (Mar. 25, 2019). Available at: <https://politica.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,planalto-confirma-ordem-de-bolsonaro-para-comemorar-aniversario-do-golpe-de-1964,70002767921> . See also <https://www.dw.com/pt-br/gest%C3%A3o-bolsonaro-celebra-golpe-de-64-pelo-quarto-ano-seguido/a-61322242>

²⁷ <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/fsp/brasil/fc1010200834.htm>

former President Dilma Rousseff.²⁸ During his presidential campaign, whilst speaking to the crowds in front of him and holding a gun in his hands, Bolsonaro spoke of “shooting” all the affiliates of his main opposing party, the PT – a comment later dismissed as a joke.²⁹

With Bolsonaro's victory, Human Rights Watch added Brazil to the list of countries with autocratic leaders.³⁰ The 2019 World Human Rights Report³¹ pointed out that Bolsonaro poses a “great risk to public safety” as he “openly encourages the use of lethal force by the military and police”, also highlighting the threats arising from his endorsement of torture and instigation of violence against opposers and the press.³² In the same context, Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) downgraded Brazil's classification from a liberal democracy to an electoral democracy in 2020³³, due to the authoritarian profile of Bolsonaro and his attacks on the press, science, and political opponents, as well as his encouragements of violent political polarization.

In 2021³⁴, V-Dem warned that, in a period of ten years – 2010-2020 – Brazil ranked 4th among the 10 main countries that advanced in this process of democratic

²⁸ MAZUI, Guilherme. Bolsonaro chama coronel Brilhante Ustra de 'herói nacional' (Bolsonaro calls Colonel Brilhante Ustra a 'national hero'). *GI*. (Aug. 08, 2019). Available at:

<https://g1.globo.com/politica/noticia/2019/08/08/bolsonaro-chama-coronel-ustra-de-heroi-nacional.ghtml>.

²⁹ RIBEIRO, Janaina. “Vamos fuzilar a petralhada”, diz Bolsonaro em campanha no Acre enquanto discursava em um carro de som, o candidato do PSL imitou um fuzilamento e disse querer “botar estes picaretas pra comer capim na Venezuela” (“Let’s shoot all the ‘petralhada’”, says Bolsonaro on a campaign in Acre while speaking in a sound truck, the PSL candidate imitated a shooting act and said he wanted to “get these rogues to eat grass in Venezuela”). *Exame*. São Paulo, 03 de setembro de 2018. (Sep. 03, 2018). Available at: <https://exame.abril.com.br/brasil/vamos-fuzilar-a-petralhada-diz-bolsonaro-em-campanha-no-acre/>.

³⁰ Alongside Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, from Turkey; Abdel Fat-tah al-Sisi, from Egypt; Rodrigo Duterte, from the Philippines; Viktor Orbán, from Hungary; Jarosław Kaczyński, from Poland; Nicolás Maduro, from Venezuela and Vladimir Putin, from Russia. HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH. World report 2019, (Sep. 7, 2021). Available at:

https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/world_report_download/hrw_world_report_2020_0.pdf.

³¹ HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH. World report 2019, events of 2018. 2019, p. 3., (Sep. 7, 2021). Available at: https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/world_report_download/hrw_world_report_2020_0.pdf.

³² HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH. World report 2019, events of 2018. 2019, p. 3., (Sep. 7, 2021). Available at: https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/world_report_download/hrw_world_report_2020_0.pdf.

³³ V-DEM. Autocratization Surges–Resistance Grows. *Democracy Report 2020*, Gothenburg Sweden, 2020. (Sep. 7, 2021). Available at: https://www.v-dem.net/static/website/files/dr/dr_2020.pdf.

³⁴ V-DEM. Autocratization turns viral. *Democracy Report 2021*, Gothenburg Sweden, 2021. (Sep. 7, 2021). Available at: https://www.v-dem.net/static/website/files/dr/dr_2021.pdf.

erosion³⁵, losing only to Poland, Hungary and Turkey, and being ahead of countries like India (7th place) and Thailand (10th place). International IDEA (International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance) also warned that Brazil has the highest number of declining democratic attributes in the world and since 2016 has been undergoing a process of democratic decline.

In this scenario, and with this public trajectory, Bolsonaro began his onslaught against the Federal Supreme Court (STF) and the Superior Electoral Court³⁶.

3.2 The attempt to delegitimize the Supreme Court (STF)

Even before taking office, the Bolsonaro camp had already signaled lack of respect for judicial independence. In his 2018 electoral campaign, Bolsonaro stated he would increase the number of STF from 11 to 21, appointing 10 new “independent” judges, saying that this was necessary to “change the fate of Brazil”.³⁷ Eduardo Bolsonaro, son of the President and currently a Federal Deputy, declared: “*If you want to close the STF, you don't even send a jeep, just send a private and a corporal*”. Eduardo Bolsonaro further stated: “*I believe that if the next president takes measures and approves projects that are contrary to the taste of this Supreme Court, they will declare it*

³⁵ V-DEM. Autocratization turns viral. *Democracy Report 2021*. Gothenburg Sweden, 2021. (Sep. 7, 2021) Available at: https://www.v-dem.net/static/website/files/dr/dr_2021.pdf.

³⁶ “Finally, in the case of Brazil, it should be noted that, although there is still more than a year to go before the presidential and legislative elections of October 2022, President Jair Bolsonaro - who, according to all indications, will seek his re-election - has already made serious and numerous complaints against the reliability of the electronic ballot boxes and has attacked the Superior Electoral Court (in particular two of its magistrates, judges Alexandre de Moraes and Luis Roberto Barroso). Regarding the ballot boxes, the Brazilian President stated that they are a source of fraud and proposed a reform that was rejected by Congress. Regarding the electoral process, he assured, without evidence, that a fraud is being prepared. The constant confrontations between President Bolsonaro and the Superior Electoral Court led this institution to open up to him an administrative investigation for his smear campaign against the electronic voting system and that he also asked the Federal Supreme Court for his inclusion in an investigation into the spread of fake news. The denunciations of anticipated fraud and the attacks against the highest electoral authority in Brazil, added to the very high level of political polarization that exists in the country, create very complex and dangerous conditions for the normal development of the next electoral process.” Democracia en tempos de crisis. IDEA. Available at: <https://www.idea.int/gsod/las-americas-report>

³⁷ Bolsonaro quer aumentar número de ministros do Supremo (Bolsonaro wants to increase the number of Justices in the Supreme Court). *Folha de São Paulo*. São Paulo (Jul. 02, 2018). Available at: <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2018/07/bolsonaro-quer-aumentar-numero-de-ministros-do-supremo.shtml>

unconstitutional. And here, we won't bend to them. I want to see someone complaining when it's time for a more painful disruption than merely putting ten more Justices inside the Supreme Court. If this moment comes, I want to see if there will be anyone that will go to the streets to protest in favor of STF, who will go to the streets to say: 'Judge X, come back, we miss you'".³⁸

Since the beginning of Bolsonaro's term in office, groups of supporters, incited by the President himself, have promoted coordinated digital attacks against the STF to undermine institutional stability. The idea of packing or shutting down the Supreme Court or has become permanent features of the Bolsonaro camp's communication strategies. On March 14, 2019, "Folha de S. Paulo", one of Brazil's most traditional news outlets, reported that, "led by '*bolsonaristas*'³⁹, WhatsApp groups that had been deactivated after the campaign returned to operation." According to the story, "*the communities elected a common target: the Supreme Court. Photo collages call for the 'end of STF', point out 'the judge gown against the people' and call the Justices criminals.*"

The messages, according to "Folha de S. Paulo", also disseminated disinformation on the role, functioning, and members of the Court. One of the posts even stated that the Supreme Court had "*clients such as BNDES*" (the Brazilian Development Bank), and that, "*the OAB [Brazilian Bar Association] and the Judiciary were aligned with this communist mafia and drug trafficking throughout Latin America*". Another post stated "*the STF can only be overthrown with effective and massive action by the people. The government cannot get them out of there alone*"⁴⁰.

³⁸ Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UeC27gJwg-s>.

³⁹ "Bolsonarista" (sing.) is the term used to refer to those who are fiercely in favor of Jair Messias Bolsonaro. In reference to the term Trumpist (relating to Donald Trump), a Bolsonarista could be called a Bolsonarist.

⁴⁰ LIMA, Daniela. Reativados, grupos de WhatsApp bolsonaristas defendem Previdência e atacam o Supremo (In reactivated WhatsApp groups "Bolsonaristas" defend Social Security and attack the Supreme Court)

. *Folha de S. Paulo*. São Paulo, 14 de março de 2019. (Mar. 14, 2019). Available at: <https://painel.blogfolha.uol.com.br/2019/03/14/reativados-grupos-de-whatsapp-bolsonaristas-defendem-previdencia-e-atacam-o-supremo/>.

Especialmente desde o início da pandemia de COVID-19, o Supremo Tribunal Federal desempenhou um papel fundamental **em restringir o atual governo, em várias decisões**. Com várias decisões dentro do âmbito da Revisão Judicial, sendo as principais: a) Suspensão de restrições impostas em pedidos de acesso à informação durante a Pandemia (Diretas ADIs nos. 6,347, 6,351 e 6,353); b) Suspensão da campanha “Brasil não para” (ADPF nos. 668 e 669), que, seguindo a política de negação do governo federal, defendeu a flexibilização da isolamento social imposta pelos governadores estaduais; c) Decisão favorável à autonomia dos estados na implementação de políticas públicas para enfrentar a COVID-19 (ADI nº 6,341); d) Suspensão da nomeação de Alexandre Ramagem para chefe da Polícia Federal (MS nº 37,097/DF), devido a alegações de que a nomeação favoreceria ilegalmente os interesses do Presidente em investigações envolvendo seus aliados e familiares.

Em cada um desses episódios, a reação do governo Bolsonaro às derrotas judiciais acabou envolvendo ataques e ameaças às instituições, promovendo um crescente **crise político-institucional**. Algumas dessas ameaças não vieram diretamente do Presidente, mas de membros-chave de seu gabinete, incluindo membros das Forças Armadas. Por exemplo, no âmbito da Inquirição Criminal nº 4,831, o Juiz Celso de Mello, exigiu que o Ministério Público apresentasse suas opiniões sobre um pedido, feito por partidos políticos, de apreensão dos celulares de Bolsonaro e de seu filho Carlos Bolsonaro. Criticando o pedido judicial (o que simplesmente deu ao Ministério Público a oportunidade de falar sobre o assunto – uma medida típica e regular dentro da maioria dos processos no STF), o chefe do Gabinete de Segurança Institucional (GSI), o general aposentado Augusto Heleno, publicou a seguinte nota em sua rede social (Twitter):

“The President of the Republic’s Office for Institutional Security alerts the constituted authorities that such an attitude is an obvious attempt to compromise harmony among the Powers and could have unpredictable consequences for national stability.” [emphasis added]

In an interview, the then Secretary of the Ministry of Defense, General Fernando Azevedo e Silva, said the Armed Forces supported such statements.⁴¹ In this context, Gen. Augusto Heleno’s public message appears as **an attempt to intimidate and curb the exercise both of judicial power and of congressional opposition in Brazilian democracy**, preemptively raising the cost (by means of threats) for the deployment of judicial checks on the President.⁴²

On May 28, 2020, Bolsonaro, further accentuating the crisis by sharing, on his social networks, an interview conducted by a far-right law professor with the caption: “A live interview with Ives Gandra: Politicization in the STF and the punctual application of article 142”⁴³. In that interview, which is no longer available on the YouTube platform, Gandra – who, like Bolsonaro, denies that the military performed a coup in 1964⁴⁴ - defended that article 142 of the Brazilian Constitution allowed the Armed Forces to intervene “punctually”, as a “moderating power”, if the STF acted beyond its powers⁴⁵. Article 142 is taken by the legal community to mean precisely the opposite, establishing

⁴¹ JUNQUEIRA, Caio. Ministério da Defesa concorda com nota de Heleno (Ministry of Defense agrees with Heleno’s note). *CNN Brasil* (Mai. 22, 2020). Available at: <https://www.cnnbrasil.com.br/politica/forcas-armadas-concordaram-com-nota-de-heleno/>.

⁴² CARVALHO, Daniel; TEIXEIRA, Matheus. General Heleno fala em ‘consequências imprevisíveis’ se celular de Bolsonaro for apreendido (General Heleno speaks of ‘unpredictable consequences’ if Bolsonaro’s cell phone is seized). *Folha de S. Paulo* (May 22, 2020). Available at: <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2020/05/general-heleno-fala-em-consequencias-imprevisiveis-se-celular-de-bolsonaro-for-apreendido.shtml>.

⁴³ Available at: <https://twitter.com/jairbolsonaro/status/1266101269975924744?s=20>

⁴⁴ LIMA, Paulo. Para jurista, chegada dos militares ao poder em 1964 não foi golpe (For the jurist, the militaries arrival to power in 1964 was not a coup). *R7* (Mar. 31, 2019). Available at: <https://noticias.r7.com/brasil/para-jurista-chegada-dos-militares-ao-poder-em-1964-nao-foi-golpe-31032019>.

⁴⁵ BENITES, Afonso; JIMÉNEZ, Carla. Bolsonaro invoca “intervenção militar” contra o STF e flerta com golpe (Bolsonaro invokes “military intervention” against the Supreme Court and flirts with a coup). *El País*, Brasília e São Paulo (May. 28, 2020). Available at: <https://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2020-05-29/bolsonaro-invoca-intervencao-militar-contr-o-stf-e-flerta-com-golpe.html>.

the Armed Forces can only act for the purpose of “guaranteeing constitutional powers”, according to the law, and by request of the political branches.

Bolsonaro also publicly called for and encouraged demonstrations on Independence Day (September 7th), in 2021, against the STF and two specific judges in particular. Such behavior drew the attention of the other branches, with both the Chief Justice⁴⁶ and the President of the Senate⁴⁷ going public to defend the separation of powers and democratic institutions. Moreover, Bolsonaro has recurrently attacked Judge Alexandre de Moraes, who, after a request from a Senate Investigative Committee, opened an inquiry to investigate presidential statements, made in one of his speeches in his social media, association vaccines and increased risk of contracting the HIV virus.⁴⁸

So far, the Bolsonaro government has **predominantly employed informal mechanisms**⁴⁹ to attack the Supreme Court. The president fashions and disseminates an **aggressive narrative putting his supporters on the edge and against the STF, even making false claims that Judge Roberto Barroso (who was then Chief Justice of the Superior Electoral Court - TSE) defended pedophiles**⁵⁰. Bolsonaro has thus followed

⁴⁶ MENDES, Guilherme. “Ninguém fechará esta corte”, diz Fux em resposta a Bolsonaro (“Nobody will close this court”, says Fux in response to Bolsonaro). *Congresso em foco* (Sep. 08, 2021). Available at: <https://congressoemfoco.uol.com.br/justica/discurso-fe-luiz-fux-no-stf-apos-sete-de-setembro/>

⁴⁷ GARCIA, Gustavo; RODRIGUES, Mateus. Sem citar Bolsonaro, Pacheco faz declaração em vídeo para criticar 'arroubos antidemocráticos'. *GI*, Brasília (Sep. 08, 2021). Available at: <https://g1.globo.com/politica/noticia/2021/09/08/pacheco-pede-dialogo-e-diz-que-solucao-para-crise-real-nao-esta-em-arroubos-antidemocraticos.ghtml> .

⁴⁸ <https://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/justica/noticia/2021-12/alexandre-de-moraes-abre-inquerito-sobre-live-do-presidente>

⁴⁹ Threats of violence and rhetorical attacks with the aim of delegitimizing the actions of accountability institutions, especially the Federal Supreme Court and its Justices. MARONA, Marjorie; MAGALHÃES, Lucas. Guerra e Paz? O Supremo Tribunal Federal nos dois primeiros anos do governo Bolsonaro. In.: AVRITZER, Leonardo; KERCHE, Fábio; MARONA, Marjorie (orgs.). *Governo Bolsonaro: Retrocesso democrático e degradação política*. Belo Horizonte: Autentica, 2021, p. 125.

⁵⁰ “This is the Justice who defends reducing the age of criminal responsibility for statutory rape, that is, pedophilia is what he defends. Justice who defends the legality of drugs. With all these flags, he shouldn't be in the Supreme Court. He should be in Parliament. There is the proper place for each one to defend their flags.” FERRARI, Hamilton. Bolsonaro ataca Barroso e liga ministro à pedofilia. *Poder 360* (Jul. 10, 2021). Available at: <https://www.poder360.com.br/governo/bolsonaro-diz-que-barroso-defende-a-pedofilia-e-que-nao-deveria-estar-no-stf/> .

the playbook of authoritarian leaders elsewhere, raising moral panic around his opponents to make it easier to publicly attack and take measures against them.⁵¹

3.3 Use of formal mechanisms to threaten the Supreme Court (STF)

When discussing a pending Supreme Court case on budgetary proceedings which would greatly affect the government's relationship with Congress, Bolsonaro stated he had "10% of myself the Supreme Court"⁵², referring to Judge Nunes Marques. The president mentioned that Judge Marques, while in the minority, still had the means to prevent a decision to be made in that case. While the President only made two appointments so far to the court, and his influence inside the body of 11 judges is still limited, in the meantime he and his allies have used several different mechanisms to try and intimidate the court from outside.

According to the Constitution (article 52, II), Supreme Court judges can be removed through an impeachment process before the Senate. Bolsonaro has been the first president to file an impeachment petition against a Supreme Court judge – in this case, **Alexandre de Moraes**, rapporteur of several investigations involving the President and his supporters in their attacks to the Court, to the elections and to democratic institutions.⁵³ On August 20, 2021, Bolsonaro presented to the Senate an impeachment

⁵¹ LEVITSKY, Steven; ZIBLATT, Daniel. *How Democracies Die*. New York: Crown Publishing Group, 2018. p. 79.

⁵² GAYER, Eduardo. 'Hoje eu tenho 10% de mim dentro do Supremo', afirmou Bolsonaro. *O Estado de S. Paulo* (Nov. 09, 2021). Available at: <https://politica.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,hoje-eu-tenho-10-de-mim-dentro-do-supremo-afirmou-bolsonaro,70003894017>.

⁵³ A) Inquiry (n° 4831) to investigate the alleged interference of the President of the Republic in the Federal Police, as a result of the accusations made by the former Justice Secretary, Sérgio Moro. The Inquiry had been suspended by Justice Marco Aurélio, in September 2020, but was resumed by Alexandre de Moraes's order on July 30, 2021.

B) "Fake news" Inquiry (Inquiry n° 4781/2019), initiated in order to investigate the existence of fraudulent news, slanderous denunciations and threats against the Court, its Justices and their family members, instituted by Ordinance n° 69/2019 of the Presidency of the Supreme Court (Justice Dias Toffoli). On August 4, 2021, Justice Alexandre de Moraes approved the request – made by the President of TSE, Justice Luís Roberto Barroso, and unanimously approved by the other TSE Justices – to include Bolsonaro as investigated for attacks on electronic voting machines and the electoral system.

C) Inquiry investigating alleged malfeasance of the President of the Republic in the case of the Covaxin Vaccine, from the request of the Federal Prosecutor General's Office, as a result of complaints filed with the Covid-19 Pandemic Parliamentary Committee of Investigation (CPI). This case becomes peculiar because the Senators from the CPI itself asked the Supreme Court to open of this investigation. However,

petition alleging that Moraes had behaved in a manner incompatible with the judicial decorum, but it was summarily dismissed by the President of the Senate, without even being sent to a commission for preliminary analysis, due to the charges manifestly lacking in substance.⁵⁴

In 2021, political allies of Bolsonaro began to mobilize support, in Congress, to change the mandatory age of retirement for Supreme Court judges, from 75 to 70 years.⁵⁵ Constitutional Amendment Proposal (PEC) n° 159/2019⁵⁶ was presented by Representative Bia Kicis, one of the main government allies in the Chamber of Deputies. By changing the retirement age to 70 (seventy) years, if applied to the sitting judges, this proposal could give the current President of the Republic the possibility to nominate two more Justices for the vacancies that would be made immediately available (as Judges

as the STF's provocation for this procedure must come from the Federal Prosecutor General (PGR), Justice Rosa Weber required PGR to speak out about it, but he asked the Supreme Court to wait for the completion of the CPI's work. However, Justice Rosa Weber denied the request and ordered the PGR to comment on the Senators' action. There is currently a strong criticism on PGR's actions in the sense of being silent and colluding with the President's actions.

D) Furthermore, Alexandre de Moraes, on August 12, 2021, also accepted TSE's request to investigate the President of the Republic for alleged data leakage in a confidential investigation carried out by the Federal Police, regarding the hacker attack suffered by the Electoral Court in 2018. In addition, the Justice ordered the removal of the Federal Police Delegate, Victor Neves Feitosa Campo, who was conducting the police investigation, and the immediate initiation of disciplinary proceedings to investigate the secrets propagation.

E) After ordering the dismissal of the Inquiry that investigated anti-democratic acts in 2020, Justice Alexandre de Moraes authorized the opening of a new investigation of acts against democracy ("Digital Militia" Inquiry). It was a way of maintaining the examination, despite the dismissal request made by PGR. This new Inquiry aims to assess whether the structures of the State (Federal Executive Branch and Federal Legislative Branch) were used to propagate attacks on institutions on social networks. According to Moraes, in the investigation of the democratic acts, several evidence appeared that parliamentarians, such as Eduardo Bolsonaro (one of the President's sons), and Bia Kicis (who has privileged jurisdiction in STF) were involved, and that one of the group's aims was to obtain public funds for the propagation of undemocratic acts.

⁵⁴ JUNQUEIRA, Caio. Pacheco rejeita pedido de impeachment contra Alexandre de Moraes (Pacheco rejects petition for impeachment against Alexandre de Moraes). *CNN Brasil*. (Aug. 25, 2021). Available at: <https://www.cnnbrasil.com.br/politica/pacheco-rejeita-pedido-de-impeachment-contra-alexandre-de-moraes/>.

⁵⁵ In 2015, the Constitution was amended to change the mandatory retirement age from 70 to 75 (EC n.88/2015; the full text of the constitutional amendment is available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/constituicao/emendas/emc/emc88.htm).

⁵⁶ BOGHOSIAN, Bruno. Aliados de Bolsonaro tentam dar um golpe do pijama no Supremo. *Folha de S. Paulo*. (Fev. 13, 2019). Available at: <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/colunas/bruno-boghossian/2019/02/aliados-de-bolsonaro-tentam-dar-um-golpe-do-pijama-no-supremo.shtml> The full content and processing of PEC n° 159/2019 are available at: <https://www.camara.leg.br/proposicoesWeb/fichadetramitacao?idProposicao=2223878>.

Ricardo Lewandowski and Rosa Weber would be forced to retire. This maneuver would have given Bolsonaro the chance to appoint four judges to the Court.

Lowering retirement ages for judges is a well-known strategy for authoritarian leaders and governments to subdue otherwise independent courts. Indeed, in interviews, the congresswoman confirmed the amendment's goal of **reshaping the STF according to the ideology of the current government**. According to Kicis, lowering the mandatory retirement age of the Supreme Court Justices (a well-known manipulation that other authoritarian populist leaders have repeatedly used) could make the court more "balanced", as, according to her, current judges are "aligned with agendas that are at odds with the will of the majority of the people as demonstrated at the electoral polls". Thus, with Bolsonaro's new appointments, there would be "*a Court that is more liberal in economic matters, and more conservative in cultural [costumes] matters. The most important thing is to stop judicial activism. We do not want judges that decide according to their consciences, but that decide according to the law and the Constitution.*"⁵⁷

While such formal measures have not yet succeeded, they have failed due to Bolsonaro's own difficulties in his relationship with Congress – not because of any kind of self-restraint on these actors' part. Bolsonaro and his allies in Congress have made their plans for the STF and the courts very clear, and will most likely return to them in case they are victorious in the 2022 elections.

3.4 Attacks on Electoral System and the Electoral Court (TSE)

Bolsonaro's attacks on the Judiciary are not limited to STF. The Electoral Justice system has also been a target. In Brazil, the Electoral courts regulate, implement, and oversee the electoral process, while also adjudicating disputes concerning the application of electoral laws and procedures. Following the protocol of other authoritarian leaders, Bolsonaro has invested heavily in **delegitimizing the elections themselves**. He has

⁵⁷ BERALDO, Paulo. Deputada que propõe revogar 'PEC da Bengala' quer Supremo mais 'liberal e conservador'. *O Estado de S. Paulo* (Fev. 13, 2019). Available at: <https://politica.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,deputada-que-propoe-revogar-pec-da-bengala-quer-supremo-mais-liberal-e-conservador,70002719503> .

repeatedly claimed – without ever providing any piece of evidence - that the electronic ballot system the country adopted in the 90s is open to deliberate manipulation, and that there were actual frauds in the 2014 and 2018 elections. Bolsonaro has supported Constitutional Amendment Proposal (PEC) nº 135/2019, proposed by Bia Kicis, which attempted to establish that the electronic ballots should print an individual receipt for each vote cast. Before Congress had voted on the PEC, Bolsonaro had threatened electoral institutions and mobilized his followers to rally around the PEC by saying that, without the “print receipt” for each vote, there would be no elections.⁵⁸ The Chamber of Deputies ultimately rejected the proposal on August 10, 2021.⁵⁹

On the same date, the President of the Republic scheduled a commemorative military parade on the Ministries Esplanade, which was seen as an attempt to intimidate the Legislative and Judiciary branches. Bolsonaro posted on his social networks a video showing a military jeep passing in front of STF – an image charged with symbolism in the current political context in Brazil.⁶⁰

Bolsonaro’s systematic attacks on the electoral procedure are part of a broader strategy to undermining credibility in the electoral courts and in the elections themselves. While he had questioned the electronic ballots even after his electoral victory in 2018 (claiming that only a manipulation of the results had prevented him from winning in first round), Bolsonaro’s rhetoric against the Electoral Justice escalated abruptly in 2021⁶¹. This can be explained by two concurrent circumstances. On the one hand, Bolsonaro paid close attention to Trump’s electoral offensive and sowing of distrust in the democratic

⁵⁸ <https://www.cnnbrasil.com.br/politica/se-nao-tiver-voto-impresso-nao-tera-eleicao-diz-bolsonaro-a-barroso/>

⁵⁹ CRISTALDO, Heloisa. Câmara dos Deputados rejeita PEC do Voto Impresso. Agência Brasil. 2021. (Nov. 13, 2021). Available at: <https://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/politica/noticia/2021-08/camara-dos-deputados-rejeita-pec-do-voto-impresso> .

⁶⁰ CNN BRASIL. Bolsonaro posta vídeo com imagem simbólica de jipe militar em frente ao STF. 2021. (Nov. 13, 2021). Available at: <https://www.cnnbrasil.com.br/politica/bolsonaro-posta-video-com-imagem-simbolica-de-jipe-militar-em-frente-ao-stf/> .

⁶¹ BOADLE, Anthony. Brazil's Bolsonaro escalates rhetoric over electoral fraud. *Reuters*. (Jul. 30, 2021). Available at: <https://www.reuters.com/world/americas/brazils-bolsonaro-escalates-rhetoric-over-electoral-fraud-2021-07-29/>

institutions⁶². On the other hand, polls began to show Bolsonaro losing support among voters, with former President Lula appearing higher than the current president in the respondents' preferences. If Trump's case provided the blueprint, worsening electoral prospects provided the motive for Bolsonaro's increasingly aggressive preemptive campaign against electronic ballots.

When asked to provide concrete evidence of the alleged vulnerabilities or frauds, the President confessed that "*there's no way of proving whether the elections were rigged or not.*"⁶³ However, in a public broadcast once again claiming that the elections were open to manipulation, Bolsonaro disclosed documents, obtained from Brazilian police intelligence, on ongoing investigations on a previous hacker attack to the Superior Electoral Tribunal in 2018⁶⁴. Despite the police report's conclusion that there the hacking attempt did not compromise the safety of the voting system, the publicization of the documents fueled discourse against trust in the electoral procedures and made public information that, according to judicial authorities, encouraged and facilitated attacks on the electronic voting systems.⁶⁵

Seeking to account for these charges, the TSE announced a new Commission on Electoral Transparency, including one member that would represent the Armed Forces⁶⁶. Considering public questions and recurring doubts on the system that had been fueled by years of disinformation, this Commission would ideally allow for relevant institutional and social actors to experience and test the safety of the system by themselves, ultimately

⁶² ÁLVARES, Débora; JEANTET, Diane. Taking Trump's cue, Bolsonaro clouds vote with fraud claims. *The Associated Press*. (Jul. 9, 2021). Available at: <https://apnews.com/article/election-2020-campaign-2016-31d9ab971742b99c666c23143589ae56>

⁶³ KOCH, Juliana; WANG, Philip; PEDROSO, Rodrigo. Brazil's Jair Bolsonaro will be investigated over unproven voter fraud claims. *CNN*. (Aug. 5, 2021). Available at: <https://edition.cnn.com/2021/08/05/americas/brazil-bolsonaro-fraud-supreme-court-investigation-intl/index.html>

⁶⁴ MARCELLO, Maria Carolina. Brazil's Supreme Court judge opens probe into Bolsonaro over investigation leak. *Reuters*. (Aug. 12, 2021). Available at: <https://www.reuters.com/world/americas/brazils-supreme-court-judge-opens-probe-into-bolsonaro-over-investigation-leak-2021-08-12/>

⁶⁵ <https://g1.globo.com/jornal-nacional/noticia/2022/02/01/barroso-diz-que-informacoes-de-inquerito-vazadas-por-bolsonaro-auxiliam-milicias-digitaes-e-hackers.ghtml>

⁶⁶ FERRARI, Murillo; GUIMARÃES, Neila. TSE cria comissão da transparência e observatório das eleições. *CNN*. (Sep. 9, 2021). Available at: <https://www.cnnbrasil.com.br/politica/tse-cria-comissao-da-transparencia-e-observatorio-das-eleicoes/>

endorsing its legitimacy. However, the idea of the Commission quickly backfired. Representatives of the Armed Forces began to recurrently pose baseless inquiries to the Commission, creating more confusion and sowing distrust in the electoral procedure. In response, the TSE recently published an extensive document explaining or refuting every point raised by the generals involved in the Commission⁶⁷.

The Brazilian context reveals how electoral trust can be influenced and undermined by the actions of other sources of public authority. In this stance, the military support gained by the President has shifted the public opinion regarding the integrity of the electoral system⁶⁸. The Bolsonaro camp made the invitation for the Armed Forces to participate in the electoral procedure to mean that the ultimate integrity of the elections depended on military approval and participation in the process. The mere fact that the military posed questions to the TSE was seen as implying that there were indeed vulnerabilities, and Bolsonaro exploited this idea to justify his discourse against accepting a possible defeat at the ballot⁶⁹.

The Brazilian Electoral Courts are under attack by Bolsonaro, who has elected as his main targets the electronic voting system and the judges that protect its integrity. In this quest, Bolsonaro has found allies both at home (especially in sectors of the Armed Forces who are actively participating in his government), but also abroad. Indeed, electoral authorities are also concerned with Bolsonaro's attempts to strengthen ties with other authoritarian leaders, and/or to find international allies in his attempt to undermine

⁶⁷ ROCHA, Marcelo. TSE torna pública resposta aos militares sobre urna eletrônica após insinuações de Bolsonaro. *Folha de São Paulo*. (Feb. 16, 2022). Available at: <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2022/02/tse-torna-publica-resposta-aos-militares-sobre-urna-eletronica-apos-insinuacoes-de-bolsonaro.shtml>

⁶⁸ Eleições 2022: o papel e as polêmicas dos militares na votação para a Presidência. *BBC Brasil* (May 11 2022) Available at : <https://www.bbc.com/portuguese/brasil-61402480> SERAPIÃO, Fábio. **Ofensiva contra urnas envolveu Abin e generais Ramos e Heleno, aponta PF.** *Folha* (May, 9 2022). Available at: https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2022/05/ofensiva-contras-urnas-envolveu-abin-e-generais-ramos-e-helena-aponta-pf.shtml?utm_source=whatsapp&utm_medium=social&utm_campaign=compwa CRUZ, Isabela. O papel dos militares nas investidas contra o processo eleitoral (Apr. 25 2022) Available at: <https://www.nexojournal.com.br/expresso/2022/04/25/O-papel-dos-militares-nas-investidas-contras-o-processo-eleitoral>

⁶⁹ MOURA, Rafael Moraes. TSE critica Bolsonaro e divulga respostas ao Exército sobre urnas. *Veja*. (feb. 16, 2022). Available at: <https://veja.abril.com.br/politica/tse-critica-bolsonaro-e-divulga-respostas-ao-exercito-sobre-urnas/>

the legitimacy of the upcoming elections. Particularly relevant has been the shift seen in international affairs after Trump's defeat in his reelection campaign⁷⁰. The Brazilian Superior Electoral Tribunal has expressed concerns over possible cyberattacks coming from Russia⁷¹, considering cybersecurity was part of the agenda in the meeting between Bolsonaro and Putin⁷².

3.5 The celebration of Brazil's independence and the strong coup speech

In the weeks leading up to September 7th, 2021, the country experienced moments of great tension. There were legitimate concerns of an **open coup d'état**⁷³. Bolsonaro spent weeks mobilizing followers with anti-Court statements, often directed specifically at two Supreme Court judges, Alexandre de Moraes and Luis Roberto Barroso. On the night of September 6, 2021, protesters managed to invade the Ministries Esplanade, where the Supreme Court is physically located, but were later removed by the police⁷⁴.

Speaking to his supporters at the demonstrations, **Bolsonaro uttered a series of threats to the Supreme Court and specific individual judges, extolled disobedience to judicial decisions. Moreover, he once again presented unsubstantiated claims about frauds in the Brazilian electoral system, focusing on the Superior Electoral Court (“I cannot take part in a farce like this one sponsored by the president of the**

⁷⁰ MCCOY, Terrence. Brazil's Bolsonaro embraced the U.S. under Trump. Now he's in 'solidarity' with Russia. *The Washington Post*. (Feb. 16, 2022). Available at: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2022/02/16/bolsonaro-putin-brazil-russia-ukraine/>

⁷¹ AMADO, Guilherme; MARCHESINI, Lucas. Novo presidente do TSE, Fachin estuda ataques russos às eleições. *Metrópoles*. (Feb. 17, 2022). Available at: <https://www.metropoles.com/colunas/guilherme-amado/novo-presidente-do-tse-fachin-estuda-ataques-russos-as-eleicoes>

⁷² SOARES, Jussara. Bolsonaro vai discutir segurança cibernética e ciberdefesa com Putin na Rússia, conhecida por hackers e ataques digitais. *O Globo*. (Feb. 15, 2022). Available at: <https://oglobo.globo.com/mundo/bolsonaro-vai-discutir-seguranca-cibernetica-ciberdefesa-com-putin-na-russia-conhecida-por-hackers-ataques-digitais-25395074>

⁷³ GALF, Renata. O que foi o 7 de Setembro bolsonarista? Cientistas políticos apontam intenções do ato e suas consequências. *Folha* (sep. 07, 2021) Available at: <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2021/09/o-que-foi-o-7-de-setembro-bolsonarista-cientistas-politicos-apontam-intencoes-do-ato-e-suas-consequencias.shtml>. As ameaças de Bolsonaro em discursos no 7 de Setembro. *BBC Brasil*. (sep. 07, 2021) Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/portuguese/brasil-58479785>.

⁷⁴ 7 de setembro: PM permitiu que bolsonaristas furassem bloqueio em Brasília? (September 7: did the military police allow “bolsonaristas” to break blockade in Brasília?). *BBC*. (sep. 07, 2021) Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/portuguese/brasil-58466098>.

Superior Electoral Court”, said the President during the demonstrations).⁷⁵ In the following days, Bolsonaro issued a statement in which he seemed to backtrack, denying any intent to insult other authorities and apologizing for the "intemperate" words.⁷⁶ However, shortly after, the President resumed his criticisms of the electoral system and inveighed against the Court.⁷⁷

The international media showed concern regarding the anti-democratic demonstrations that gathered in Brazil. “*El País*” stated that “*El presidente de Brasil reitera sus ataques a la separación de poderes en la marcha de Brasilia antes de viajar a São Paulo para otra manifestación en este Día de la Independencia*”.⁷⁸ « *Le Monde* » declared that “*Sur fond de menaces de coup d’Etat, des dizaines de milliers de manifestants ont défilé pour défendre le président brésilien, affaibli par des enquêtes judiciaires et des crises à répétition*”.⁷⁹ « *The Wall Street Journal* ” stated that “*Backers*

⁷⁵ The TSE’s presidente, Luis Roberto Barroso, issued an official statement rebuking the claims Bolsonaro made during the protests. “PRONUNCIAMENTO DO MINISTRO LUÍS ROBERTO BARROSO NA ABERTURA DA SESSÃO DO TRIBUNAL SUPERIOR ELEITORAL DE 9.09.2021”, available at https://politica.estadao.com.br/blogs/fausto-macedo/wp-content/uploads/sites/41/2021/09/pronunciamentonaaberturadasessao9set2021_090920215644.pdf.

⁷⁶ Relembre o que Bolsonaro disse sobre Alexandre de Moraes no 7 de Setembro (Remember what Bolsonaro said about Alexandre de Moraes on September 7). *GI*. (Sep. 09, 2021) Available at: <https://g1.globo.com/sp/sao-paulo/noticia/2021/09/09/relembre-o-que-disse-bolsonaro-sobre-alexandre-de-moraes-no-7-de-setembro.ghtml>.

⁷⁷ PORTO, Douglas. Bolsonaro volta a atacar ministros do STF: “quem pensam que são?” (Bolsonaro resumes his attacks against STF’s Justices: “who do they think they are?”). *CNN Brasil*. (Jan. 12, 2022). Available at: <https://www.cnnbrasil.com.br/politica/bolsonaro-volta-a-atacar-ministros-do-stf-quem-pensam-que-sao/>.

FILARDI, Isabela. Novo ataque de Bolsonaro ao STF era questão de tempo, dizem ministros da Corte (A new attack against the STF by Bolsonaro was a matter of time, according to Court’s Justices). *CNN Brasil*. (Dec. 09, 2021). Available at: <https://www.cnnbrasil.com.br/politica/novo-ataque-de-bolsonaro-ao-stf-era-questao-de-tempo-dizem-ministros-da-corte/>.

⁷⁸ GORTÁZAR, Naiara G. Bolsonaro amenaza con poner firme al Tribunal Supremo de Brasil en una movilización multitudinaria (Bolsonaro seriously threatens the Supreme Court of Brazil in a massive mobilization). *EL PAÍS*. (Sep. 07, 2021). Available at: <https://elpais.com/internacional/2021-09-07/bolsonaro-amenaza-con-poner-firme-al-tribunal-supremo-de-brasil-en-una-movilizacion-multitudinaria.html>.

⁷⁹ MEYERFELD, Bruno. Pour la fête nationale du Brésil, Bolsonaro parvient à mobiliser large et menace un peu plus la démocratie (For the National Day of Brazil, Bolsonaro manages to mobilize widely and threatens democracy a little more). *Le Monde*. (Sep. 08, 2021) Available at: https://www.lemonde.fr/international/article/2021/09/08/accule-jair-bolsonaro-parvient-a-mobiliser-large-et-menace-un-peu-plus-la-democratie_6093818_3210.html.

turned out in more than 100 cities to disparage right-wing leader's foes in government and courts, calling to jail communists and close Congress".⁸⁰

3.6 The clash between STF and Bolsonaro over the case of Rep. Daniel Silveira

More recently, the Court convicted Representative Daniel Silveira, a political ally of Bolsonaro, for crimes involving threats and encouragement of physical violence against the judges, as well as encouraging the violent abolition of democracy.⁸¹ Silveira was sentenced to 8 years and 9 months of reclusion; one of the two Bolsonaro's appointees in the STF dissented and acquitted him of all charges, and the other one convicted Silveira only for the threats to the judges (a 2-years sentence). In the day following the decision, President Bolsonaro granted an individual pardon to Silveira.⁸² While such pardons are in principle within the scope of executive power in Brazilian law, the fact that this (unprecedented) use of executive power was employed in favor of someone convicted for attacking the STF judges is also part of broader patterns of presidential attacks on the judiciary. Indeed, Bolsonaro's pardon renewed online attacks against the Brazilian Judiciary and against Justices of the STF and the Electoral Court.⁸³

4 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Judicial independence is an essential condition for the democratic rule of law, as it stands as a fundamental value of the rule of law and of constitutionalism. Its guarantee is equally fundamental to meet the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human

⁸⁰ PEARSON, Samantha; MAGALHAES, Luciana. Brazilian President Bolsonaro Rallies Supporters Ahead of Re-Election Campaign. *The wall street journal*. 2021. (Nov. 13, 2021). Available at: <https://www.wsj.com/articles/brazilian-president-bolsonaro-rallies-supporters-as-he-prepares-for-reelection-campaign-11631047586> .

⁸¹ MENDES, Guilherme; RIBEIRO, Gustavo. Supreme Court threatens land lawmaker nine years in jail. *The Brazilian Report*. (Apr. 21, 2022). Available at: <https://brazilian.report/power/2022/04/21/supreme-court-threats-daniel-silveira/>.

⁸² SLATTERY, Gram; PULICE, Carolina. Brazil's Bolsonaro pardons political ally, snubbing Supreme Court. *Reuters*. (Apr. 21, 2022). Available at: <https://www.reuters.com/world/americas/brazils-bolsonaro-pardons-political-ally-snubbing-supreme-court-2022-04-21/>.

⁸³ BOADLE, Anthony. Analysis: Bolsonaro energizes base with latest Supreme Court clash. *Reuters*. (Apr. 27, 2022). Available at: <https://www.reuters.com/world/americas/bolsonaro-energizes-base-with-latest-supreme-court-clash-2022-04-27/>.

Rights, which states in its article 10, that “(...) everyone is entitled to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal.”

Along with the Universal Declaration, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, similarly, in its article 14 remarks the independence and impartiality of the judiciary when it states “everyone shall be entitled to a fair and public hearing by a competent, independent and impartial tribunal established by law”. This content is also present in several other normative documents, such as the General Assembly Basic Principles on the Independence of the Judiciary, endorsed by General Assembly resolutions 40/32 of 29 November 1985 and 40/146 of 13 December 1985, which highlights the importance of protecting the independence and impartiality of the judiciary, “in accordance with the law, without any restrictions, improper influences, inducements, pressures, threats or interferences, direct or indirect, from any quarter or for any reason.” (item 2) and “inappropriate and unwarranted interference in the judicial process” (according to item 4), the Declaration of the High-level Meeting of the General Assembly on the Rule of Law at the National and International Levels (General Assembly resolution 67/1 of 24 September 2012), which reinforce the integrity, independence and impartiality according to article 13, and also points to the importance of the judicial institution as a whole in building trust and as a fundamental part of keeping the peace by maintaining the rule of law (article 18).

Beyond the normative *corpus* of the General Assembly and the treaties already mentioned, the principles of independence, impartiality and integrity of the judicial system are also present in numerous resolutions issued by the Human Rights Council, e. g. the recent Human Rights Council resolution 44/9 of 17 July 2020, which acknowledges not only judges as part of the judiciary but extends to Prosecutors and lawyers the protection from interference, threats and harassment; the Human Rights Council resolution 25/4 of 27 March 2014 (Integrity of the Judicial System), which reiterates the article 14 of International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; and, finally, the Economic and Social Council adopted the “Bangalore Principles” through Resolution 2006/23 : Strengthening Basic Principles of Judicial Conduct, which emphasizes six core principles that are intended to regulate judicial conduct and also provide a framework to

the legislative and executive on how to understand and support the functions of the judiciary. The Principles are: Independence (Value 1), Impartiality (Value 2), Integrity (Value 3), Property (Value 4, serving as guidance on how to protect the authority of the institution), Equality (Value 5) and Competence and Diligence (Value 6).

Lastly, the right to be tried by an independent court is provided for in art. 8, § 1, of the American Convention on Human Rights, in art. 6, § 1, of the European Convention on Human Rights, and in art. 7, §1 of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, being present in every regional system of human rights, making core values shared by the international community way beyond the United Nations's system. Furthermore, it is imperative to highlight that those regional systems all have thoroughly reaffirmed in their jurisprudence the centrality of judicial independence as a core principle to safeguard democracy.

It is precisely because it is a right and a condition for the exercise of human rights at national, regional and international levels, that its guarantee is the duty of the State and the duty of all governmental and other institutions, as provided for in the United Nations Basic Principles on the Independence of the Judiciary.

Contemporary authoritarian leaders like Bolsonaro often attack democratic institutions behind a veneer of legality. They rise to power through elections and co-exist with the basic accountability institutions of liberal democracy, such as the electoral system, the press, and the other branches. However, these leaders use the very instruments of liberal constitutionalism to undermine its foundations when the opportunities arise. They constantly mobilizing followers against other institutions that would check their power or protect competitive elections which can lead to these leaders' electoral defeat. Their first major target is the independence of the Judiciary, especially the Supreme and Constitutional Courts. The practices coming from countries like Hungary, Poland and Venezuela are already internationally known. In Brazil, because of the double role played by the STF judges (who are also part of the TSE), it is no surprise that Bolsonaro's attacks have been so systematic.

Jair M. Bolsonaro has given ample evidence of his autocratic tendencies. Even though he is still generally constrained by institutions in the short run, he has made clear his intent to dismantle these checks on his power – be them electoral or judicial. Bolsonaro attacks the judiciary; questions the legitimacy of elections; promotes subtle harassment of political opponents by opening administrative proceedings and inquiries against them; and, in the name of a pretended majority democracy, inflames the people against the institutions. In a recent episode, Bolsonaro egged his supporters on claiming that “we don’t have clean elections” and that he wants “every good citizen to have a gun in order to resist”.⁸⁴

Regarding the Judiciary, Bolsonaro and his allies build a narrative that seeks to delegitimize the Court before the population, inciting people against the institution. Threats of violence and military interruptions of the democratic and separation of powers arrangements; incitement to violence; expressing the desire to pack the Court with his allies; threats to disobey judicial decisions, and seeking his supporters’ approval to do so; targeting and trying to impeach judges that the government presents as enemies. These are all part of a *modus operandi* of gradual weakening of the judicial capacity to impose checks on Bolsonaro – and to protect the free, fair, and competitive elections in which the current incumbent might be defeated.

The institutional war caused by Bolsonaro undermines fundamental guarantees for the judicial role in a democracy under the rule of law. Beyond the avalanche of disinformation promoted by government officials, the President has explicitly told his supporters that “[the STF judges can] only be overthrown with effective and massive action by the people” and “the government cannot get [the STF judges] out of there alone”⁸⁵. He has also said that STF judges ruling in favor of former President Lula’s

⁸⁴ RODRIGUES, Henrique. Bolsonaro sobe tom: “Eleições não têm resultado limpo” e “Quero todos armados” (Bolsonaro raises the tone: “Elections do not have a clean result” and “I want everybody armed”). *Fórum*. (Mai 11, 2022). Available at: <https://revistaforum.com.br/politica/2022/5/11/bolsonaro-sobe-tom-eleies-no-tm-resultado-limpo-quero-todos-armados-116236.html>

⁸⁵TUROLLO JR, Reynaldo. Toffoli abre inquérito para apurar fake news e ameaças contra ministros do STF. *Folha* (March 14,2019). Available at: <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2019/03/toffoli-abre-inquerito-para-apurar-fake-news-e-ameacas-contr-ministros-do-stf.shtml>

criminal appeals were deliberately doing it so as to empower Bolsonaro's current main contender in the electoral race.

Such longstanding patterns of political mobilization against the courts are a clear threat to the whole international normative *corpus* that protects judicial independence from undue external interference (as General Assembly resolutions 40/32 of 29 November 1985 and 40/146 of 13 December 1985 states), as it aims to submit the Supreme Court to the influence of the executive, as Bolsonaro capitalizes popular dissatisfaction with the political establishment and redirects it to the judiciary; at the same, as it happened during the pandemic, disinformation spread in this fashion allows the government to avoid responsibility for its actions during the pandemic, blaming instead the Court and other institutions. There were also egregious, false claims made regarding individual judges, such as when Bolsonaro said that Judge Barroso defended pedophiles.

Fostering a permanent institutional crisis has been Bolsonaro's strategy to prevent judicial and electoral checks on his power, creating distrust and damaging institutional legitimacy in ways that linger well after the 2022 elections. Bolsonaro's attempts to disrupt democracy and judicial independence and impartiality have made it more acceptable, to many of his followers, to directly attack the Court. Even if the current administration is defeated at the ballots, measures to fight the attacks on the judiciary must be taken, as the narratives and the influence of the government will most surely endure the election.

Those who believe that democracy in Brazil is currently sufficiently guaranteed and protected, and that institutions are in perfect working order are wrong. It is not necessarily easy to see when the line between democracy and dictatorship has been crossed, and Brazil might be crossing them in the next few months, as Bolsonaro both participates in the electoral campaign and attack institutions so as immunize himself against electoral and judicial limits to his power.

5 REQUESTS

In light of the above, we respectfully request that you undertake all appropriate measures to investigate this complaint, in accordance with the terms of your mandate as United Nations Special Rapporteur on Independence of Judges and Lawyers, especially in order to:

1. Conduct an official visit to the Brazilian State, to map the current/recent situation of attacks on judicial independence, meeting with relevant judicial actors, mainly the Brazilian Superior Electoral Court (TSE) and the Brazilian Supreme Court (STF), in addition to hearing members of civil society;

2. Request that the Brazilian Government provide information on measures it has adopted regarding the attacks on democratic and judicial institutions, including the ones that have been directly promoted or perpetrated by the President and other government officials;

3. Issue a press release at the beginning of the visit, holding a subsequent press conference at the end, to present preliminary conclusions and recommendations based on what has been observed, given the urgency of the threat to judicial independence described in this document, which has the capacity to put in jeopardy our democratic continuity considering the upcoming 2022 elections.





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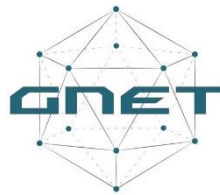
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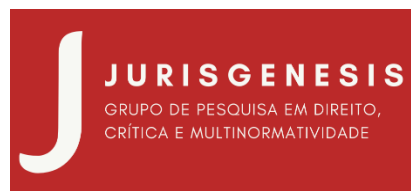


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APPENDIX - TABLE OF NEWS

TITLE (TRANSLATED)	ORIGINAL LINK	ALTERNATIVE IN ENGLISH
Social networks take down Bolsonaro posts for lying about the Covid vaccine	https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/internacional/en/brazil/2021/10/social-networks-take-down-bolsonaro-posts-for-lying-about-the-covid-vaccine.shtml	
Bolsonaro tenta intimidar Anvisa por vacina para crianças (<i>Bolsonaro tries to intimidate Anvisa for children's vaccination</i>)	https://noticias.uol.com.br/ultimas-noticias/ansa/2021/12/17/bolsonaro-tenta-intimidar-anvisa-por-vacina-para-criancas.htm	Brazil health agency clashes with Bolsonaro over COVID-19 vaccine decision https://www.reuters.com/article/health-coronavirus-anvisa-idUSL1N2T21RD
Ministro da Saúde fará audiência pública para avaliar vacina em crianças (<i>Health Secretary will hold public hearing to evaluate children's vaccination</i>)	https://www.cnnbrasil.com.br/saude/ministro-fara-audiencia-publica-para-avaliar-vacina-em-criancas/	Child vaccination: decision will be subject to public consultation https://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/en/saude/noticia/2021-12/child-vaccination-decision-will-be-subject-public-consultation-and-hearing
Brasil: Revisão Secreta da política de direitos humanos (<i>Brazil: Secret Review of Key Human Rights Policy</i>)	https://www.hrw.org/pt/news/2021/10/29/380271	Brazil: Secret Review of Key Human Rights Policy https://www.hrw.org/news/2021/10/29/brazil-secret-review-key-human-rights-policy
Brasil: Informações oficiais mostram muitas paralisadas na Amazônia (<i>Brazil's Own Data Shows Amazon Fines Unenforced</i>)	https://www.hrw.org/pt/news/2020/05/22/375153	Brazil's Own Data Shows Amazon Fines Unenforced https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/05/22/brazils-own-data-shows-amazon-fines-unenforced
Brasil: Bolsonaro ameaça pilares da democracia (<i>Brazil: Bolsonaro Threatens Democratic Rule</i>)	https://www.hrw.org/pt/news/2021/09/15/379911	Brazil: Bolsonaro Threatens Democratic Rule https://www.hrw.org/news/2021/09/15/brazil-bolsonaro-threatens-democratic-rule
Bolsonaro volta a participar de atos contra congresso e STF (<i>Bolsonaro participates again in demonstrations against the Congress and Supreme Court</i>)	https://congressoemfoco.uol.com.br/area/governo/bolsonaro-volta-a-participar-atos-contra-congresso-e-stf/	An Isolated Bolsonaro Calls for Pro-Government Demonstrations on September 7 https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/internacional/en/brazil/2021/08/an-isolated-bolsonaro-calls-for-pro-government-demonstrations-on-september-7.shtml

TITLE (<i>TRANSLATED</i>)	ORIGINAL LINK	ALTERNATIVE IN ENGLISH
<p>Bolsonaro diz que vai indicar ministro 'terrivelmente evangélico' para o STF <i>(Bolsonaro affirms he will nominate a "terribly evangelical" Justice for the Supreme Court)</i></p>	<p>https://g1.globo.com/politica/noticia/2019/07/10/bolsonaro-diz-que-vai-indicar-ministro-terrivelmente-evangelico-para-o-stf.ghtml</p>	
<p>#Verificamos: É falso que STF afastou Bolsonaro do controle de ações estratégicas contra pandemia de Covid-19 <i>(#Wecheckedit: It is false that the Supreme Court hampered Bolsonaro's control of strategic actions against the Covid-19 pandemic)</i></p>	<p>https://piaui.folha.uol.com.br/lu/pa/2020/07/01/verificamos-stf-bolsonaro-covid/</p>	
<p>Bolsonaro diz ser inacreditável o que acontece no STF e apoiadores pedem fechamento <i>(Bolsonaro says it is unbelievable what happens in the Supreme Court and his supporters call for its shutdown)</i></p>	<p>https://politica.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,bolsonaro-diz-ser-inacreditavel-o-que-acontece-no-stf-e-apoiadores-pedem-fechamento,70003759872</p>	
<p>Bolsonaro volta a apoiar ato antidemocrático contra o STF e o Congresso, em Brasília <i>(Again, Bolsonaro supports anti-democratic demonstrations against Congress in Brasília)</i></p>	<p>https://g1.globo.com/fantastico/noticia/2020/05/03/bolsonaro-volta-a-apoiar-ato-antidemocratico-contra-o-stf-e-o-congresso-em-brasilia.ghtml</p>	<p>Bolsonaro Supports Protest against Supreme Court and Congress https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/internacional/en/brazil/2020/05/bolsonaro-supports-protest-against-supreme-court-and-congress.shtml</p>
<p>7 de setembro: PM permitiu que bolsonaristas furassem bloqueio em Brasília? <i>(September 7: Did the military police allow "Bolsonaristas" to break blockade in Brasília?)</i></p>	<p>https://www.bbc.com/portugues/e/brasil-58466098</p>	
<p>Relembre o que Bolsonaro disse sobre Alexandre de Moraes no 7 de Setembro <i>(Remember what Bolsonaro said about Alexandre de Moraes on September 7)</i></p>	<p>https://g1.globo.com/sp/sao-paulo/noticia/2021/09/09/relembre-o-que-disse-bolsonaro-sobre-alexandre-de-moraes-no-7-de-setembro.ghtml .</p>	

TITLE (<i>TRANSLATED</i>)	ORIGINAL LINK	ALTERNATIVE IN ENGLISH
Bolsonaro afirma que não se pode falar em Poder vitorioso após atos de 7 de Setembro <i>(Bolsonaro says it is not possible to talk about a victorious power after the September 7 demonstrations)</i>	https://oglobo.globo.com/politica/bolsonaro-afirma-que-nao-se-pode-falar-em-poder-vitorioso-apos-atos-de-7-de-setembro-25193807	
Russia has been meddling in foreign elections for decades. Has it made a difference?	https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2018/01/05/russia-has-been-meddling-in-foreign-elections-for-decades-has-it-made-a-difference/	
Russia accused of 'Ghostwriter' cyberattacks ahead of German election	https://edition.cnn.com/2021/09/24/europe/russia-accused-ghostwriter-cyberattacks-german-election-intl/index.html	
Bolsonaro Wages Trumpian Campaign to Sow Doubts About Voting	https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2021-07-11/bolsonaro-wages-trumpian-campaign-to-sow-doubts-about-voting	
Brazil's Bolsonaro embraced the U.S. under Trump. Now he's in 'solidarity' with Russia	https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2022/02/16/bolsonaro-putin-brazil-russia-ukraine/	
Bolsonaro ameaça a democracia brasileira <i>(Bolsonaro threatens Brazilian democracy)</i>	https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/colunas/steven-levitsky/2018/08/bolsonaro-ameaca-a-democracia-brasileira.shtml	Brazilian Democracy with Bolsonaro: How long can Brazil handle it? https://www.panoramas.pitt.edu/news-and-politics/brazilian-democracy-bolsonaro-how-long-can-brazil-handle-it
Nos anos 90, Bolsonaro defendeu novo golpe militar e guerra <i>(In the 1990s, Bolsonaro defended a new military coup and war)</i>	https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2018/06/nos-anos-90-bolsonaro-defendeu-novo-golpe-militar-e-guerra.shtml?loggedpaywall	
Planalto confirma ordem de Bolsonaro para comemorar aniversário do golpe de 1964 <i>(Planalto confirms Bolsonaro's order to commemorate the 1964 coup anniversary)</i>	https://politica.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,planalto-confirma-ordem-de-bolsonaro-para-comemorar-aniversario-do-golpe-de-1964,70002767921	

TITLE (<i>TRANSLATED</i>)	ORIGINAL LINK	ALTERNATIVE IN ENGLISH
<p>Presidente afirma que deputado "passou dos limites" ao pedir seu fuzilamento e diz querer dólar mais estável <i>(President says that Deputy "crossed the line" by asking for his execution and says he wants a more stable dollar)</i></p>	<p>https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/fsp/brasil/fc0501200008.htm</p>	
<p>Bolsonaro critica inclusão de Lula em pesquisas eleitorais e chama ex-presidente de 'vagabundo', 'malandro' e 'bandido' <i>(Bolsonaro criticizes Lula's inclusion in election polls and calls the former president a 'bum', 'crook' and 'robber')</i></p>	<p>https://g1.globo.com/sp/sao-jose-do-rio-preto-aracatuba/noticia/2018/08/24/em-terceiro-dia-de-campanha-pelo-interior-de-sp-bolsonaro-faz-carreata-e-caminhada-pelas-ruas-de-sao-jose-do-rio-preto.ghtml</p>	
<p>"Vamos fuzilar a petralhada", diz Bolsonaro em campanha no Acre enquanto discursava em um carro de som, o candidato do PSL imitou um fuzilamento e disse querer "botar estes picaretas pra comer capim na Venezuela" <i>("Let's shoot all the 'petralhada'", says Bolsonaro on a campaign in Acre while speaking in a sound truck, the PSL candidate imitated a shooting act and said he wanted to "get these rogues to eat grass in Venezuela")</i></p>	<p>https://exame.abril.com.br/brasil/vamos-fuzilar-a-petralhada-diz-bolsonaro-em-campanha-no-acre/</p>	
<p>Jair Bolsonaro: como ele reagiria se tivesse um filho gay? <i>(Jair Bolsonaro: how would he react if he had a gay son?)</i></p>	<p>https://catracalivre.com.br/cidadania/jair-bolsonaro-como-ele-reagiria-se-tivesse-um-filho-gay/</p>	
<p>Bolsonaro defende o autoritarismo, não os valores militares, diz historiadora <i>(Bolsonaro defends authoritarianism, not the military values, says historian)</i></p>	<p>https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2018/08/bolsonaro-defende-o-autoritarismo-nao-os-valores-militares-diz-historiadora.shtml</p>	
<p>Bolsonaro quer aumentar número de ministros do Supremo <i>(Bolsonaro wants to increase the number of Justices in the Supreme Court)</i></p>	<p>https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2018/07/bolsonaro-quer-aumentar-numero-de-ministros-do-supremo.shtml</p>	

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<p>Reativados, grupos de WhatsApp bolsonaristas defendem Previdência e atacam o Supremo <i>(In reactivated WhatsApp groups "Bolsonaristas" defend Social Security and attack the Supreme Court)</i></p>	<p>https://painel.blogfolha.uol.com.br/2019/03/14/reactivados-grupos-de-whatsapp-bolsonaristas-defendem-previdencia-e-atacam-o-supremo/</p>	
<p>Avanço de fake news no Facebook começou com queda de Dilma e teve ápice sob Bolsonaro, diz estudo <i>(The advance of fake news on Facebook began with Dilma's downfall and reached its peak with Bolsonaro, points out the study)</i></p>	<p>https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2021/08/avanco-de-fake-news-no-facebook-comecou-com-queda-de-dilma-e-teve-apice-sob-bolsonaro-diz-estudo.shtml?origin=folha</p>	
<p>STF suspende nomeação de Alexandre Ramagem para o comando da PF <i>(The Supreme Court suspends Alexandre Ramagem's nomination to the command of the Federal Police)</i></p>	<p>https://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2020-04-29/stf-suspende-nomeacao-de-alexandre-ramagem-para-o-comando-da-pf.html</p>	
<p>Ministério da Defesa concorda com nota de Heleno <i>(Ministry of Defense agrees with Heleno's note)</i></p>	<p>https://www.cnnbrasil.com.br/politica/forcas-armadas-concordaram-com-nota-de-heleno/</p>	
<p>General Heleno fala em 'consequências imprevisíveis' se celular de Bolsonaro for apreendido <i>(General Heleno speaks of 'unpredictable consequences' if Bolsonaro's cell phone is seized)</i></p>	<p>https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2020/05/general-heleno-fala-em-consequencias-imprevisiveis-se-celular-de-bolsonaro-for-apreendido.shtml</p>	
<p>Para jurista, chegada dos militares ao poder em 1964 não foi golpe <i>(For the jurist, the militaries arrival to power in 1964 was not a coup)</i></p>	<p>https://noticias.r7.com/brasil/para-jurista-chegada-dos-militares-ao-poder-em-1964-nao-foi-golpe-31032019</p>	

TITLE (<i>TRANSLATED</i>)	ORIGINAL LINK	ALTERNATIVE IN ENGLISH
Bolsonaro invoca “intervenção militar” contra o STF e flerta com golpe (<i>Bolsonaro invokes “military intervention” against the Supreme Court and flirts with a coup</i>)	https://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2020-05-29/bolsonaro-invoca-intervencao-militar-contr-o-stf-e-flerta-com-golpe.html	
Bolsonaro ataca Barroso e liga ministro à pedofilia (<i>Bolsonaro attacks Barroso and links the Justice to pedophilia</i>)	https://www.poder360.com.br/governo/bolsonaro-diz-que-barroso-defende-a-pedofilia-e-que-nao-deveria-estar-no-stf/	
Quem está por trás da indicação de Kássio Nunes Marques ao Supremo Tribunal Federal (<i>Who is behind Kássio Nunes Marques’s appointment to the Supreme Court</i>)	https://www.gazetadopovo.com.br/republica/kassio-nunes-marques-stf-quem-esta-por-tras-indicacao/	
Kássio Nunes tem apoio de líderes do Centrão e Flávio Bolsonaro para o STF (<i>Kássio Nunes has support from centrist parties’ leaders and Flávio Bolsonaro for the Supreme Court</i>)	https://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/kassio-nunes-tem-apoio-de-lideres-do-centrao-flavio-bolsonaro-para-stf-24669471	
‘Hoje eu tenho 10% de mim dentro do Supremo’ (<i>‘Today I have 10% of myself inside the Supreme Court’</i>)	https://politica.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,hoje-eu-tenho-10-de-mim-dentro-do-supremo-afirmou-bolsonaro,70003894017	
STJ tranca inquérito contra autor de outdoors que comparavam Bolsonaro a pequi roído (<i>Superior Court of Justice dismisses investigation against the author of billboards that compared Bolsonaro to a gnawed pequi fruit</i>)	https://www.stj.jus.br/sites/porta lp/Paginas/Comunicacao/Noticias/23062021-STJ-tranca-inquerito-contr-a-utor-de-outdoors-que-comparavam-Bolsonaro-a-pequi-roido.aspx	
Responsáveis por outdoor que comparou Bolsonaro a pequi roído são alvos da PF em Brasília (<i>Those responsible for a billboard that compared Bolsonaro to a gnawed pequi fruit become targets of the Federal Police in Brasília</i>)	https://www.jornaldotocantins.com.br/editorias/politica/respons%C3%A1veis-por-outdoor-que-comparou-bolsonaro-a-pequi-ro%C3%ADdo-s%C3%A3o-alvos-da-pf-em-bras%C3%ADlia-1.2212921	

TITLE (<i>TRANSLATED</i>)	ORIGINAL LINK	ALTERNATIVE IN ENGLISH
<p>Ministro da Justiça manda PF investigar autores de outdoors críticos a Bolsonaro em Palmas. <i>(The Attorney-General orders the Federal Police to investigate authors of billboards that criticize Bolsonaro in Palmas)</i></p>	<p>https://politica.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,uso-da-lei-de-seguranca-nacional-contracriticos-de-bolsonaro-desgasta-imagem-de-mendonca-no-supremo70003668602</p>	
<p>Vídeo mostra Michelle Bolsonaro comemorando e orando após indicação de Mendonça ao STF</p>	<p>https://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2021-12-04/video-mostra-michelle-bolsonaro-comemorando-e-orando-apos-indicacao-de-mendonca-ao-stf.html</p>	<p>Video shows Michelle Bolsonaro celebrating and praying after Mendonça's nomination to the STF https://morningexpress.in/video-shows-michelle-bolsonaro-celebrating-and-praying-after-mendoncas-nomination-to-the-stf/</p>
<p>Leia a íntegra do pedido de impeachment de Alexandre de Moraes feito por Bolsonaro <i>(Read the full request of Alexandre de Moraes impeachment made by Bolsonaro)</i></p>	<p>https://jc.ne10.uol.com.br/politica/2021/08/13031610-leia-a-integra-do-pedido-de-impeachment-de-alexandre-de-moraes-feito-por-bolsonaro.html</p>	
<p>Aliados de Bolsonaro tentam dar um golpe do pijama no Supremo <i>(Bolsonaro's allies try to give a pajama blow to the Supreme Court)</i></p>	<p>https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/colunas/bruno-boghossian/2019/02/aliados-de-bolsonaro-tentam-dar-um-golpe-do-pijama-no-supremo.shtml</p>	
<p>Deputada que propõe revogar 'PEC da Bengala' quer Supremo mais 'liberal e conservador' <i>(Deputy who proposes to revoke the "Bengal's Constitutional Amendment" wants a more 'liberal and conservative' Supreme Court)</i></p>	<p>https://politica.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,deputada-que-propoe-revogar-pec-da-bengala-quer-supremo-mais-liberal-e-conservador,70002719503</p>	
<p>Câmara dos Deputados rejeita PEC do Voto Impresso <i>(Chamber of Deputies rejects the "Printed Vote" Constitutional Amendment Bill)</i></p>	<p>https://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/politica/noticia/2021-08/camara-dos-deputados-rejeita-pec-do-voto-impresso</p>	<p>Brazil Congress blocks changes to voting system despite military show of force https://www.reuters.com/world/americas/brazil-military-parade-presidential-palace-rattles-politicians-2021-08-10/</p>

TITLE (<i>TRANSLATED</i>)	ORIGINAL LINK	ALTERNATIVE IN ENGLISH
Bolsonaro posta vídeo com imagem simbólica de jipe militar em frente ao STF (<i>Bolsonaro posts video with symbolic image of military jeep in front of the Supreme Court</i>)	https://www.cnnbrasil.com.br/politica/bolsonaro-posta-video-com-imagem-simbolica-de-jipe-militar-em-frente-ao-stf/	
O golpe de Bolsonaro (<i>Bolsonaro's coup</i>)	https://diplomatie.org.br/o-golpe-de-bolsonaro/	
Forças Armadas farão desfile de blindados no dia em que Câmara deve votar PEC do voto impresso (<i>Armed Forces will parade armored vehicles on the same day that the Chamber must vote on the "Printed Vote" Constitutional Amendment Bill</i>)	https://economia.uol.com.br/noticias/reuters/2021/08/09/forcas-armadas-farao-desfile-de-blindados-no-dia-em-que-camara-deve-votar-pec-do-voto-impresso.htm .	Brazil: Jair Bolsonaro celebrates unprecedented 10-minute military parade in Brasilia https://digismak.com/brazil-jair-bolsonaro-celebrates-unprecedented-10-minute-military-parade-in-brasilia-international/
Bolsonaro repete ameaça golpista e diz que 7 de Setembro será ultimato a ministros do STF (<i>Bolsonaro repeats the coup threat and says that September 7 will be an ultimatum to the Supreme Court Justices</i>)	https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2021/09/bolsonaro-repete-ameaca-golpista-e-diz-que-7-de-setembro-sera-ultimato-a-ministros-do-stf.shtml	Bolsonaro Is Getting Desperate, and It's Clear What He Wants https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/15/opinion/bolsonaro-brazil-independence-day.html
As ameaças de Bolsonaro em discursos no 7 de Setembro (<i>Bolsonaro's threats on September 7 speeches</i>)	https://www.bbc.com/portugues/e/brasil-58479785	Brazil's Jair Bolsonaro says he will be killed, arrested or re-elected https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-58372754
“Ninguém fechará esta corte”, diz Fux em resposta a Bolsonaro (<i>"Nobody will close this court", says Fux in response to Bolsonaro</i>)	https://congressoemfoco.uol.com.br/justica/discurso-fe-luiz-fux-no-stf-apos-sete-de-setembro/	Brazil Judge Claps Back at 'Undemocratic' Bolsonaro Vow https://www.usnews.com/news/world/articles/2021-09-08/brazil-judge-claps-back-at-undemocratic-bolsonaro-vow
Veja íntegra do pronunciamento de Arthur Lira sobre as manifestações antidemocráticas (<i>Check Arthur Lira's full speech on anti-democratic demonstrations</i>)	https://g1.globo.com/politica/noticia/2021/09/08/veja-a-integrado-pronunciamento-de-arthur-lira-sobre-as-manifestacoes-antidemocraticas.ghtml	
Sem citar Bolsonaro, Pacheco faz declaração em vídeo para criticar 'arroubos antidemocráticos' (<i>Without mentioning Bolsonaro, Pacheco criticizes 'undemocratic raptures' during a video</i>)	https://g1.globo.com/politica/noticia/2021/09/08/pacheco-pede-dialogo-e-diz-que-solucao-para-crise-real-nao-esta-em-arroubos-antidemocraticos.ghtml	

TITLE (<i>TRANSLATED</i>)	ORIGINAL LINK	ALTERNATIVE IN ENGLISH
<p>Bolsonaro amenaza com poner firme al Tribunal Supremo de Brasil en una movilización multitudinaria <i>(Bolsonaro seriously threatens the Supreme Court of Brazil in a massive mobilization)</i></p>	<p>https://elpais.com/internacional/2021-09-07/bolsonaro-amenaza-con-poner-firme-al-tribunal-supremo-de-brasil-en-una-movilizacion-multitudinaria.html</p>	
<p>Pour la fête nationale du Brésil, Bolsonaro parvient à mobiliser large et menace un peu plus la démocratie <i>(For the National Day of Brazil, Bolsonaro manages to mobilize widely and threatens democracy a little more)</i></p>	<p>https://www.lemonde.fr/international/article/2021/09/08/accueillir-bolsonaro-parvient-a-mobiliser-large-et-menace-un-peu-plus-la-democratie_6093818_3210.html</p>	
<p>Brazilian President Bolsonaro Rallies Supporters Ahead of Re-Election Campaign <i>(O presidente brasileiro, Bolsonaro, reúne apoiadores antes da campanha de reeleição)</i></p>	<p>https://www.wsj.com/articles/brazilian-president-bolsonaro-rallies-supporters-as-he-prepares-for-reelection-campaign-11631047586</p>	
<p>Bolsonaro nomeará 75 desembargadores, na maior canetada da história recente <i>(Bolsonaro will appoint 75 judges with the biggest stroke of a pen in recent history)</i></p>	<p>https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/colunas/monicabergamo/2021/11/bolsonaro-nomeara-75-desembargadores-na-maior-canetada-da-historia-recente.shtml</p>	
<p>Brazil: Bolsonaro Threatens Democratic Rule <i>(Brasil: Bolsonaro ameaça governo democrático)</i></p>	<p>https://www.hrw.org/news/2021/09/15/brazil-bolsonaro-threatens-democratic-rule</p>	
<p>Bolsonaro participa de atos contra STF e reforça clima de tensão com Judiciário <i>(Bolsonaro partakes in acts against the STF and escalates tension with the Judiciary)</i></p>	<p>https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2022/05/bolsonaro-participa-de-atos-contr-stf-e-mantem-clima-de-tensao-com-judiciario.shtml?utm_source=whatsapp&utm_medium=social&utm_campaign=compwa</p>	
<p>Bolsonaro volta a falar em fraude na eleição de 2018 sem apresentar provas <i>(Bolsonaro reiterates allegations of fraud in the 2018 elections without presenting any proof)</i></p>	<p>https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2022/01/bolsonaro-volta-a-dizer-que-houve-fraude-na-eleicao-presidencial-de-2018.shtml?utm_source=facebook&utm_medium=social&utm_campaign=fbfolha</p>	

TITLE (<i>TRANSLATED</i>)	ORIGINAL LINK	ALTERNATIVE IN ENGLISH
Brazil's Bolsonaro embraced the U.S. under Trump. Now he's in 'solidarity' with Russia	https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2022/02/16/bolsonaro-putin-brazil-russia-ukraine/	
General desiste de cargo no TSE contrariado com uso político das Forças Armadas por Bolsonaro (<i>General renounces place in the TSE unhappy with the political use of the Armed Forces by Bolsonaro</i>)	https://politica.estadao.com.br/noticias/eleicoes,general-desiste-de-cargo-no-tse-contrariado-com-uso-politico-das-forcas-armadas-por-bolsonaro,70003981393	
Braga Netto recebeu a missão de infiltrar militares no TSE. General Azevedo desertou. Há tensão na Corte eleitoral (<i>Braga Netto received the mission to infiltrate militaries in the TSE. General Azevedo deserted. There is tension in the Electoral Court</i>)	https://www.brasil247.com/poder/braga-netto-recebeu-a-missao-de-infiltrar-militares-no-tse-general-azevedo-desertou-ha-tensao-na-corte-eleitoral?amp	
General Ramos repete Bolsonaro e levanta suspeita sobre ministros do TSE (<i>General Ramos mimics Bolsonaro and raises suspicion about the TSE Justices</i>)	https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2022/02/general-ramos-repete-bolsonaro-e-levanta-suspeita-sobre-isencao-de-ministros-do-tse.shtml	
Investigado, Bolsonaro critica ministros do STF: 'Não estiquem essa corda' (<i>Under investigation, Bolsonaro criticizes STF Justices: 'Do not stretch the cord'</i>)	https://oglobo.globo.com/politica/investigado-bolsonaro-critica-ministros-do-stf-nao-estiquem-essa-corda-1-25407228	
Fux encontra Pacheco e ministro da Defesa e cita compromisso com processo eleitoral (<i>Fux meets Pacheco and Defense Secretary, and reinstates compromise with the electoral procedure</i>)	https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2022/05/fux-e-pacheco-reagem-a-bolsonaro-e-defendem-democracia-e-processo-eleitoral.shtml?utm_source=whatsapp&utm_medium=social&utm_campaign=compwa	
Solto há quatro meses, Daniel Silveira volta a atacar ministros do STF (<i>After 4 months of freedom, Daniel Silveira resumes attacks against STF Justices</i>)	https://noticias.uol.com.br/politica/ultimas-noticias/2022/03/13/solto-ha-quatro-meses-daniel-silveira-volta-a-atacar-ministros-do-stf.htm	

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Bolsonaro Is Already Undermining Brazil's Upcoming Election	https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/05/04/bolsonaro-brazil-election-2022-disinformation-misinformation-digital-social-media/	
No Exército, Bolsonaro volta a colocar dúvida sobre as eleições <i>(For the Armed Forces, Bolsonaro once again throws doubts about the elections)</i>	https://veja.abril.com.br/coluna/radar/no-exercito-bolsonaro-volta-a-colocar-duvida-sobre-as-eleicoes/	
Bolsonaro anuncia perdão da pena a Daniel Silveira, condenado a 8 anos e 9 meses de prisão pelo STF <i>(Bolsonaro orders constitutional pardon for Daniel Silveira, condemned to 8 years and 9 months in prison by the STF)</i>	https://g1.globo.com/google/amp/politica/noticia/2022/04/21/bolsonaro-anuncia-indulto-para-deputado-daniel-silveira.ghtml	
Decreto de Bolsonaro teve aval de militares, que tentam retomar espaço conquistado pelo Centrão <i>(Bolsonaro's decree had the blessing of the military, a branch that is trying to recover the space lost to the political center)</i>	https://g1.globo.com/politica/blog/andrea-sadi/post/2022/04/22/militares-deram-aval-a-decreto-de-bolsonaro-stf-ve-tumulto-eleitoral-e-foca-em-manter-silveira-inelegivel.ghtml	
Forças Armadas 'estão sendo orientadas a atacar e desacreditar' o processo eleitoral, diz Barroso <i>(The Armed Forces 'are being oriented to attack and discredit' the electoral process, says Barroso)</i>	https://oglobo.globo.com/politica/forcas-armadas-estao-sendo-orientadas-atacar-desacreditar-processo-eleitoral-diz-barroso-1-25487636?utm_source=Whatsapp&utm_medium=Social&utm_campaign=compartilhar	
Bolsonaro ameaça ignorar decisões do STF, primeiro passo de um golpe <i>(Bolsonaro threatens to ignore STF's future decisions, in first step towards a coup)</i>	https://noticias.uol.com.br/columnas/leonardo-sakamoto/2022/04/25/bolsonaro-ameaca-ignorar-decisoes-do-stf-primeiro-passo-para-um-golpe.htm?fbclid=IwAR2_pbBXIIHYkMgwH5_3YcJMEBtSkBX8YyW9nqz4rgfaHtuEjNNWh45P9ts	

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<p>Bolsonaro volta a atacar urnas e Barroso e a colocar eleições sob suspeita. <i>(Bolsonaro attacks the ballot boxes and Barroso once again, and puts the elections under suspicion)</i></p>	<p>https://noticias.uol.com.br/politica/ultimas-noticias/2022/04/27/bolsonaro-volta-a-atacar-urnas-e-barroso-e-a-colocar-eleicoes-sob-suspeita.htm</p>	
<p>Bolsonaro fala em "suspeição" de eleições caso ocorra "algo anormal" <i>(Bolsonaro speaks about "suspicion" regarding the elections in case "something abnormal" occurs)</i></p>	<p>https://www.correiobraziliense.com.br/politica/2022/04/5003734-bolsonaro-defende-suspensao-de-eleicoes-caso-ocorra-algo-anormal.html</p>	
<p>Comissão da OAB aprova parecer que considera perdão a Silveira inconstitucional <i>(Brazilian professional association of lawyers' commission approves a consultive opinion deeming unconstitutional the pardon given to Silveira)</i></p>	<p>https://valor.globo.com/politica/noticia/2022/04/27/comisso-da-oab-aprova-parecer-que-considera-perdo-a-silveira-inconstitucional.ghtml</p>	
<p>Após fala de Bolsonaro, Pacheco diz que 'não tem cabimento levantar qualquer dúvida sobre eleições' <i>(After Bolsonaro's speech, Pacheco says that 'there is no room to rise any doubt about the elections')</i></p>	<p>https://oglobo.globo.com/politica/apos-fala-de-bolsonaro-pacheco-diz-que-nao-tem-cabimento-levantar-qualquer-duvida-sobre-eleicoes-25493415?utm_source=Whatsapp&utm_medium=Social&utm_campaign=compartilhar</p>	
<p>Sete de cada dez novos seguidores de bolsonaristas são robôs, mostra levantamento <i>(Seven out of every ten new follower of Bolsonaro's affiliates are robots, shows study)</i></p>	<p>https://congressoemfoco.uol.com.br/area/pais/sete-de-cada-dez-novos-seguidores-de-bolsonaristas-sao-robos-mostra-levantamento/</p>	
<p>Governo Biden recebe dossiê de acadêmicos com alerta de 'versão mais extrema de ataque ao Capitólio' no Brasil <i>(Biden Government receives dossier from academics alerting to a 'more extreme version of Capitol's attack' in Brazil)</i></p>	<p>https://www.bbc.com/portugues/internacional-61267152</p>	

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CIA chief told Bolsonaro government not to mess with Brazil election, sources say	https://www.reuters.com/world/americas/exclusive-cia-chief-told-bolsonaro-government-not-mess-with-brazil-election-2022-05-05/	
Bolsonaro diz que fará auditoria privada nas urnas e adota tom de ameaça ao TSE (<i>Bolsonaro says that he will order a private audit of the electoral ballot boxes and adopts threatening tone against the TSE</i>)	https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2022/05/bolsonaro-diz-que-fara-auditoria-privada-nas-urnas-e-adota-tom-de-ameaca-ao-tse.shtml	
STF forma maioria para declarar ilegais relatórios do governo Bolsonaro contra opositores (<i>STF reaches majority to declare Bolsonaro's government's reports on opponents illegal</i>)	https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2022/05/stf-forma-maioria-para-declarar-ilegais-relatorios-do-governo-bolsonaro-contra-opositores.shtml	
Ofensiva contra urnas envolveu Abin e generais Ramos e Heleno, aponta PF (<i>The offensive against electoral ballot boxes involved Abin and generals Ramos and Heleno, points the Federal Police</i>)	https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2022/05/ofensiva-contra-urnas-envolveu-abin-e-generais-ramos-e-helena-aponta-pf.shtml?utm_source=whatsapp&utm_medium=social&utm_campaign=compwa	
Telegram ignora acordo para reverter bloqueio e não inibe fake news em canais mais populares (<i>Telegram ignores agreement to reverse the ban and does not inhibit fake news in popular channels</i>)	https://blogs.oglobo.globo.com/sonar-a-escuta-das-redes/post/telegram-ignora-acordo-para-reverter-bloqueio-e-nao-inibe-fake-news-em-canais-mais-populares.html	
Veja respostas do TSE sobre recomendações do Ministério da Defesa para o sistema eleitoral (<i>See TSE answers on the recommendations of the Department of Defense regarding the electoral system</i>)	https://g1.globo.com/politica/eleicoes/2022/noticia/2022/05/09/respostas-tse-ministerio-da-defesa-eleicoes.ghtml	
TSE aponta erros de militares e rejeita novas propostas para as eleições (<i>TSE points military's mistakes and rejects new proposals for the elections</i>)	https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2022/05/tse-aponta-erros-de-militares-e-rejeita-novas-propostas-para-eleicoes.shtml?utm_source=whatsapp&utm_medium=social&utm_campaign=compwa	

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<p>Em vez de golpe com militares, não se descarta instabilidade com bolsonaristas armados nas ruas <i>(Instead of a military coup, one cannot discard instability with armed Bolsonaro's affiliates in the streets)</i></p>	<p>https://www.estadao.com.br/politica/em-vez-de-golpe-com-militares-nao-se-descarta-instabilidade-com-bolsonaristas-armados-nas-ruas/?utm_source=estadao:what_sapp&utm_medium=link</p>	
<p>Bolsonaro sobe tom: "Eleições não têm resultado limpo" e "Quero todos armados" <i>(Bolsonaro escalates the tone: "Elections do not have clean result" and "I want everybody armed")</i></p>	<p>https://revistaforum.com.br/politica/2022/5/11/bolsonaro-sobe-tom-eleies-no-tm-resultado-limpo-quiero-todos-armados-116236.html</p>	
<p>ONU recebe denúncias sobre ataques do governo contra eleição e democracia <i>(UN receives complaints about government's attacks against the election and democracy)</i></p>	<p>https://noticias.uol.com.br/columnas/jamil-chade/2022/05/11/onu-recebe-denuncias-sobre-ataques-do-governo-contra-eleicao-e-democracia.htm</p>	
<p>TSE realiza Teste de Confirmação das urnas eletrônicas; entenda processo <i>(TSE conducts Confirmation Test on the ballot boxes; understand the procedure)</i></p>	<p>https://www.cnnbrasil.com.br/politica/tse-realiza-teste-de-confirmacao-das-urnas-eletronicas-entenda-processo/</p>	
<p>Em 1130 dias como presidente, Bolsonaro deu 4864 declarações falsas ou distorcidas <i>(In 1130 days as president, Bolsonaro gave 4864 false or distorted declarations)</i></p>	<p>https://www.aosfatos.org/todas-as-declara%C3%A7%C3%B5es-de-bolsonaro/</p>	
<p>Bolsonaro diz que país pode ter "eleições conturbadas", mas nega querer "suspeição" sobre resultado <i>(Bolsonaro says that the country may have "troubled elections", but denies wanting "suspicion" on the results)</i></p>	<p>https://valor.globo.com/politica/noticia/2022/05/16/bolsonaro-diz-que-pais-pode-ter-eleicoes-conturbadas-mas-nega-querer-suspeicao-sobre-resultado.ghtml</p>	
<p>Um em cada três mesários teme sofrer ataques na eleição, indica pesquisa <i>(One in every three poll workers fears being attacked during the election, research indicates)</i></p>	<p>https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2022/05/um-em-cada-tres-mesarios-teme-sofrer-ataques-na-eleicao-indica-pesquisa.shtml</p>	

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<p>‘Quem trata de eleições são forças desarmadas’, diz Fachin sobre questionamento de militares (<i>Those who deal with the elections are the unarmed forces’, says Fachin concerning military’s questionings</i>)</p>	<p>https://politica.estadao.com.br/bl-ogs/fausto-macedo/fachin-sobre-questionamentos-de-militares-quem-trata-de-eleicoes-sao-forcas-desarmadas/</p>	