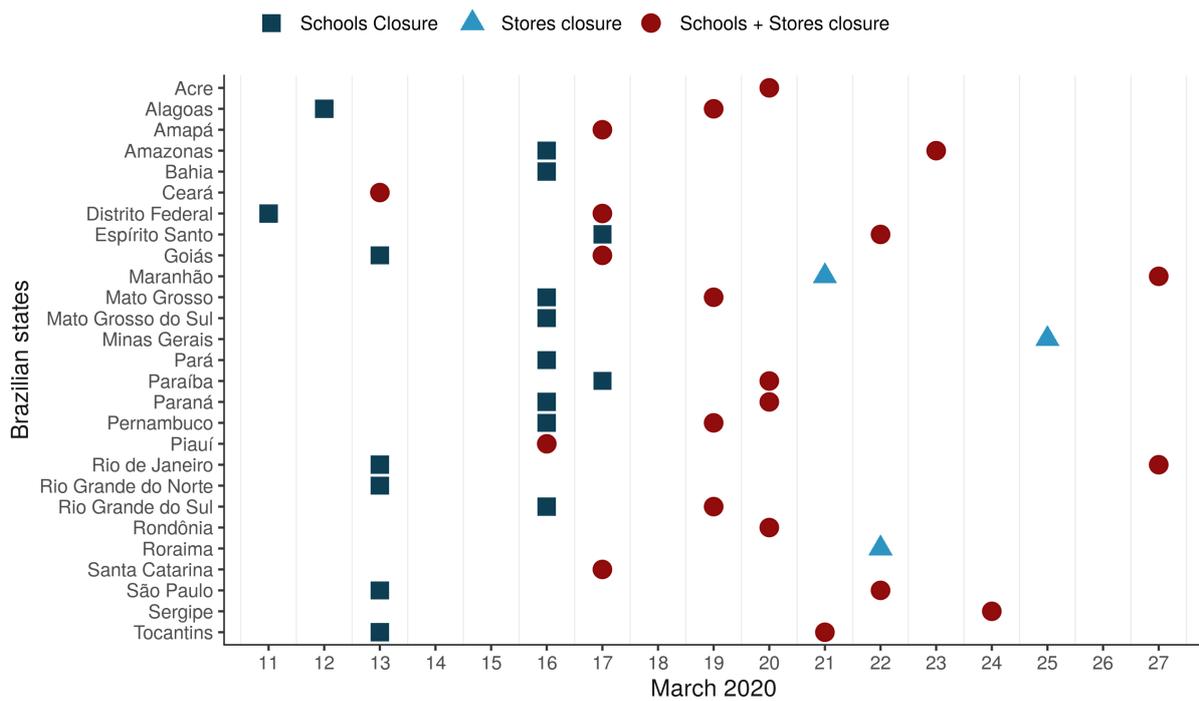


# More than Words: Leaders' Speech and Risky Behavior During a Pandemic

Nicolás Ajzenman, Tiago Cavalcanti and Daniel Da Mata

## A Appendix: Additional Figures and Tables

Figure A.1. NPI Policies Implemented by Each Brazilian State



Notes. The figure shows non-pharmaceutical interventions (school and store closure) implemented by all Brazilian states between March 11 and and March 27. Data are from state legislation related to COVID-19.

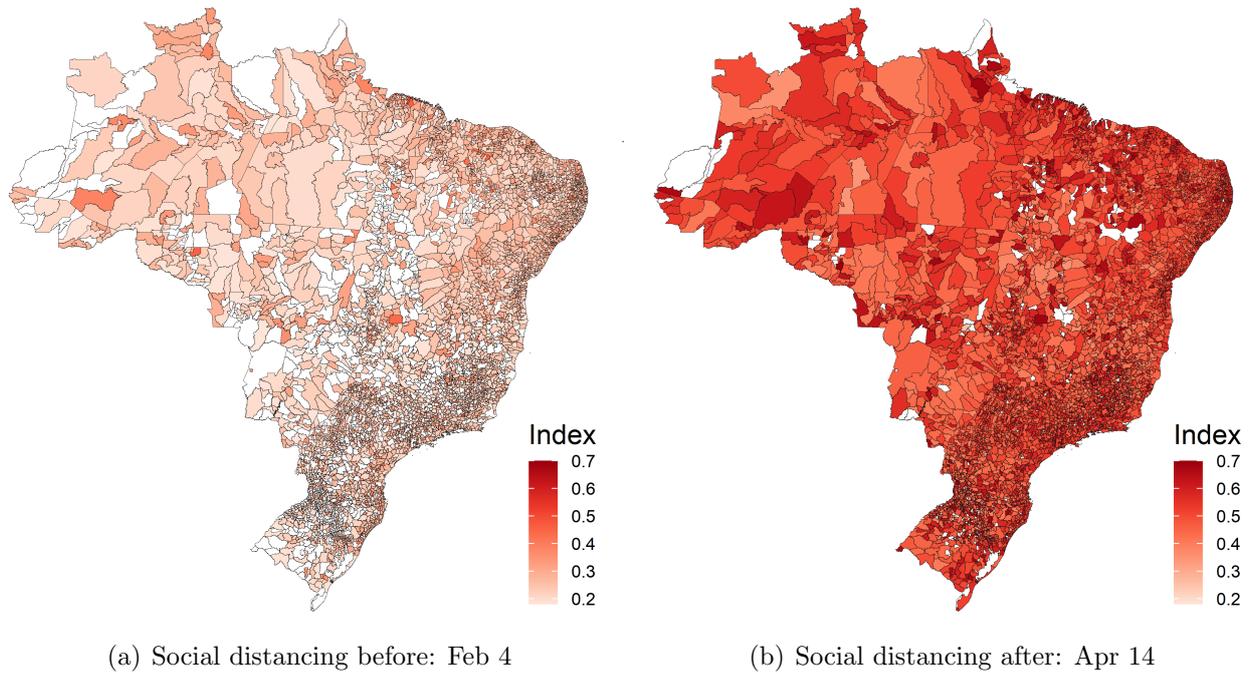
Figure A.2. Area: Bolsonaro Minimizing the Virus



Notes. Cover of the newspaper O Estado de Sao Paulo - Wednesday, March 11, 2020. The box in red represents the area of the front page related to Bolsonaro minimizing the impact of the Covid-19. The text, translated by the authors of this paper: "Bolsonaro minimizes the crisis (title). A day after the global financial markets suffered historical losses due to the virus outbreak, the president Jair Bolsonaro denied the existence of any crisis and blamed the press for the situation."

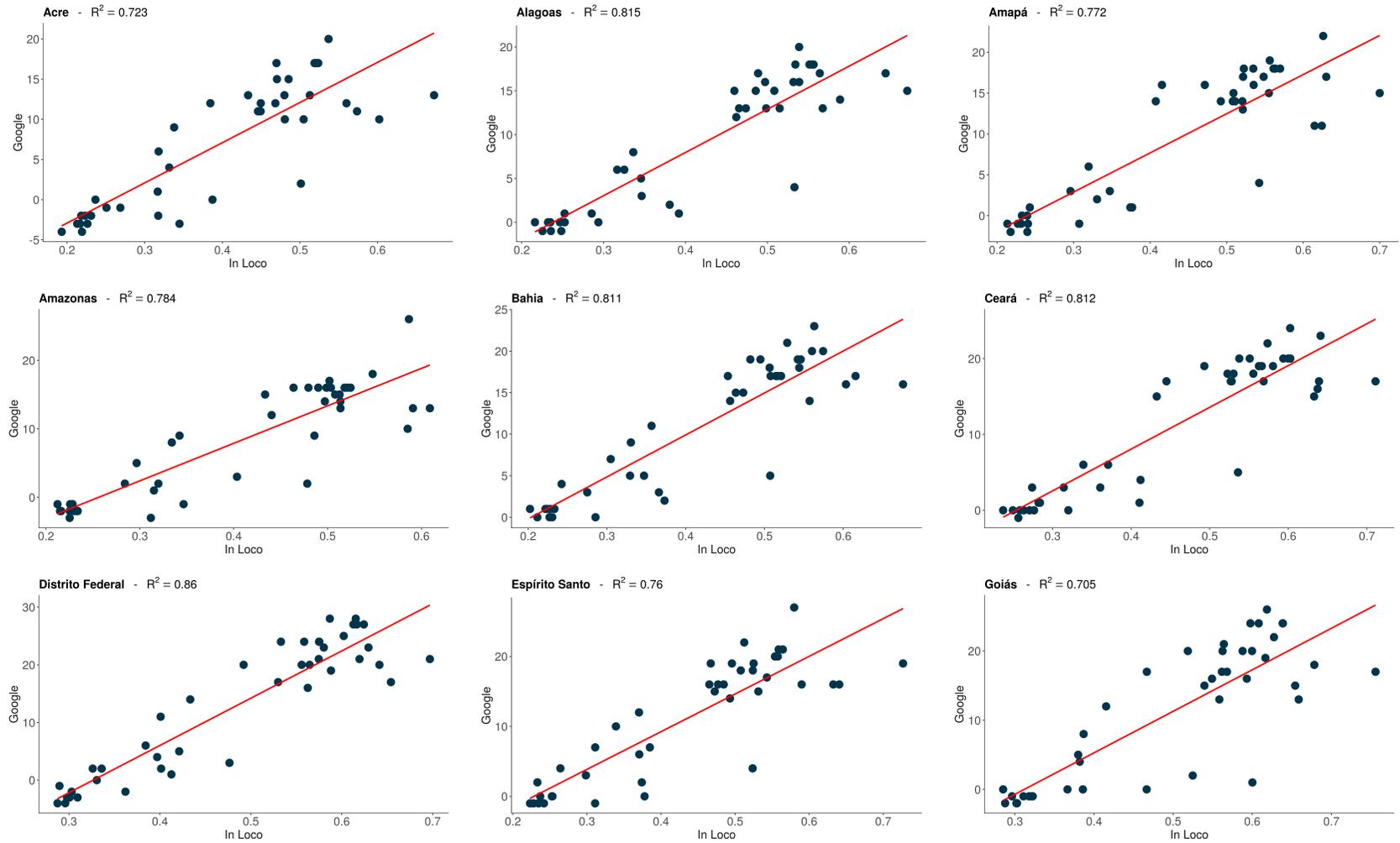


**Figure A.4.** Social Distancing Index: Before and After

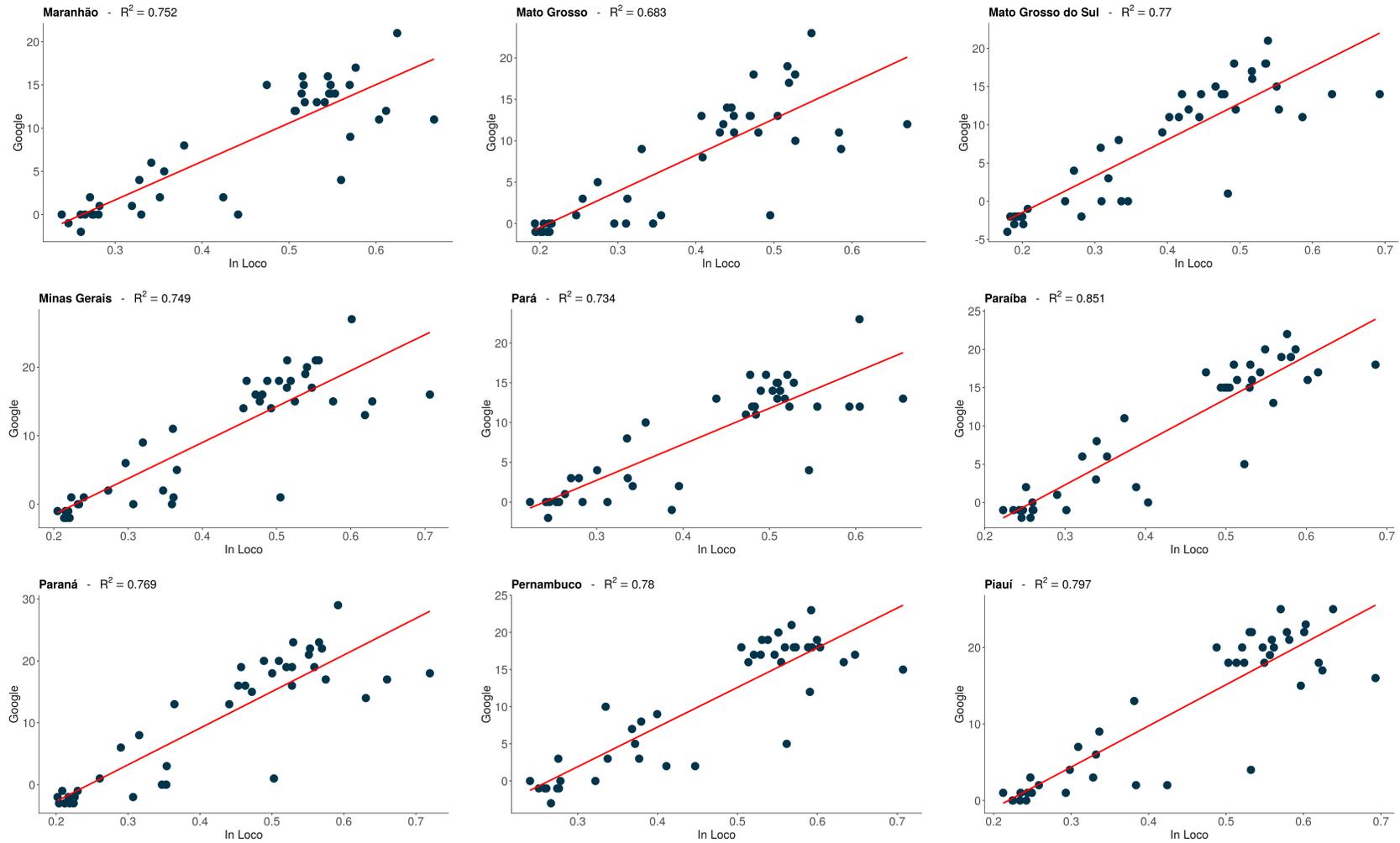


*Notes.* The figures show the social distancing index for all municipalities in Brazil on February 4, 2020 (the first Tuesday of our period of analysis) and April 14, 2020 (the last Tuesday of our period of analysis). The index ranges from zero to one. A higher value means that there is more social distancing. Municipalities in white are those without data on social distancing. The index is calculated by the technology company In Loco using location data from mobile devices. See Section III for more details on the data.

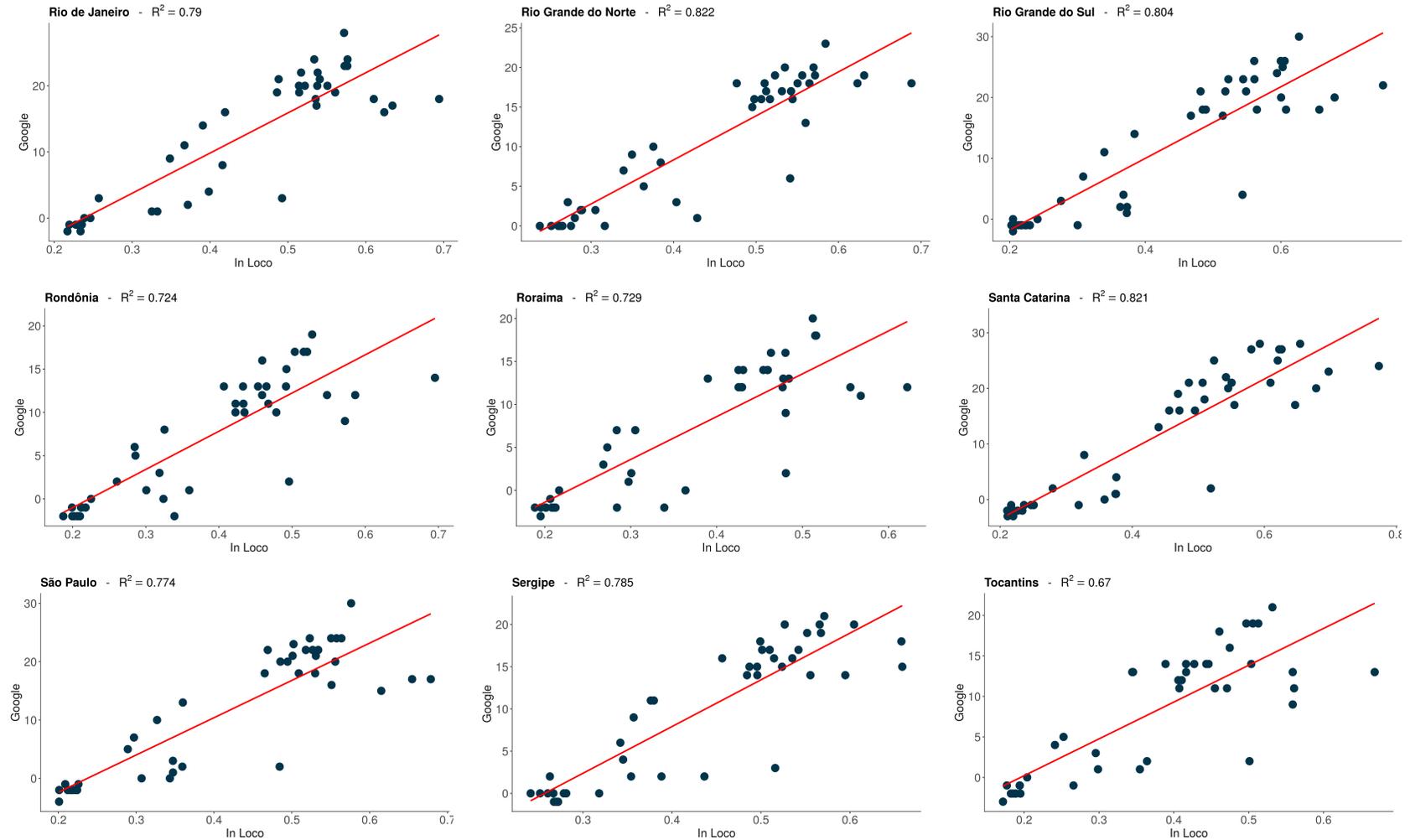
Figure A.5. Social Distancing Measures: Comparing Google and In Loco for each Brazilian State



**Figure A.5.** Social Distancing Measures: Comparing Google and In Loco for each Brazilian State (continued)

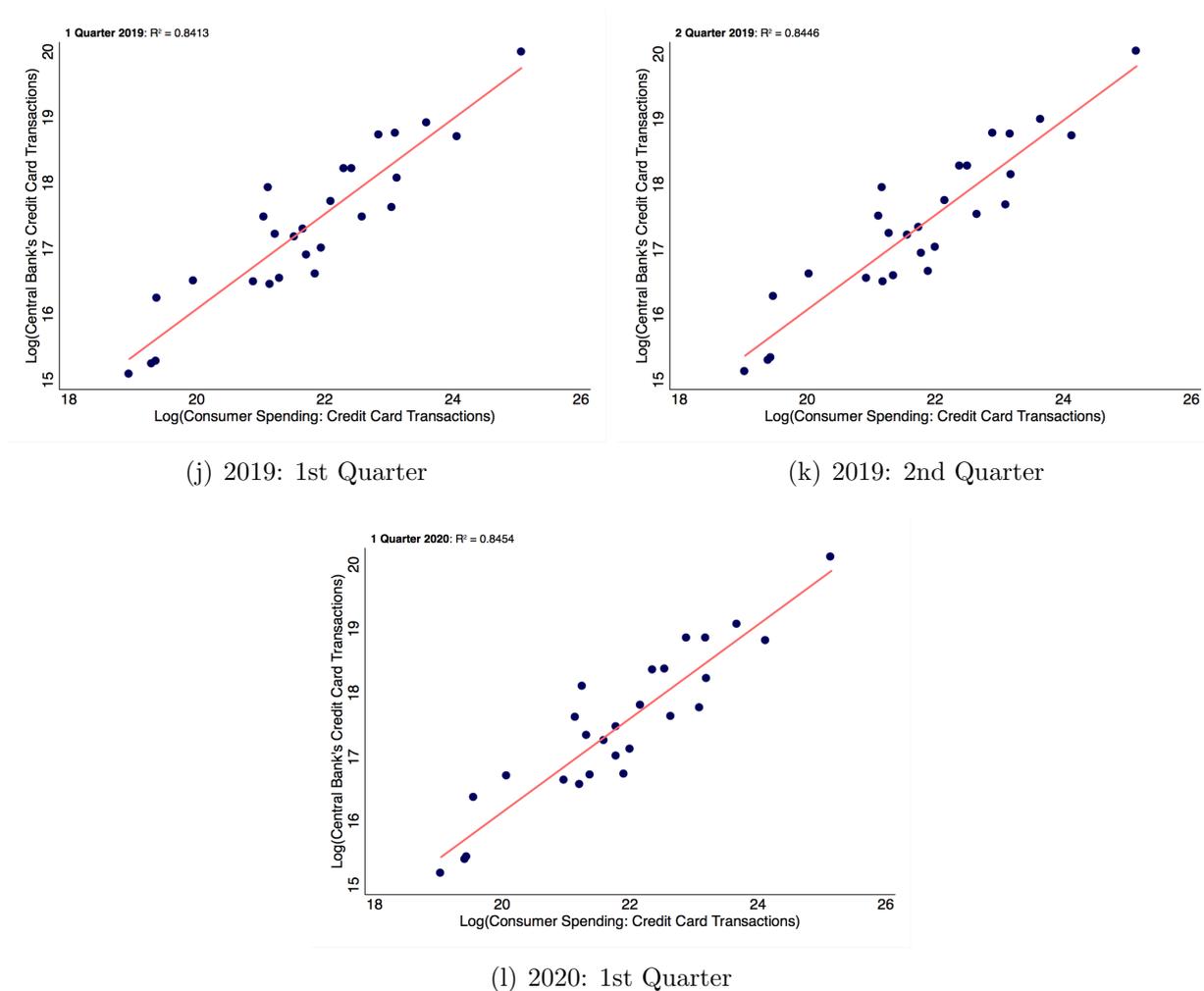


**Figure A.5.** Social Distancing Measures: Comparing Google and In Loco for each Brazilian State (continued)



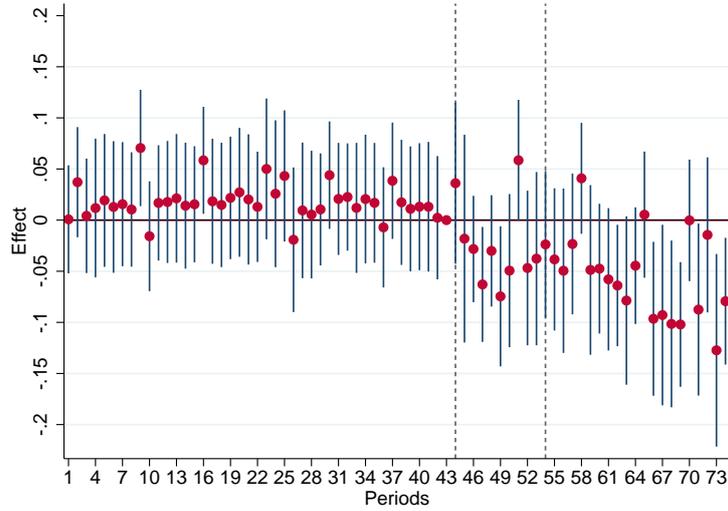
*Notes.* These figures show the correlation between In Loco’s social distancing index and Google’s social distancing index. We use Google’s mobility trends for places of residence — see more details at [https://www.google.com/covid19/mobility/data\\_documentation.html?hl=en](https://www.google.com/covid19/mobility/data_documentation.html?hl=en). There are 27 scatter plots, one for each Brazilian state. Each point in the scatter shows a date between 15 February and 11 April 2020.

Figure A.6. Correlation between Card Expenses Data and Central Bank Data



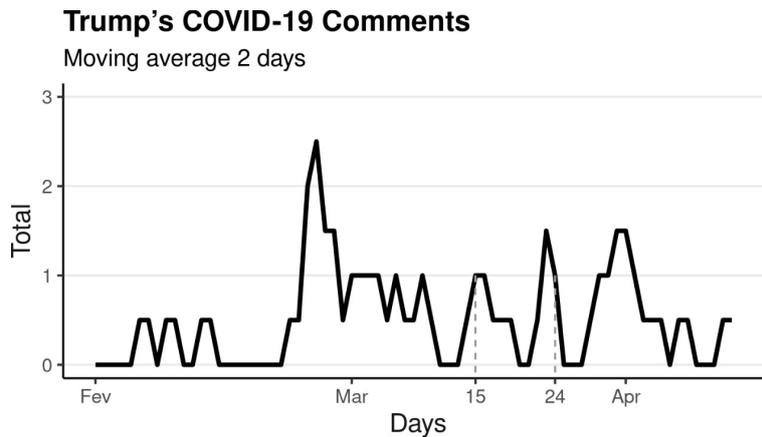
Notes. The figures show the correlation between our measure of credit card expenses (“Consumer Spending: Credit Card Transactions”) and Brazil’s Central Bank data on the universe of credit card expenses. Central Bank data is quarterly data aggregated at the state level. Our measure of credit card expenses—daily information at the municipality level—is aggregated at the state level to be consistent with Central Bank’s quarterly data. There are 3 scatter plots, one for each of the following quarters: first quarter 2019, second quarter 2019 and first quarter 2020. Each point in the scatter shows one of Brazil’s 27 states.

**Figure A.7.** Social Distancing: Day-by-Day Effects



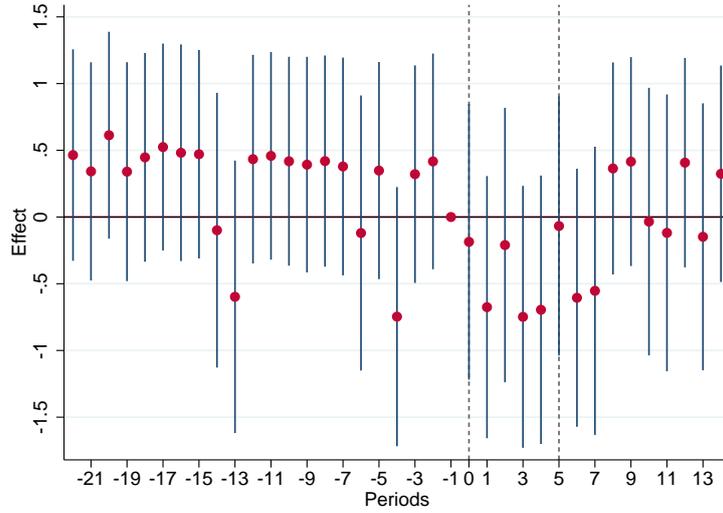
*Notes.* All results are expressed in percentage points (0-1 scale). The figure shows the day-by-day results using Equation 1, where the government support variable equals share of votes for the president in the first round of the 2018 elections. Coefficients estimated from the empirical model in Section IV for 3,975 municipalities for which data on social distancing index is available. Data are provided at the municipality-day level. The period before the first prominent event is normalized to zero at  $t=-1$ . The dependent variable is the social distancing index for municipality  $m$  on day  $d$ . Standard errors are clustered at state-day level. Confidence intervals: 95%.

**Figure A.8.** Timeline of Trump’s COVID-19 Comments



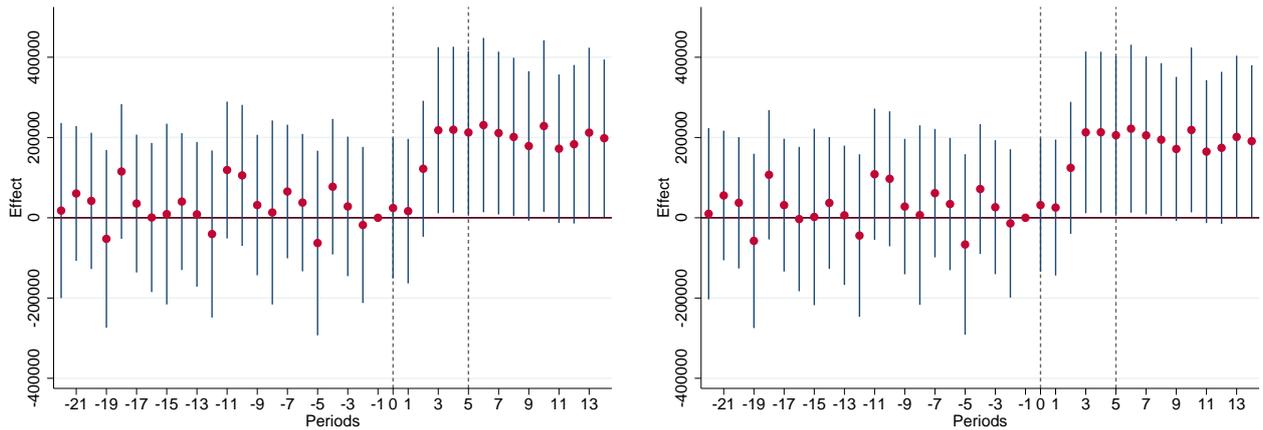
*Notes.* The figure reports the counts (moving average 2-days) of Trump’s COVID-related comments from <https://www.factcheck.org/>, which show the timeline of Trump’s COVID-19 comments. There were 32 COVID-related comments by Trump in our period of analysis.

Figure A.9. Protests



Notes. All results are expressed in percentage points (0-1 scale). The figure shows the day-by-day results using Equation 1, where the government support variable equals share of votes for the president in the first round of the 2018 elections. Coefficients estimated from the empirical model in Section IV for 3,975 municipalities for which data on social distancing index is available. Data are provided at the municipality-day level. The period before the first prominent event is normalized to zero at  $t=-1$ . The dependent variable is a binary variable that takes a one if there was a protest in municipality  $m$  on day  $d$ . Standard errors are clustered at state-day level. Confidence intervals: 95%.

Figure A.10. Total Credit Card Expenses

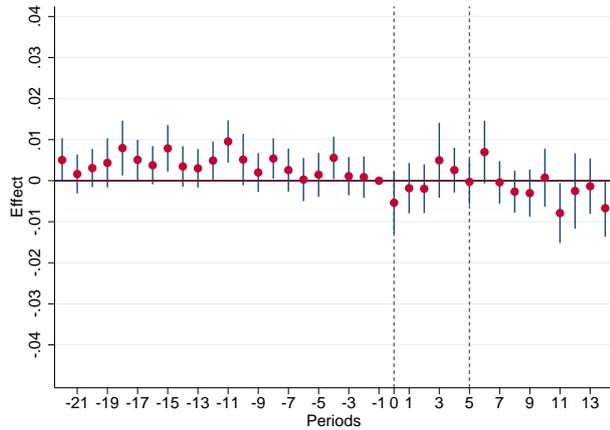


(a) (Total) In-person expenses

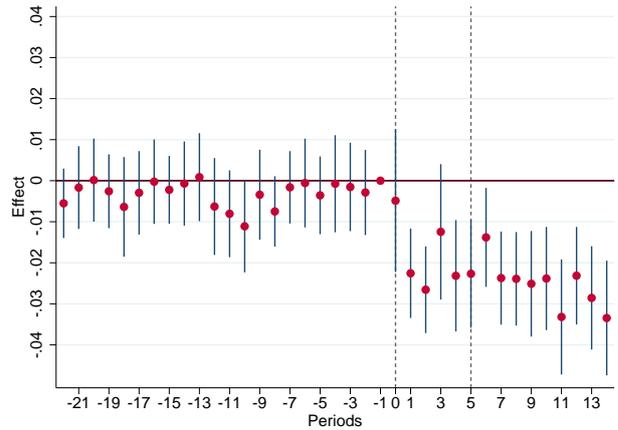
(b) (Total) In-person expenses ex-pharmacy

Notes. Coefficients estimated from the empirical model in Section IV for 3,975 municipalities for which data on social distancing index is available. The day before each intervention is normalized to zero at  $t=-1$ . Vertical dotted lines indicate the two prominent events. Panel (a): dependent variable is the total value of in-person credit card expenses in municipality  $m$  on day  $d$ . Panel (b): the dependent variable is the total value of in-person credit card expenses (excluding purchases in pharmacies) in municipality  $m$  on day  $d$ . Results of panels (a) and (b) are expressed in R\$. The government support variable equals share of votes for the president in the first round of the 2018 elections (the scale is 0-1). Standard Errors clustered at state-day level. Confidence intervals: 95%.

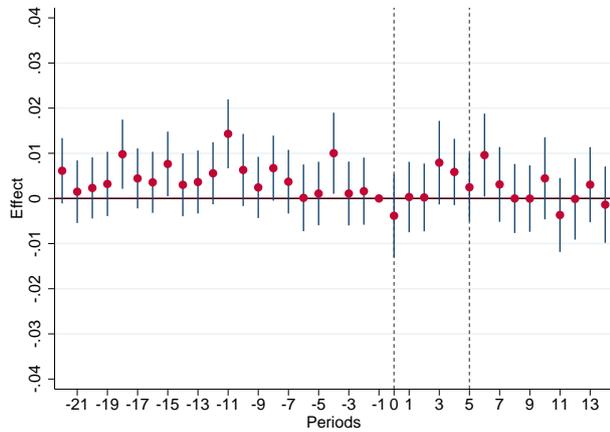
**Figure A.11.** Average Effect on Social Distancing by Media, Twitter, and Evangelical Parishioners: Using Support for Bolsonaro Above State Median



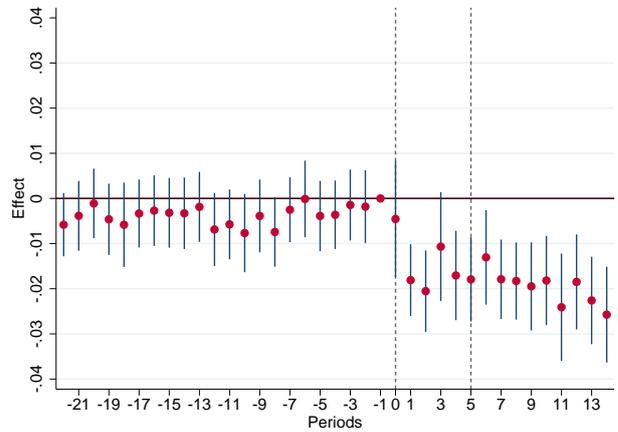
(a) No local TV broadcaster in the municipality



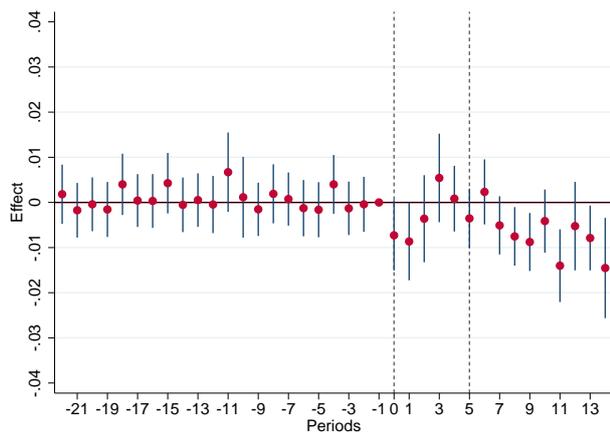
(b) At least one local TV broadcaster in the municipality



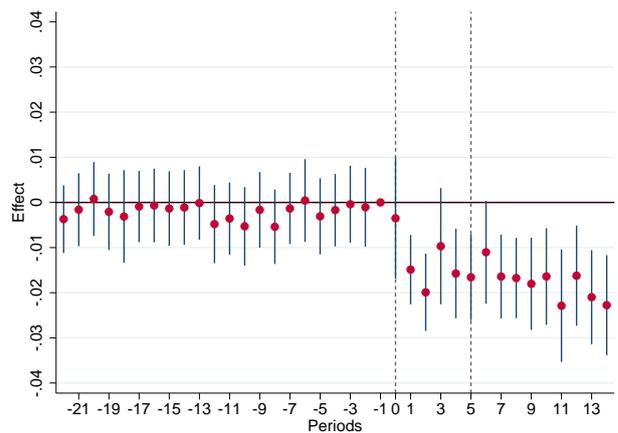
(c) No Twitter activity



(d) Some Twitter activity



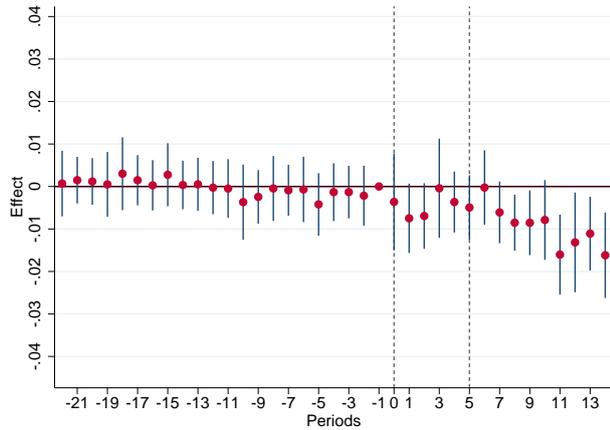
(e) Below p50 of % Evangelical parishioners



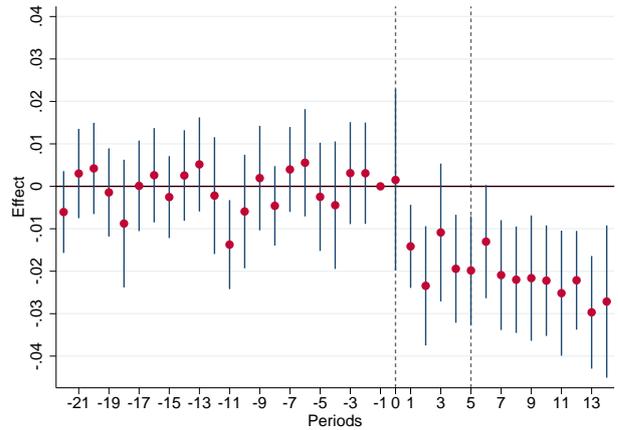
(f) Above p50 of % of Evangelical parishioners

*Notes.* All results are expressed in percentage points (0-1 scale). Coefficients estimated from the empirical model in Section IV for 3,975 municipalities for which data on social distancing index is available. Data are provided at the municipality-day level. The period before the first prominent event is normalized to zero at  $t=-1$ . Vertical dotted lines indicate the two prominent events. The dependent variable is the social distancing index for municipality  $m$  on day  $d$ . The government support variable equals one if the votes for the president in the first round we above the median observed in the state. Panel (a) shows the results for municipalities without local TV broadcaster, while panel (b) present for municipalities with at least one local TV broadcaster. Panel (c) shows the results for municipalities where no Twitter activity was registered in the sampled days. Panel (d) shows the results for municipalities where some Twitter activity was registered in the sampled days (at least one tweet). Panel (e) shows the results for municipalities with below-median % of Evangelical parishioners (non-Pentecostal), while panel (f) shows for above-median. Religion data comes from the 2010 Census. Standard Errors clustered at state-day level. Confidence intervals: 95%.

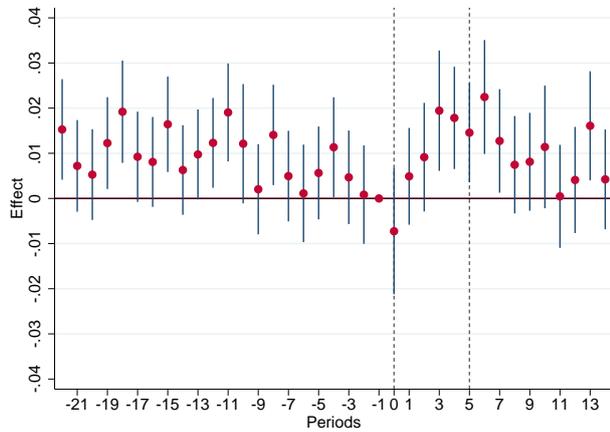
**Figure A.12.** Average Effect on Social Distancing by Media, Twitter, and Evangelical Parishioners: Using Support for Bolsonaro Above 50% of Votes



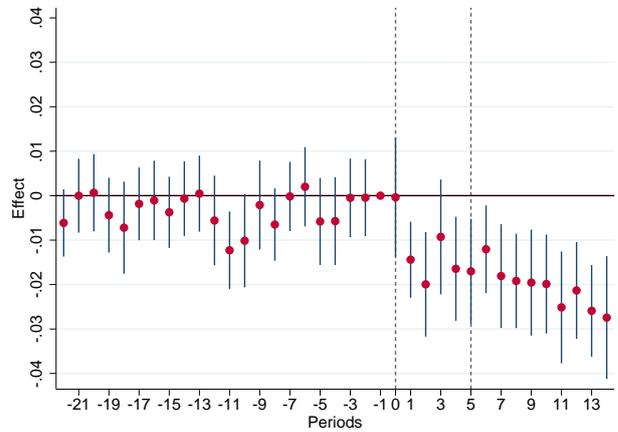
(a) No local TV broadcaster in the municipality



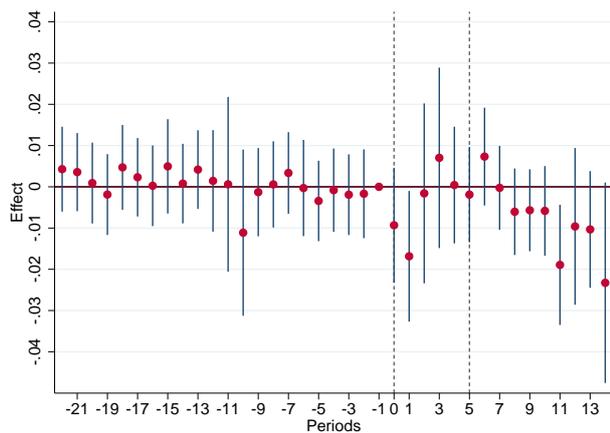
(b) At least one local TV broadcaster in the municipality



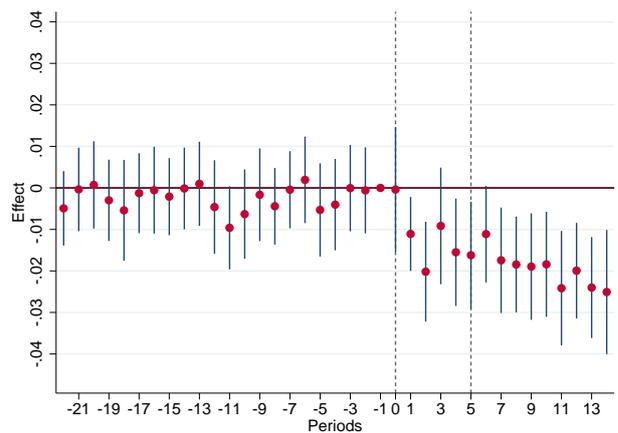
(c) No Twitter activity



(d) Some Twitter activity



(e) Below p50 of % Evangelical parishioners



(f) Above p50 of % of Evangelical parishioners

*Notes.* All results are expressed in percentage points (0-1 scale). Coefficients estimated from the empirical model in Section IV for 3,975 municipalities for which data on social distancing index is available. Data are provided at the municipality-day level. The period before the first prominent event is normalized to zero at  $t=-1$ . Vertical dotted lines indicate the two prominent events. The dependent variable is the social distancing index for municipality  $m$  on day  $d$ . The government support variable equals one for municipalities where votes for the president was above 50% in the first round of the 2018 election. Panel (a) shows the results for municipalities without local TV broadcaster, while panel (b) present for municipalities with at least one local TV broadcaster. Panel (c) shows the results for municipalities where no Twitter activity was registered in the sampled days. Panel (d) shows the results for municipalities where some Twitter activity was registered in the sampled days (at least one tweet). Panel (e) shows the results for municipalities with below-median % of Evangelical parishioners (non-Pentecostal), while panel (f) shows for above-median. Religion data comes from the 2010 Census. Standard Errors clustered at state-day level. Confidence intervals: 95%.

**TABLE A.1.** Summary statistics

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	N
Social distancing index	0.37	0.15	294,150
Share of votes	0.39	0.20	294,150
Pro-government dummy: above state median	0.50	0.50	294,150
Pro-government dummy: 50% of votes	0.38	0.48	294,150
Poverty dummy	0.50	0.50	294,150
Rurality dummy	0.50	0.50	294,150
Population (in thousands) in 2019	50.57	260.99	294,150
Share of evangelic in 2010	0.16	0.08	293,928
Share of evangelic pentecostal in 2010	0.10	0.06	293,928
Share of housing units with internet in 2010	0.05	0.04	293,928
= 1 if munic has a local TV broadcaster in 2018	0.09	0.29	294,150
Per capita credit card expenses	4.51	11.71	293,780
Per capita in-person credit card expenses	3.38	8.51	293,780
Per capita in-person credit card expenses (excl. pharmacies)	3.22	8.15	293,780
=1 if NPIs in munic: social dist, agglomeration, face masks	0.03	0.17	201,576

*Notes.* Total number of observations  $N$  is 294,150, which represents 74 days and 3,975 spatial units (municipalities). The social distancing index varies from zero to one. The poverty dummy equals one if the municipal poverty rate is above the national-level median. The rurality dummy equals one if the proportion of residents living in rural areas is above the national-level median. Active population is defined as the proportion of men aged 15 to 64. See Section III for more details on the data.

**TABLE A.2.** Baseline Results: Coefficients

Periods	Dependent Variable: Social distancing index			
	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)
Period = -22	0.115 (0.01739)	0.0179 (0.01912)	0.00864 (0.01858)	0.000903 (0.02248)
Period = -21	0.0507 (0.01488)	-0.00778 (0.01727)	-0.0152 (0.01629)	-0.0100 (0.02532)
Period = -20	0.0493 (0.01411)	-0.00697 (0.01788)	-0.0141 (0.01697)	-0.00197 (0.02603)
Period = -19	0.0683 (0.01460)	0.00298 (0.01767)	-0.00563 (0.01687)	-0.00503 (0.02404)
Period = -18	0.118 (0.01750)	0.0160 (0.02180)	0.00399 (0.02172)	0.00936 (0.02718)
Period = -17	0.0767 (0.01404)	0.00479 (0.01753)	-0.00517 (0.01690)	-0.000756 (0.02391)
Period = -16	0.0511 (0.01377)	-0.00866 (0.01772)	-0.0177 (0.01695)	-0.000329 (0.02526)
Period = -15	0.109 (0.01655)	0.0169 (0.01790)	0.00655 (0.01694)	0.0189 (0.02259)
Period = -14	0.0643 (0.01442)	-0.0103 (0.01763)	-0.0210 (0.01684)	-0.00140 (0.02484)
Period = -13	0.0455 (0.01532)	-0.0125 (0.01883)	-0.0219 (0.01804)	0.00643 (0.02502)
Period = -12	0.0890 (0.01465)	-0.00803 (0.01840)	-0.0216 (0.01767)	-0.00142 (0.02444)
Period = -11	0.130 (0.01722)	-0.00780 (0.01916)	-0.0285 (0.01853)	0.0199 (0.02798)
Period = -10	0.101 (0.02114)	-0.0340 (0.02419)	-0.0535 (0.02374)	-0.00603 (0.02594)
Period = -9	0.0584 (0.01765)	-0.00938 (0.02207)	-0.0192 (0.02175)	-0.0106 (0.02596)
Period = -8	0.131 (0.01733)	0.0217 (0.01880)	0.0103 (0.01785)	0.00917 (0.02221)
Period = -7	0.102 (0.01488)	0.0242 (0.01805)	0.0150 (0.01754)	0.00363 (0.02252)
Period = -6	0.0255 (0.01382)	-0.0217 (0.01736)	-0.0301 (0.01654)	-0.00176 (0.02557)
Period = -5	0.0178 (0.01708)	-0.0372 (0.01900)	-0.0485 (0.01885)	-0.0131 (0.02422)
Period = -4	0.0789 (0.01663)	-0.00662 (0.01854)	-0.0194 (0.01792)	0.00992 (0.02367)
Period = -3	0.0293 (0.01383)	-0.0288 (0.01774)	-0.0391 (0.01697)	-0.00595 (0.02503)
Period = -2	0.00102 (0.01425)	-0.0409 (0.01782)	-0.0509 (0.01709)	-0.0103 (0.02518)
Period = -1 (base period)	0	0	0	0
Period = 0	-0.000220 (0.02586)	-0.0351 (0.02550)	-0.0403 (0.02493)	-0.0412 (0.03170)
Period = 1	0.0841 (0.02512)	-0.0300 (0.03224)	-0.0483 (0.03302)	-0.0645 (0.02341)
Period = 2	0.127 (0.03068)	-0.00133 (0.03949)	-0.0116 (0.04038)	-0.0800 (0.02858)
Period = 3	0.146 (0.02477)	0.00283 (0.03025)	-0.0134 (0.03078)	-0.0122 (0.03316)
Period = 4	0.109 (0.02010)	-0.0573 (0.02568)	-0.0768 (0.02588)	-0.0488 (0.03072)
Period = 5	0.0843 (0.01665)	-0.0726 (0.02141)	-0.0899 (0.02117)	-0.0620 (0.02958)
Period = 6	0.182 (0.01954)	-0.0113 (0.02227)	-0.0310 (0.02175)	-0.00925 (0.02785)
Period = 7	0.110 (0.01468)	-0.0724 (0.01948)	-0.0930 (0.01860)	-0.0661 (0.02905)
Period = 8	0.0787 (0.01414)	-0.0789 (0.01751)	-0.0965 (0.01654)	-0.0790 (0.02598)
Period = 9	0.0861 (0.01481)	-0.0742 (0.01993)	-0.0900 (0.01924)	-0.0797 (0.02906)
Period = 10	0.116 (0.01741)	-0.0593 (0.02222)	-0.0791 (0.02142)	-0.0636 (0.03084)
Period = 11	0.0543 (0.01788)	-0.105 (0.02492)	-0.123 (0.02467)	-0.115 (0.03273)
Period = 12	0.0558 (0.02181)	-0.0783 (0.02505)	-0.0888 (0.02498)	-0.0692 (0.02971)
Period = 13	0.113 (0.01897)	-0.0629 (0.02363)	-0.0828 (0.02294)	-0.0690 (0.03289)
Period = 14	0.0478 (0.01910)	-0.136 (0.02557)	-0.158 (0.02527)	-0.121 (0.03257)
Municipality FE & Day FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Poverty dummy × Day FE	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Rural dummy × Day FE	No	No	Yes	Yes
State-Day FE	No	No	No	Yes
Observations	294,076	294,076	294,076	294,076
Number of Municipalities	3,950	3,950	3,950	3,950

Notes. The baseline period is the day before the first main event. The unit of observation is a municipality-day. Robust standard errors (in parentheses) are clustered at the state-day level. All four models – columns (i) to (iv) – include both municipality and day fixed effects (FE). Poverty is a dummy that equals one if the municipality's income is below the national median. Rural dummy equals one if the municipality's population located in rural areas is below the national median.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

## B Appendix: Context and Chronology

In this appendix, we detail the pandemic-related events from Bolsonaro’s actions and speeches, from the beginning of the pandemic in Brazil until April 14. It is important to notice that in this period there were five official presidential pronouncements (all of them related to the pandemic). This type of message is particularly relevant because every TV or radio station in the country must mandatorily broadcast the pronouncement. They are thus rare and reserved for especially relevant communications from the president. The text of each of these speeches can be accessed at: <https://www.gov.br/planalto/pt-br/acompanhe-o-planalto/pronunciamentos>. In the Appendix C below, we include the translation of each of the public official pronouncements during our period of analysis.

- (i) In the first official pronouncement on March 6, Bolsonaro stated that people “must strictly follow experts’ recommendations on the best protective measures.” There were no clear guidelines on social distancing.
- (ii) On an official visit to the United States on March 10, the president recognized that there is an international crisis related to COVID-19. On March 12, he appeared with his health minister on television, and both were wearing face masks. Many members of his cabinet who went on the official mission to the United States tested positive for COVID-19. He was therefore at risk of being infected as he stated on television. The health minister recommended postponing public protests against the Congress and the Supreme Federal Court (STF) scheduled for the coming Sunday, on March 15.

In the second official pronouncement later that day, Bolsonaro stated that the public demonstrations should be “reconsidered” given the “current events.” Therefore, there was actually no clear message against social distancing.

- (iii) The protests against the Congress and the Supreme Court took place on March 15. Bolsonaro, despite possibly being infected with COVID-19 (his test result was released on March 16), joined one of the demonstrations in Brasilia. He took selfies and fist bumped several supporters, as well as posted a record number of tweets (47) since becoming president. Most of these tweets included videos of the rallies across different cities in the country.

His behavior quickly captured the interest of national and international media. On March 16, a picture of Bolsonaro participating in the demonstration appeared on the front page of the three largest newspapers in Brazil (*Folha de Sao Paulo*, *O Globo* and *Estadao*), with headlines directly alluding to his actions in relation to virus prevention and his “bad example to the nation”. The news reached several international outlets — see FT (2020).<sup>16</sup>

- (iv) On March 18, Bolsonaro and several of his ministers, spoke with the press and presented policies aimed at mitigating the economic and health impacts of the pandemic. They were all using face masks and there was no direct message on social distancing.
- (v) On March 24, the third pronouncement took place. In the first two pronouncements (March 6 and 12), the president gave short speeches and the messages were not related to

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<sup>16</sup>Each of the main newspapers’ front pages can be downloaded from <https://vercapas.com.br>.

social distancing. He emphasized the work of the federal government and tried to calm and encourage people to follow the prevention measures recommended by specialists.

Notably, the tone of these messages completely changed in his speech on March 24. This time, Bolsonaro directly referred to the social distancing policies implemented by the sub-national governments. He first emphasized that the risk group was mainly the elderly and argued that there was no point in closing schools. He also stressed that jobs should be maintained and criticized the media for diffusing news about Italy (“a country with a large elderly population and completely different weather”).

He spoke of his personal situation, contending that because of his “history of athleticism,” he need not worry even if he got infected. As with the public protests on March 15 (and unlike any of his previous or subsequent official communications), his speech made the front pages of the main national newspapers the following day, all of which explicitly reported his position against social distancing and contrary to “world trends”. Similarly to March 15, his message again reached international media outlets (e.g., [The Washington Post](#), 2020a).

- (vi) In the next official pronouncement on March 31, Bolsonaro’s attitude was more moderate. He cited the World Health Organization, and applauded the policies implemented by the federal and state governments to mitigate the effects of the pandemic. If anything, the media’s interpretation was that Bolsonaro was “toning down” his message.
- (vii) Finally, on April 8, the president’s pronouncement maintained the same character of the previous one, praising his policies and the coordination of the federal government with the states. Again, the media interpreted that Bolsonaro was “toning down” his message.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>Folha, the largest newspaper in Brazil, for example, stated on April 1 that “Bolsonaro changes his tone, and speaks about a pact and a challenge for this generation”, while O Globo stated that “Cases in the country hit a record, and Bolsonaro, isolated, moderates his tone”.

## C Appendix: The President’s Pronouncements

In this appendix, we provide an English transcription of all official pronouncements made by Brazil’s President from January 1, 2020 to June 30, 2020. During this period, the President made six official pronouncements: March 6, March 12, March 24, March 31, April 8, and April 16.<sup>18</sup> Recall that the World Health Organization (WHO) had declared the COVID-19 outbreak a global pandemic on March 11, 2020.

### C.1 Pronouncement on March 6

“Good night.

The world faces a big challenge. In recent months, a new virus has emerged, against which we have no immunity. The cases started in China, but the virus is already present on all continents.

Brazil strengthened its surveillance system in ports, airports, and health facilities and was the first country in South America to deal with the disease. Since then, we have transmitted daily, transparent information to all states and municipalities so that each one can better organize services’ delivery to the population.

The Federal Government has been providing technical guidance to all states through the Ministry of Health.

The other ministries joined forces and, together with the other branches, will continue to guarantee our institutions’ functioning until the return to normality.

I determined actions that expand the functioning of health posts and strengthen our hospitals and laboratories.

I call on the Brazilian population, especially health professionals, to work together and overcome this situation together. The moment demands union.

Although the problem may get worse, there is no reason to panic. Strictly following the experts’ recommendations is the best preventive measure.

May God protect and bless our Brazil.”

### C.2 Pronouncement on March 12

“In light of the Coronavirus’s outbreak in many countries, the World Health Organization has responsibly classified the current situation as a pandemic.

The Brazilian Health System, like other countries, has a limit on the number of patients that can be treated. The government is careful to keep the evolution of the situation under control. The number of infected people will likely increase in the coming days, without, however, be the cause of any panic.

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<sup>18</sup>The text of each of these speeches can be accessed at: <https://www.gov.br/planalto/pt-br/acompanhe-o-planalto/pronunciamentos>.

There is a more significant concern, for obvious reasons, with the elderly. There is also a recommendation from health authorities to avoid large popular concentrations. We want the population to be active and zealous regarding public affairs, but we can never jeopardize our people's health.

The spontaneous and legitimate movements, scheduled for March 15, serve the interests of the nation. Guided by law and order, they demonstrate the maturity of our democracy and are evident expressions of our freedom. However, in the light of recent events, they need to be rethought.

Our health and our family members' health must be preserved. The moment is one of union, serenity, and common sense.

We cannot forget, however, that Brazil has changed. The people are attentive and demand from us respect for the Constitution and zeal for the public money.

For this reason, the motivations of the public will remain alive and unwavering.

May God bless our Brazil.”

### **C.3 Pronouncement on March 24**

“Good night.

Since we rescued our brothers in Wuhan, China, during an operation coordinated by the Ministries of Defense and Foreign Affairs, the yellow light has appeared for us.

We started to prepare to face the Coronavirus because we knew that it would arrive in Brazil sooner or later. Our Minister of Health met with almost all health state secretaries to build the strategic plan to fight the virus. Since then, Dr. Henrique Mandetta has been doing an excellent job of clarifying and preparing the SUS to care for possible victims.

But, what we had to contain at that moment was panic, hysteria and, at the same time, devise a strategy to save lives and avoid mass unemployment. We did so, almost against everything and against everyone.

Much of the media went against the grain. They spread exactly the feeling of dread, with the announcement of the large number of victims in Italy as their flagship. A country with a large number of older people and a climate totally different from ours. The perfect scenario, enhanced by the media, for a real hysteria to spread throughout our country.

However, it is clear that from yesterday to today, part of the press has changed its editorial: they ask for calm and tranquility. This is very good, congratulations to the Brazilian media. It is essential that balance and truth prevail among us.

The virus has arrived, is being faced by us, and will soon pass. Our life must go on. Jobs must be maintained. The livelihood of families must be preserved. We must, yes, return to normality.

A few state and local authorities must abandon the scorched earth concept, the transportation block, the closure of trade, and mass confinement.

What is happening in the world has shown that the risk group is that of people over 60 years old. So why close schools? Fatal cases of healthy people under the age of 40 are rare. 90% of us will have no manifestation if one gets contaminated. Yes, we must be extremely concerned about not transmitting the virus to others, especially to our dear parents and grandparents, respecting the Ministry of Health guidelines.

In my particular case, due to my athlete's background, if the virus infected me, I wouldn't have to worry, I wouldn't feel anything or I would, at most, have a cold or a little cold, as the well-known doctor from that well-known television said.

While I am speaking, the world is seeking treatment for the disease. The American FDA and Albert Einstein Hospital, in São Paulo, are seeking proof of the effectiveness of chloroquine in the treatment of Covid-19. Our government has received positive news about this medicine manufactured in Brazil, widely used in the fight against malaria, lupus, and arthritis.

I believe in God, who will train scientists and researchers from Brazil and the world to cure this disease.

I take this opportunity to pay my tribute to all health professionals – doctors, nurses, technicians, and collaborators – who at the front receive us in hospitals, treat us, and comfort us.

As I have been saying since the beginning, without panic or hysteria, we will overcome the virus and be proud to be living in this new Brazil, which has everything, yes, everything to be a great nation.

We are together, increasingly united.

God bless our dear homeland.”

## C.4 Pronouncement on March 31

“Good night.

I come at this important time to address you all.

Since the beginning of the government, we have worked on all fronts to solve historical problems and improve people's lives. Brazil has come a long way in these 15 months, but now we are facing the greatest challenge of our generation.

My concern has always been to save lives, both those that will be lost by the pandemic and those that will be affected by unemployment, violence, and hunger.

I put myself in the place of the people, and I understand their anguishes. Protective measures must be implemented in a rational, responsible, and coordinated manner.

In this sense, Mr. Tedros Adhanom, Director-General of the World Health Organization, said he knew that “many people, in fact, have to work every day to earn their daily bread” and that “governments have to take this population into account”.

He went on to say, “if we close or limit movements, what will happen to these people, who have to work every day and who have to earn their daily bread every day?” He continues, “So each country, based on its situation, should answer this question.”

The WHO director also states that, concerning each measure, “we have to see what it means for the individual on the streets” and adds “I come from a poor family, I know what it means always to be concerned about your daily bread and that must be taken into account, because every individual matters. The way each individual is affected by our actions has to be considered”.

I do not use these words to deny the importance of measures to prevent and control the pandemic but to show in the same way that we need to think about the most vulnerable. This has been my concern from the beginning.

What will become of the street vendor, the barbecue vendor, the day laborer, the bricklayer's assistant, the truck driver, and the other freelancers I have been in contact with throughout my public life?

That is why I determined that our Minister of Health should spare no effort, supporting through SUS all the states of Brazil, increasing the capacity, and preparing the health network to fight the pandemic.

Thus, new beds are already being purchased with respirators, personal protective equipment, test kits, and other necessary supplies.

I also ordered our Minister of Economy to adopt all possible measures to protect, above all, the Brazilians' jobs and income.

We did this through financial aid to states and municipalities, credit lines for companies, monthly aid of R\$ 600 to informal and vulnerable workers, entry of over 1.2 million families in the Bolsa Família program, we also postponed the payment of debts of states and municipalities, just to mention some of the measures adopted.

Besides, today, in agreement with the pharmaceutical industry, we decided to postpone the readjustment of medicines in Brazil for 60 days.

We have a mission: to save lives, without leaving jobs behind.

On the one hand, we have to be cautious and cautious with everyone, especially with the elderly and those with pre-existing diseases.

On the other hand, we have to fight unemployment, which is growing rapidly, especially among the poorest.

We will fulfill this mission while taking care of people's health.

The virus is a reality, there is still no vaccine against it or medicine with scientifically proven efficiency, although hydroxychloroquine seems quite effective.

The Coronavirus came, and one day it will go away; unfortunately, we will have losses along this path. I myself have lost loved ones in the past, and I know how painful it is. We all have to avoid as much as possible any loss of human life. As the Director-General of WHO said, "Every individual matters."

At the same time, we must avoid the destruction of jobs, which is already causing a lot of suffering for Brazilian workers.

At the last G-20 meeting, we, the Heads of State and Government, pledged to protect lives and preserve jobs. I will do so.

Since February, I determined the use of the Armed Forces to fight the Coronavirus. The Ministry of Defense has rescued Brazilians in China. Now the Armed Forces act in support of the Health and Safety areas throughout Brazil. An Operations Center was created to coordinate the actions, and 10 Joint Commands were created, covering the entire national territory. They carry out activities ranging from setting up patient screening stations, supporting information campaigns and vaccination campaigns, logistics, and transportation of medicines. The Military Chemical-Pharmaceutical Laboratories entered with full force, and, in 12 days, one million chloroquine tablets will be produced, in addition to hand sanitizers.

I repeat: the side effect of measures to combat the Coronavirus cannot be worse than the disease itself.

My obligation as the president goes beyond the next few months. Prepare Brazil for its resumption, reorganize our economy and mobilize all our resources and energy to make Brazil

even stronger after the pandemic.

I take this opportunity to express my solidarity and thank the efforts and personal sacrifice of all health professionals, in the security area, truck drivers, and all service workers considered essential that are keeping the country functioning, as well as the men and women in the countryside who produce our food.

With this same spirit, I thank and reaffirm the importance of collaboration and the necessary union of all in a great pact to preserve life and jobs: parliament, judiciary, governors, mayors, and society.

God bless our beloved Brazil.”

## C.5 Pronouncement on April 8

“Good night!

We live a unique moment in our history.

To be President of the Republic is to look at the whole and not just the parts. There is no doubt that our primary objective has always been to save lives.

I would like, first of all, to show my solidarity with the families that lost their loved ones in this war that we are facing.

I have a responsibility to decide on the country’s issues broadly, using the ministers’ team I have chosen to lead the nation’s destinies. Everyone must be in tune with me.

I have always said that we had two problems to solve, the virus and unemployment, which should be dealt with simultaneously.

I respect the autonomy of governors and mayors. Many measures, whether restrictive or not, are their sole responsibility. The Federal Government has not been consulted on its scope or duration. I hope that soon we will come out together and stronger so that we can better develop our country.

As stated by the Director-General of the World Health Organization, each country has its particularities, that is, the solution is not the same for everyone. The most humble cannot stop moving to get their daily bread.

The consequences of treatment cannot be more harmful than the disease itself. Unemployment also leads to poverty, hunger, misery, in short, death itself. In this spirit, I have instructed my ministers.

After listening to doctors, researchers, and heads of state from other countries, I started to publicize, in the last 40 days, the possibility of treating the disease since its initial phase.

A little while ago, I talked to Dr. Roberto Kalil. I congratulated him for his honesty and commitment to the Hippocratic Oath, assuming that he not only used Hydroxychloroquine, but also gave it to dozens of patients. Everyone is saved.

He told me more: that, despite not having completed the testing protocol, he administered the medication now, so as not to regret it in the future. This decision could go down in history as having saved thousands of lives in Brazil. Our congratulations to Dr. Kalil.

We have more good news. As a result of my direct conversation with the Prime Minister of India, we will receive, until Saturday, the raw material for continuing producing Hydroxychloroquine, so that we can treat COVID-19 patients, as well as malaria, lupus, and arthritis. I thank Prime

Minister Narendra Modi and the Indian people for this very timely help to the Brazilian people.

Starting tomorrow, we will begin paying the R\$ 600.00 of emergency aid to support informal workers, unemployed, and micro-entrepreneurs for three months.

We also granted exemption from the electricity bill's payment to beneficiaries of the social tariff for three months, serving more than nine million families whose bills are up to R\$ 150.00.

We made 60 billion available through Caixa Econômica Federal to be used as working capital for micro, small and medium-sized enterprises, and civil construction companies.

Beneficiaries of Bolsa Família, which are almost 60 million people, will also receive a supplementary allowance for Emergency Aid.

In June, we also authorized the withdrawal of up to R\$ 1,045.00 to those who have an account linked to FGTS.

We repatriated more than 11,000 Brazilians who were abroad, in an effort led by Itamaraty, Ministry of Defense and Embratur.

I am sure that the vast majority of Brazilians want to go back to work.

This has always been my guide to all ministers, observing the rules of the Ministry of Health.

When I leave the Presidency, I intend to give my successor a much better Brazil than the one I found in January last year.

Let us follow John 8:32: "And ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free!"

I wish everyone a Good Friday of reflection and a Happy Easter Sunday!

God bless our Brazil!"

## **C.6 Pronouncement on April 16**

"Good afternoon. Now I just finished a meeting with Minister Mandetta, approximately 30 minutes, and we discussed the current situation of the Ministry, as well as the pandemic, a very productive conversation, very cordial, where we sealed a cycle at the Ministry of Health. As was expected by me, he volunteered to participate in a transition as smooth as possible, with the greatest wealth of details that can be offered. By common agreement, but that is not the technical term, I will exonerate him from the Ministry in the next few hours.

It was really a consensual divorce, because above me, as President, and of him, as a Minister, is the health of the Brazilian people. Life for us all comes first. The issue of the Coronavirus is taking place all over the world, and each country has its specificities, as the WHO chief rightly said. In Brazil, it is no different.

As the President of the Republic, I coordinate 22 ministries and, in most cases, the problem is not related to just one Ministry. When we talk about health, we talk about life, and we can't stop talking about jobs. As an unemployed person, he will be more likely to suffer health problems than an employed person. And since the beginning of the pandemic, I addressed all the ministers and talked about life and employment. It is like a patient with two diseases, and we cannot abandon one and treat exclusively another, because, at the end of the line, that patient may lose his life.

We know about their interpretations of what one says. The interpretation depends on the editorial line or that reporter. We always talk about life and employment, never employment, and the economy in isolation. Never.

From the beginning, I tried to carry a message of tranquility. The climate of almost terror has settled amid society. This is not good, because a person who lives under stress, in an environment of hysteria, is a person who is prone to acquire new diseases or aggravate those that he already has.

We fully understand the gravity of the situation. We would like no one to lose lives, not just for this, and for no reason, because life when it comes to an end, death touches us all. I have a 93-year-old mother, she is quite old, with some comorbidities, and I hope she will live for a long time.

During that time, it is the minister's right to defend his point of view as a doctor. And the question of understanding the problem of employment also was not in the way that I thought, as President, that should be addressed. I do not condemn, I do not recriminate, and I do not criticize Minister Mandetta. He did what, as a doctor, he thought he should do.

Over that time, the separation increasingly became a reality, but we cannot make decisions so that the work done by him until now is lost. What I talked about during that time with the oncologist Dr. Nelson, next to me, went to make him understand the situation as a whole, without obviously abandoning his main interest, the maintenance of life, but without forgetting that, besides that, we had other problems. This other is the question of unemployment, which, increasingly, we see is apparent in our country. Alongside with the virus came a real machine for grinding jobs. The most humble people began to experience the problem first. They cannot stay at home for long.

Therefore, it is not what we would like to do; it is what can be done. We cannot harm those most in need. They cannot stay at home for long without looking for their food. And the first to suffer from this were informal ones, in the order of 38 million in Brazil. Jobs with a formal contract, we also see, as we have talked to the whole society, are increasingly being destroyed. If it reaches such a level, what we do not want is that the return to normality and other problems will appear in addition to taking a long time. We are concerned that this return to normality arrives as soon as possible.

So, even before other measures, we took several measures, among them, one of the most important is Emergency Aid for exactly informal and similar workers. So the government did not abandon, at any time, the neediest.

And what I talked to Dr. Nelson is that, gradually, we have to open jobs in Brazil. This great mass of humble people cannot be trapped inside the house. And, what is worse, when I return, I have no job. And the government cannot maintain this Emergency Aid or other actions for a long time. Approximately 600 billion reais have already been spent, and we can reach R\$ 1 trillion. I know, and I repeat that life is priceless, but the economy, employment, must return to normality, not as soon as possible, as was discussed with Dr. Nelson. Still, he has to start flexibilization so that we will not suffer precisely from it.

We all, Executive branch, Legislative branch, Judiciary decisions, have to make these decisions with great prudence. The government is not an eternal source of help. At no time was I consulted on measures taken by most governors and mayors. I'm sure they knew what they were doing. The price will be high. Did they have to do anything? They did, but if, perhaps, they have exaggerated, do not hold others accountable, not the Federal Government, do not put this bill, on the backs of our suffering Brazilian people.

We do not want to create any controversy here with another branch. They are all responsible for their actions, just as I am, as chief of the executive branch. I will not shirk my responsibility. Decisions, I am forced to make. Because I have always said, given my military background: worse than a bad decision is no decision. I will never sin by omission. That was the teaching I

had in my military career.

This will be my line of action. We set up a government that is different from the ones set up previously, which has worked. We were practically flying at the end of the last quarter. Everything was going very well. Brazil had everything to succeed, in a short space of time. This "working out" will now happen, but in a longer time, where I appeal to the other branches: the responsibility is not only mine, it belongs to all of us. The excesses that some have committed let them take responsibility for them. I would never send my Armed Forces to arrest whoever was on the streets. Never, as head of the Executive branch, will I withdraw the constitutional right to come and go, regardless of the citizen. We must take measures, yes, to prevent the proliferation or expansion of the virus, but through conviction and with actions that do not threaten the freedom and the individual guarantee of any citizen. We will never restrict any fundamental rights of a citizen. Who has the power to decree a state of defense or state of siege, after a decision, obviously, by the Brazilian Parliament, is the President of the Republic, and not the mayor or governor.

The excess will not lead to the solution of the problem; on the contrary, it will worsen. And, as I have been saying for a long time, I am sure, I have friends, from BMA, members of the Brazilian Medicine Association, that the medicine to cure a patient cannot have a more harmful side effect than the disease itself.

Therefore, the Federal Government, the President of the Republic, has a broader view than each minister per se. This is our job. These are often the decisions that we are forced to make. Problems happen in everyone's life, and we must look for the best way to solve it.

So, at that moment, in addition to thanking Mr. Henrique Mandetta, for his cordiality, for the way he conducted his Ministry, I also thank Dr. Nelson for accepting this invitation. And he knows the enormous challenge that lies ahead. A transition is beginning today, which will gradually serve to redirect the position not only of the President but of the 22 ministers who make up our government. All ministers are involved in the same cause, without exception. We are together in defense of the life of the Brazilian people, in defense of jobs and, also, obviously, seeking to bring tranquility and peace to our people.

So, I thank Dr. Nelson, to whom I pass the word now."