

Bulletin No. 10

RIGHTS IN THE PANDEMIC

MAPPING THE IMPACT OF
COVID-19
ON HUMAN RIGHTS

SÃO PAULO • 20/01/2021

OFFPRINT

Cite:

Ventura, D.; Reis, R. An unprecedented attack on human rights in Brazil: the timeline of the federal government's strategy to spread Covid-19. Offprint. Translation by Luis Misiara, revision by Jameson Martins. Bulletin Rights in the Pandemic n. 10, São Paulo, Brazil, CEPEDISA/USP and Conectas Human Rights, January 2021.

Credits:

The Bulletin entitled RIGHTS IN THE PANDEMIC - Mapping the impact of Covid-19 on human rights is a scientific publication of Conectas Human Rights and the Center for Studies and Research on Health Law (CEPEDISA) of the University of São Paulo (USP) that will be released every two weeks for a limited time.

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AN UNPRECEDENTED ATTACK ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN BRAZIL:

the timeline of the federal government's strategy to spread Covid-19

In February 2020, the Ministry of Health presented the Contingency Plan for the response to Covid-19¹. Unlike other countries², the document did not contain any reference to ethics, human rights or fundamental freedoms, not even to those related to the emergency routine, such as the management of scarce supplies or the doctor-patient relationship, ignoring both Brazilian law (Law no. 13.979, enacted on 02/06/20) and the International Health Regulations, which is in force in Brazil, both of which expressly determine that the response to emergencies must fully respect people's dignity, human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Throughout 2020, we collected federal and state regulations on Covid-19 in order to study them and assess their impact on human rights, attempting to contribute to the prevention or mitigation of negative effects. At a federal level, in addition to the absence of a focus on rights, which has already been confirmed, our research has revealed the existence of an institutional strategy that attempts to spread the virus, promoted by the Brazilian government and spearheaded by the Presidency of the Republic.

In the timeline we present below, three axes are exposed in chronological order:

1. federal normative acts, including the enacting of rules by federal authorities and bodies and presidential vetoes;
2. acts of obstruction to state and municipal government efforts to respond to the pandemic; and
3. propaganda against public health, herein defined as the political discourse that employs economic, ideological, and moral arguments, in addition to fake news and technical information without scientific verification, with the purpose of discrediting health authorities, weakening popular adherence to science-based recommendations, and to promote political activism against the public health measures required to contain the spread of Covid-19.


We must note that this is a non-exhaustive list. The events were selected from a collection from previous bulletins and from the database of the Direitos na Pandemia project; the case law of the Federal Supreme Court and the Federal Court of Accounts, in addition to official documents and speeches. Specifically with regard to the propaganda component, research was also carried out with descriptors on the Google platform to collect videos, posts, and news.

We hope this timeline will offer an overview of a process that we've been experiencing in a fragmented and often confusing fashion. The results dispel the persistent interpretation that the federal government is incompetent and negligent in terms of its management of the pandemic. On the contrary, the systematization of data, even if incomplete due to the lack of space for so many events, reveals the commitment and efficiency of the Federal Government's work in favor of the extensive spread of the virus in Brazilian territory, with the stated goal of resuming economic activity as quickly as possible and at any cost.

As a result of the strategy that, according to the Federal Court of Accounts, represents the "political choice made by the heads of Government of prioritizing economic protection", Brazil surpassed the figure of 200 thousand deaths in January 2021, many of which would've been preventable had there been a strategy to contain the disease. This constitutes an unprecedented violation of the right to life and the right to health for Brazilians without accountability for those in charge, even though institutions such as the Federal Supreme Court and the Federal Court of Accounts have pointed out, on numerous occasions, the lack of compliance with Brazilian legal order in the willful and conscious actions and omissions of federal officers.

Reiterating what has already been covered in previous editions of this bulletin, we must highlight the urgency of having an in-depth discussion regarding crimes against public health, crimes of responsibility and crimes against humanity during the Covid-19 pandemic in Brazil. ●

(Deisy Ventura and Rossana Reis, 01/15/2021)



This is a non-exhaustive survey that, by offering an overview of a process that we've been experiencing in a fragmented and often confusing fashion, dispels the persistent interpretation that the federal government is incompetent and negligent in terms of its management of the pandemic.

OUR RESEARCH REVEALS THE EXISTENCE OF AN INSTITUTIONAL STRATEGY PROMOTED BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, SPEARHEADED BY THE PRESIDENCY OF THE REPUBLIC, THAT INTENTIONALLY SEEKS TO ENSURE THE SPREAD OF THE VIRUS.

[1] Ministry of Health, National Contingency Plan for Human Infection by the novel Coronavirus COVID-19, Ministry of Health, <http://biblioteca.cofen.gov.br/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/Livreto-Plano-de-Contingencia-5-Corona2020-210x297-16mar.pdf> [2] For instance, Canada, Public health ethics framework: A guide for use in response to the COVID-19 pandemic in Canada <https://www.canada.ca/en/public-health/services/diseases/2019-novel-coronavirus-infection/canadas-reponse/ethics-framework-guide-use-response-covid-19-pandemic.html>

MARCH

Epidemiological week 10, 1^a-7/3
 Accumulated cases - 19
 Accumulated deaths - 0

NORMATIVE ACTS

RESPONSE OBSTRUCTION ACTS

PROPAGANDA

Throughout the month, the Federal Government requests pulmonary ventilators in several federal units, creating intense judicialization. Among other cases, this included the attempt to seize more than 200 pulmonary ventilators purchased by the city of Recife (PE), with the Federal Regional Court of the 5th Region (TRF-5) determining that the Federal Government should refrain from requesting inputs². At the request of the State of Mato Grosso, the Supreme Federal Court (STF) established on 05/04 that respirators acquired by the States during the pandemic are public goods, which cannot be the object of administrative requests, except in the case of a state of defense or a siege³.

Ministry of Health presents the National Contingency Plan for Human Infection by the novel Coronavirus (COVID-19) among Indigenous Peoples that does not provide concrete measures, a schedule or a definition of responsibilities, aside from not taking the participation of indigenous communities into account. In an injunction filed on 07/08⁵, the Supreme Federal Court (STF) determines the adoption of measures such as the creation of a situation room, sanitary barriers, a plan to fight Covid-19, containment of invaders and accessibility to their own health treatment or special health for indigenous villagers and non-villagers, the latter in case there are no vacancies in the Unified Health System (SUS, *Sistema Único de Saúde*)⁶.

Interministerial Ordinance No. 120 restricts only Venezuelans from entering the country by road or by land. Only on 04/29 did the government restrict the entry of foreigners of any nationality by land through Interministerial Ordinance No. 204.

FUNAI (National Foundation for the Indigenous) Ordinance No. 419 allows regional offices to grant exceptional authorizations for essential activities to be carried out in isolated indigenous communities. Modified by Ordinance No. 435, issued on 03/20, after the Federal Prosecution Office (MPF) pointed out that contact actions without the legal and technical capacity to make decisions regarding isolated peoples can aggravate the Covid-19 exposure of communities that already present little or no immune response to the virus⁸.

Enactment of Provisional Decree (MP) No. 926 amending Law 13,979 in order to, among other measures, grant the President of the Republic with the jurisdiction to decide on public services and essential activities through Decrees, in an attempt to redistribute health police powers in favor of the Federal Government. On 03/24, the Federal Supreme Court (STF) grants an injunction⁹ ensuring that the MP may not dismiss concurrent jurisdiction or the enacting of normative and administrative actions by the states, the Federal District and Municipalities¹⁰. On 08/11, the MP is converted into Law No. 14.035, of 2020, which explicitly grants to federative authorities (States and Municipalities) the power to publish decrees regarding public services and essential activities.

Collegiate Board Resolution - RDC No. 354, of March 23, 2020, decided that patients receiving drugs based on chloroquine and hydroxychloroquine through government programs would not require a special medical prescription.

Decree no. 10,292 includes religious activities of any kind and lottery offices among essential activities during the pandemic. A first instance court decision suspended its effects for a few days, but was revised by the Federal Regional Court of the 2nd Region on 3/31¹².

03/07

The President of the Republic travels to Florida (United States), considered a highly risky region. On the 10th, at an event in Miami, he states: "We obviously have a crisis right now, a small crisis. In my opinion, the coronavirus issue is mostly a fantasy, it is not all that the mainstream media is claiming throughout the world"¹.

03/15

Back in Brazil, the President calls for rallies and takes part in political demonstrations with major public gatherings, never wearing a mask, having physical contact with the protesters, disrespecting quarantine orders upon his return. At least 23 people in his entourage were infected⁴.

03/16

03/17

"The wrong part in all of it is the hysteria, it's acting like this is the end of the world. A nation like Brazil will only get rid of it when a certain number of people become infected and create antibodies", states the President in an interview with Radio Tupi⁷.

03/20

03/22

"Soon, the people will know that they were deceived by the state governors and by a large part of the media on this coronavirus issue", says the President in an interview with TV Record¹¹.

03/23

Official statement of the President of the Republic on national television: "Recent events throughout the world have shown that the population at risk [for Covid-19] is that of people aged 60 and over. So, why should we close schools?". He also stated: "In my specific case, due to my background as an athlete, were I to be infected by the virus, I wouldn't have to worry, I wouldn't feel anything or, at most, I would feel like I caught a little flu or a little cold"¹².

03/24

"Brazilians should be studied, they don't catch anything. They can jump into sewers, just go and dive into them, and nothing happens to them." The President said this to supporters in front of the Presidential Palace (Palácio da Alvorada)¹⁴.

The Federal Government Communication Office launches a campaign named "Brasil não pode parar" ("Brazil cannot stop"), conveying the information that "all over the world, cases of fatal victims of the coronavirus among young people and adults are rare", and suggesting that people disobey quarantine measures: "For self-employed workers, Brazil cannot stop. For street vendors, engineers, market salesmen, architects, bricklayers, lawyers, private teachers and service providers in general, Brazil cannot stop"¹⁵. This material was deleted after intense judicial litigation that reached the Supreme Court¹⁶.

03/25

03/26

"The virus is there. We're going to have to face it, but face it like a man, damn it. Not like a kid. Let's face the virus with reality. That's life. We all die one day."... the President said during a walk in Brasília¹⁷.

03/29

APRIL

Epidemiological week 15, 5-10/4
 Accumulated cases - 20.818
 Accumulated deaths - 699

NORMATIVE ACTS

RESPONSE OBSTRUCTION ACTS

PROPAGANDA

The Federal Council of the Brazilian Bar Association (OAB)¹⁹ makes a request for the STF so it may grant an injunction determining that the President should comply with the WHO protocol: on the adoption of social isolation measures; the compliance to the determinations of state governors and mayors related to "economic activities and public gathering rules"; non-interference in the technical work of the Ministry of Health, under the parameters of WHO recommendations; the immediate implementation of emergency benefits for unemployed, self-employed and informal workers, and the immediate inclusion in the Bolsa-Familia program of families that are on the waiting list. On 04/08, the Supreme Court grants an injunction that recognizes and ensures the exercise of competing jurisdictions by States, the Federal District and Municipalities, each in the exercise of their attributions and within the scope of their respective territories, for the adoption or maintenance of legally permitted restrictive measures during the pandemic, regardless of the occurrence of an opposing federal act, without bias towards the general jurisdiction of the Federal Government of establishing restrictive measures throughout the national territory, if deemed necessary. However, the request that the Judiciary branch should replace the discretionary judgment of the Executive branch and determine that the President should carry out specific administrative measures, even though his acts and omissions are subject to jurisdictional control, especially regarding the respect and ensuring of fundamental rights, is considered untenable.

Law No. 13.982 institutes emergency aid in the amount of BRL 600.00 for citizens over the age of 18 who are not formally employed, but work informally, individual microentrepreneurs (MEI) or Social Security taxpayers, with monthly family income below half a minimum wage per capita or three minimum wages in total, who are also not a beneficiary of other social programs or receivers of unemployment insurance. The original initiative of the Ministry of Economy determined that only BRL 200.00 would be granted; the government did not manage to forward a proposal to Congress, which ended up adapting a draft bill that has been in the process of being passed since 2017²¹. The implementation of the relief is slow, with piling failures and delays, in addition to generating long lines and people gatherings at bank offices²². In December, a failure in the beneficiary selection mechanism caused an error – data from the Federal Comptroller General (CGU) and the Federal Court of Accounts (TCU) indicated the undue receipt of the relief by about 1.2 million Brazilians²³.

The President fires the Minister of Health, Luiz Henrique Mandetta. The main reason for the dismissal is the dissent over the pandemic response strategy, particularly in relation to the early use of chloroquine. According to Mandetta, at the end of March, the President started to seek advice to oppose the Ministry of Health's data and strategy: "Bolsonaro fanatics started attending the Planalto Palace. (...) He wanted to be surrounded by people who would tell him what he wanted to hear. (...) He never had any qualms with proposing chloroquine as a drug. His concern was always 'we are going to prescribe this drug because, with that little box of chloroquine pills in hand, workers are going to start working again, they will become productive again'. (...) his project to fight the pandemic is to say that the government has the drug and those who take the drug will be fine. Whoever dies would've died anyway"²⁵.

At a ministerial meeting, the contents of which were released on 05/22 upon request of the Supreme Court²⁶, the President and several ministers express anti-democratic positions, the absence of a pandemic response plan and exclusively electoral concerns. In a rare reference to the disease, the President asks the government to misrepresent information: "So let's notify the relevant parties, the ministry in question, [you can] write down [that the individual died from] Covid-19, but you should also include [the information that] they had fibrosis, a bunch of stuff, I don't understand these things. There was a bunch of diseases there, precisely in order to avoid scaring the population. Because when we look at it, we notice an Army sergeant died, for instance. You would think he was in good health, right? A federal policeman, right? Whatever it is... And that cannot happen. So we are asking for this attention towards our colleagues, alright? Whoever needs to hear this, the ministry in question, which has someone in charge of this, right? Take the proper measures in order to avoid making the population scared"²⁹.

04/01

The President posts a video on social media stating that there was a shortage of food and other essential products at the supply center (CEASA) in the city of Contagem, due to restrictions imposed by the Minas Gerais state government. He later claims that the information was false¹⁹.

04/02

"Are you scared of catching the virus? I'm just kidding. This virus is something 60% of the people will get, or 70%. (...) I don't know of any hospital that is full", says the President in a conversation with supporters who were waiting for him in front of the Palácio do Planalto²⁰.

04/08

President posts on twitter: "I have been talking about the use of hydroxychloroquine in the treatment of covid-19 for 40 days. The use of chloroquine is increasingly found to be effective"²⁴.

04/10

"Nobody will prevent me from coming and going as I please", says the President in a pharmacy during a walk that leads to agglomeration in Brasília²⁵.

04/12

"It seems that this virus issue is starting to fade away", he states in a videoconference with religious leaders celebrating Easter

04/16

04/20

"I am not a gravedigger", he replies to journalists at Palácio do Alvorada when asked about the deaths caused by the pandemic²⁷.

04/22

The Minister of Foreign Affairs publishes an article entitled "The coronavirus has arrived" on his blog, attacking the WHO and equating public health measures with communism: "Now, the politically correct is incorporating the sanitarly correct, many times more powerful. The sanitarly correct grabs you, cuffs you, and threatens you: 'If you say this or that, you will put all of society at risk; if you say the word 'freedom', you are a subversive that can lead your entire population to death – so respect the rules.' Controlling language to kill the spirit is the essence of current communism, this communism that has suddenly found a treasure of oppression in the coronavirus"³⁰.

04/28

In an interview, the President comments on the fact that the death toll in Brazil has exceeded that of China "So what? Sorry about that, what do you want me to do? My last name may be Messias [Messiah], but I work no miracles"³¹.

Epidemiological week 19, 3-9/5
Accumulated cases - 155.939
Accumulated deaths - 3.877



JUNE

Epidemiological week 24, 7-13/6
 Accumulated cases - 850.514
 Accumulated deaths - 42.720

NORMATIVE ACTS

RESPONSE OBSTRUCTION ACTS

PROPAGANDA

Data on Covid-19 are released late at night, after 10 pm. The Ministry of Health denies that the delay was intentional⁵⁰.

A website of the Ministry of Health with data on Covid-19 goes offline and returns the next day with information concerning solely the last 24 hours⁵⁴. On 06/08, the creation of the Press Consortium was announced, through which the media outlets G1, O Globo, Extra, O Estado de S. Paulo, Folha de S. Paulo and UOL formed a partnership to seek information about the pandemic from the 27 Brazilian states⁵⁵.

TCU notifies the Office of the Presidential Staff (Casa Civil) about the absence of a clear and strategic guideline to fight Covid-19, with the respective risk management, as well as the absence of a coordinated and comprehensive communication plan, which could compromise the costs and results of efforts against the pandemic and prevent effective political coordination and articulation between federal and subnational bodies and entities. The TCU then provides multiple recommendations⁵³.

06/03

06/05

06/07

06/08

06/10

06/24

In a meeting with supporters, the President questions the data on the number of covid deaths: "This is happening everywhere, if you die of anything, [they say] it's covid"⁴⁹.

Asked about the delay in releasing the coronavirus death toll, the President replies: "There's no more material for *Jornal Nacional*"⁵¹. He also states "Either the WHO will truly cease to be a political organization, or even partisan, one could say, or we will start to think about leaving it"⁵².

On the same day, Carlos Wizard, appointed to be the new secretary of Science, Technology and Strategic Inputs for the federal government, says that the number of Covid-19 deaths will be recounted "because the number we have today is either unrealistic or manipulated. (...) Many people were dying of other causes and public officials, purely out of interest in having a larger budget for their municipalities, in their states, marked all of the deaths as covid deaths. We are revising these deaths"⁵³.

"The Supreme Court has decided that governors and mayors are responsible for this policy, which includes isolation measures. Now there is this huge wave of unemployment coming up. Both for informal labor and for the formally employed. Don't try to pin this on me. The governors are going to have to solve this problem that is happening throughout Brazil", states the President in front of the Palácio da Alvorada⁵⁶.

Tweet by the President: "I remind our Nation that, by decision of the Supreme Court, actions to fight the pandemic (closing businesses and establishing quarantines, for instance) were under the full responsibility of the Governors and the Mayors"⁵⁷.

The President addresses a supporter in front of the Palácio da Alvorada who asks about Covid-19 deaths. "Ask your governor about that. Get out of here" (...) "Deaths are happening all over the world, it's not just covid. Now, to try and blame me... There is a lot of people dying of hunger, depression, suicide, this is a one-sided policy"⁵⁸.

In a live broadcast on Facebook, the President encourages the invasion of field hospitals: "I might be wrong, but in all cases, or most cases, no one died because of a lack of respirators or ICU beds. There might have been a case or two. It would be good if you people at the end of the line, if there is a field hospital close to you, a public hospital, if you could find a way to get inside and film it. Many people are doing this, but more people have to do it to show whether the beds are filled or not, if the expenses are compatible with reality or not"⁵⁹. "There is a political gain, that's the only explanation, [they are] taking advantage of the people who die to have a political gain and to blame the federal government"⁶⁰.

Epidemiological week 28, 5-11/7
 Accumulated cases - 1.839.850
 Accumulated deaths - 71.469

Through Message No. 374, the President vetoes 25 provisions of Law No. 14.019 of 07/02/2020 that establish the mandatory use of masks in business and industrial establishments, religious temples, schools, and other indoor spaces where people gather, under the justification that the provisions would result in a possible "home violation". He also vetoed the imposition of a fine by the federated entities (states) in case the obligation to wear masks was not complied with, and to establishments authorized to operate during the Covid-19 pandemic that refrained from providing 70% alcohol-based hand sanitizer near the entrance of their establishments, elevators and escalators. On 08/19/2020, Congress overthrew the presidential veto, maintaining the provisions in the law.

The President publishes an Order in the Federal Official Gazette (DOU) that modifies Message no. 374 to make new vetoes to Law No. 14.019, which had already been enacted and published, despite the expiration of the period of 15 working days for his exercise of the right to veto on 07/02. The new vetoes remove the obligation of establishments operating during the pandemic to provide their employees with free personal protection masks, even handcrafted versions, without bias towards other personal protective equipment established by the occupational health and safety rules; they also suppress the obligation to post informative posters on how to correctly use masks and the maximum number of people allowed to remain within the establishment at any given time. It also vetoes the mandatory use of personal protection masks in prisons and in establishments meant for socio-educational measures. On 08/03, the Supreme Court grants injunction⁶² restoring the validity of the vetoed provisions, understanding that the "repeated exercise" of the veto power is not in accordance with the Federal Constitution; vetoes, after they are manifested, cannot be retracted; and that "the unusual situation presented in this case" creates intense legal uncertainty, as it hinders the effort of "identifying which law is in force"⁶³. Furthermore, the Supreme Court considers that the duty to post informational posters on the correct use of masks and the maximum number of people allowed within closed establishments at any given time guarantees the right to information, and that the legislative mandatory use of personal protective equipment in prisons and socio-educational establishments is extremely relevant, given the structural precariousness of health policies in these systems⁶⁴, the lethal tendency of the disease in prisons and socio-educational establishments affecting not only inmates, but also the people who work there⁶⁴.

Through Message no. 378, the President vetoes 14 provisions of Law no. 14.021 issued on 07/07/2020 that determines protection measures for indigenous communities during the Covid-19 pandemic, among them: urgent access to six free and periodic services (drinking water, hygiene and cleaning materials, hospital and ICU beds, ventilators and blood oxygenation machines, information materials about covid-19, and Internet in the villages); the Federal Government's obligation to distribute food during the pandemic, in the form of food staples, seeds and agricultural tools; the extension of these measures provided in the emergency plan to quilombolas, artisanal fishermen and other traditional peoples; the specific emergency budget allocation to ensure health for indigenous peoples; and the creation of a specific financing mechanism for state and municipal governments. On 08/19/2020, Congress overthrew the presidential veto, maintaining the provisions in the law.

When criticizing the militarization of the Ministry of Health in a live broadcast, Supreme Court Justice Gilmar Mendes defines the federal government's response to the pandemic as genocide: "We can no longer tolerate this situation that is happening at the Ministry of Health. (...) We must say this very clearly: the Army is associating itself with this genocide, it is not reasonable. We must put an end to this"⁶⁵. Until 06/05, there were already 25 military individuals appointed by the President, justified by the intention of establishing a ministry "that follows the instructions of the President"⁶⁶. In a press release, Gilmar added: "In a context like this, replacing technical experts with military personnel at key posts in the Ministry of Health is no longer just an exceptional measure and exceeds institutional mission of the Armed Forces. (...) I once again challenge the decision of recruiting military personnel to design and execute a health policy that has not been shown to be effective in preventing the death of thousands of Brazilians."⁶⁷.

ANVISA (National Health Surveillance Agency) Collegiate Board Resolution No. 405 regulates and favors, in some aspects, the prescription of ivermectin and nitazoxanide (Annita), in addition to chloroquine and hydroxychloroquine distributed outside government programs.

The need to "produce hope for afflicted hearts" and a supposedly growing international demand were pointed out as justifications by the Army to pay 167% more for the main chloroquine input, according to a letter sent to the Federal Court of Accounts (TCU), which investigates a suspicion of overpricing in said negotiation⁷⁰. The letter was obtained via the Lei de Acesso à Informação (Information Transparency Act) and was disclosed in December⁷¹. On the same date of the letter, Brazil had received a donation of 2 million doses from the United States⁷².

07/02

07/06

07/07

07/11

07/17

07/22

07/31

Minister Pazzuelo states in an interview: "Someone came up with the idea that you need to test someone in order to say it's coronavirus. You don't need to be tested, you need a medical diagnosis in order to say it's coronavirus. And, if the doctor attests it, treatment should begin immediately"⁶⁸.

"You'll all catch it someday. What are you afraid of? Face it. I'm sorry about the deaths. People die every day for many reasons. That's life", states the President during a public gathering in Bagé (RS). He also lied when claiming that the city had faced the pandemic without restrictions on economic activity, when in fact Mayor Divaldo Lara (PTB) adopted quarantine measures, including curfews and sanitary barriers⁶⁹.

AUGUST

Epidemiological week 32, 2-8/8
 Accumulated cases - 3.012.412
 Accumulated deaths - 100.477

NORMATIVE ACTS

RESPONSE OBSTRUCTION ACTS

PROPAGANDA

Through Message No. 431, the President fully vetoes Draft Bill No. 1,826 which established the financial compensation to be paid by the Federal Government to health professionals and workers who, during the national public health emergency resulting from the spread of the new coronavirus, offered direct care to patients affected by Covid-19, or made home visits within a certain period of time, in the case of community health agents or endemic disease control workers, who became permanently incapacitated for work; or to be paid to their spouse or partner, dependents and legal heirs, in the event of death.

Analyzing the federal government's spending profile in the fight against the pandemic, the Federal Court of Accounts (TCU) finds that out of the BRL 286.5 billion already paid up to 07/31/2020, only BRL 22.06 billion (7.67%), directly refer to efforts to tackle the disease. In turn, expenses related to economic protection measures, excluding aid to States, the Federal District, and Municipalities, correspond to 78.35% of the total, representing the "political option of the heads of Government to prioritize economic protection". The TCU also determines that the Office of the Presidential Staff (Casa Civil) must present, within 15 days, the actions planned to allow for the immunization of the Brazilian population, or, in the event that there is no plan, that it must elaborate such plan within 60 days, in addition to formulating several recommendations⁷⁴.

Pfizer presents a proposal to sell vaccines, with the possibility of initial delivery in 12/20. Such offer was ignored by the federal government⁷⁵.

The Ministry of Health rejects a donation of at least 20,000 Covid-19 PCR test kits from LG International, two months after the offer⁸⁰.

08/03

08/06

12/08

08/13

08/15

08/19

08/24

08/25

08/31

At the Palácio do Planalto, in a ceremony broadcast on public access television, the President says: "Along with the means at our disposal, we can really say that we have done what was possible and what was impossible to save lives, unlike those who have insisted on remaining in the opposition, since 2018"⁷³.

The President goes on multiple trips to different states, gathering crowds, often without wearing a mask and having physical contact with people, including children. At the opening of a public construction work in Pará, he declares: "I am a living proof that [chloroquine] worked. Many doctors advocate this treatment. We know that over 100 thousand people died in Brazil. If they had been treated back then with this drug, these lives [sic] could have been avoided"⁷⁵.

"In my understanding, all things considered, I did not see anyone in the world who faced this issue better than our government. This makes us proud. It shows that there are people trained and especially concerned with those most poor, the humble people", declared the President⁷⁷.

Federal government organizes an event named "Brasil Vencendo a Covid-19" (Brazil Beating Covid-19), and the President states in his speech: "If it [chloroquine] had not been turned into a political matter, many more lives could have been saved out of the 115 thousand the country has lost so far. (...) Some people change doctors, I changed ministers. [Nelson] Teich came in and stayed for 30 days, and then, in order to avoid further changes, I nominated an interim minister, Eduardo Pazuello. (...) Pazuello decided to change the orientation and included [the instruction] 'in any situation, prescribe chloroquine', so that doctors could have their freedom". He stated that over ten ministers were treated with the drug and "none of them were hospitalized. So, it's working". He told reporters: "when one of you suckers get [covid-19], your chance of survival is much lower than mine"⁷⁸.

The President states "Regarding the vaccine, no one can force anyone to get a vaccine"⁷⁹.

SEPTEMBER

Epidemiological week 37, 6-12/9
 Accumulated cases - 4.315.687
 Accumulated deaths - 131.210

NORMATIVE ACTS

RESPONSE OBSTRUCTION ACTS

PROPAGANDA

ANVISA Collegiate Board Resolution No. 420 further facilitates the prescription of ivermectin and nitazoxanide, eliminating the need for prescriptions to be retained at pharmacies upon purchase.

OCTOBER

Epidemiological week 41, 4-10/10
 Accumulated cases - 5.082.637
 Accumulated deaths - 150.198

The President refrains from authorizing the purchase of 46 million doses of Coronavac by the Ministry of Health⁹¹, and posted an explanation on twitter: "João Doria's Chinese vaccine: To my knowledge, any vaccine, before being made available to the population, must be SCIENTIFICALLY PROVEN BY THE MINISTRY OF HEALTH and CERTIFIED BY ANVISA. The Brazilian people WILL NOT BE ANYBODY'S GUINEA PIG. There is no justification for a billionaire financial investment on a drug that has not even passed its testing phase. In view of the above, my decision is to not purchase such vaccine", he declared. Days later, the Minister of Health stated "one person orders, the other obeys"⁹².

09/01 09/11 09/16 10/10 10/14 10/20 10/24 10/26 10/28 10/30

In a public gathering in Bahia, the President states: "We are pretty much defeating the pandemic. The government did everything it could to minimize its negative effects, helping mayors and governors with their health-related needs. (...) [Brazil] was one of the countries that suffered the least with the pandemic"⁸⁵.

In his inauguration speech as Minister of Health, Pazzuello states: "What we learned throughout the pandemic has shown that the sooner we treat patients, the better their chance of recovery. Early treatment saves lives. This is why we have been saying, day after day, 'don't stay at home', get a doctor's clinical diagnosis. Get the early treatment"⁸². At the same event, the President advocates: "Today, studies have already shown that around 30% of deaths would have been prevented had hydroxychloroquine been administered early. This wasn't something I decided on my own, I chose to bet as if I were a player. With Ernesto Araújo, we spoke with ambassadors from around the world. Because in Africa, when the death toll was small, at that time, the American version of Anvisa, the FDA, studied this here. If here weren't minimal evidence, they wouldn't study it. I believe we were bold"⁸³.

"I'm going to take a guess here, I'm guessing. Around 30% of deaths could have been prevented if hydroxychloroquine were used in the initial phase (...) One way for you to get vitamin D is through the sun and vitamin D helps you fight the virus", says the President in Guarujá (SP). "When you look at it, I haven't done the math yet, we are now, let's pretend it's right after the end of September, if you take the death toll from January to September last year and January to September this year... did you do the math there, Cid? (Head of Order Assistance). There's a chance that the figures are similar"⁸⁴.

President speaks at an official ceremony: "We entered 2020, and we had the pandemic problem, which, in my understanding, was exaggerated"⁸⁵.

The Ministry of Science and Technology and Innovations (MCTI) announced at an event that studies with the vermifuge nitazoxanide, known by the trade name Annita, managed to reduce the viral load in cases of Covid-19. Questioned as to why no evidence or data were presented, the minister claimed secrecy because an article would have been sent to an international scientific journal that required novelty. Government presented an animation with a graphic purchased from the Shutterstock image bank, which had no connection with the study. In an interview with the radio program A Voz do Brasil, the minister stressed that a 95% inhibition of viral load was perceived⁸⁶.

To French visitors, in front of the Palácio da Alvorada, the President says: "In Brazil, [if you] take chloroquine at the onset of symptoms, [you have] 100% cure"⁸⁹.

Next to a photo posted with a dog, on twitter, the President writes "the only mandatory vaccine will be for Faisca right here"⁹⁰.

The President questions the need to race for a vaccine against Covid-19: "Everyone says that the vaccine that took the least time until now took four years to make. I don't know why we should rush over this (...) Isn't it cheaper, or easier, to invest in a cure than even in a vaccine or to choose both? But without forgetting the cure. I mean, the cure... I, for instance, am proof of it. I took hydroxychloroquine, others took ivermectin, others took Annita... And it worked. And, by all indications, everyone who was treated early with one of these three alternatives was cured"⁸⁸.

The President states that Covid 19 may be the result of bacteriological war between countries: "This exists, countries prepare for wars, even with bombs. Then there's nuclear bacteriological war. People mess with viruses in the laboratory, and that [the Covid-19 virus] might have escaped there"⁸⁷.

"The pandemic [in Brazil] is ending. I think [Doria] wants to vaccinate people quickly because [the pandemic] will end and then he'll say: 'it ended because of my vaccine'. The only thing that is ending is his administration, that's for sure" (...) "There is a governor there [in São Paulo], who is somewhat authoritarian, who even [wants] to forcibly vaccinate people. What do I see regarding the pandemic issue? It's going away, this has already happened, we see it in history books"⁹³.

NOVEMBER

Epidemiological week 45, 1^o-7/11
 Accumulated cases - 5.653.561
 Accumulated deaths - 162.269

NORMATIVE ACTS

RESPONSE OBSTRUCTION ACTS

PROPAGANDA

Through the message No. 654, the President nominates the lieutenant-colonel Jorge Luiz Kormann, currently the Ministry of Health's deputy executive secretary, for the job of Director of the Brazilian Health Regulatory Agency - ANVISA. Devoid of the technical know-how that was required for the position, considered an advocate for the "early treatment" for Covid-19, and also critical of the Coronavac, he has been kept hospitalized due to contracting Covid-19 up until the moment this bulletin was finalized.

The Estadão newspaper report informs that a total of 6.86 million tests for the diagnosis of the novel coronavirus purchased by Ministry of Health would expire between December 2020 and January 2021. The RT-PCR tests were stored in a federal government warehouse. The Unified Health System (SUS) had applied five million tests so far. Altogether, the Ministry of Health invested BRL 764.5 million in tests and the equipment that would expire cost BRL 290 million⁹⁹. Contrary to its consolidated practice, ANVISA authorized an exceptional extension of the tests' validity¹⁰⁰.

11/09

On a Youtube video, the President claimed: *"This second wave thing, is it true or not? Or is it supposed to sink the economy for good? (...) I take the opportunity... municipal elections... people don't care so much about mayors and city councillors, but it's important to worry and vote well. The mayor has shut everything down, if you think he did it right, reelect him. Otherwise, change [your vote]. (...) The tourism branch has failed, right? Who said to shut it all down and stay home? It wasn't me, right? To make it clear, the destruction of employment in Brazil, who did that?"*⁹⁸

11/10

In an official ceremony, the President states: *"Everything right now is pandemic this, pandemic that. Come on, this has to stop. I am sorry for the dead, I am. We'll all die one day. There's no use trying to escape it, to escape reality. We can no longer be a country of sissies, come on"*⁹⁴.

On Facebook, the President celebrates suspension of tests for the Coronavac vaccine: *"Death, disability, anomaly. This is the vaccine that Doria wanted to force all Paulistanos to take. The President has said the vaccine could never be mandatory. Another win for Jair Bolsonaro"*⁹⁵.

11/11

11/13

Regarding the second wave of Covid, the President tells his supporters at the exit of the Palácio da Alvorada: *"It's all chit chat"*⁹⁶.

11/18

In an event with rural workers who continued to work throughout the pandemic, he says: *"Congratulations to those of you who didn't soften in the hour of anguish, as the biblical passage says"*⁹⁷.

11/22

11/26

*"The issue with masks [is that] one day there will still be a serious study on the effectiveness of masks... that is the last taboo left to be broken", declares the President in a live broadcast*¹⁰¹.

DECEMBER

Epidemiological week 50, 6-12/12
 Accumulated cases - 6.880.127
 Accumulated deaths - 181.123

NORMATIVE ACTS

RESPONSE OBSTRUCTION ACTS

PROPAGANDA

Ordinance of the Ministry of Education No. 1.030 determines the return to classes in higher education institutions that are part of the federal education system as of 01/04/2021. On 12/07, this was altered by Ordinance no. 1.038, which transfers the resumption of in-person classes to 03/01/2021.

The TCU concludes that the orientation campaign, carried out in March 2020, broadcast on radio and TV networks, entertainment websites and applications, cost BRL 800,000.00 spent only on the preparation of the material, paid to the chosen advertising agency. The dissemination of this material occurred on a voluntary basis by media outlets that were interested in the content and joined the cause of facing the Covid-19 pandemic. In turn, the other five campaigns to advertise government actions to fight the pandemic and mitigate the social and economic impacts caused by social isolation cost a hundred times more: BRL 82,800,000.00¹⁰³.

Eleven former Ministers of Health from different political parties published an article denouncing the "disastrous and inefficient conduct of the Ministry of Health in relation to the Brazilian strategy of vaccinating the population against Covid-19"¹⁰⁴.

Ministry of Health presents the National Vaccination Operationalization Plan¹⁰⁹. On 12/17, a Supreme Court injunction¹¹⁰ ensures that (i) in the event of non-compliance with the Federal Government plan, or in the event that they do not provide timely and sufficient immunological coverage against the disease, the States, Federal District and Municipalities will be able to dispense to their respective populations the vaccines that have been previously approved by Anvisa, or (ii) if this government agency does not issue the competent authorization, within 72 hours, they may import and distribute vaccines registered by at least one of the foreign health authorities, or any others that may be approved for emergency use¹¹¹.

In a new stage of litigation that took place over the year, Justice Luís Roberto Barroso (STF) denied the approval of the third version of the General Plan to Combat Covid-19 for Indigenous Peoples presented by the government and determined that a new document should be presented by 01/08/2021. According to the Supreme Court Justice, the new version of the plan presented by the federal government is still generic, which prevents an assessment on its sufficiency and feasibility or the monitoring of its implementation: "I'm impressed in that nearly 10 months into the pandemic, the Federal Government has not done the bare minimum: offering a plan with its essential elements, which is a situation that continues to put the lives and health of indigenous peoples at risk"¹¹³.

Through the Information Transparency Act (LAI), it is discovered that the Ministry of Health donated thousands of masks and other personal protective equipment to the Federal District that were considered unsuitable for use by health professionals. According to data from the Department of Health of the Federal District, 344,000 N45 masks, 108,700 PFF2 masks, 5,700 long sleeve aprons and 1,400 aprons of other types were considered inappropriate¹¹⁶.

12/01

12/08

12/10

12/15

12/16

12/18

12/19

12/30

"We are living through the tail end of the pandemic. (...) We haven't heard of our brothers in Africa, south of the Sahara Desert, facing a large number of Covid deaths, and everyone expected precisely the opposite. [It was expected that] people with food deficiencies, poorer people, would fall victim to the disease in large quantities. And why weren't they? Unfortunately, they are often treated for malaria over there. So a person would arrive with malaria and Covid-19, be treated with hydroxychloroquine and get better. Does it take that much intelligence to understand that hydroxychloroquine works for both things? That's just obvious", the President claims in Porto Alegre at the inauguration of yet another public construction work¹⁰².

"I'm not getting a vaccine, period. Is my life at risk? That's my problem"¹⁰⁵, the President stated at a rally (presented as a "technical visit") organized by the Presidency of the São Paulo Company of Warehouses (CEAGESP), which brought together hundreds of supporters, most of them without masks¹⁰⁶.

In an interview, the President states: "In the middle of this package leaflet, it says the company is not responsible for any side effects. This makes a yellow light turn on. We start asking people: are you going to get this vaccine?"¹⁰⁷.

On the same day, the Minister of Health says about vaccination: "Why all the anxiety and angst?"¹⁰⁸

"What did the Supreme Court decide? If you do not want to be vaccinated, I, the President of the Republic, the governors or mayors can impose restrictive measures on you. You won't be able to get a passport, a driver's license, you can be put under house arrest, think about how great that would be", says the PR on a live broadcast¹¹².

The President declares: "The Pfizer contract states very clearly that 'we (Pfizer) are not responsible for any side effects'. If you turn into an alligator, that's your problem (...) If you become Superman, if some woman is born with a beard, or if a man starts to have a thin voice, they (Pfizer) have nothing to do with it. What's worse is they are tampering with people's immune systems (...) You will have to sign the term of responsibility if you want to take it. Pfizer is very clear in its contract: 'We are not responsible for side effects'"¹¹⁴.

"The pandemic is truly coming to an end. We have a small upward bump now, which is a small spike that can happen, but the rush for the vaccine is not justified. (...) They will inoculate something into you. Your immune system can react, in an unforeseen way even", the President states in an interview with his son in a program released on YouTube¹¹⁵.

JANUARY/2021

(up until the 16th)

Epidemiological week 2, 10-16/1
Accumulated cases - 8.455.059
Accumulated deaths - 209.296

NORMATIVE ACTS

RESPONSE OBSTRUCTION ACTS

PROPAGANDA

After failing to acquire syringes and needles for vaccination, the Ministry of Health makes an administrative request for the stocks of national manufacturers. At least seven states had already purchased inputs and would be passed over. Two days later, the government zeroed the import tax on syringes and needles, and the President announced on social media he had suspended the purchase of syringes until prices "went back to normal"¹²⁰. On the 8th, the Supreme Court granted an injunction¹²¹ to prevent the Federal Government from requesting supplies purchased by the State of São Paulo, especially needles and syringes, if the payments had already been made, for the execution of the state immunization plan against Covid-19.¹²²

In a letter sent to the Manaus City Hall, the Ministry of Health insists on the use of drugs such as chloroquine and ivermectin: "We take the opportunity to highlight the scientific evidence on the role of antiviral medications suggested by the Ministry of Health, which makes it so that the lack of adherence to said guidance, in view of the severity of the health situation in Manaus, is unacceptable"¹²³.

Through the message No. 6, the President vetoed part of the Complementary Law No. 177 (1/12/21), which had been approved by vast majority in the Senate (71 x 1 votes) and in the Chamber of Deputies (385 x 18 votes). According to the FAPESP Agency, presidential vetoes subtracted BRL 9,1 billions in science investments, technology investments, and innovations this year, preventing Brazil from developing, among other things, a vaccine for the Covid-19, despite having sufficient infrastructure and human resources to do so. The academic and corporate communities mobilized in order to overturn the veto.

The Ministry of Health releases an app named TrateCOV to "assist health professionals in recording symptoms and signs from patients in order to improve and expedite Covid-19 diagnoses" and chooses Manaus for its "premiere"¹²⁵. After doctors insert the patient's symptoms and comorbidities, the platform suggests the prescription of drugs such as hydroxychloroquine, chloroquine, ivermectin, azithromycin and doxycycline¹²⁷.

Federal Attorney General's Office appeals against the judicial decision that suspended the application of the National High School Exam (ENEM) in Amazonas during the collapse of the health system¹²⁸.

The Supreme Court grants an injunction ordering the Federal Government to "immediately promote all actions within its power to end the very serious health crisis in Manaus, capital of Amazonas, in particular supplying local health establishments with oxygen and other medical and hospital supplies so that they may provide prompt and adequate care to their patients, without bias towards the performance of state and municipal authorities within the scope of their respective jurisdiction"; present to the Supreme Court, within 48 hours, a comprehensive and detailed plan about the strategies it is putting into practice or intends to develop to deal with the emergency situation, describing the corresponding actions, programs, projects, and partnerships, with the identification of the respective schedules and financial resources; and update the plan in question a every 48 hours for as long as the exceptional situation continues"¹³⁰.

Federal Public Defender's Office (DPU) files suit to prevent the ENEM (National High School Exam) from taking place, since it was still scheduled to take place on 01/17, despite the increase in Covid-19 cases and deaths in Brazil, claiming that the Anísio Teixeira National Institute of Educational Studies and Research (INEP), the body in charge of organizing the exam, lied about the security measures adopted, as there were rooms that were 80% full¹³³. INEP announced and informed the Judicial branch that the exam rooms would be less than 50% full as a way to ensure the proper distance between the candidates.

04/01 PR declares, upon leaving the Palácio do Planalto: "Brazil is broken, man. I can't do anything. I wanted to change the Income Tax rates, alright, then there was this virus, which was made more powerful by the media we have, this reckless media"¹¹⁷.

05/01 On the same day, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs confirms the purchase of 2 million doses of the AstraZeneca/Oxford vaccine from India. In the following days, the federal government organizes a major advertising operation, including massive publicity in the media and placing a sticker on an Airbus from Azul Linhas Aéreas that would make a "historic trip" with the slogan "Vaccination - Immunized Brazil - We are one nation". The President even sent a letter to the Prime Minister of India requesting urgency in sending doses, but the operation is suspended on 10/15¹¹⁸. According to the CNN, although a contract had already been signed, India would have canceled the commitment due to Brazil's indiscretion and the impact of the news it would make to send vaccines to another country as it had not started the mass immunization of its own population¹¹⁹.

07/01 In a live broadcast, alongside the Minister of Health, the President states: "People who go to the beach, sunbathe and remember the sun fixates vitamin D in the body. Did they have serious issues? No. The solution is right there. Some people just keep harping on the same string: 'There is no scientific evidence'. Hey wise guy, I know there isn't, wise guy, but there will be in a few years"¹²⁴.

11/01 Minister of Health at an event in Manaus: "When I came home yesterday, my sister-in-law was there. The brother had no oxygen even for the day. Oh, I think it will arrive tomorrow. What are you going to do about it? Nothing. You and everyone else will wait for the oxygen to arrive and be distributed"¹²⁵.

12/01

13/01

14/01 In live broadcast on social media, the President states: "Until a few months ago, Brazil was first in the ranking of millions of inhabitants. Now it's at the twentieth place. Why? Because we have early treatment. There is no other explanation". The Minister of Health, on the same occasion, declared: "Manaus did not act effectively in providing early treatment with clinical diagnosis in primary care. This greatly impacted the severity of the disease"¹²⁹.

15/01

16/01 The President's and the Ministry of Health's posts on Twitter were flagged by the platform as "potentially harmful" and as presenting "misleading information" by encouraging the so-called "early treatment" against covid-19¹³⁴.

The President talks about hydroxychloroquine and ivermectin: "If a doctor does not prescribe early treatment, go see another doctor. There are no side effects. If you wait until you feel short of breath and go to the hospital to be intubated, about 70% [of people in this situation] die. Let's be careful now"¹³¹. On the same day, the Vice President explains the new collapse in Manaus: "Our people do not have this imposed discipline. Brazilians don't respond to that so much. So, you have to know how to deal with these characteristics and try to inform the population so that they may protect themselves. (...) That's a problem for the state government, city hall... They are the ones on the ground and should have taken the necessary measures at the right time. (...) It is not a matter of lockdown. It is a matter of communicating to the population that they have to maintain certain rules so as not to be contaminated at such a speed that the health system cannot contain it"¹³².

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