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Departamento de Economia e Relações Internacionais

# Quo Vadis Brazil?

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http://lattes.cnpq.br/3923697331385475

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# 1

# CODA

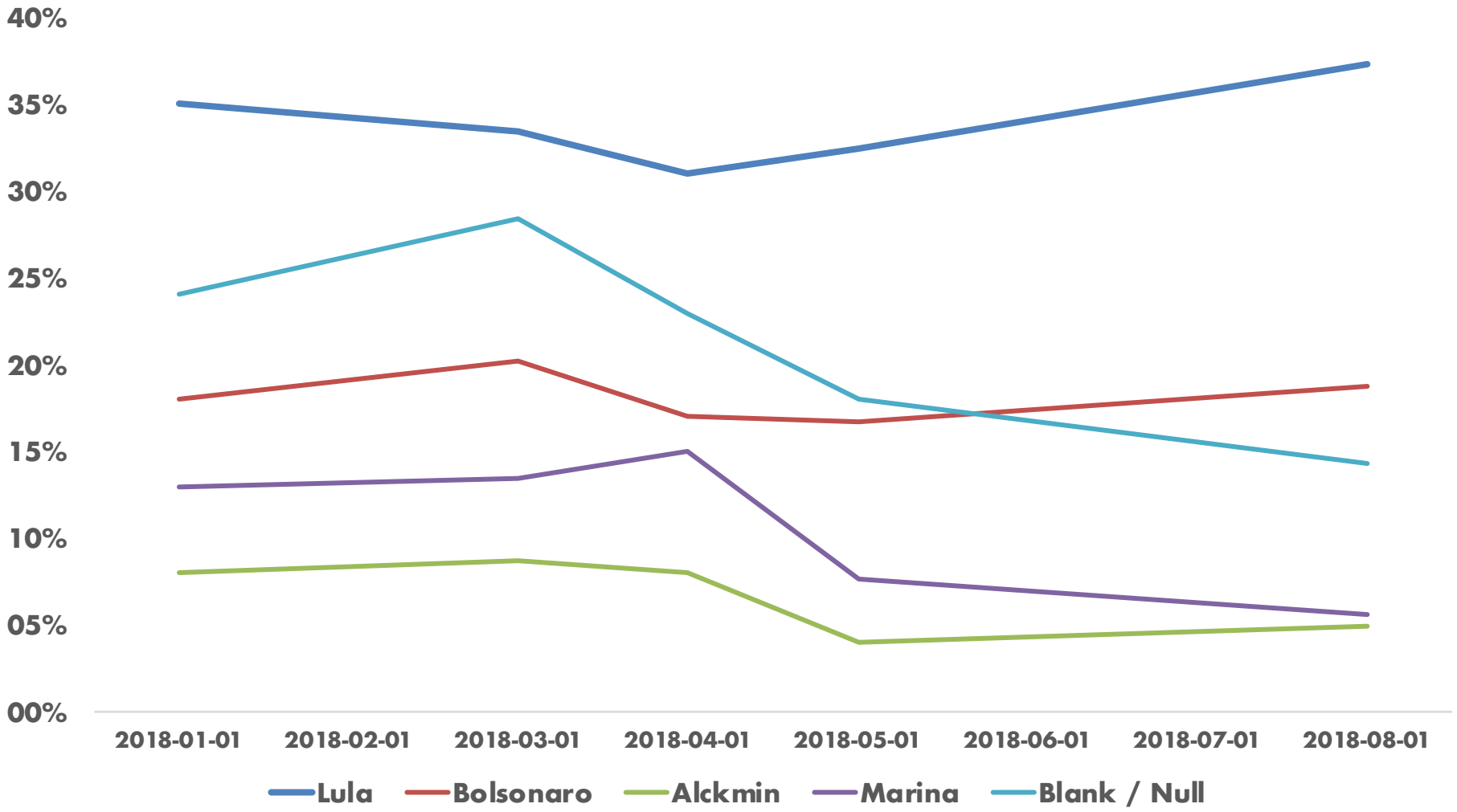
1. **LAC bet on Hillary, ending up unprepared for Trump**
2. **Negotiate the terms of our new China dependency is crucial**
3. **Brazil has entered since 2015 in a prolonged national crisis**
4. **To be semi-peripheral is fine for us elites, and for the rest?**
5. **Venezuela: Litmus test of our *maelstrom*, up to them to solve?**
6. **CELAC is now the best forum for "minimal coordination"**
7. **OAS can play a role, but USA and China lay the cards, not us**
8. **PKO and Antiterrorism are not enough as Defense Policies**
9. **UN Development Goals provide enough utopia to unite us**
10. **Rodrik: globalization, popular sovereignty, equality?**
11. **Avoid nuclear war is *sine qua non* to sustainable development**

# 2

# Politics

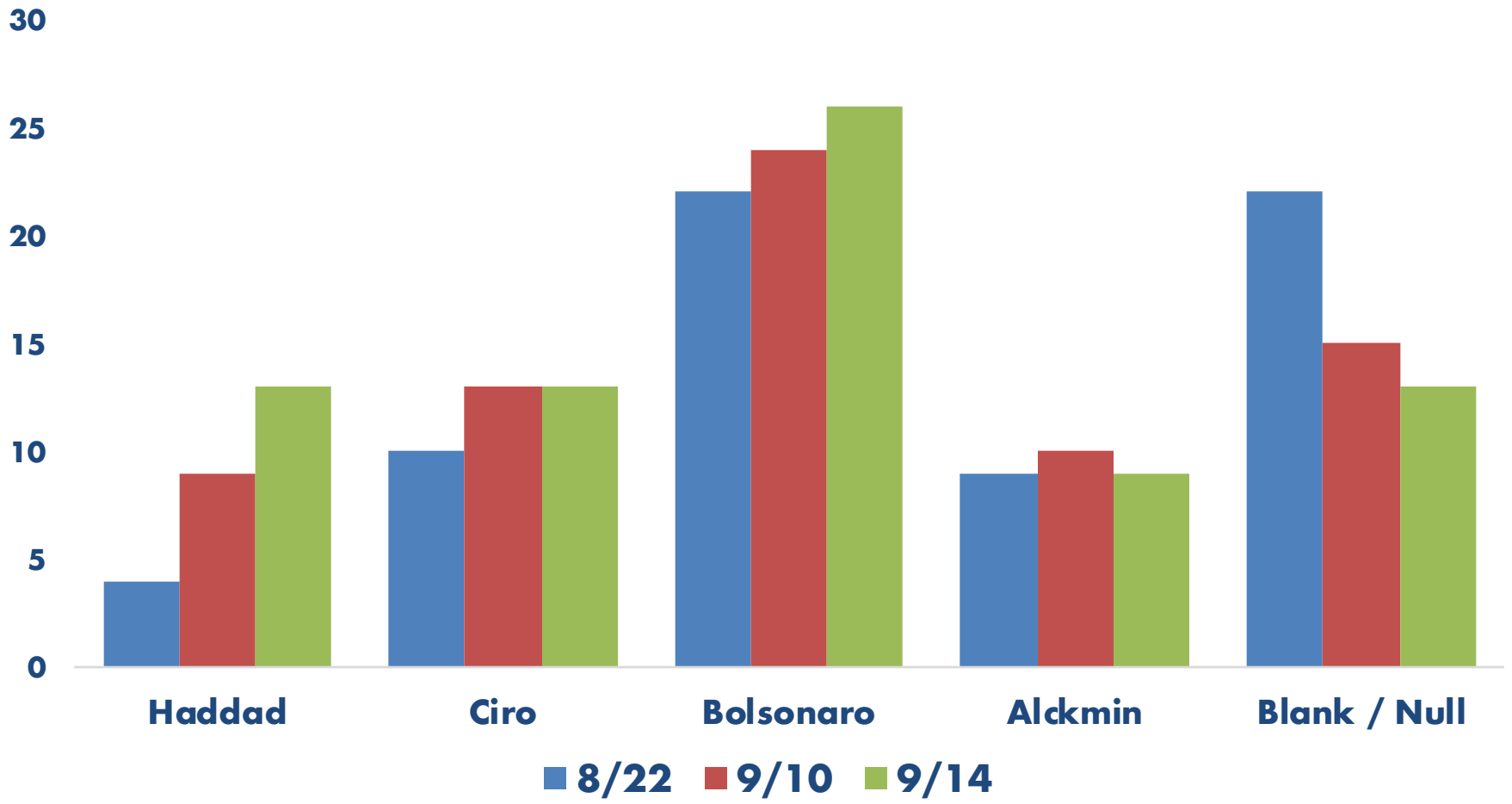
**Source**: http://piaui.folha.uol.com.br/na-piaui_140

# Electoral Polls With Lula



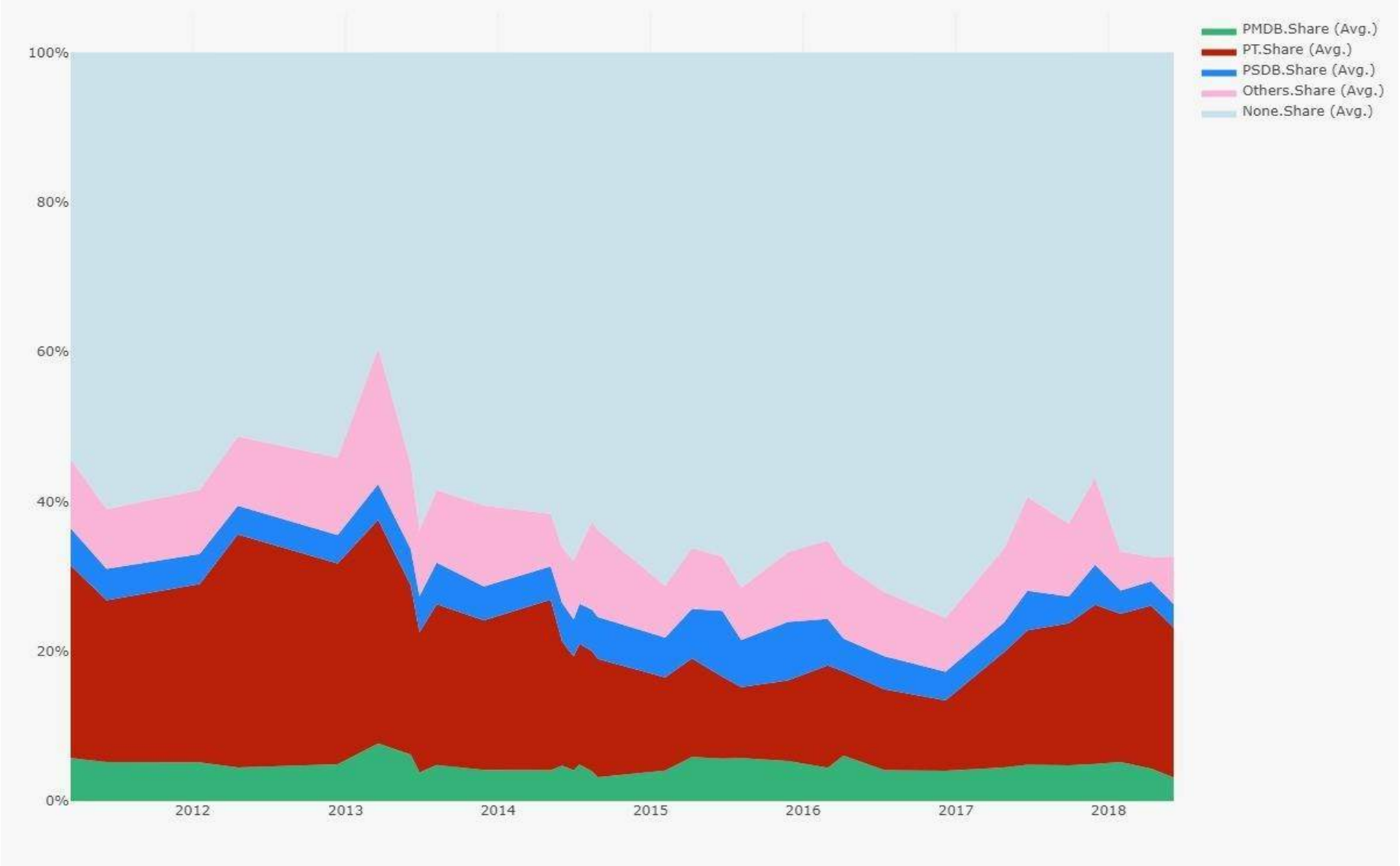

**Source**: Datafolha (04/13 and 01/13) and CNT-MDA (03/03; 05/28; 08/20)

# Electoral Polls Without Lula %



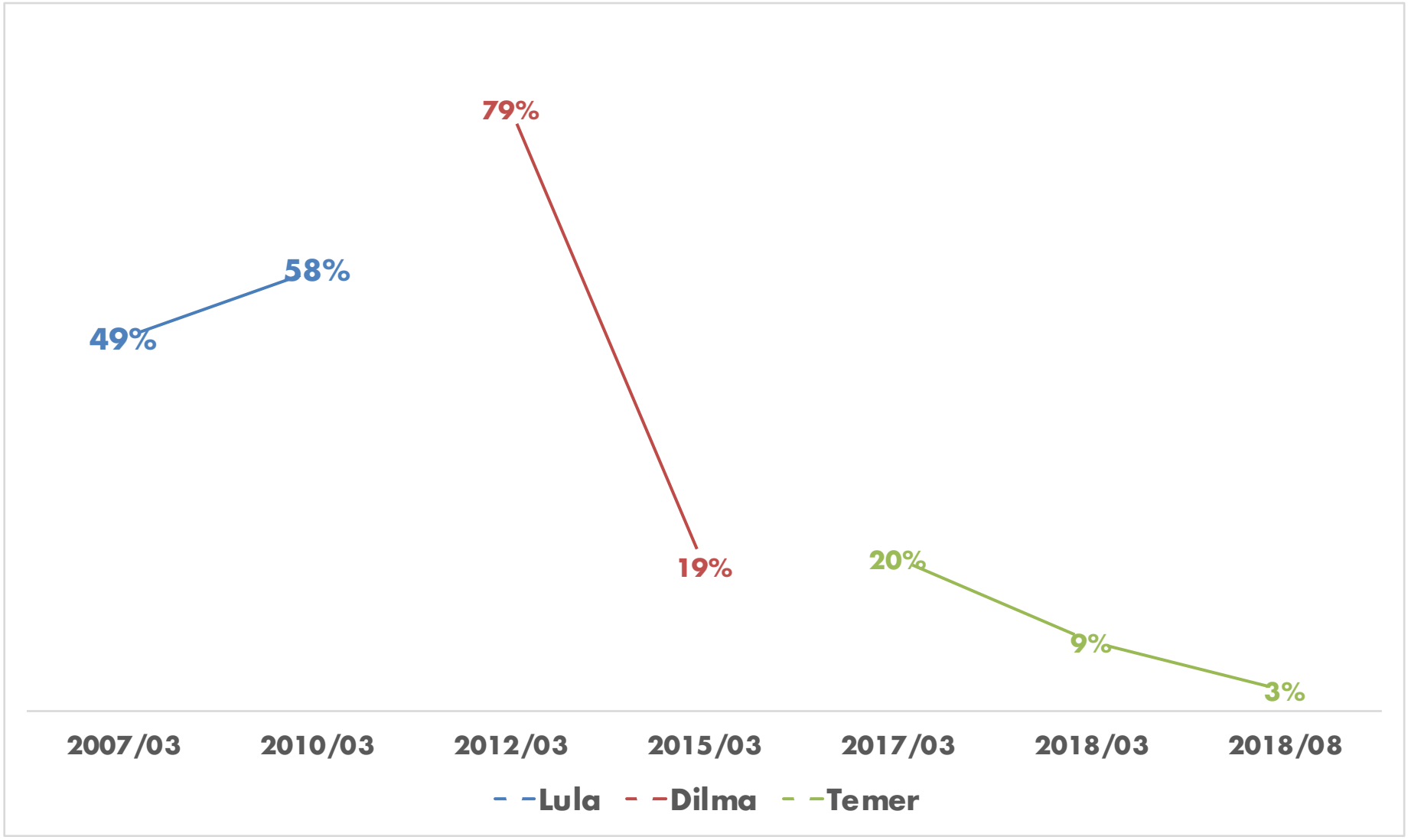

**Source**: Datafolha (08/22, 09/10, 09/14, )

# Party Preferences



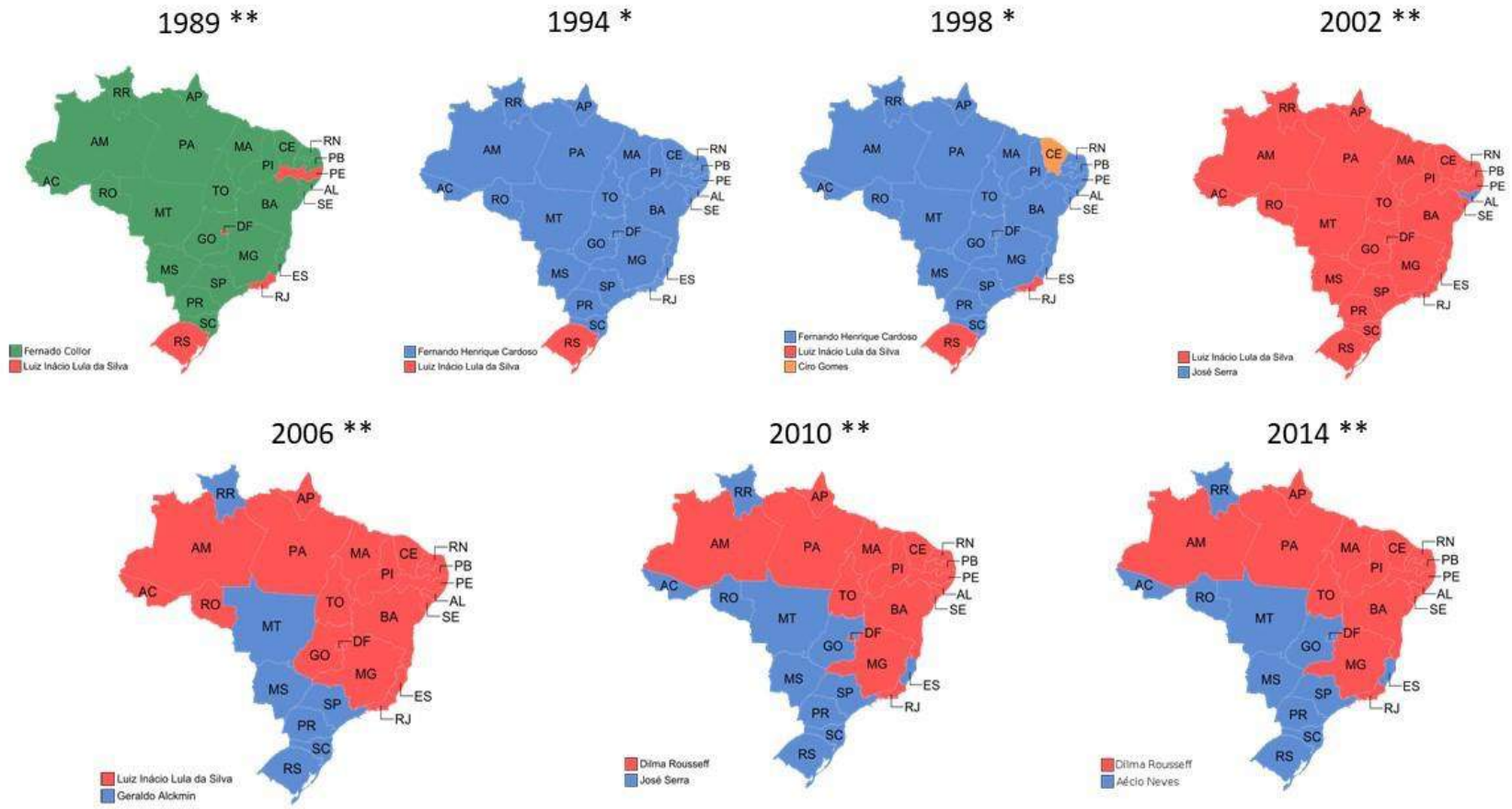

**Source**: Emerson Cervi

# Presidential Approval




**Source**: CNI-IBOPE and CNT-MDA

# Previous Presidential Elections

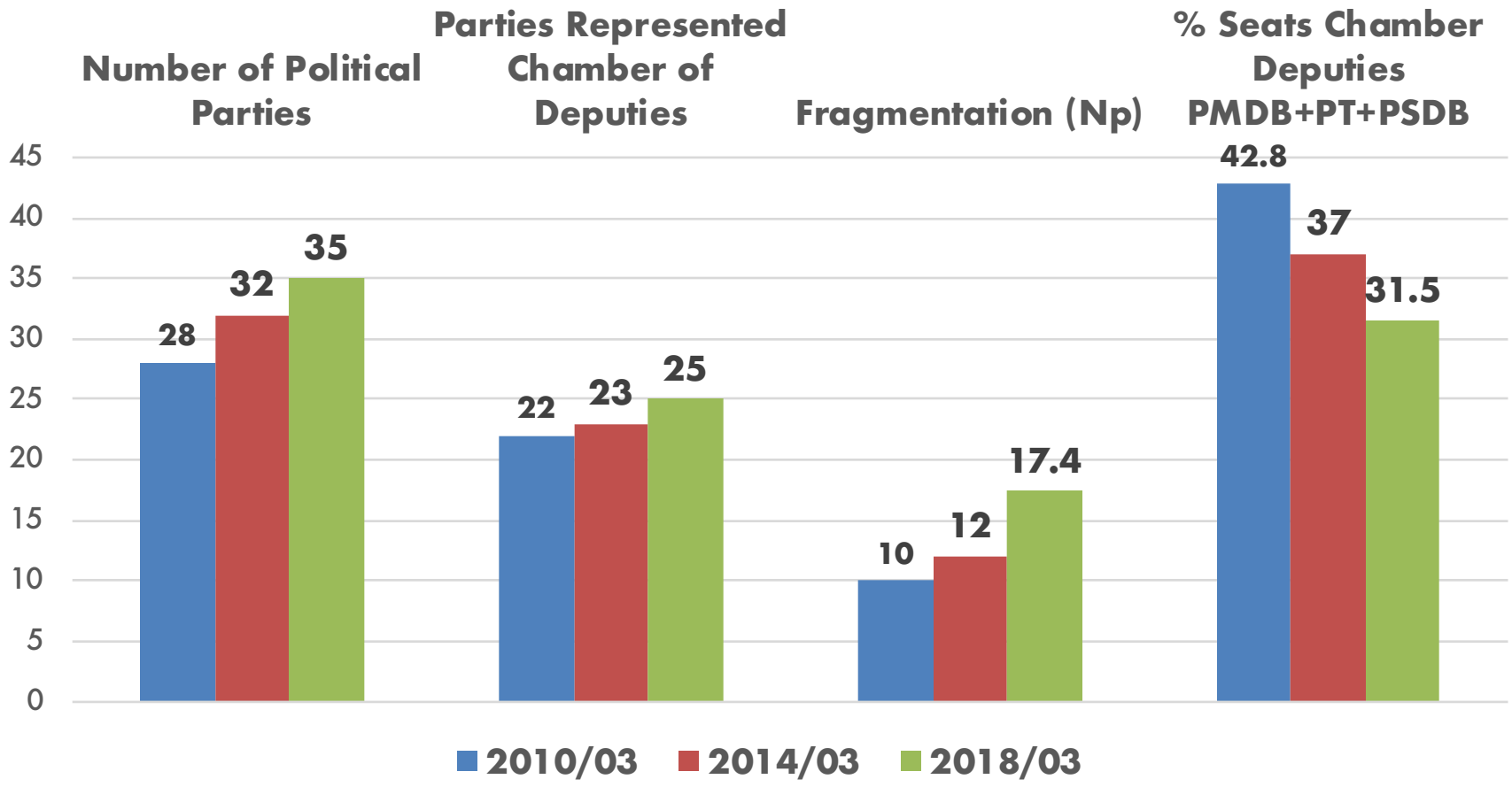



* Indica resultado em primeiro turno, pois não houve o segundo

** Indica o resultado em segundo turno

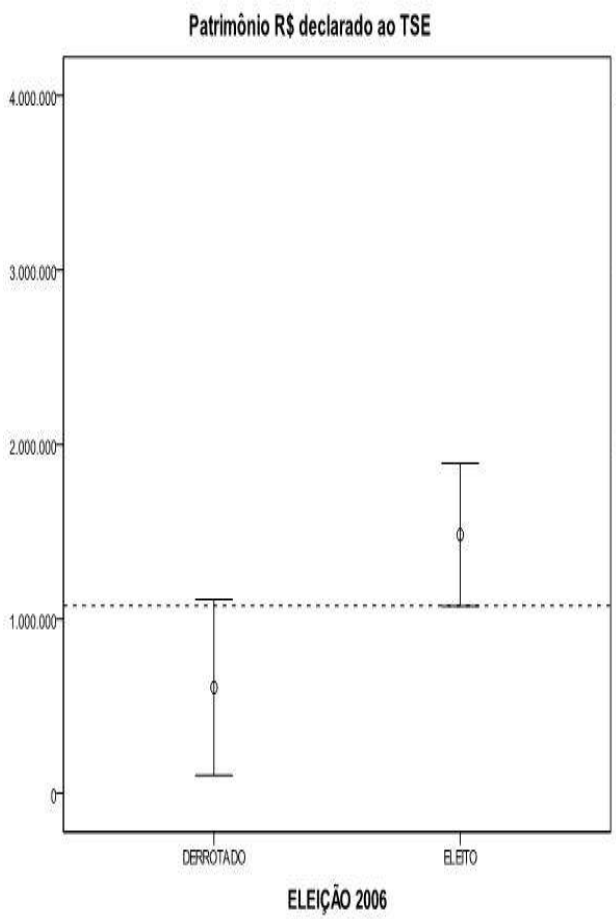
**Source**: TSE, Rogerio Arantes and Emerson Cervi

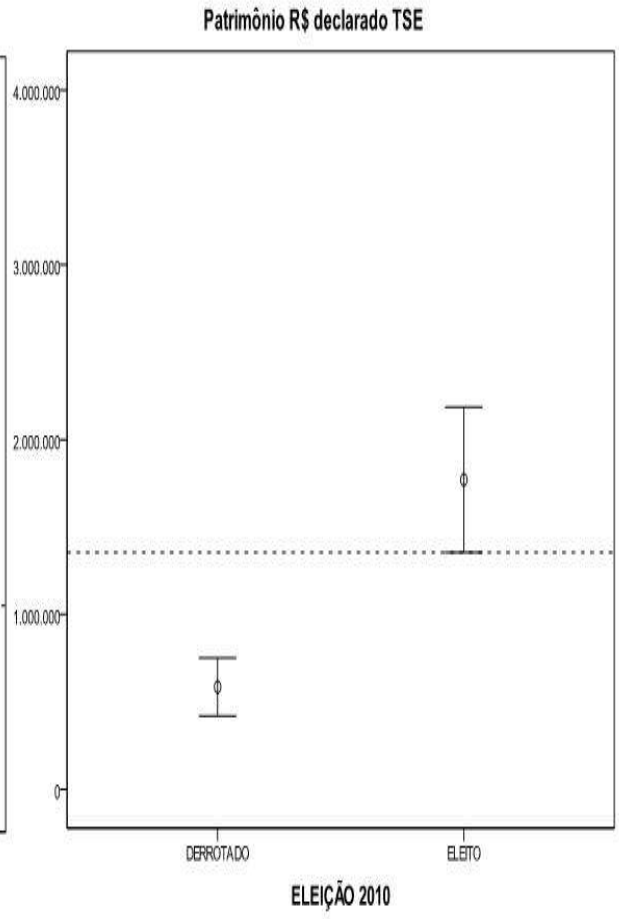
# Political Fragmentation

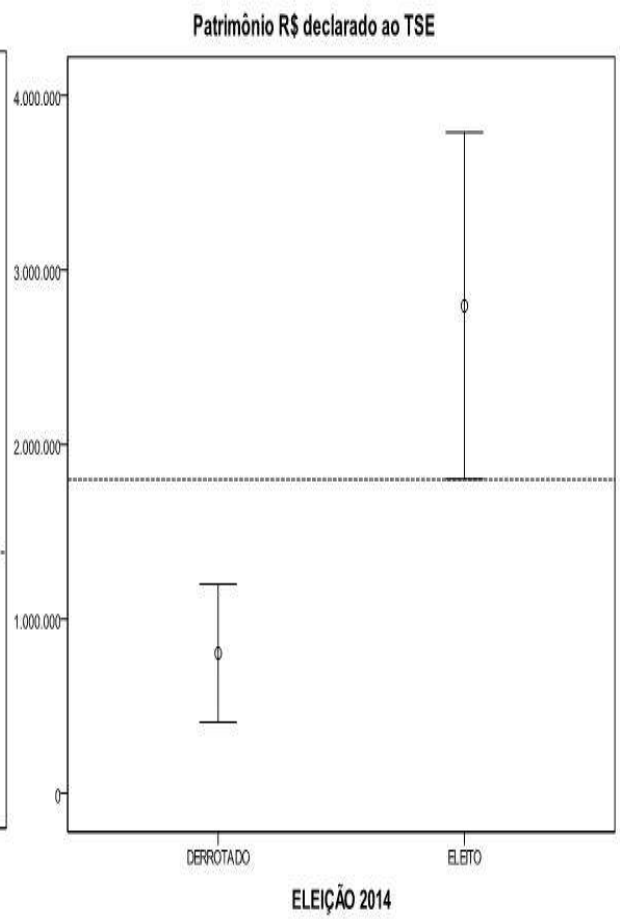



**Source**: TSE and Rogerio Arantes

# Plutocratic Tendencies

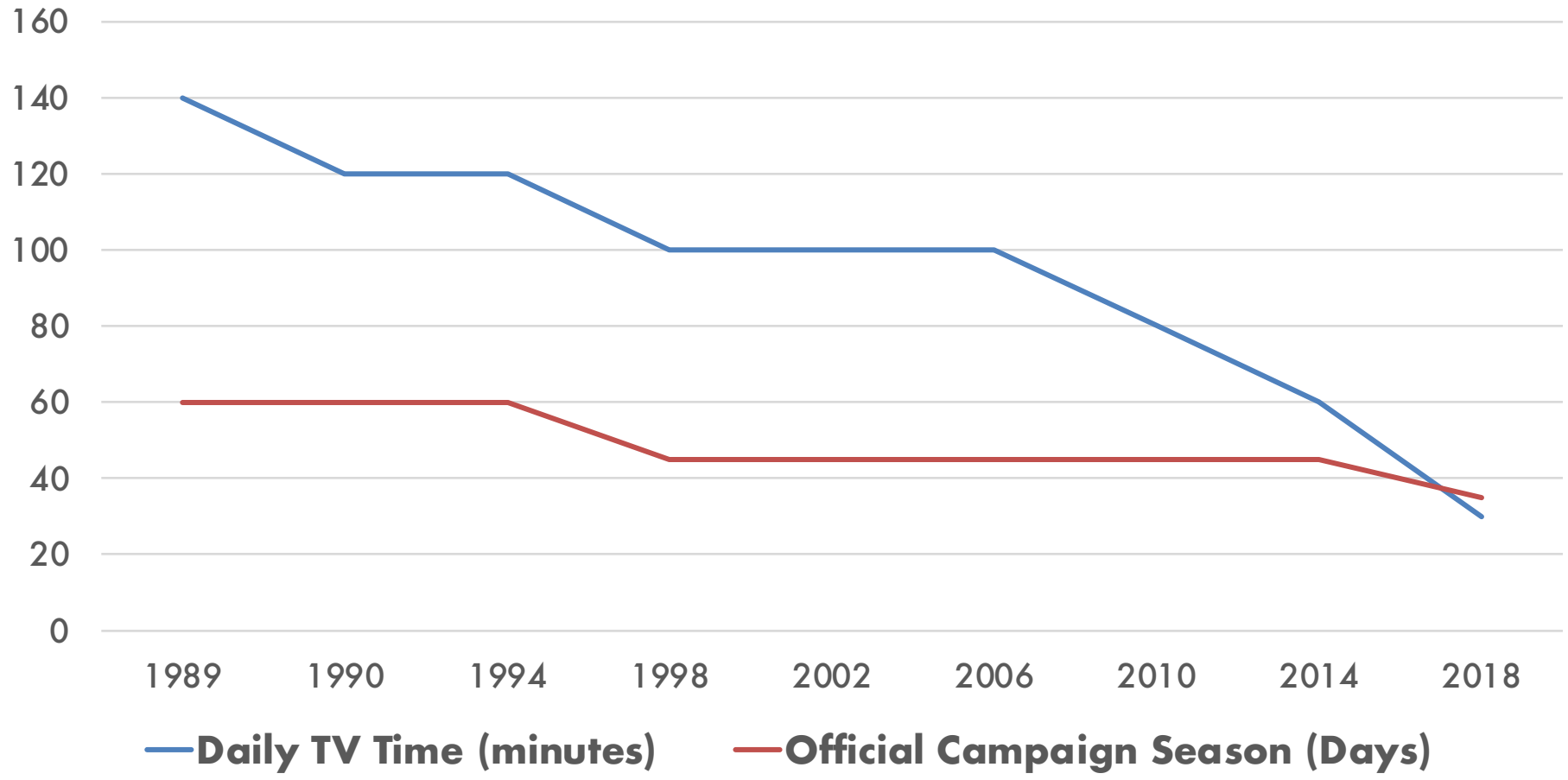



**Source**: Emerson Cervi

# Political Campaign




**Source**: Rogerio Arantes

# Democracies don't die, they are killed

**2015 March**

Petrobras corruption scandal and Car Wash Operation. Hundreds of thousands protest against President Rousseff.

**2015 August**

Defeated presidential candidate Aecio Neves (PSDB) demand Dilma Rousseff's resignation. The Workers' Party (PT) is blamed by the opposition and public opinion for the corruption scandal and the faulty economic situation.

**2015 October**

PMDB dissolves the alliance with PT. Top finance court (TCU) accuses government of breaking **fiscal laws** to offset 2014 budget shortfall.

**2015 December**

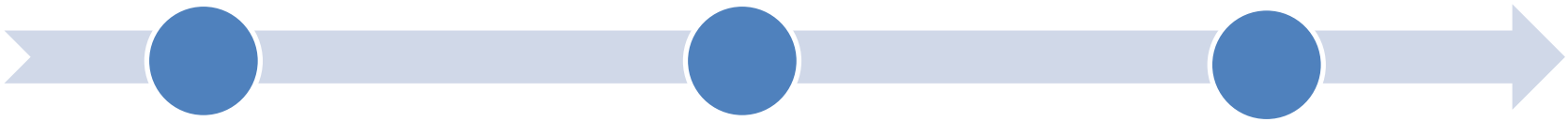
Led by Eduardo Cunha (PMDB), the Chamber of Deputies launches impeachment proceedings against President Rousseff. Brazil's GDP growth in 2015 was -3,8%.

**2016 April**

Lower house of Congress votes in favor of impeachment motion against President Dilma Rousseff. The PT accuses opponents of launching a media and parliament led coup d'état.

**2016 May**

Senate votes in favor of subjecting President Rousseff to an impeachment trial. She is suspended pending the trial.



**2016 August**

Senators vote to remove President Dilma Rousseff from office for supplement the budget without previous Congress authorization. Michel Temer (PMDB) is sworn in to serve until 2018. PSDB takes part in the new all white/male cabinet.

**2016 November**

The new government starts a very aggressive austerity program, trying to revert social, environment, and civil rights initiatives from the Lula-Rousseff governments.

**2016 December**

Congress changes the Constitution to approve a 20-year long freeze on social spending. Brazil's GDP growth in 2016 was -3,5% compared with previous year, making the worst recession since 1929.

**2017 January**

Prison riots and deteriorating social conditions are met by President Temer decision to increase the use of Armed Forces in public order missions.

**2017 April**

Massive protests and a general strike against additional bills reducing pensions and labor rights.

**2017 May**

Temer (PMDB) and PSDB leader Aecio Neves face direct corruption charges against them. Supreme Court and Congress are reluctant to press the case.

**2017 June**

Brazil's Top Electoral Court acquits Roussef-Temer ticket regarding accusations of electoral fraud in 2014. Lula is ahead in electoral opinion polls and the Workers Party are still the most preferred party (by a minority of 18% respondents).

**Source**: BBC, El País 2017-2018

# Democracies don't die, they are killed

**2017 July**

Judge Moro sentences former president Lula to nine and half years in prison on corruption and money laundering charges in connection with the Petrobras investigation.

**2017 August**

Temer government announces plans to privatize Electrobras, the Petrobras subsidiary that produces 40% of Brazil's electricity.

**2017 August**

President Temer abolishes the 46,000 sq km National Reserve of Copper and Associates (Renca) ecological reserve, in northern Brazil. 20 domestic and multinational firms have expressed interest in the area's deposits of gold, copper, tantalum, iron ore, nickel and manganese. An injunction against the Renca extinction is issued and the presidential decision override.

**2017 October**

Brazil's Chamber of Deputies voted 233-251 on a motion to approve impeachment proceedings against President Michel Temer. But the motion required a two-thirds majority (342 votes) to proceed.

Brazil auctions offshore oil leases to Exxon Mobil, Statoil and Royal Dutch Shell.

**2017 December**

Marcelo Odebrecht released from prison after two and a half years. Seven years of his reduced sentence remained but he'd been greenlighted to serve the remainder of his sentence at his luxury home in Sao Paulo. Originally sentenced to `9 years, Odebrecht's sentence was reduced in return for his cooperation in Operation Car Wash.

**2018 January-March**

Petrobras announced it would pay $2.95 billion to settle a shareholder lawsuit in the United States stemming from the bribes and kickbacks in the Operation Car Wash scandal.

An appeals court upheld the corruption conviction of Lula, by far the frontrunner in the upcoming presidential election. It also increased his sentence to twelve years.

On March 14th Marielle Franco is assassinated along with her driver in a drive-by shooting in Rio de Janeiro.

**2018**

In April, judge Moro orders the arrest of Lula to begin serving a 12-year sentence for corruption. Following a three-day stand-off at the steelworkers' union building in São Bernardo do Campo, Lula surrenders to police. He maintains his innocence, but will comply with the arrest after two failed appeals to have the warrant withdrawn.

Elections are scheduled to be held in Brazil in October 2018 to elect the President and Vice President, the National Congress, state Governors and Vice Governors and state Legislative Assemblies. **Lula continues to lead the polls even in jail**. Fernando Haddad (PT) is chosen to substitute Lula if he is not allowed to run.

**Source**: BBC, El País 2017-2018

# Brazilian Political System

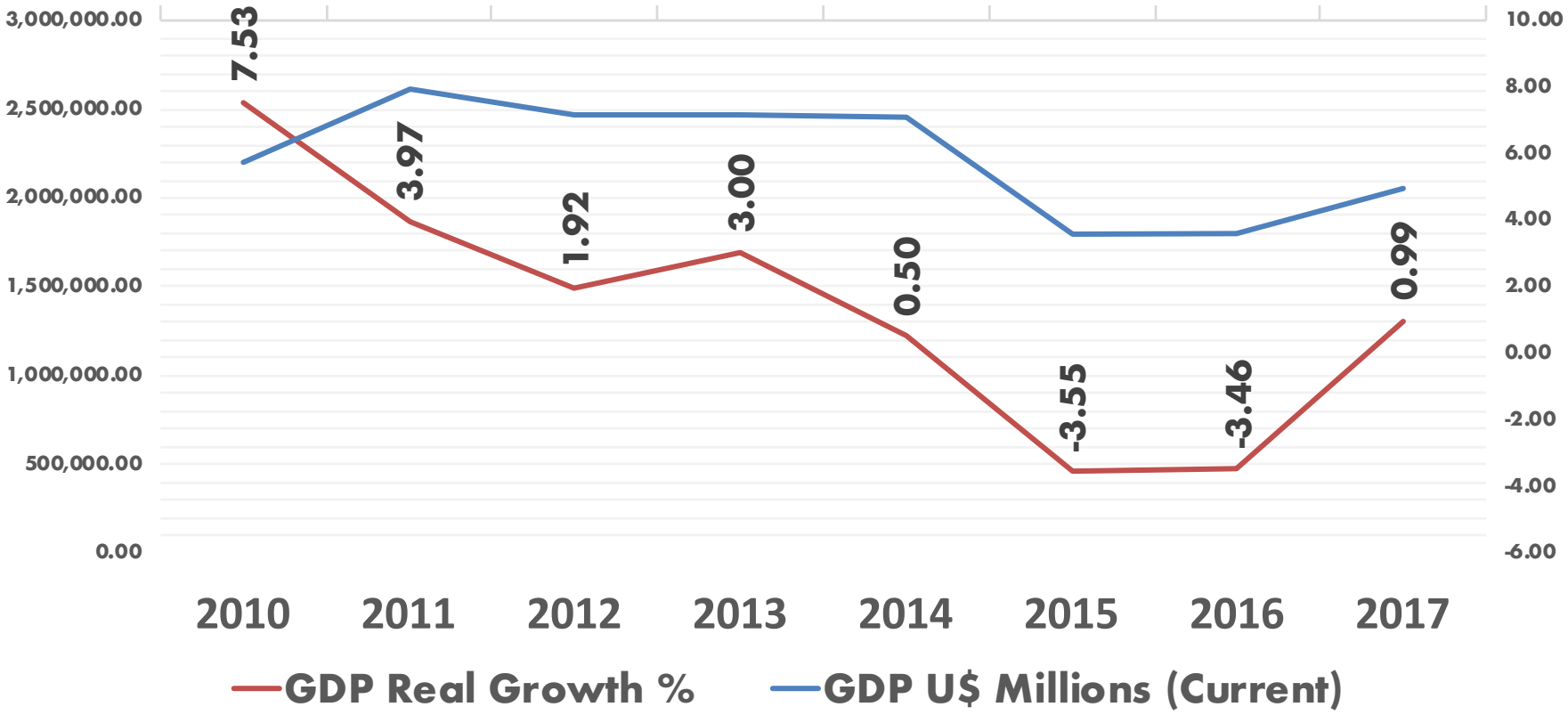
- Democracy cum *Machtergreifung ?*
- Freedom House 79/100...
- Presidentialism
- Decentralized federalism
- Symmetric and Incongruent Bicameralism
- Proportional Representation
- Single Majority for the Senate
- Strong Judicial System, Weak Executive Branch
- **Open list electoral system**
- **High magnitude electoral districts (mean = 19)**
- **Campaign financing as % of income/profits**
- Multipartism (35 parties, Np = 17,4)
- Main Parties (MDB, PT, and PSDB) < 32% seats

# 3

# Economy

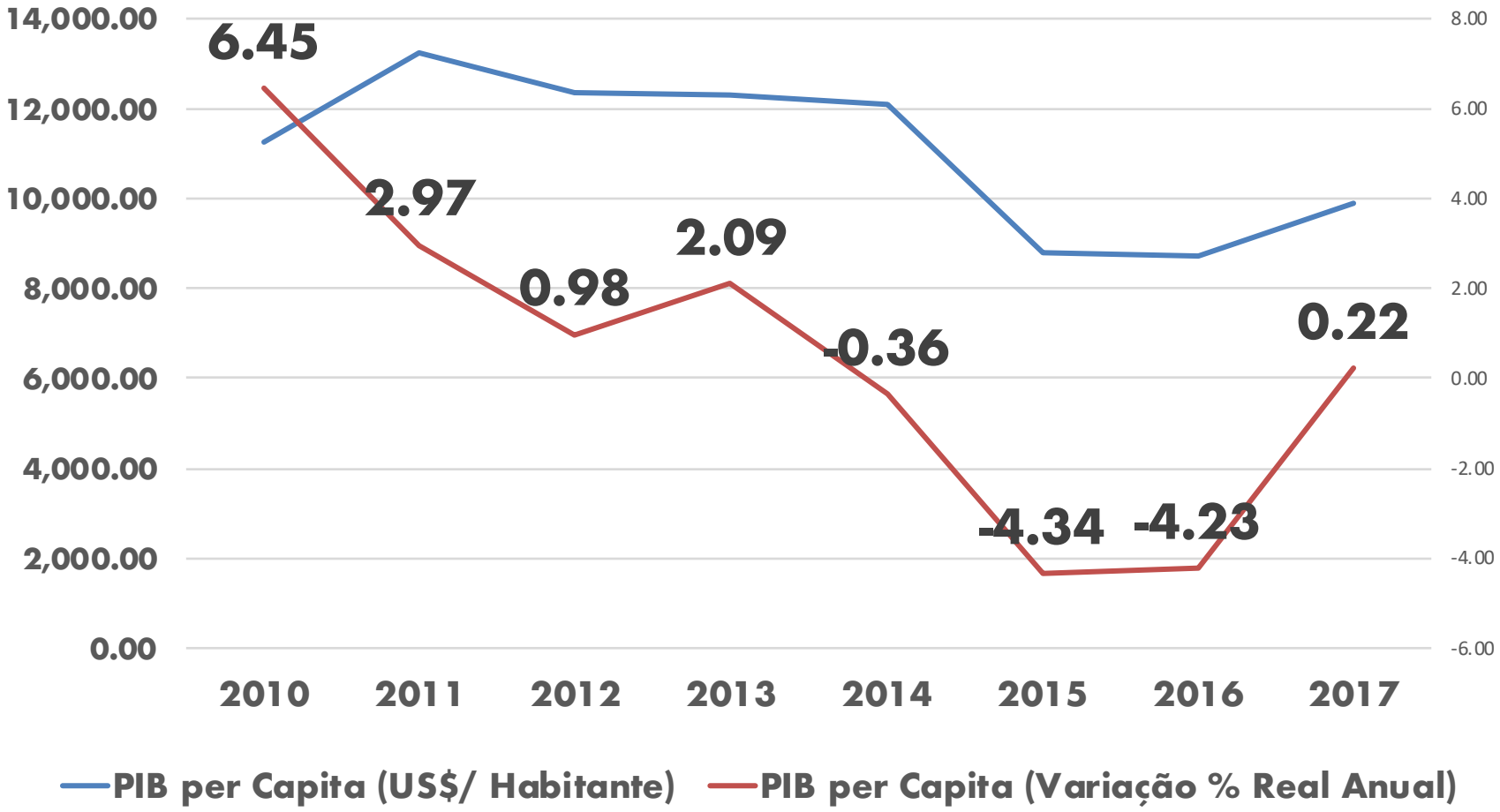
**Source**: http://www.historia-brasil.com/mapas/mapa-1519.htm

# GDP



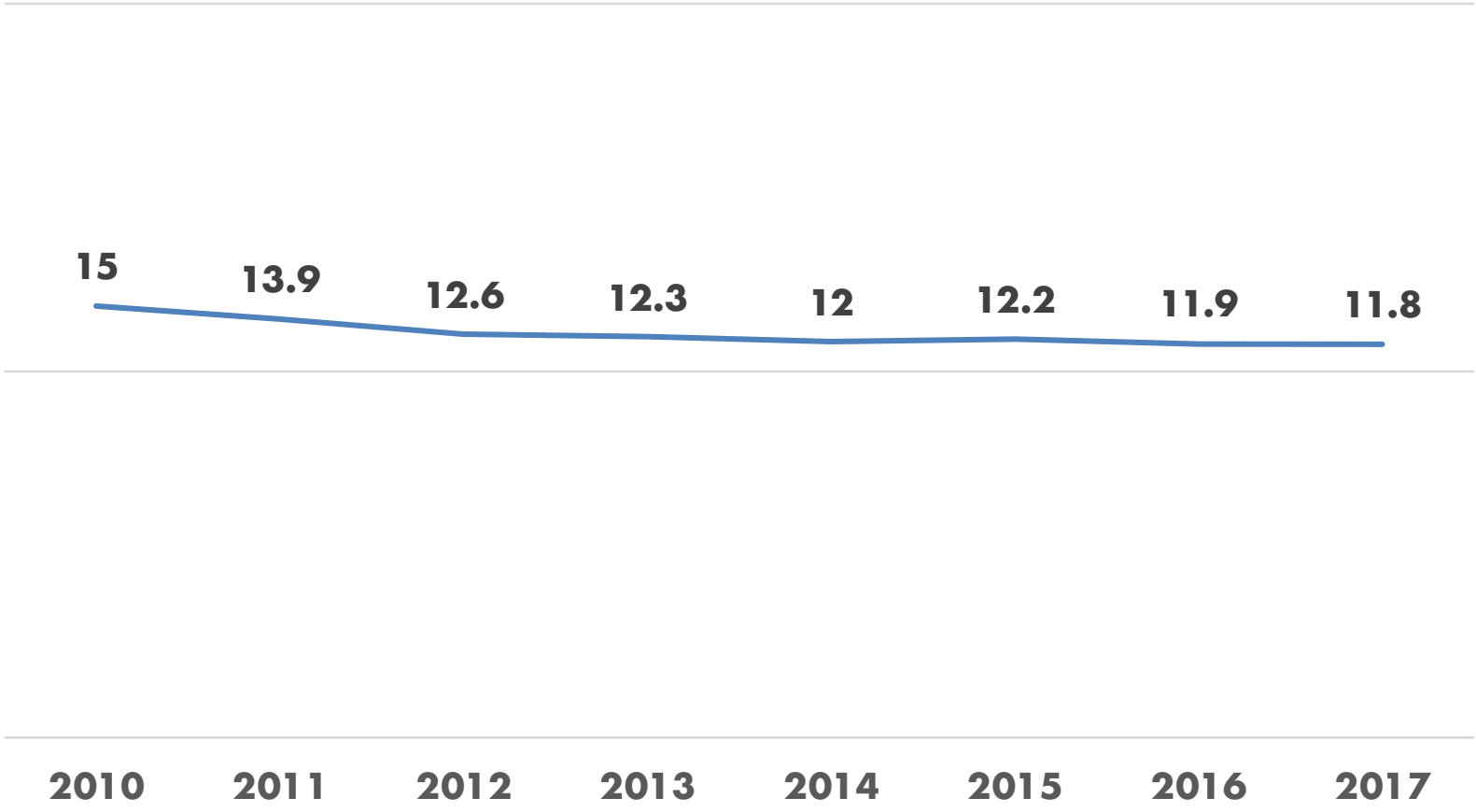

**Source**: IBGE

# GDP Per Capita



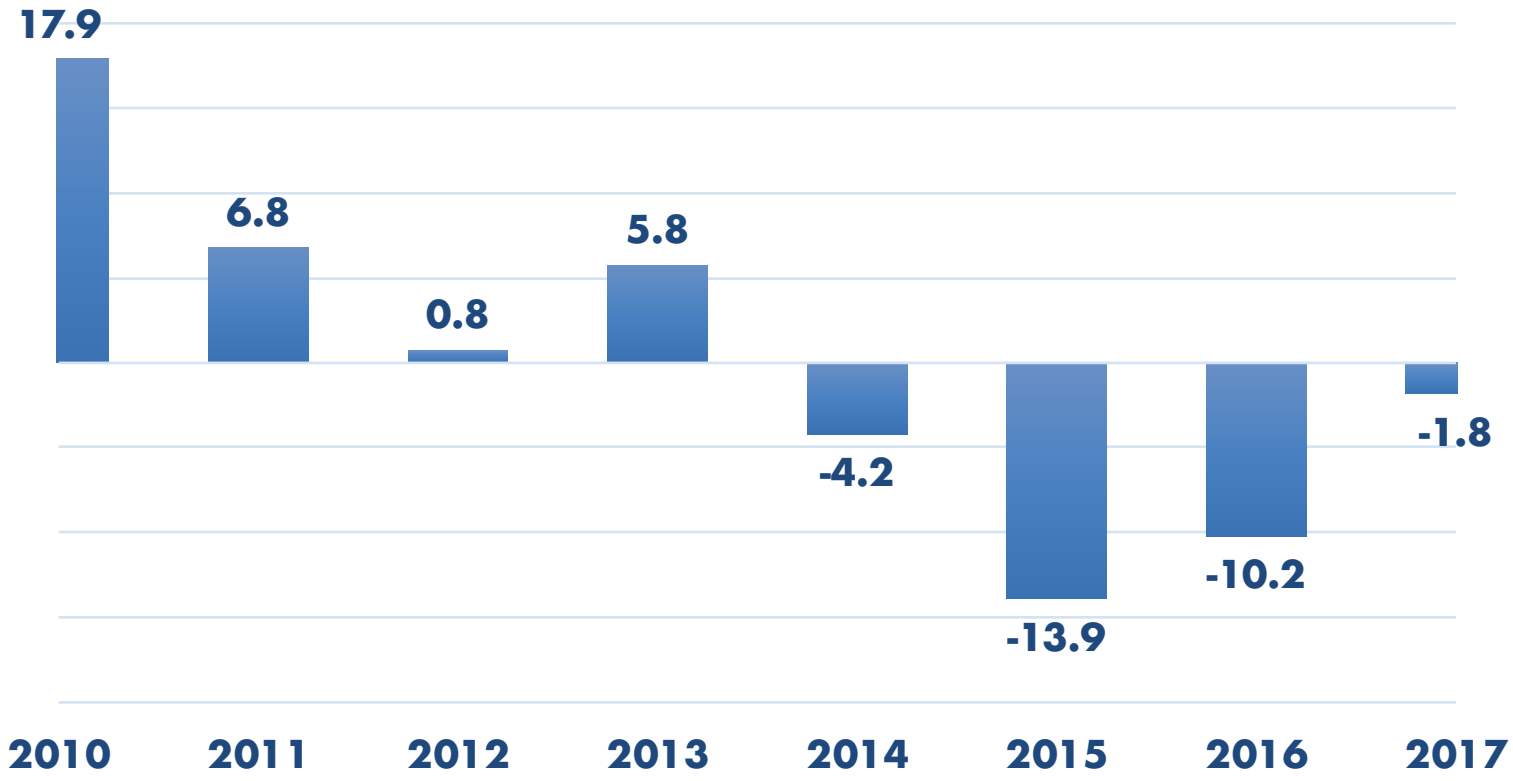

**Source**: IBGE

# Industry as % of GDP



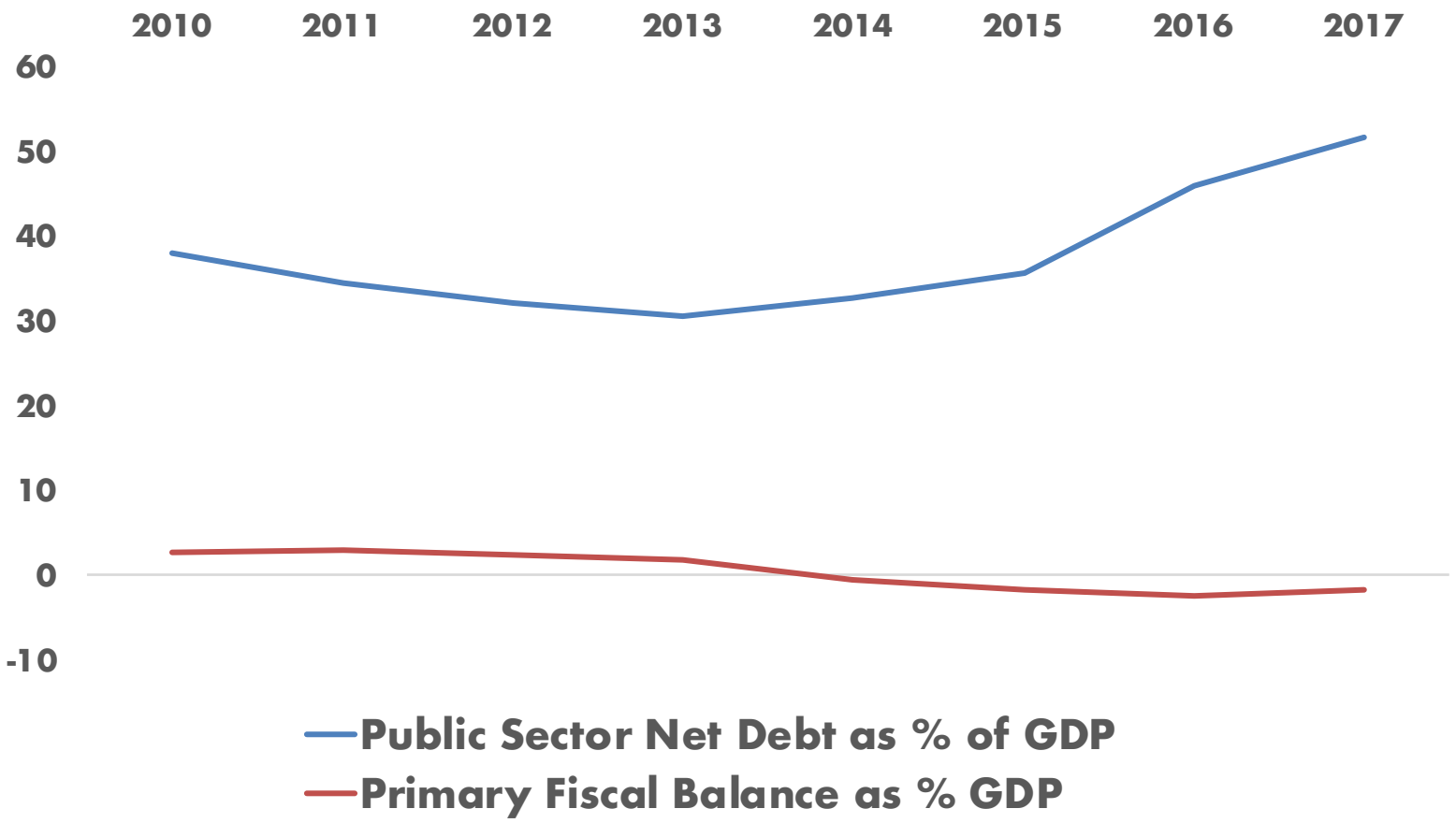

**Source**: BCB

# Gross Fixed Capital Formation



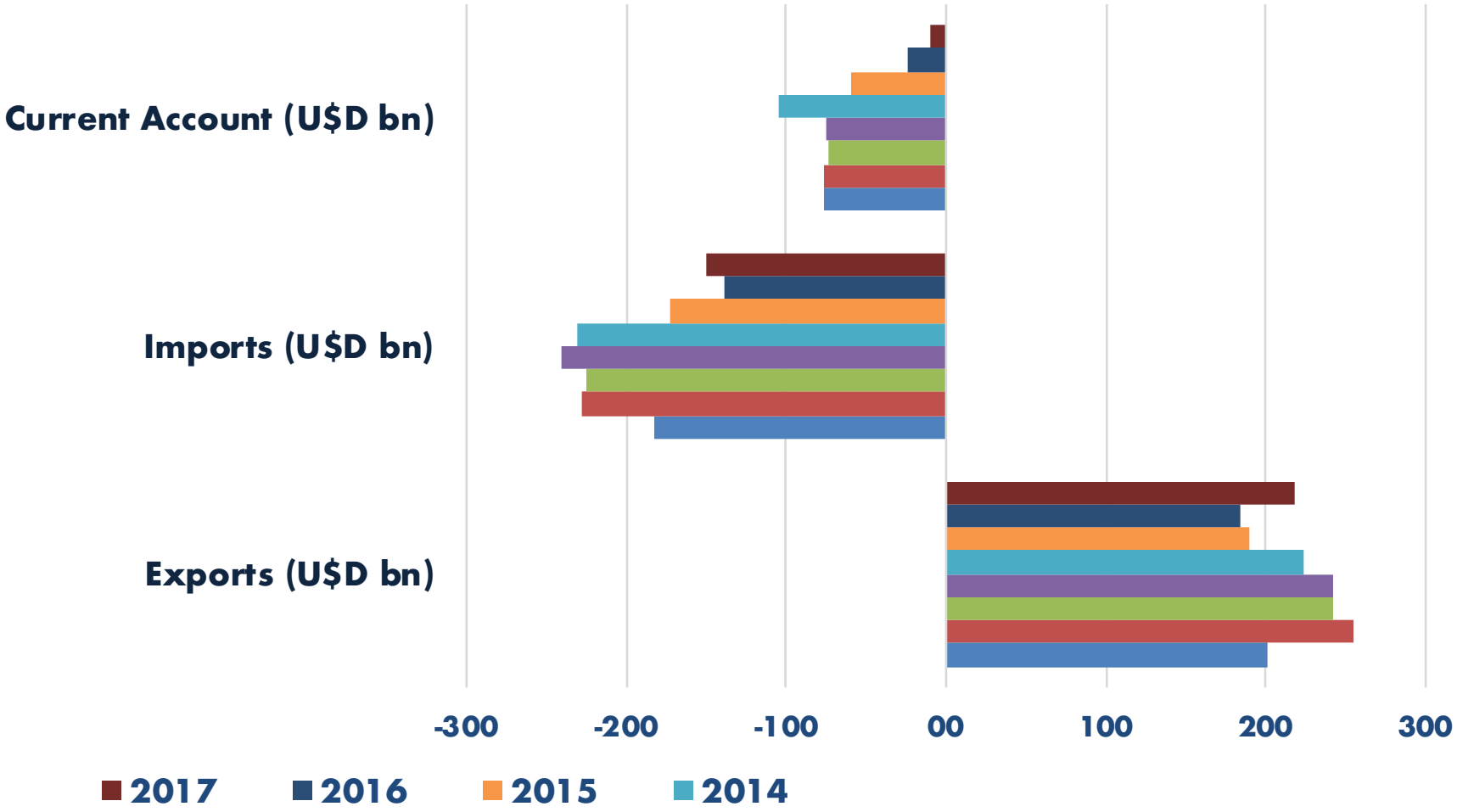

**Source**: BCB

# Fiscal Public Sector




**Source**: BCB

# Balance of Payments



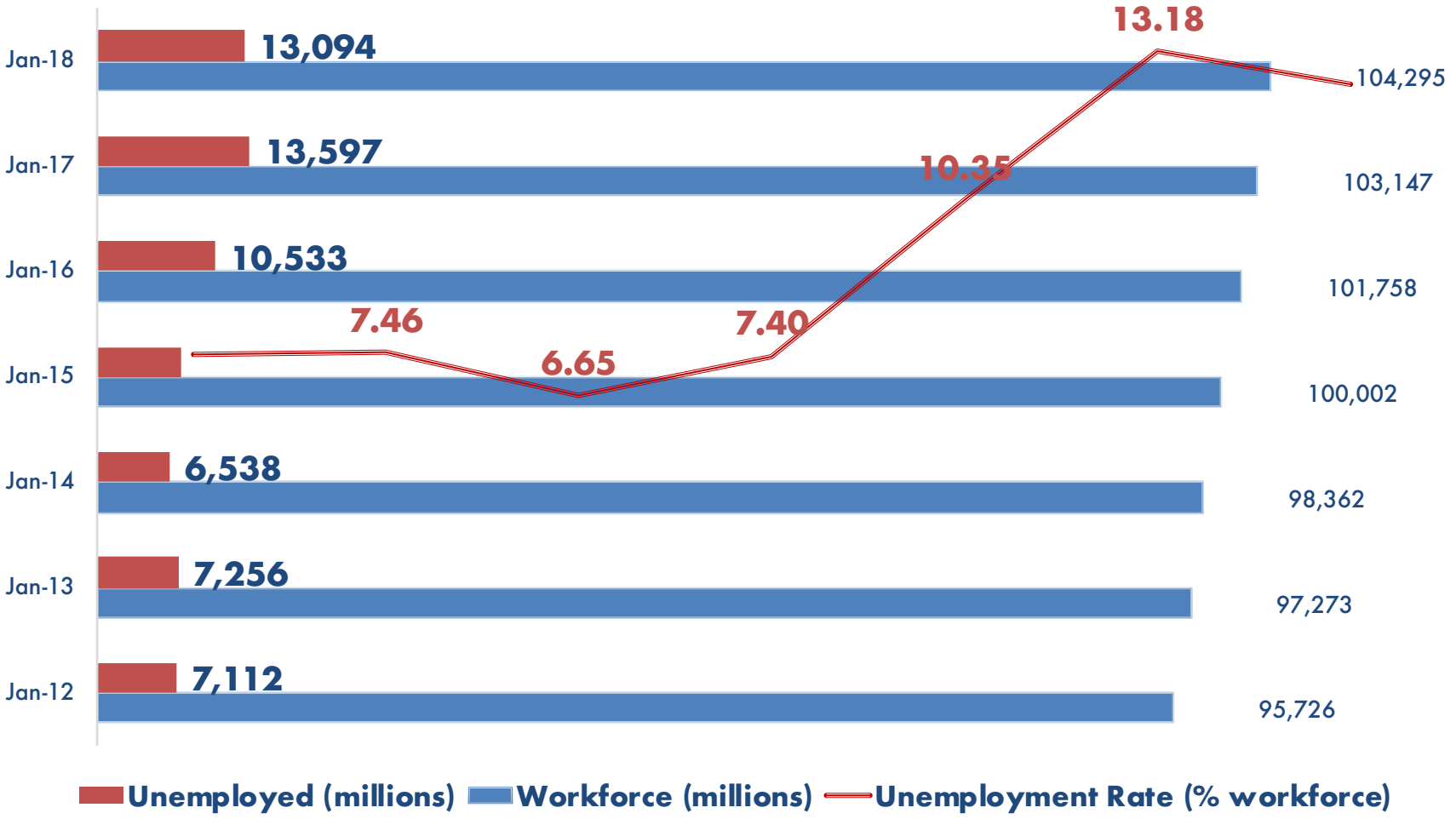

**Source**: BCB

# 4

# Society

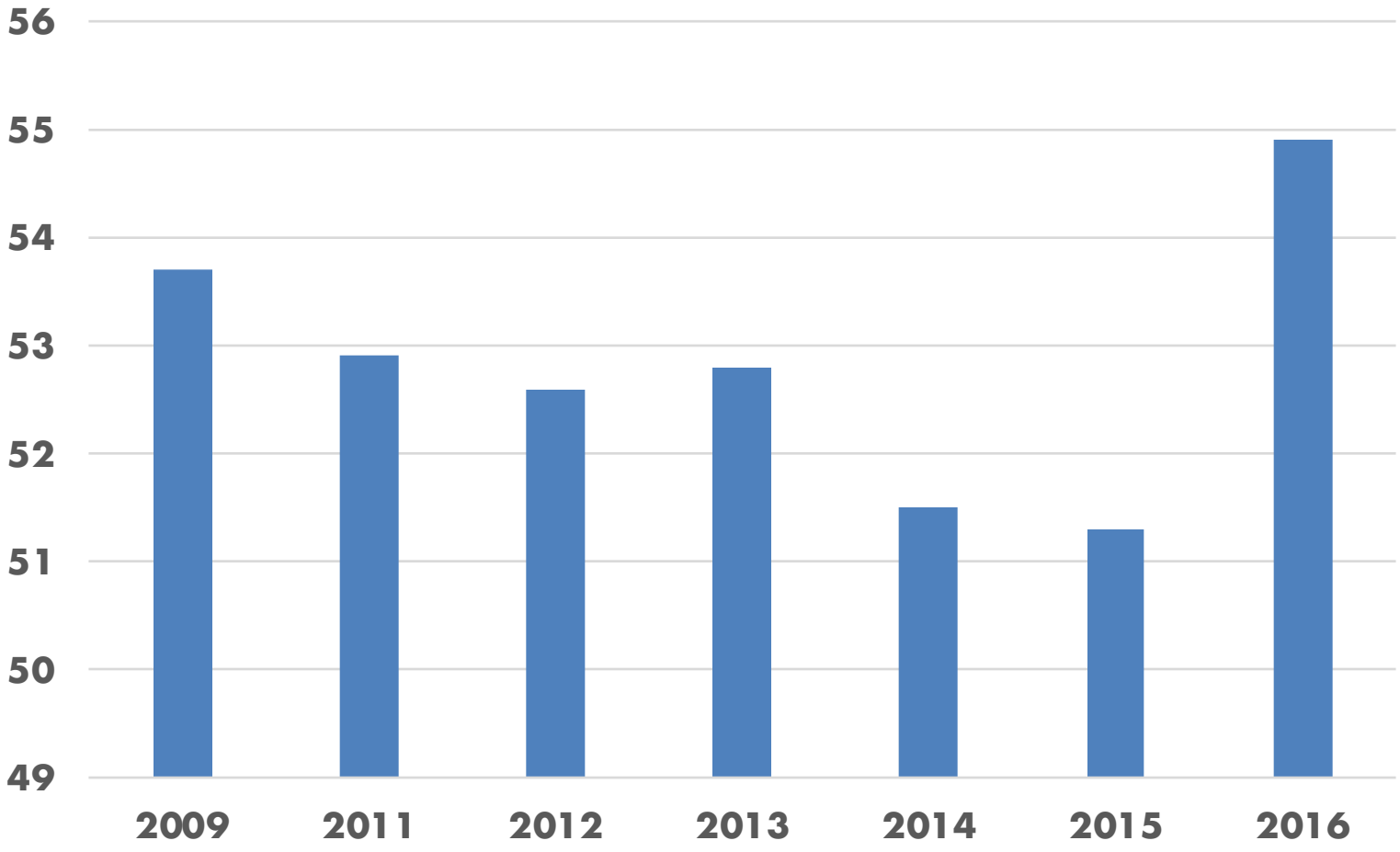
**Source**: http://www.malba.org.ar/coleccion-online/?idobra=2001.37

# Unemployment



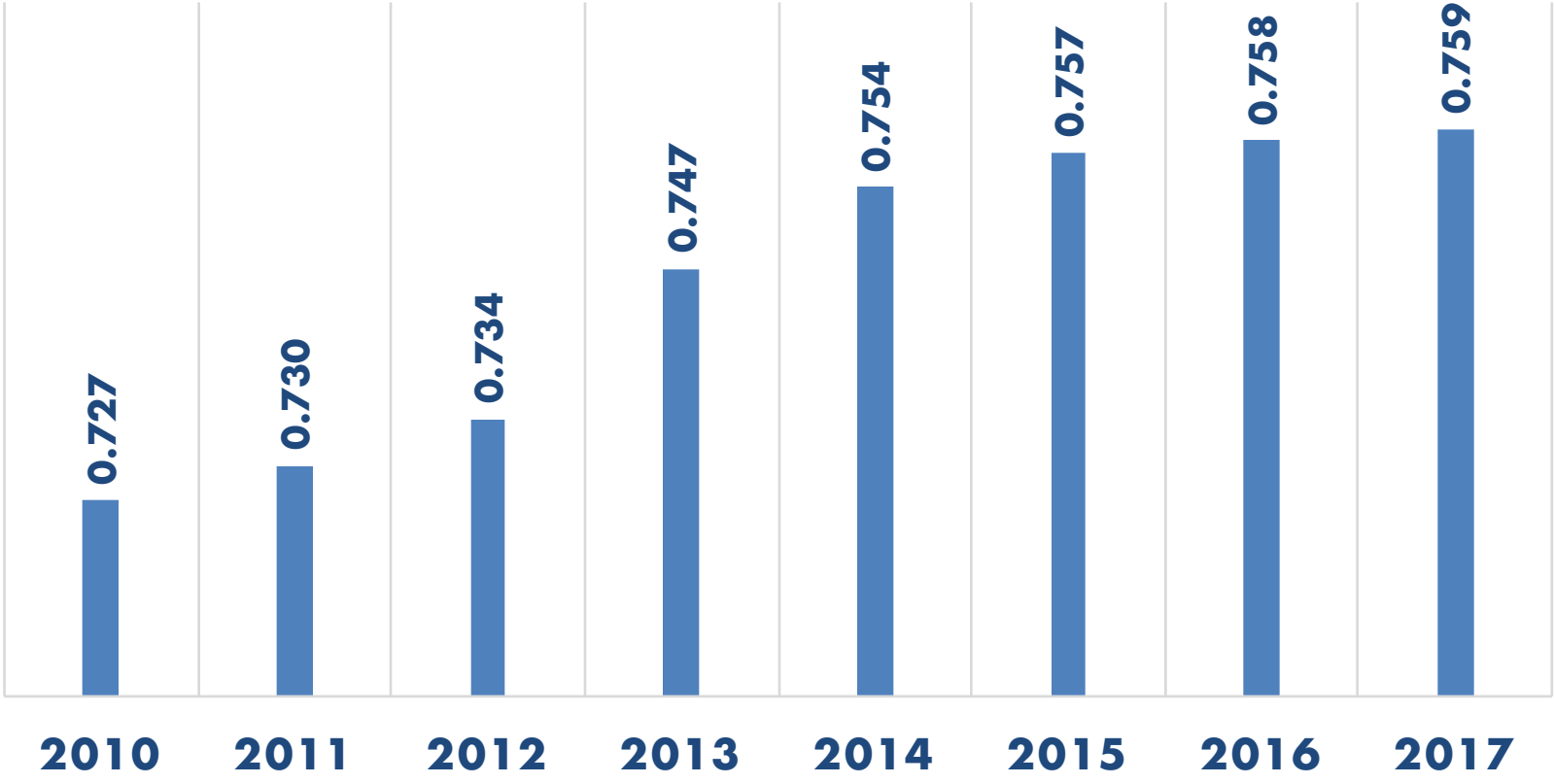

**Source**: IBGE-PNAD

# Gini Index



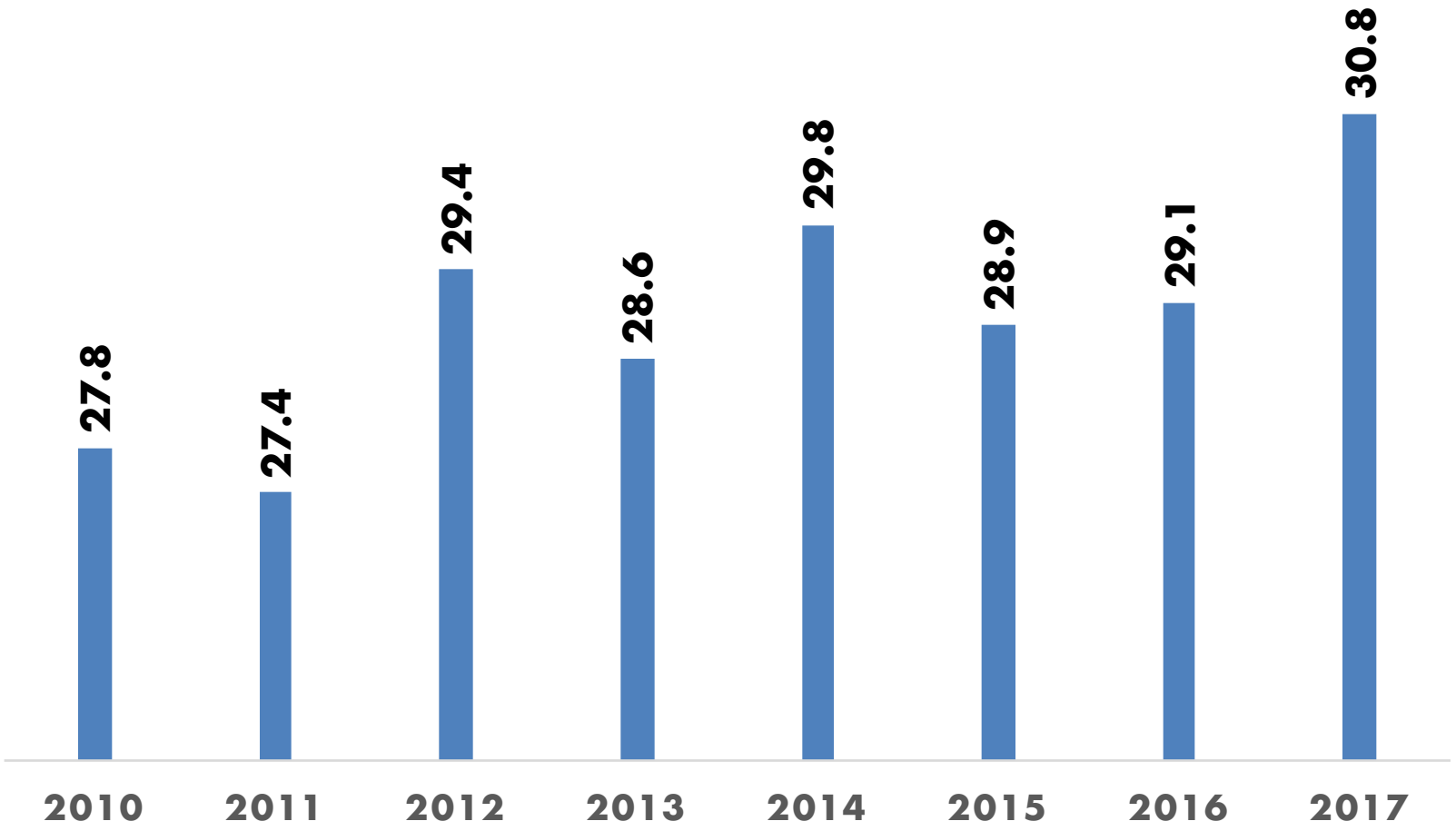

**Source:** World Bank

# Human Development Index



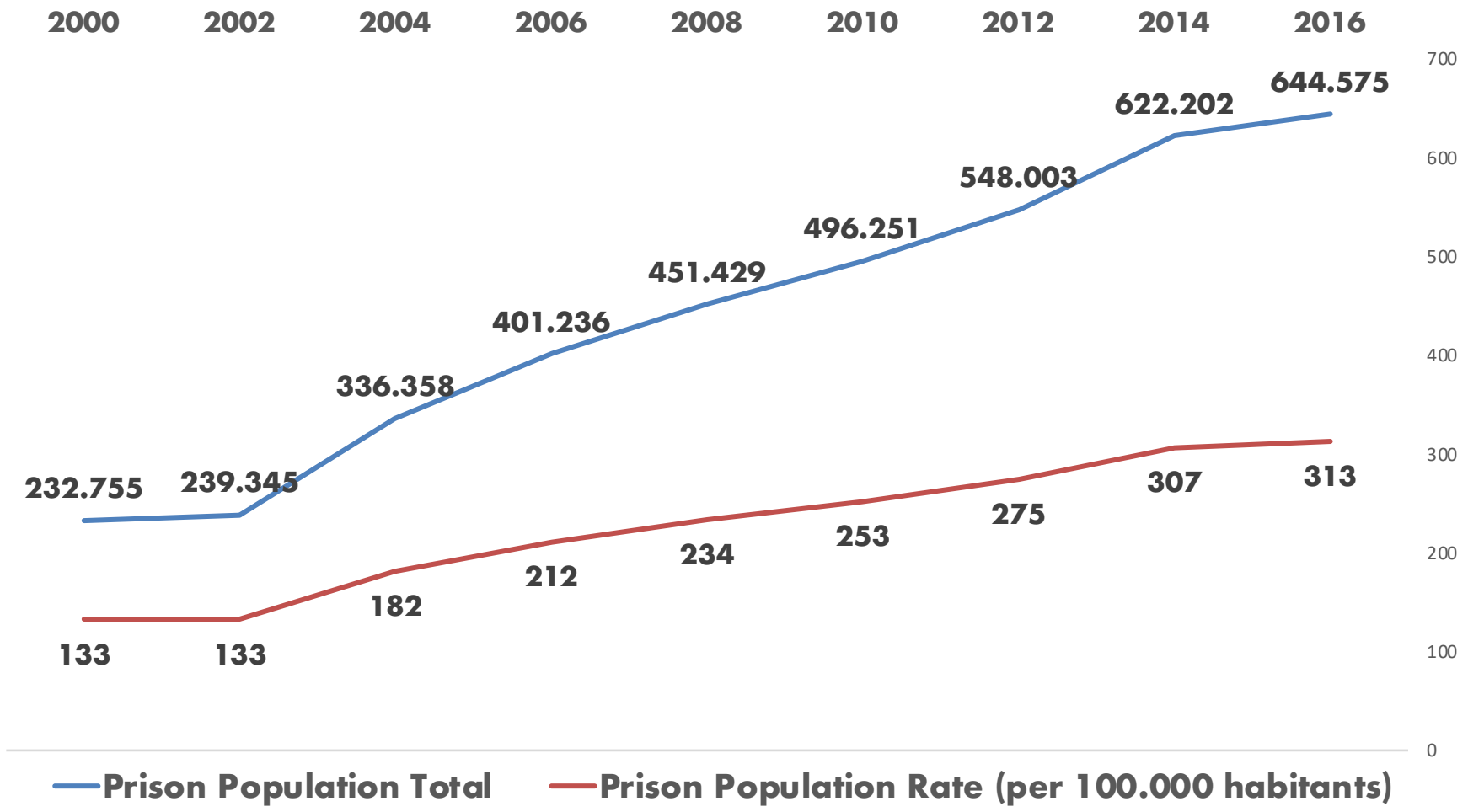

**Source:** UNDP

# Homicides Rate




**Source: FBSP, per 100.000 habitants**

# Incarceration




**Source:** World Bank

# Violence

## Segurança Pública em **Números 2018**

Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública

### MORTES VIOLENTAS INTENCIONAIS

**63.880**

Mortes Violentas Intencionais em 2017

**175 mortos** por dia

Taxa de **30,8** por **100 mil** habitantes

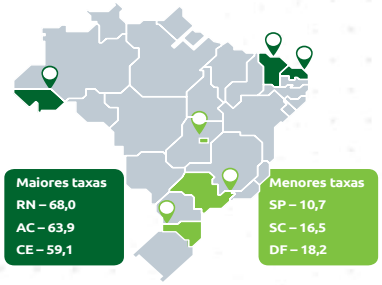
Crescimento de **2,9%** entre 2016 e 2017

**55.900** Homicídios dolosos — crescimento de 2,1%

**2.460** Latrocínios — redução de 8,2%

**955** Lesões corporais seguidas de morte — crescimento de 12,3%

**Taxas por 100 mil habitantes**



Maiores taxas
RN – 68,0
AC – 63,9
CE – 59,1

Menores taxas
SP – 10,7
SC – 16,5
DF – 18,2

**367** policiais mortos — redução de 4,9%

**5.144** mortos em intervenções policiais — crescimento de 20%

**1 Policial Civil ou Militar** assassinado por dia em 2017

**14 Mortos** em Intervenções Policiais por dia

### ESTUPROS

**60.018** estupros em 2017

Crescimento de **8,4%** em relação a **2016**

### FEMINICÍDIOS

**1.133** feminicídios em 2017

### LEI MARIA DA PENHA

**221.238** registros de violência doméstica em 2017 (Lesão corporal dolosa)

**606** casos por dia

### HOMICÍDIOS

**4.539** mulheres vítimas de Homicídio em 2017

Crescimento de **6,1%** em relação a **2016**

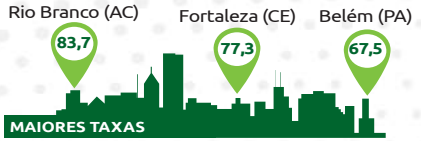
### DESAPARECIMENTOS

**82.684** registros de desaparecimentos apenas em **2017**

### CRIMES NAS CAPITAIS

**16.799** mortes violentas intencionais

Taxa de 34 por 100 mil habitantes




### PESSOAS ENCARCERADAS

**729.463** pessoas encarceradas no Brasil em 2016

**689.947** no Sistema Penitenciário

**39.516** sob Custódia das Polícias

**367.217** vagas

**2** pessoas presas para cada vaga

**Presídios Federais**

- **832** vagas
- **437** presos

### CONTROLE DE ARMAS

**119.484** armas de fogo apreendidas em 2017

**Necessidade de fortalecer a política**

- **94,9%** das armas apreendidas no ano não foram cadastradas no sistema da Polícia Federal (SINARM).
- **13.782** armas legais foram perdidas, extraviadas ou roubadas, o que equivale a **11,5%** das armas apreendidas pelas polícias no mesmo ano.

**É como se um mês de trabalho das polícias tivesse se perdido.**

### FINANCIAMENTO DA POLÍTICA DE SEGURANÇA

**84,7** bilhões em 2017

Variação de 0,8%

Brasil gasta **R$ 408,13** por cidadão com **segurança pública**
**1,3% do PIB**

| União | Municípios | Unidades da Federação |
|---|---|---|
| **9,7 bi** crescimento de 6,9% | **5,1 bi** redução de 2% | **69,8 bi** variação de 0,2% |

**Source:** FBSP/FGV

# Obstacles to Overcome

- Highly unequal and hierarchical society
- Premature deindustrialization, extractive curse
- Growth stagnation and semi-peripheral status
- Authoritarian State reflects Society
- Personalist and clientelistic political life
- Corporativism *versus* social class' organization
- Tax evasion and corruption as elite *mores*
- Judicial system as rent seeking clique
- Armed Forces and Police: conditional subordination

# 5

# Foreign Policy and Defense

# Future International System?

**Scale:** global already, but how about oceans and outer space?
**Interaction Capacity:** hypersonic transportation and digital convergence
**Kapital:** asianization, concentration, six fold GDP (2050)
**Macht:** regional multinational States, terrorism, major war risk
**Knowledge:** diffusion, exponential growth, AI
**Main Units:** regional states, TNCorporations, UN for climate change
**Structure:** unbalanced multipolarity, systemic chaos, and the end of Anarchy

To a certain extent, China's competitive pressure in Latin America may favor the bargaining conditions of the countries of the region with the United States, the European Union and Japan.

However, the strategic choices that the United States and China make at the global level could have a negative impact on the region.

Latin America is not interested in an even greater deterioration of international security in the coming years, much less a war between the United States and China.

**In the nuclear age, more than ever, world peace is necessary for sustainable development and regional integration**.

# Thank You
# Obrigado

Marco Cepik