

BRAZILIAN POLITICS

MARCO CEPIK – 2019

A. BACKGROUND





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- 1822 – Independence from Portugal (September 07th)**
 - 1888 – Abolition of Slavery**
 - 1889 – Military Coup establishes the Old Republic**
 - 1930 – Vargas' Revolution and Estado Novo**
 - 1945 – Military Coup establishes the Second Republic**
 - 1960 – New capital city Brasilia inaugurated**
 - 1964 – Military Coup and Authoritarian Regime**
 - 1985 – Indirect election establishes the New Republic**
 - 1988 – Current Federal Constitution (7th, 99 EC, 3/5 votes, twice, two houses)**
 - 1994 – Fernando Henrique Cardoso (PSDB) elected**
 - 1998 – Fernando Henrique Cardoso (PSDB) reelected**

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- 2002 – Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (PT) elected, his 4th time running**
 - 2006 – Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (PT) reelected (60.8% in the runoff)**
 - 2010 – Dilma Rousseff (PT) elected (56.05% in the runoff)**
 - 2014 – Dilma Rousseff (PT) reelected (51.64% in the runoff)**
 - 2015 – Second Wave of Protests (160 cities, 26 states, 3.6 m people)**
 - 2016 – 36th President Rousseff ousted in controversial Impeachment**
 - 2017 – Michel Temer (PMDB) as president: 76% in favor of resignation**
 - 2018 – Lula da Silva (PT) jailed / barred from running (April–August)**
 - 2018 – Jair Bolsonaro (PSL) elected in November (55.13% runoff)**

<https://www.bbc.com/reel/playlist/what-happened-to-brazil>

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- ▶ Area: 8,515,767 km² (5th largest in the world, 47.3% of South America)
 - ▶ Population: 210.68 million (2019)
 - ▶ Brasilia: 04.29 million (2017), São Paulo is 21.09 million (metro area)
 - ▶ Whites 47.7 % Pardos 43.13 Blacks 7,6 Asians 1.09 Indigenous 0.4
 - ▶ Religion 2010: 64.6% Catholic, 24% Protestant, 8% No religion
 - ▶ GDP 2017: USD 2.05 trillion (nominal) 3.39 trillion (PPP)
 - ▶ Largest in Latin America
 - ▶ 9th (nominal) or 8th (PPP) in the world

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- ▶ **GDP per capita 2018: USD 9,821 (nominal); USD 16,199 (PPP)**
 - ▶ **GDP % sector 2016: agriculture 5.5; industry 18.5; services 76%**
 - ▶ **Life expectancy at birth (2018): 75.93 years**
 - ▶ **HDI 0.76 (2018)**
 - ▶ **Population below poverty line % 2018: 11.18**
 - ▶ **Gini coefficient: 0.52 (2018)**
 - ▶ **Unemployment: 11.7% (November 2018)**

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- ▶ **Defense Budget (USD): 29.4 billions in 2017**
 - ▶ **Armed Forces Personnel (2018): 334.500**
 - ▶ **Navy (69,000), Army (198,000), Air Force (67,500)**
 - ▶ **Federal Police Department: 41,000**
 - ▶ **Federal Highway Police: 4,500**
 - ▶ **Military Police (ostensive patrol, state level): 450,000**
 - ▶ **Civil Police (investigation / judicial force, state level): 27 states**

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- ▶ **Federative Republic of Brazil (Executive, Judiciary, Legislative)**
 - ▶ **26 states, Federal District, 5,570 municipalities**
 - ▶ **President: may serve two consecutive terms. Wait one, run again**
 - ▶ **President is head of state and government, commander in chief**
 - ▶ **President elected by direct, absolute majority vote, two-round**
 - ▶ **Lawmaking powers: propose, sanction, veto, decree and regulate**
 - ▶ **Appoint cabinet, Central Bank, state owned enterprises etc**
 - ▶ **Conduct foreign policy in peace and war as established by law**

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- ▶ **Supreme Federal Court (STF) as Constitutional Court**
 - ▶ **11 ministers appointed by the president and confirmed by Senate**
 - ▶ **The ministers (judges) have no term length, but retire when 75 years**
 - ▶ **Supreme Court of Justice (STJ) for non-constitutional issues**
 - ▶ **Superior Courts: Electoral (TSE), Military (STM), and Labor (TST)**
 - ▶ **Federal / State level courts: trial (first instance) and appeal (second)**

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- ▶ **National Congress is bicameral (513 Deputies and 81 Senators)**
 - ▶ **Three senators per state, plurality (FPTP), 8 year terms, no limit**
 - ▶ **Federal Deputies are elected to 4 year terms, no reelection limit**
 - ▶ **All 513 elected by proportional representation (PR), open-list**
 - ▶ **27 multi-member constituencies, corresponding to state level**
 - ▶ **District magnitude: from 8 (RO) to 70 (SP), based on population**
 - ▶ **Campaign Financing laws: public funds + % of income**
 - ▶ **Problem: Open List + Great Magnitude District + Concentrate \$**

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- ▶ **STATE and NATIONAL elections:**
 - ▶ **President, National Congress, Governors, State Assemblies**
 - ▶ **27 Unicameral State Legislative Assemblies (1,219 state deputies)**
 - ▶ **MUNICIPAL elections:**
 - ▶ **Mayors (5,570) and city counselors (51,748)**
 - ▶ **Municipal officials are elected to 4 year terms**

B. WHO IS WHO?

LUIZ INÁCIO LULA DA SILVA

- ▶ 35th President of Brazil (2003–2010)
- ▶ Born in Caetés, Pernambuco, October 27, 1945
- ▶ Founder of Worker's Party (PT)
- ▶ Run for president in 1989, 1994, 1998, 2002, and 2006
- ▶ Rated the best Brazilian president of all time, 80.5% approval
- ▶ 55 international medals and prizes, 24 honoris causa
- ▶ Jailed since 2018, after sentenced in one of nine law suits
- ▶ 2019 International Campaign to Nominate him for Nobel Prize



JAIR MESSIAS BOLSONARO

- ▶ 38th President of Brazil (2019–2022)
- ▶ Born in Glicério, São Paulo state, March 21, 1955
- ▶ Former Army captain, started political career in 1988
- ▶ Federal Deputy in 1990, re-elected six times
- ▶ Parties: PDC, PP, PPR, PPB, PTB, PFL, PP, PSC, PSL
- ▶ Against: human rights, secularism, affirmative actions
- ▶ Pro: far-right values, Trump, Netanyahu, privatizations
- ▶ Won 2018 with 55.1%, lower tally than Rousseff in 2010
- ▶ Three sons share his political views: Carlos (RJ city Counselor), Eduardo (SP Federal Deputy), and Flavio Bolsonaro ((RJ Senator)



RODRIGO FELINTO IBARRA EPITÁCIO MAIA

- ▶ President of the Chamber of Deputies (2019–2021)
- ▶ Born in Santiago, Chile, June 12, 1970
- ▶ Member of right-wing Democratas (DEM)
- ▶ Sixth term as Federal Deputy in the National Congress



DAVI SAMUEL ALCOLUMBRE TOBELEM

- ▶ President of the Senate (2019–2021)
- ▶ President of the National Congress
- ▶ Third in line of succession, after vice-president and the President of the Chamber of Deputies
- ▶ Born in Macapá, Amapá State, June 19, 1977
- ▶ Member of right-wing Democratas (DEM)
- ▶ Senator representing the north state of Amapá since 2015



JOSÉ ANTONIO DIAS TOFFOLI

- ▶ 59th President of the Supreme Federal Court (STF)
- ▶ Born in Marília, São Paulo State, November 15, 1967
- ▶ STF minister since 2009, appointed by President Lula
- ▶ Former Attorney General of the Union (AGU) 2007–2009



JOSÉ ERNESTO HENRIQUE FRAGA ARAÚJO

- ▶ Minister of Foreign Affairs
- ▶ Born in Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul, May 15, 1967
- ▶ Career diplomat, promoted to Ambassador in June 2018
- ▶ Former director of Interamerican Affairs at MRE
- ▶ Indicated by Olavo de Carvalho, far-right “guru”
- ▶ Father was an Attorney General during the Military Dictatorship



PAULO ROBERTO NUNES GUEDES

- ▶ **Minister of the Economy**
- ▶ **Born in Rio de Janeiro, August 24, 1949**
- ▶ **Ph.D. University of Chicago (1978)**
- ▶ **Co-founder of Pactual Bank (now BTG Pactual)**
- ▶ **Professor at University of Chile during Pinochet regime**
- ▶ **Co-founder of right-wing think tank Millennium Institute**
- ▶ **Portfolio includes: treasury, planning, budgeting, federal public civil service management, state owned federal enterprises, industry and commerce policies, among others.**



SÉRGIO FERNANDO MORO

- ▶ Minister of Justice and Public Security
- ▶ Born in Maringá, Paraná, August 01, 1972
- ▶ Federal judge (13th Federal Circuit, Curitiba)
- ▶ Car Wash operation judge since 2014
- ▶ 140 convicted, 347 accused, Lula sentenced to jail
- ▶ 11 billion USD reimbursement requested
- ▶ Less than one billion USD reimbursed as for 2018
- ▶ Annual direct cost of Car Wash around 200 million USD
- ▶ USD 250 billion erased from Petrobras market value



AUGUSTO HELENO RIBEIRO PEREIRA

- ▶ Secretary of Institutional Security (GSI)
- ▶ Born in Curitiba, Paraná, October 29, 1947
- ▶ Retired Army General (Cavalry)
- ▶ First military commander of MINUSTAH (2004–2005)
- ▶ Authority over the Brazilian Intelligence Agency (ABIN)
- ▶ One of eight military ministers
- ▶ More than 100 military officers in 21 areas of government



GLEISI HELENA HOFFMANN

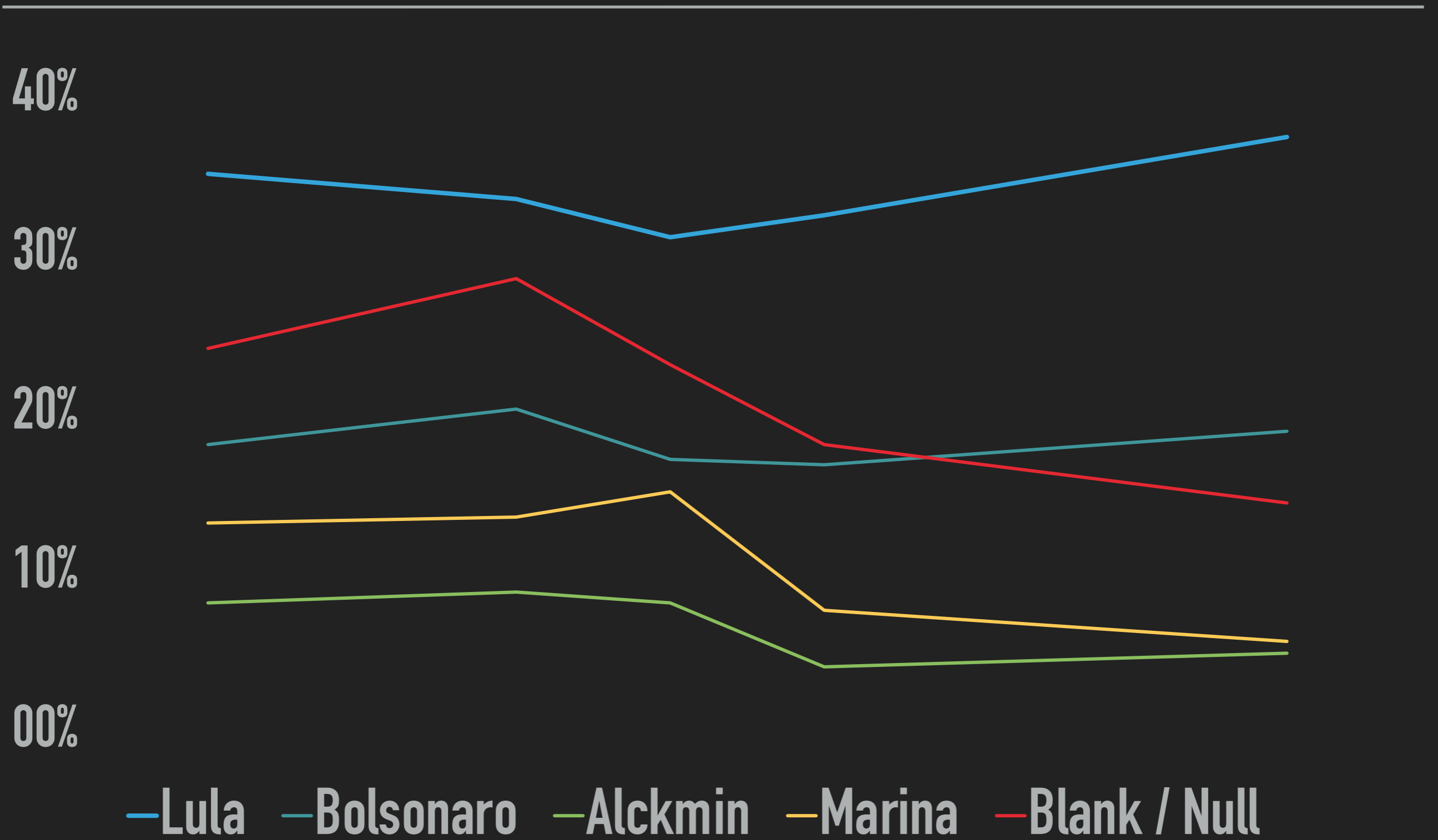
- ▶ President of Worker's Party (PT)
- ▶ Born in Curitiba, Paraná, September 06, 1965
- ▶ Federal Deputy from Paraná State (2019–2022)
- ▶ Former Senator from Paraná (2011–2019)
- ▶ Chief of Staff during Rousseff first term
- ▶ Accused by Car Wash, acquitted by the STF in 2018



C. WHAT IS GOING ON?

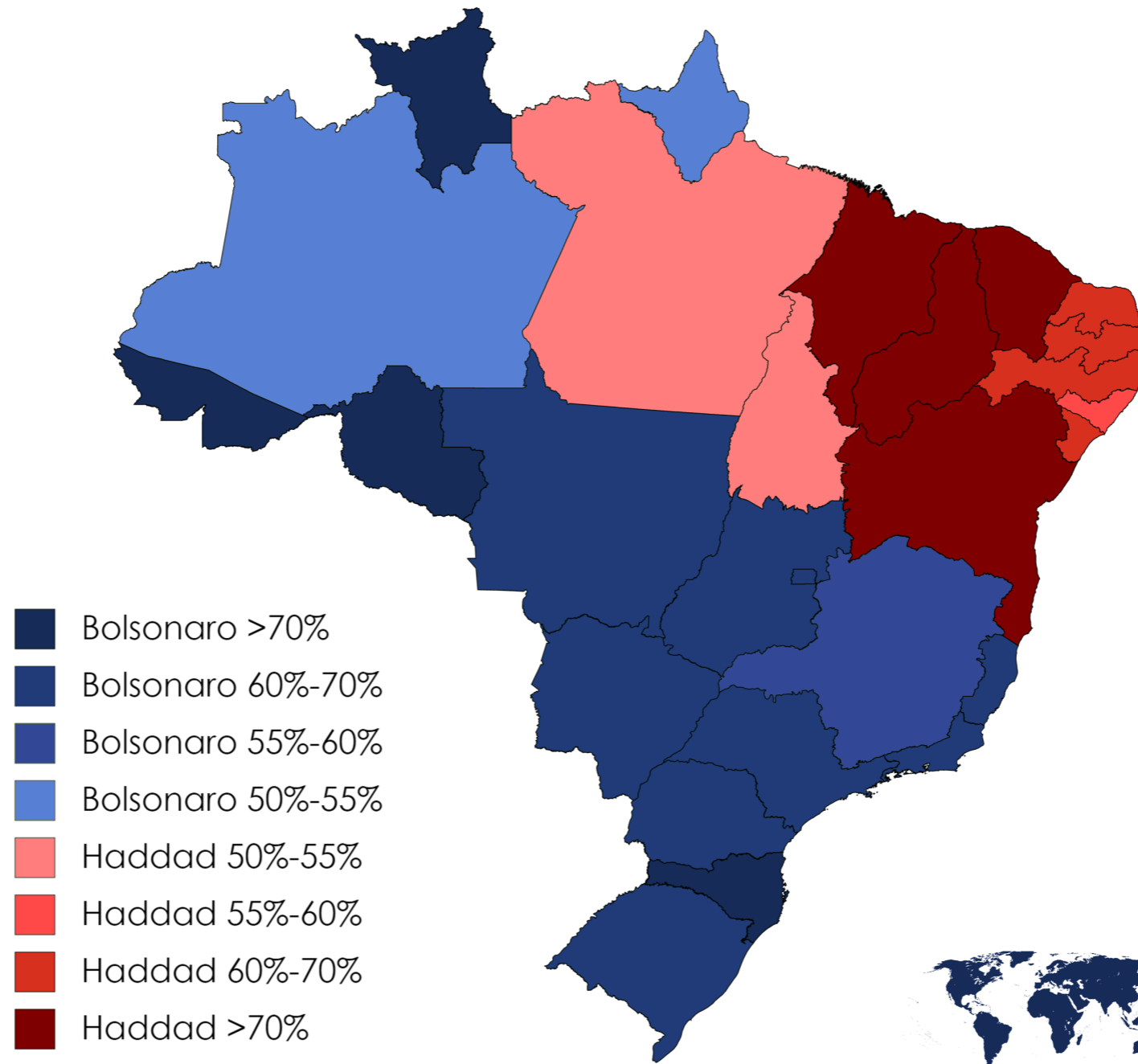
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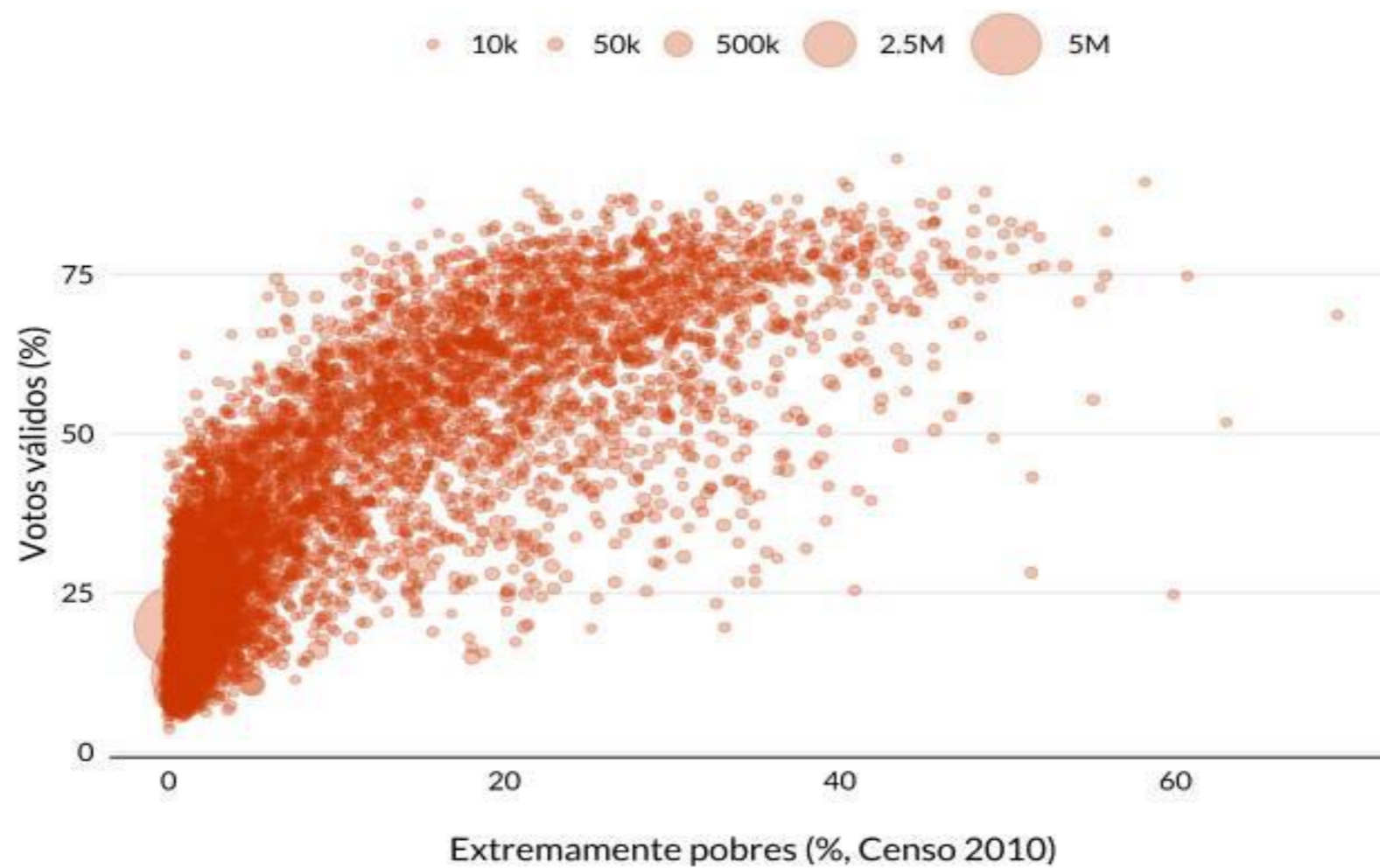
Fonte: Datafolha (04/13 and 01/13) and CNT-MDA (03/03; 05/28; 08/20)





Votação em Fernando Haddad (PT)

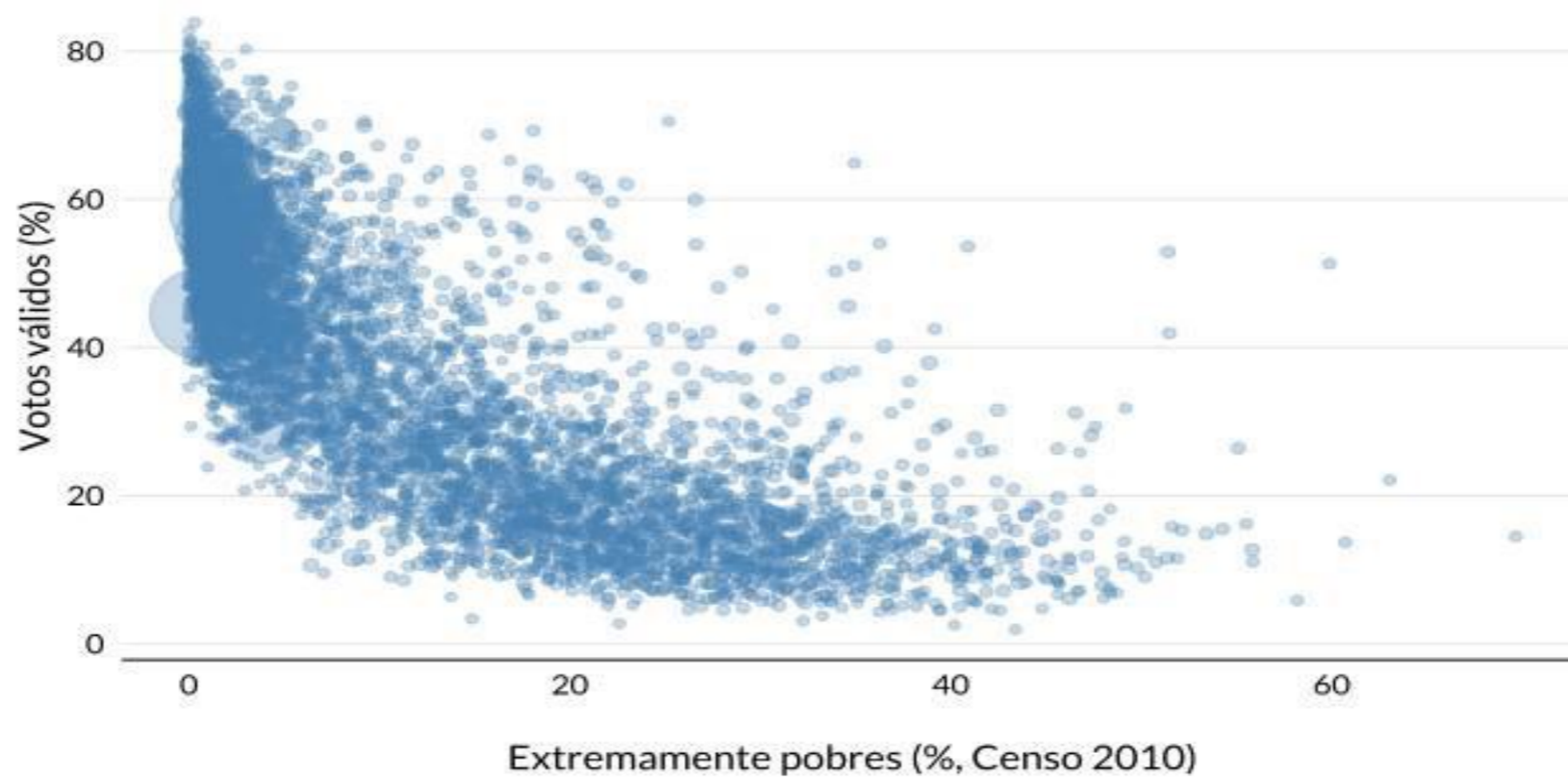
Cada ponto é um município, o tamanho indica a população



Votação em Jair Bolsonaro (PSL)

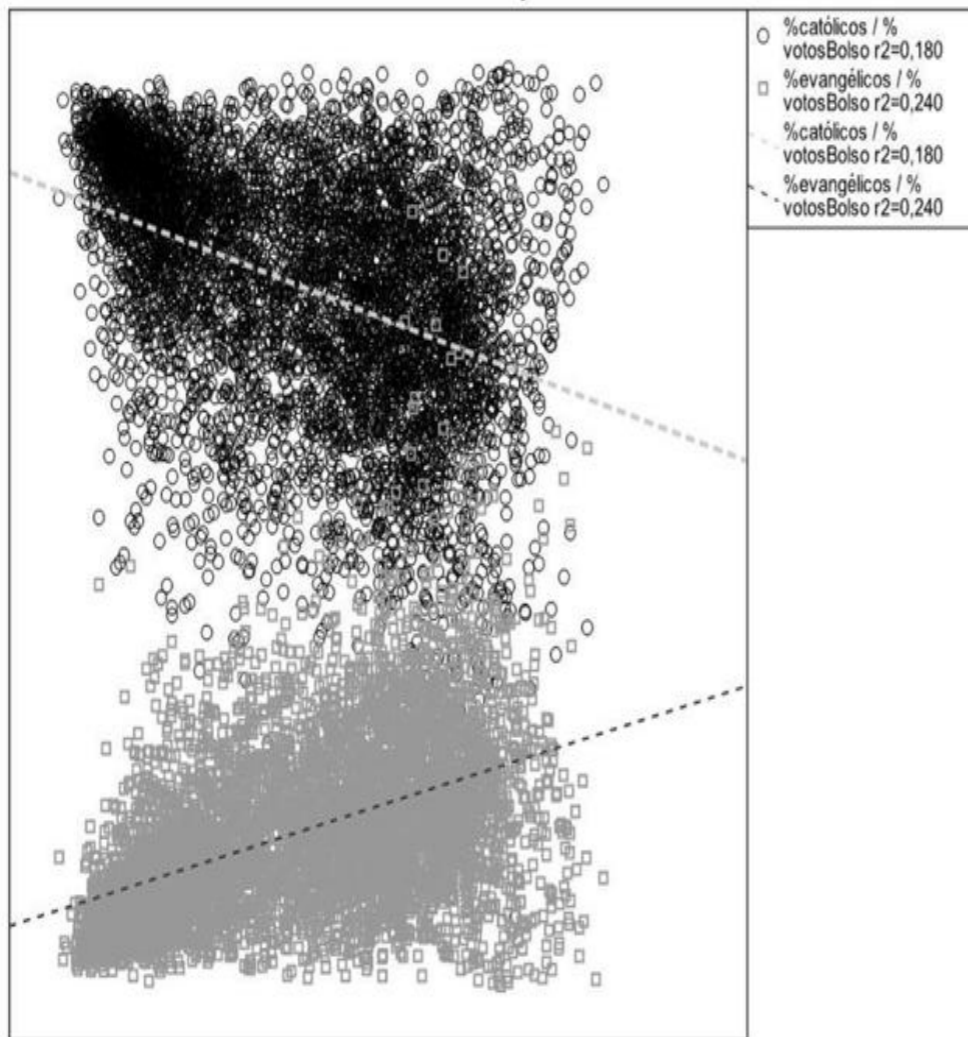
Cada ponto é um município, o tamanho indica a população

• 10k • 50k • 500k • 2.5M • 5M

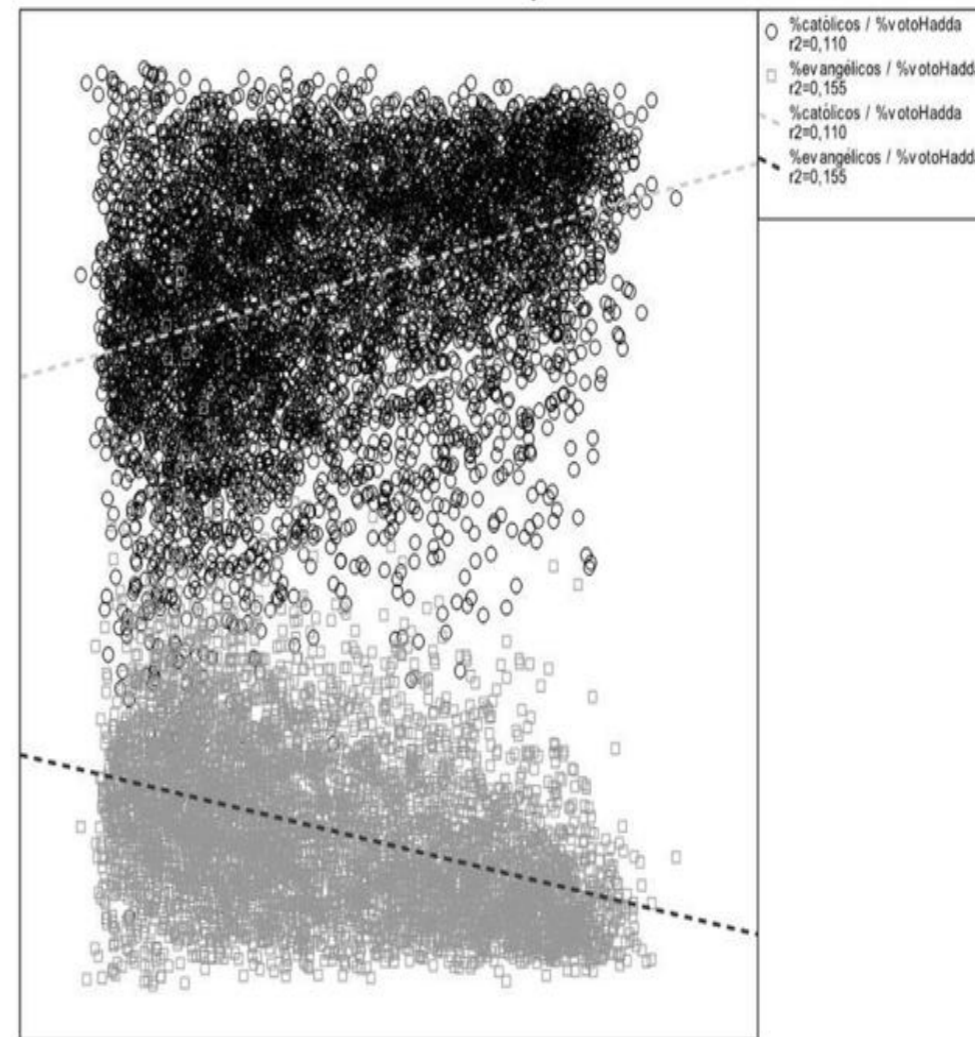


Fonte: Emerson CERVI (2018)

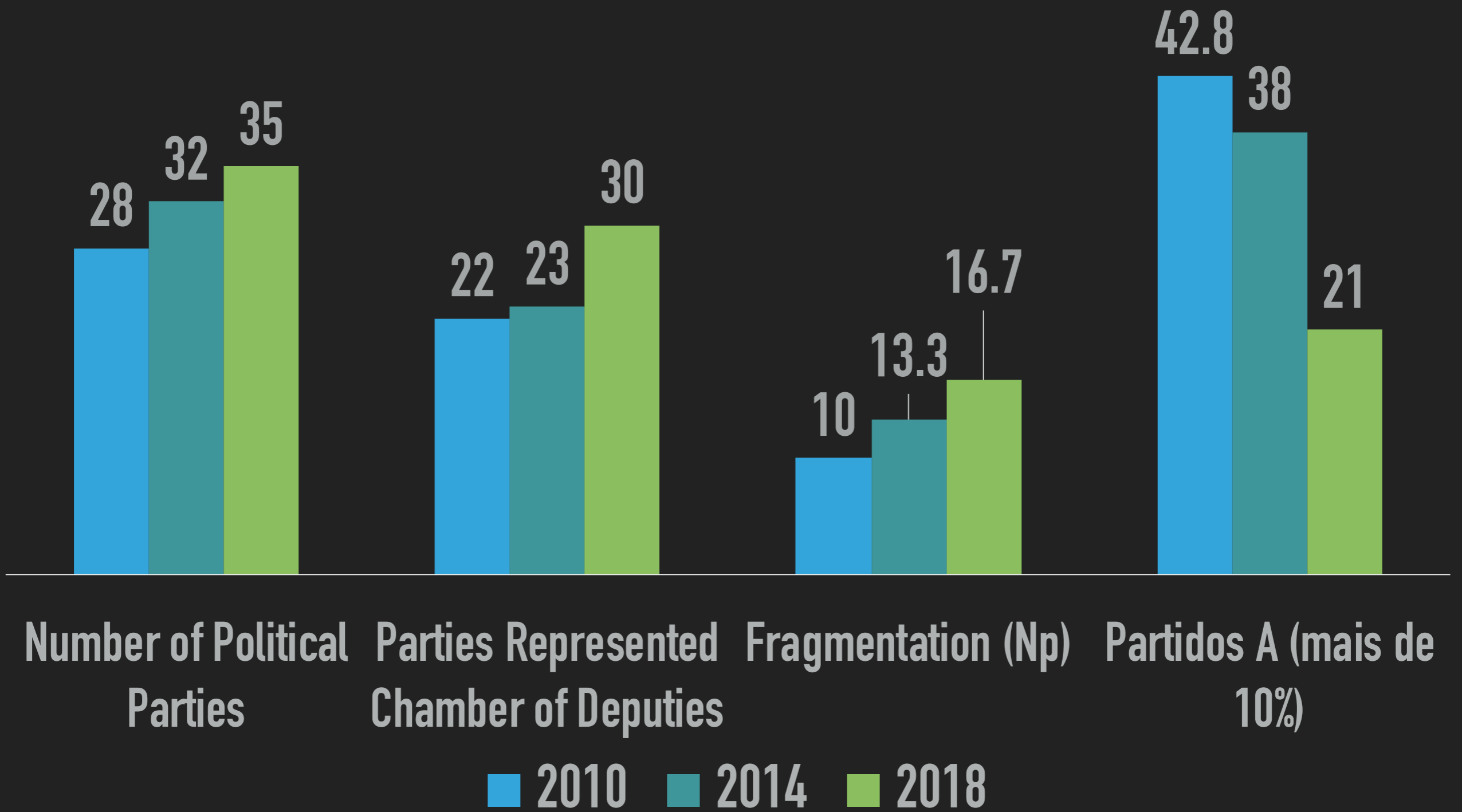
Relação entre % de população católica e evangélica e votos em Bolsonaro por município



Relação entre % de população católica e evangélica e % votos em Haddad por município



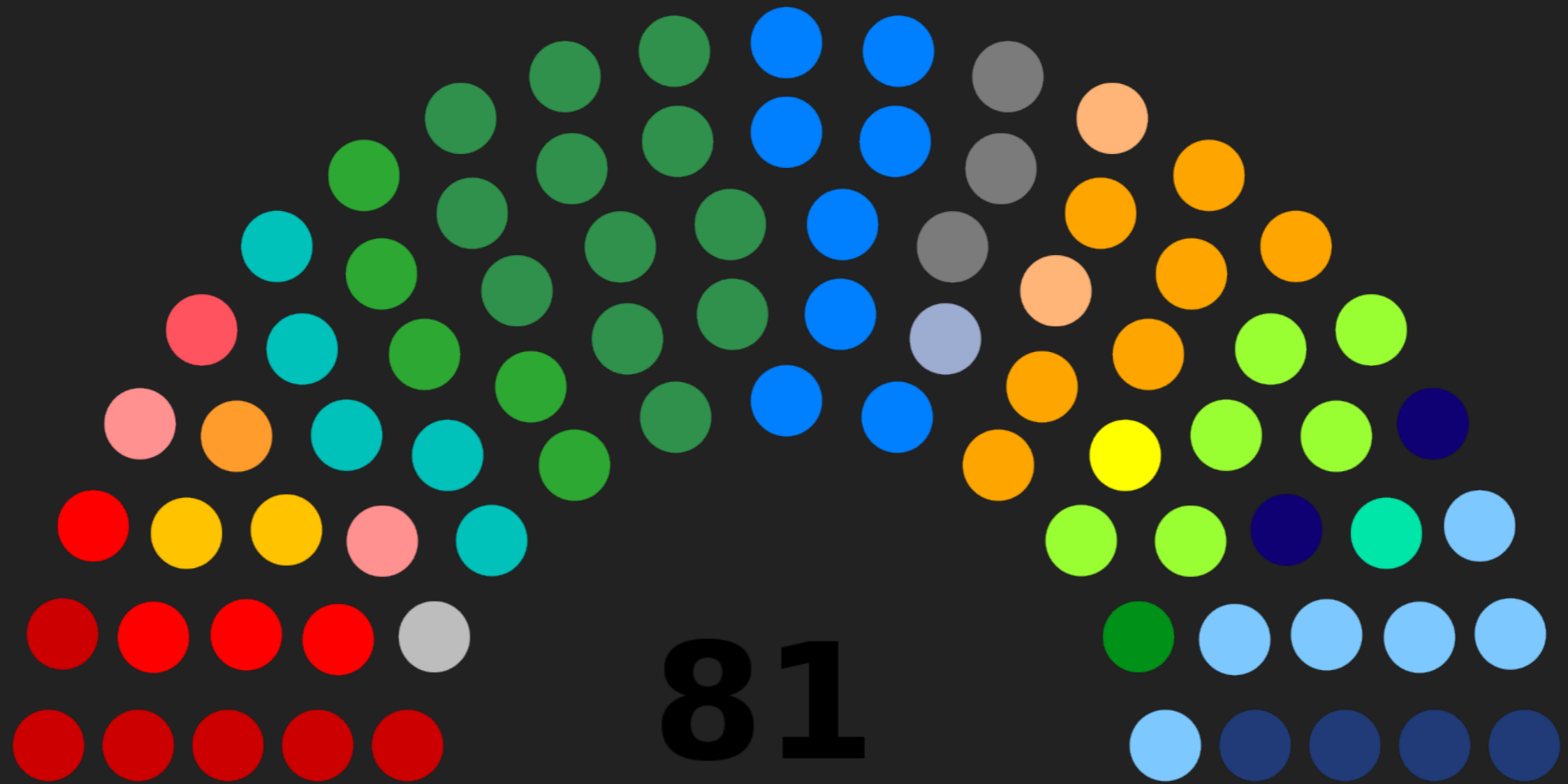
Party	Year Created	President % 2010	President % 2014	President % 2018	N Deputies 2019	N Senators 2019	N Governors 2018
PT	1980	56.1	51.6	44.8	55	06	04
PSL	1994			55.13	55	04	03
MDB	1965				34	13	03
PSDB	1988	44.0	48.4		29	08	03
PP	2003				37	06	01
DEM	2007				29	06	02
PDT	1979				28	04	01
PSOL	2004				10	-	-
PC do B	1962				10	-	01

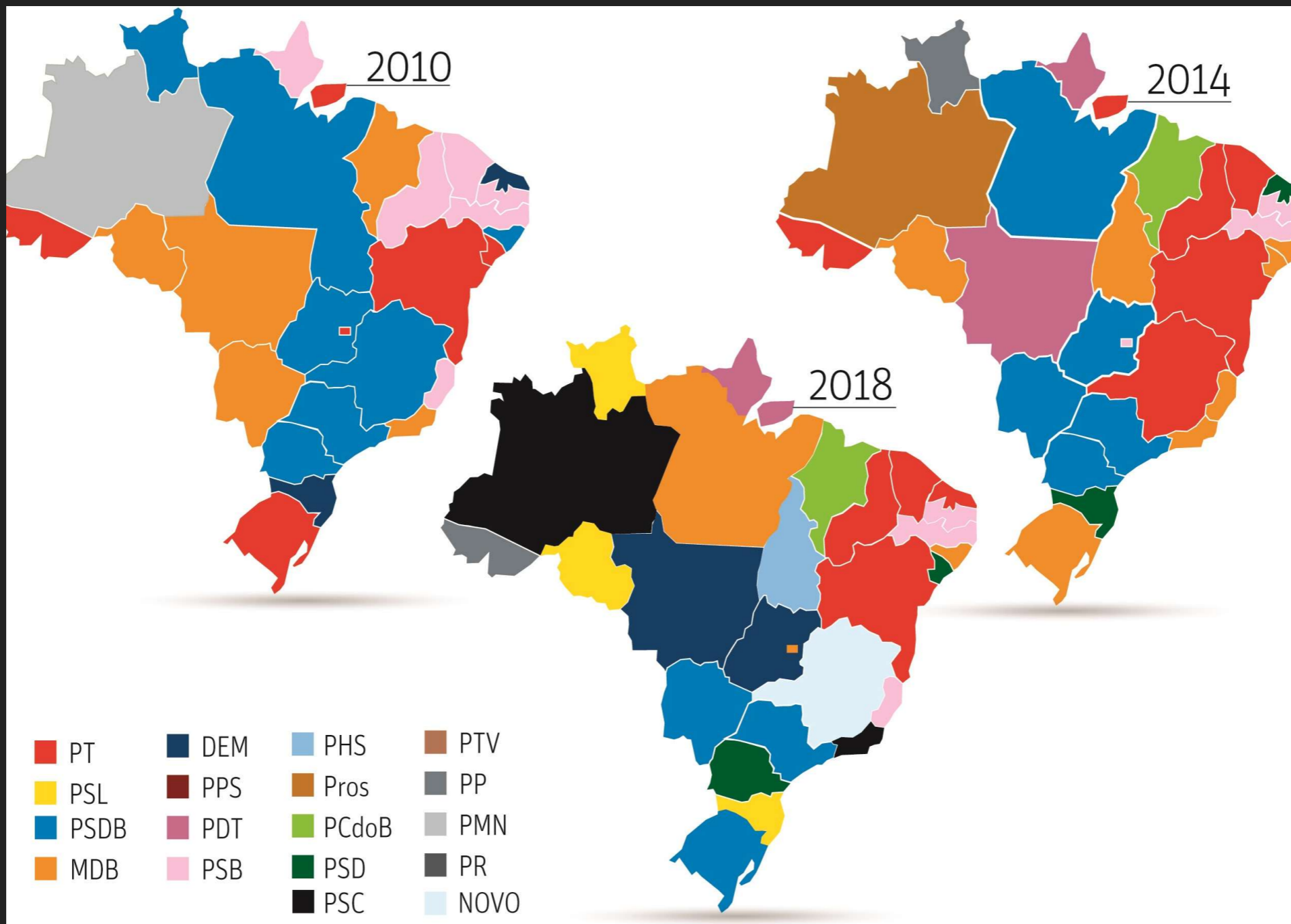


Fonte: TSE, Rogerio Arantes and Emerson Cervi



35 political parties, 30 in the Chamber of Deputies, 22 in the Senate





INTERIOR AFFAIRS

- ▶ Cabinet: 02 women, 08 military, 11 with party affiliations (Coalescence Rate 0.53)
- ▶ Military (Mourão), Neoliberals (Guedes), Fundamentalists (Araújo), Lavajatistas (Moro)
- ▶ Military (more than 100 positions): tutelage, don't trust politics, posit as stabilizers
- ▶ Neoliberals can be further divided in financial operators and agro-business lobbyists
- ▶ Fundamentalists: Araújo (Foreign Affairs), Damares (Family), Weintraub (Education)
- ▶ Anti-LGBT, anti-feminism, abort criminalization, pro-gun, "non-partisan school" . . .
- ▶ Moro (Justice): lawfare against the "leftists", police deadly force, harder sentences
- ▶ After 100 days: governability crisis, militia connections, destructive behavior
- ▶ Bolsonaro (APR 03): 32% (good/great), 30% (bad/terrible), 33% (regular), 4% (no answer)
- ▶ Social mobilization, repressive escalation, further democratic erosion

MACROECONOMIC POLICY

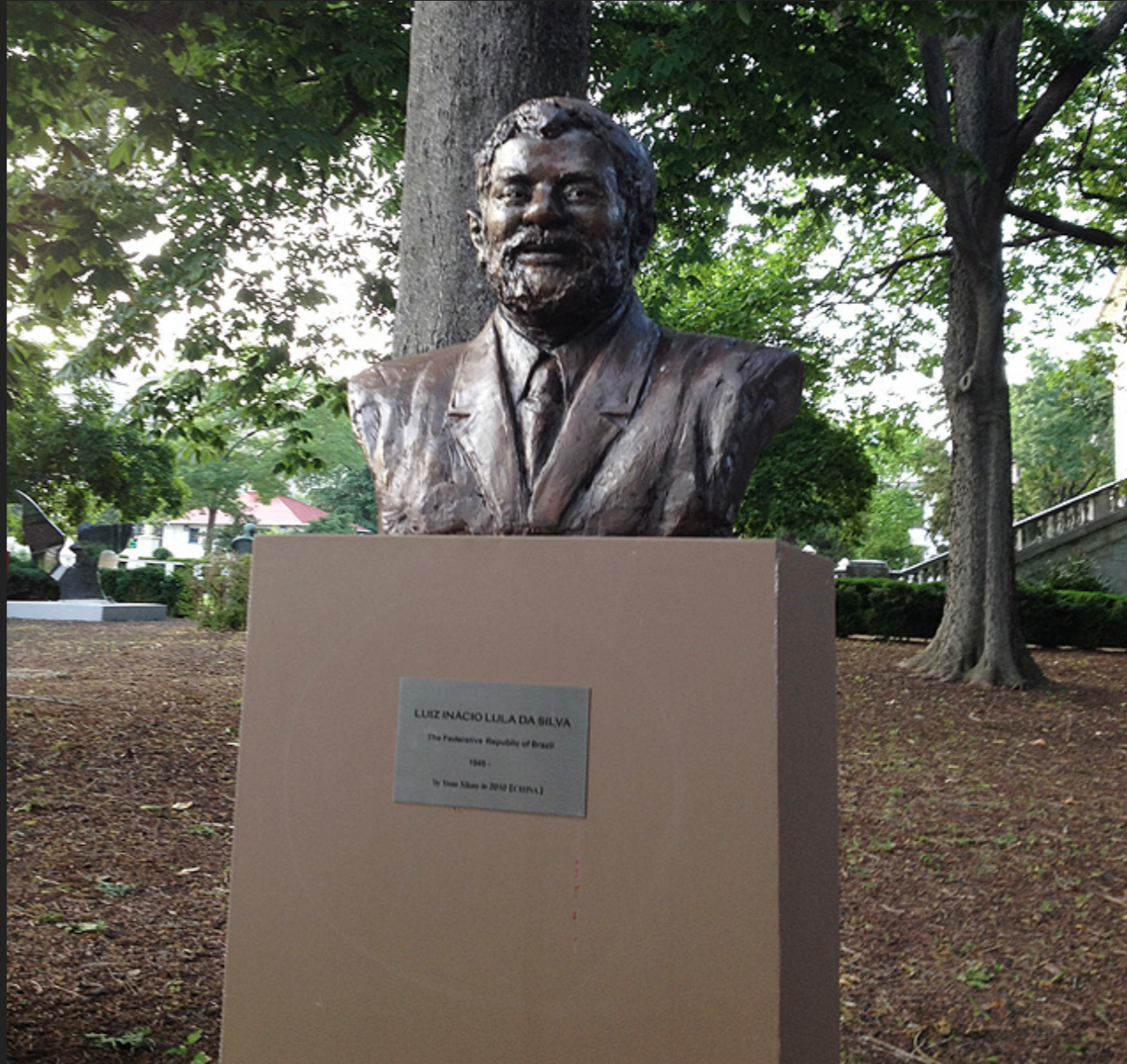
- ▶ GDP growth: -3.6% (2016), 1% (2017), 1.1% (2018), 2.1% (2019 est.)
- ▶ Nominal GDP has contracted from 2.4 (2013) to 1.9 trillion (2018)
- ▶ Industry represents now only 11.8% of the GDP, as in 1950
- ▶ April 2019: 13.1 million unemployed (12.4%), 27.9 million WAP under utilized (25%)
- ▶ Annual 7 % fiscal debit solved by privatization of 147 state-owned enterprises ?
- ▶ Pensions: minimal ages 65-62, 40 y integral, capitalization, women, rural
- ▶ The military is responsible for nearly half of Brazil's pension deficit
- ▶ Corruption annual losses estimated in 2% of the GDP (FIESP, 2017)
- ▶ Tax evasion and avoidance estimated in 13%.4 of the GNP (TJN, 2013)
- ▶ More than simplification, Brazil needs progressive redistributive fiscal reform

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

- ▶ “Globalism is driven by cultural Marxism and is anti-human and anti-Christian.”
- ▶ Ernesto Araújo is a Brazilian diplomat, promoted to Ambassador in June 2018
- ▶ Wrote that man-made Climate Change is untrue and a China communist plot
- ▶ Praised Trump for restoring Western civilization values challenged by nihilism
- ▶ Lamented “criminalization” of red meat, oil and heterosexual sex
- ▶ Bolsonaro inauguration was attended by Pompeo, Netanyahu and Orban
- ▶ Brazil pulled out of UN Migration accord signed in December 2018
- ▶ Against MERCOSUR, UNASUR and CELAC, but USA doesn't care about OAS
- ▶ Changed positions regarding China due to business pressures
- ▶ Support Trump's regime change in Venezuela, uncertain about military invasion

<https://www.as-coa.org/articles/tracking-first-100-days-brazilian-president-jair-bolsonaro>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JMSBisBYh0E>



LUIZ INACIO LULA DA SILVA
The Federative Republic of Brazil
1945 -
by Xiao Yihan in 2019 (CHINA)

Obrigado

Gracias

Thank you

谢谢