

“Navigating Brazil’s Changing Political Landscape”

**David Fleischer
Emeritus Professor of Political Science
University of Brasília
55-61-99218-2771
e-mail: Fleischer@uol.com.br**

***How Brazil’s Economic & Political Realities
Will Shape the Plans of the
Bolsonaro Administration***

**Brazil Institute
Woodrow Wilson Center
Washington, DC**

Tuesday, 13th November 2018



BIG “Game Changer” Election

WHAT HAPPENED?

TWO Big waves of public opinion:

1) Anti-Lula, Anti-PT

**2) Alienation, disgust with corrupt political system
“All politicians are corrupt, I won’t vote
to reelect anyone, search for a new, clean face”**

Bolsonaro incorporated BOTH into his campaign

→ As the “anti-system” candidate



Ever since 1994, Presidential elections were polarized between the PT and PSDB

BUT in 2018, the PSDB & the “Center” disappeared
→ Alckmin (PSDB), Marina Silva (Rede), etc.

Left-Right polarization → PT versus Bolsonaro

Bolsonaro used digital campaign very effectively
- Social Networks & Media



Sequence of events in 2018:

Jan. – Judge Sérgio Moro convicted Lula

April – TRF-4 maintained Lula's conviction

7 April – Lula arrested, imprisoned in Curitiba

August – Lula stubbornly maintained candidacy

→ PT officially registered Lula pres. candidacy

→ Fernando Haddad as Vice

6 Sept. – Bolsonaro suffered knife attack, Juiz de Fora

- Nearly died, saved by Juiz de Fora doctors

→ No more street campaigning, no TV debates

9 Sept. – TSE rejected Lula candidacy

?? → Where was a prisoner ever Pres. candidate??

11 Sept. – PT launched Haddad as Pres. candidate

- Manuela D'Ávila (PCdoB) as Vice

→ Haddad had less than 30 days to campaign



First → Second Round Election Results

Bolsonaro (PSL) 46.05% → 55.13%

Haddad (PT) 29.6% → 44.87%

Valid Vote Spread +16.8 → +10.2

Now the “Anti-System” Candidate
will have to govern within the “System”



Election was quite “regionalized”

**Haddad (PT) → 11 states
Northeast (9 states) +
Tocantins & Pará**

**Bolsonaro (PSL) → 16 states
→ South, Southeast, Central-West &
North (partial)**



**Perhaps 21 Parties in the Chamber &
15 parties in the Senate**

**→ Bolsonaro's political support
Coalition in Congress?**

→ Should be quite broad (60% for PECs)

**Bolsonaro had strong "coattails"
PSL 8 → 52 deputies + 4 senators
→ 4 Governors + many "joiners"**



Considerable TURNOVER in Congress:

SENATE – 54 seats, two per state

→ 32 ran for reelection; only 10 reelected
- 44 “new comers” → 81.5%

→ Traditional Parties reduced:

MDB (18 → 12); PSDB (12 → 8);
PT (9 → 6); PR (4 → 2)

→ Other Parties increased:

PSD (5 → 7); Rede (1 → 5)

→ 12 Senators might “migrate”

Many prominent Senators defeated:

- Romero Jucá (MDB-RR)
- Eunício Oliveira (MDB-CE)
- Roberto Requião (MDB-PR)
- Cristovam Buarque (PPS-DF)
- Magno Malta (PR-ES)
- Ricardo Ferraço (PSDB-ES)
- Lindberg Faria (PT-RJ)
- Edison Lobão (MDB-MA)
- Cássio Cunha Lima (PSDB-PB)
- Jorge Viana (PT-AC)

TWO former PSDB governors defeated for the Senate:

- Beto Richa (PR) & Marconi Perillo (GO)
→ Corruption accusations



CHAMBER – ALL 513 SEATS

→ 52% turnover

- Women, 53 → 75 (15%)

→ One Indian woman from Rondônia

Traditional Parties reduced:

PT (62→56), MDB (50→34), PSDB (49→29);

PP (49→37); DEM (43→29); PR (40→33)

Other Parties increased:

PSL (8 →52); PDT (20→28); PRB (21→30);

PSB (26→32); PSoL (6→10); SD (10→13)

→PRB has “evangelical” deputies (IURD)

→ 32 deputies might “migrate”

**President-elect Jair Messias Bolsonaro
begins organizing his new government**

**- Anti-system candidate must now
operate & govern within “the system”??**

**Reduce cabinet ministries 29 → 15 or 18
→ As did Pres. Fernando Collor in 1990**

**Eliminate ministries & combine some into
→ Super ministries**

Reduce number federal political appointments

Organizing Congressional relations

- Should have “strong” support coalition

→ Bolosonaro to meet with 18 governors, 14 Nov.



The Bolsonaro Cabinet

Casa Civil -- Dep. Onyx Lorenzoni (DEM-RS)

Economy (Finance, Planning, MDIC & Labor) – Paulo Guedes

Defense --

**Justice (Justice, CGU, Transparency, Public Security
& COAF) – Judge Sérgio Moro**

**Infrastructure (Mines & Energy, Transportation, Urban Mobility,
Sanitation & Telecommunications – Gen. Osvaldo Ferreira**

Science, Technology & Higher Education

FAB Lt. Coronel Marcos Pontes (Brazilian Astronaut)

Education, Culture & Sports --

Agriculture – Dep. Tereza Cristina (DEM-MS)

Environment –

Health –

Foreign Relations –

Institutional Security – Gen. Augusto Heleno

Social Development (Human Rights) --

National Integration (Tourism & Cities) –

Mines & Energy (might remain a separate ministry??)



Judge Sérgio, 13th Federal Circuit Judge in Curitiba

→ Presided over *Lava Jato* corruption investigation

- Convicted many politicians

(PT, MDB, PTB, PP, PR, etc.)

- Convicted Lula in January 2018

Bolsonaro → “Moro has full powers to combat corruption & organized crime”

- Appointment criticized by some, especially the PT

→ Moro – “That means I am doing a good job”

- Moro’s appointment being “scrutinized” by CNJ

- Moro resigned his judgeship at age 44

- Bolsonaro might appoint him to the STF in 2020

Moro’s temporary substitute, Judge Gabriela Hardt

- She convicted/sentenced José Dirceu





Judge Sérgio Moro & President-elect Jair Bolsonaro

Foreign Affairs:

- Paulo Guedes disdained Argentina
 - “Mercosul is very low priority”
- First foreign visits → Chile, US & Israel
- Bolsonaro “negative” on China
 - Buying many electric installations
 - Buying Brazilian lands
 - Bolsonaro visited Taiwan on Asia trip
 - China issued “cooperation” statement
- Might transfer Brazilian Embassy
 - Tel Aviv → Jerusalem – Negative reaction by Arabs
- Venezuela, Cuba, Nicaragua????
- Ex-Foreign Minister (Lula) Celso Amorim has been “preaching” against Brazil and the Bolsonaro gov’t. in Europe and the US → considered “unpatriotic”

Is Pres. Bolsonaro a “threat to Brazilian democracy??”

Because he was an Army Captain (insubordination)

**- was placed in the brig several times & finally
absolved by STM and then resigned commission**

→ Elected to Rio city council & 6 terms as federal deputy

→ Not considered part of “traditional political elite”

**Because of his defense of military regime & torture while
Deputy & heated campaign rhetoric, he was described as
“autocratic”, “authoritarian”, pro-military intervention
by the international press (linked to Brazilian left)**

**Bolsonaro has vowed to adhere to the 1988 Constitution &
work with Brazil’s institutions – Congress, Judiciary,
public prosecutors & federal police**

SO – really not at all “a threat to Brazilian Democracy”

- For the time being, “wait and see”



Challenges for 2019:

- Reduce (eliminate) federal fiscal deficit
 - eliminate waste & extra spending
- Fiscal deficits states → RJ, RS, MG, etc.
- Social Security Reform
 - the “signal” investors are waiting for
- GDP growth → new job creation
- Tax Reform – simplify tax structure
- Reduce Ministry of Labor (part of Economy Ministry)
 - Eliminate “side payments” by new labor unions
- Reduce crime & violence
- Extradite Italian terrorist/murderer Cesare Battisti