

SPECIAL EDITION 2010 BRAZIL ELECTIONS



BRAZIL TODAY IS A NOISY, TUMULTUOUS, THRIVING DEMOCRACY, WITH SEPARATION OF POWERS, A FREE AND AGGRESSIVE PRESS, PEACEFUL DEMOCRATIC TRANSITIONS, AND AN INCREASING LIKELIHOOD OF ELECTING A WOMAN TO ITS HIGHEST OFFICE.

Brazil: the country of the future.

Slogan, cliché, promise, or impossibility for Brazilians to live up to the prophecy? The optimists have, at this time, a clear advantage!

"Brazil: the world's fifth biggest economy by 2025", writes The Economist. Brazil provides the first

letter of the Bric acronym that now defines the emergence of new, global powers. But it is less scary than China, less authoritarian than Russia and less chaotic than India.

Brazil is the largest national economy in Latin America, the world's eighth largest

economy at market exchange rates and the ninth largest in purchasing power parity (PPP).

From 2003 to 2008, some 32 million people in this country of 198 million have entered the middle class, and about 20 million have risen above



THE AMAZON RAINFOREST



BRASILIA



SAO PAULO

20 million have risen above poverty

poverty. According to the Human Development Index (HDI), which considers wealth, education and life expectancy at birth, the country has improved its performance each year (although it is still in the 75th position among 115 countries - virtually the same level as in 2002).

The country has been expanding its presence in international financial and commodities markets. Brazil has foreign reserves of more than \$250bn. The foreign direct investment (FDI), related to long-term investment in production, is estimated to be \$193.8 billion for 2007.

Brazil is the 10th largest energy consumer in the world and the largest in South America. At the same time, it is an important oil and gas producer in the region and the world's second largest ethanol fuel producer. It has recently discovered massive oil deposits offshore, turning it into a net oil exporter.

Brazil is endowed with vast agricultural and natural resources and has become a global power in the field; its agriculture is well diversified, and the country is largely self-sufficient in food. Over the past ten years, the total food production went from 80 million tons to nearly 150 million - an increase of 87%. The country is the world's largest exporter of orange juice, sugar, chicken, beef and coffee, besides being the second largest in soybeans. Brazil has 50 million hectares of land under cultivation and another 300 million hectares of arable land, more than any other country.

The industry — from automobiles, steel and petrochemicals to computers,

aircraft, and consumer durables—accounted for 30.8% of the gross domestic product.

The country has a thriving private sector and three-quarters of Brazilians say they believe in the market economy, compared with less than half of Mexicans and Argentines. All this creates a platform that suggests the country's recent performance will be more than a failing success — even if Brazil has undoubtedly been the lucky beneficiary of the commodity boom and globally abundant liquidity, conditions that will not last forever.

Brazil, a country that is more prosperous and socially cohesive than, arguably, it has ever been, is now increasingly confident and assertive.

The Brazilian presidential election on October 3 will be a celebration of the past, as much as a signpost to the future.

The cult of Lula

Brazil grew richer and more powerful during Lula's presidency. He has fostered Brazil's growth through a centrist combination of respect for financial markets and targeted social programs, which have lifted millions out of poverty and narrowed the yawning income gap between rich and poor. Under Lula, the economy achieved record growth and long-sought stability with low inflation.

Lula resisted the temptation to cling to power and will step down in January after eight years in office. In any case, with a protégé to succeed him, he will remain a very powerful figure.

The foundations of the country's economic success were laid by the reforms of his predecessor, Fernando Henrique Cardoso. One of Lula's biggest economic contributions was simply not to mess things up — and this was achieved by the abandonment of the far-left policies that he had once advocated. It is true that Lula inherited a fiscal crisis and handled it with determination and aplomb. But much of the subsequent economic boom was down to the lucky fact of a global commodities boom, powered by Chinese demand. Lula has gained deserved credit for his anti-poverty policies. He has done less well in fighting corruption.

The notion of Lula the freedom fighter also needs qualification. At home, the outgoing president has defended democracy. But he has pursued a foreign policy that is either cynical or naive — praising authoritarians such as Hugo Chávez in Venezuela and Fidel Castro in Cuba and pursuing an unlikely and irresponsible courtship of Iran's President Mahmoud Ahmadi-Nejad.

Yet, for all the inevitable qualifications, Lula will deserve much of the hoopla and praise that surrounds his retirement. He will go down as the president who oversaw two historic transitions:

The first was the completion of Brazil's embrace of capitalism and globalization. In his early campaigns for the presidency, Lula had denounced "neo liberalism". In office, he tackled inflation, paid back debt and fostered the conditions for Brazilian business to thrive internationally.

The second transition, which has global significance, is the emergence of a new “new world order” over the past decade. Unlike the previous “new world order” the latest iteration is not based on a “unipolar world” centered around the US and dominated by the west. The defining characteristic of this new “new world order” is the emergence of major economic and political powers in Asia and Latin America – with Brazil right at the forefront.

For all its success, Brazil remains in many ways a grossly unequal country that is living beyond its means. Although poverty has fallen by a third during the past decade, more than one-fifth of the country’s 200m people are still officially considered poor. National debt levels have dropped, but the country still depends on foreign savings to finance itself. Despite a commodity export boom, its current account deficit this year is forecast to be about 3 per cent of gross domestic product. It could increase next year.

Complacency is also the Achilles’ heel of the Brazilian economy. The country aspires to be a global power but to reach the next level, analysts argue, it needs to move on to a new stage of economic performance, one focused on the provision of better – not just more – public services, especially in education.

The violence that still plagues its infamous slums makes Brazil a more deadly place than supposedly drug-torn Mexico. Álvaro Uribe, the former president of Colombia, is just one leading regional figure who believes Brazil is paying “insufficient attention” to domestic drug consumption and related crime. From his own country’s experience in the 1990s, and Mexico’s today, he points out that “drug trafficking is a problem you avoid tackling at your peril”.

But Brazilians’ generosity, their predilection for tolerance and conciliation – or complacency, some critics say – has kept greater violence at bay.



LULA

THE PRESIDENT OF BRAZIL IS BOTH THE HEAD OF STATE AND HEAD OF GOVERNMENT OF THE FEDERATIVE REPUBLIC OF BRAZIL.

IN 2010, TIME MAGAZINE POINTED LULA ONE OF THE MOST INFLUENTIAL LEADERS OF THE WORLD.



DILMA ROUSSEFF

SHE WAS APPOINTED CHIEF OF STAFF BY LULA IN JUNE 2005, BECOMING THE FIRST FEMALE TO ASSUME THE POSITION.

ROUSSEFF IS CURRENTLY LULA’S DESIGNATED SUCCESSOR AND THE LEADING PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE IN THE BRAZILIAN 2010 ELECTIONS.



JOSE SERRA

SERRA CAME TO POLITICAL PROMINENCE UNDER FERNANDO HENRIQUE CARDOSO’S PRESIDENCY.

HE HAS CRITICIZED THE CURRENT ADMINISTRATION FOR TURNING A BLIND EYE TOWARD CORRUPTION AND ANNOUNCED HIS CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES.

A return to the boom-bust of the past?

The state, famous for its inefficiency and bureaucracy, also needs slimming down. A cut to state spending, for example, would lift national savings and so limit the country's dependence on foreign capital. That would immunize it from financial contagion should the global economy take a turn for the worse. Without it Brazil risks a return to the boom-bust pattern of the past, with good years "punctuated by recessions caused by sudden stops in capital flows".

President Lula da Silva has projected an image of Brazil as a land of promise and social mobility. But like so many American stories, it is part myth. "Overseas, Lula has become a symbol of a land of opportunity, where the poor can make it," says Fernando Henrique Cardoso, president for two terms before Lula. "That's not really true." Brazil, for all its recent success, remains the 11th most unequal country in the world.

Risk and Reward

A glance at the poll suggests Dilma Rousseff, candidate for the leftwing ruling PT and chosen successor of Lula is still on course for victory in the first round on Sunday.

But Alberto Almeida, a political scientist in São Paulo, argued the presidential race could go to a second round after all. "Under Lula, the main role of the presidency has been communication," he says. "My view is that Dilma will run it more as a generator of public policy. But the one thing only a president can do is communication – the rest you have to delegate."

Lula, indeed, has proved a consummate communicator and delegator – often to Rousseff herself. She may lack her patron's communication skills but few doubt her dedication to policy. He may seek an international role at the G20 or other international body but is expected to remain active in Brazilian politics.

She insists there would be no change to policies that appear set to deliver economic growth of over 7 per cent this year and are likely to keep the economy expanding at what many economists see as its potential, non-inflationary rate of about 4.5 per cent.

Many think it makes little difference who wins the election on October 3. Rousseff, the chosen successor of Lula of the leftwing PT, or José Serra, of the centrist opposition PSDB. "It's like a meta-election," says Fernando Henrique Cardoso, elected president for the PSDB in 1994 after conquering runaway inflation as finance minister, a feat that earned him eight years in office. "There is a choice between two directions, but nobody is saying anything about that."

Rousseff was a senior minister for most of the Lula government – also completing the maximum of eight consecutive years – and is regarded as a "statist". Her instincts, observers say, are for big government and a command economy. Brazil's economy grew at an annualized rate of 8.9 per cent in the first half of 2010, defying expectations of a more significant slowdown in the second quarter and signaling that the country may beat its previous forecast of 7 per cent growth for the year.

Serra, who was a successful health minister under Cardoso and has since

been a streamliner and modernizer as governor of São Paulo, should stand for a light touch and market-friendly liberalism. Serra underestimated his opponent. He led polls until July and many of his supporters believed they would soon be in government. "They never prepared a proper campaign," says Alberto Almeida, a political scientist in São Paulo. "They thought the election was theirs."

But there is a difference between continuity and a resumption of state reform. One promises slow and steady growth; the other, greater investment to improve productivity and a faster solution to problems such as the woeful standard of public services.

Voting is compulsory in Brazil; electors must vote six times, for federal deputy, senator etc., voting for president in the last instance; many Brazilian voters are functionally illiterate.

All candidates have a number, beginning with two digits that denote their party. Many voters, Mr Almeida writes, will begin by voting 13 (the PT's number) and think they are voting for Dilma when in fact they are voting for federal deputy. What's more, by the time they get to the sixth vote there is good chance they will have unintentionally spoiled their electronic ballot.

The result, he argues, is that opinion polls are often a truer reflection of what voters want than the real thing. In 2002, opinion polls gave Lula 3 percentage points more votes than the final result; in 2006, the difference was 4 points.

The interest in these elections, however, goes beyond a simple curiosity about the country's electoral process:

Exposed to the international community

the world wants to know who will govern a nation of rising economic power and increasingly strong geopolitical role.

Moreover, most of the imagery of the country also draws attention on to international affairs - often in a not-so-positive way, such as violence and poverty. The preparation for the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympics, and the exploitation of the pre-salt reservoirs, completes the picture of a country that tends to be, along with its clichés, increasingly exposed to the international community.

Racing for record stakes

There is no clear market favorite because neither of the main contenders is expected to break with the mostly market-friendly policies in place for the past decade.

Economy

Rousseff and Serra both favor strong government and could extend the state's role in various parts of the economy.

Eager to win over centrist voters and avoid unsettling investors, Rousseff has emphasized market-friendly macroeconomic policies.

But she would heighten the role of state enterprises in strategic industries such as energy and telecommunications, and will probably also steer clear of sweeping reforms to labor laws or fiscal policy that some

investors say would improve Brazil's business climate.

Serra, meanwhile, has suggested a bigger government role in monetary and currency policies, raising concern in financial markets.

As a result, equity investors in strategic industries could face larger risks with Rousseff, while fixed-income and currency investors could see more change with Serra.

Uncertainty over the state's role under Rousseff could undermine investor appetite for planned equity issuances.

Serra has called for lower interest rates, says the currency is overvalued and wants the central bank to follow the government's economic policy.

Rousseff, a former left-wing activist, has praised the central bank and pledged continuity. She has said the bank should keep focusing on controlling inflation in coming years before it could consider economic and job growth when setting monetary policy.

There is also some doubt about how firmly the candidates would push for a second generation of structural reforms to ensure Brazil's international competitiveness.

Both agree on the need to overhaul Brazil's complicated tax system to encourage investment but they have provided few details. Serra wants to reform the pension system by cutting benefits for some civil servants, while Rousseff plays down the need for far-reaching reforms any time soon.

Neither proposes nationalizing private companies but Rousseff's proposal to strengthen state firms could weaken

private sector participation in banking, oil and utilities.

Rousseff has said the growth of state banks would not infringe on private banks, which she said were necessary to drive economic expansion and spur competition.

Government plans to use state-owned telephone company Telebras to expand broadband Internet access have moved its shares and could also affect share performance of private telecoms depending on their participation in deals.

Rousseff has adopted Lula's proposal to strengthen state-owned power company Eletrobras, though the intent may be to expand mostly abroad.

Serra is widely believed to be the tougher than Rousseff on fiscal discipline.

Rousseff has pledged an ambitious primary budget surplus target of 3.3 percent of GDP but, wary of risking her large poll lead, has been noncommittal on unpopular budget cuts.

What to watch:

-- Details of Rousseff proposals for state enterprises.

-- Signs Rousseff is preparing austerity measures to meet her budget target early in office.

Government spending

The government is maintaining a high level of spending before the election, potentially fueling inflation and forcing the incoming president to adopt austerity measures.

A second generation of structural reforms

Public spending rose sharply in 2009, eroding the primary budget surplus to an eight-year low of 2 percent of gross domestic product. Finance Minister Guido Mantega has pledged to pursue a surplus of 3.3 percent of GDP in 2010 but in the 12 months to July it was only 2.03 percent.

What to watch:

- Continued weak monthly primary surplus figures would indicate worsening fiscal discipline and could push up interest rate futures.
- Signs that Lula could tighten spending after the election to spare Rousseff unpopular austerity measures

Oil and gas

Brazil's government has increased its share in state-owned oil company Petrobras through a massive capitalization that drew more investor appetite than expected. But there are some risks associated with the deal.

Petrobras may use part of the \$70 billion it raised to invest in projects such as refineries that further economic development but have a lower return, thereby harming minority shareholder interests. Also, the government boosted its stake in the company to 48 percent of total outstanding shares, up from 40 percent previously.

A legislative framework that has been held up in the Senate but is expected to be approved after the election would further heighten state control over some of the world's biggest recent oil finds. The bill would also ensure their proceeds help bankroll state

investments in areas like infrastructure, education and poverty-reduction programs.

If approved, the measures will likely reduce competition in the sector while boosting the role of state energy giant Petrobras, offering fewer but still attractive opportunities for foreign investors.

Critics say the laws threaten the efficiency of Brazil's successful oil sector by stifling investment and increasing the dangers of political interference and corruption.

What to watch:

- Signs that Congress can agree on how to distribute oil revenue between the federal government and states, paving the way for approval of the oil bills after the election.

Mining

The government plans to send to Congress this year framework legislation designed to stimulate exploration and production. It would improve regulatory oversight and reduce the life span of mining concessions in a bid to discourage speculation in mineral properties.

Industry leaders have warned that excessive restrictions could act as a disincentive to fresh investments.

Mining authorities say that once the new legislation is in place, the government could discuss a possible hike in royalties for the mining sector, including iron ore. This could hit the bottom line of Vale, the world's largest iron ore exporter, as well as other mining and steel companies. The

Rousseff camp has denied she has any plans to hike royalties.

What to watch:

- Presentation of the new mining bill to Congress with possible changes.
- Leaks on discussions over royalties.

Congressional support

Rousseff's coalition is expected to win a clear majority in Congress and advance her legislative agenda. But progress will depend on how well the inexperienced Rousseff can deal with often unruly allies.

If Serra were to win the election, the Workers' Party-led bloc could lose its majority in Congress as "swing" legislators migrate to the president-elect's camp. This could create a hung parliament with little chance of approving major bills before Lula leaves office on Jan. 1.

Corruption

As expected, mud-slinging and corruption scandals have surfaced during the campaign. They not only influence the election result but have the potential to paralyze Congress and spiral into wider political scandals engulfing parties and coalitions. Lula himself came close to facing impeachment proceedings in 2005 when his party was involved in an illegal campaign-financing scandal.

Foreign policy

If elected, Serra is likely to cool ties with some of Lula's left-wing allies in Latin America. That could affect energy

Brazil is expected to attract worldwide attention

investments in Bolivia and Venezuela, where Lula had prodded Petrobras to invest to foster regional integration.

Serra accused the Bolivian government of turning a blind eye to cross-border drug trafficking. He has also criticized Venezuela for allegedly harboring Colombian rebels. Some analysts think Serra could take a harder line in trade disputes with Argentina and the South American trade block Mercosur.

Rousseff, by contrast, has pledged to continue current foreign policy and could maintain current Foreign Minister Celso Amorim in office or name his deputy, Antonio Patriota.

But given her priority on domestic issues and her relative lower international profile, she is unlikely to be as influential in diplomacy as Lula.

The 2010 general elections

The Brazilian general elections will take place in October 3, 2010 and mark the first time in 20 years that President Lula's name will not be on the ballot. In the past, the mere possibility that Lula could be elected was enough to escalate market jitters to unprecedented levels, like in 2002. Ironically, the opposite is true now.

From an institutional point of view, Brazil is a vigorously democratic country. There are free elections, an independent Congress and judicial system and all of the usual constitutional guarantees typical of participatory democracies.

A gigantic democracy with 135 million voters, and with a voting system praised internationally, Brazil is expected to attract worldwide attention when it chooses its next President.

Electors will vote for:

President

Brazilian citizens eligible to vote will choose the successor of current President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, of the Workers' Party. If none of the candidates receives more than half of the valid votes, a run-off will be held on October 31, 2010. According to the Constitution, the President is elected directly to a four-year term, with a limit of two terms. Lula is not eligible, since he was elected in 2002 and re-elected in 2006. This will mark the first time since 1989 that he will not run for President.

Governors

All 26 Brazilian states and the Federal District governors will be up for election. If none of the candidates receives more than a half of the valid votes, a run-off will be held on October 31, 2010. According to the Constitution, governors are elected directly to a four-year term, with a limit of two terms. Aécio Neves (Minas Gerais), Blairo Maggi (Mato Grosso), Eduardo Braga (Amazonas), Ivo Cassol (Rondônia), Luiz Henrique da Silveira (Santa Catarina), Marcelo Miranda (Tocantins), Paulo Hartung (Espírito Santo), Roberto Requião (Paraná), Waldez Góes (Amapá), Wilma de Faria (Rio Grande do Norte) and Wellington Dias (Piauí) were all elected in 2002 and re-elected in 2006 and thus are not allowed to run again. After his involvement in an ongoing corruption scandal in late 2009, Federal District Governor José Roberto Arruda left the Democrats party (and was later arrested), also becoming ineligible since it is required for citizens seeking to run for any public office in the country to be a registered party member for at least a year before the predicted election date.

Federal Senators

Fifty-four of the 81 seats (2/3) in the Federal Senate will be up for election. According to the Constitution, senators are elected directly to an eight-year term, and there is no limit on the number of terms. Alternately, one third

A FORÇA
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COMPETITION





Brazil is a vigorously democratic country.

and two thirds of the seats are up for election every four years. On 2006, one third of the seats were up for election and thus on 2010 there will be two thirds, corresponding to two senators for each one of the 26 Brazilian states, plus two senators for the Federal District.

Lower house of Congress

All 513 seats in the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies will be up for election. According to the Constitution, federal deputies are elected directly to a four-year term, and there is no limit on the number of terms.

State Assemblies

All seats in the State Assemblies will be up for election. According to the Constitution, State Assemblies are unicameral, and its members, who are designated as state deputies, are elected directly to a four-year term, with no limit on the number of terms.

Going after the Bad Guys: Ficha limpa

“A thief who absolves another thief gets 100 years of mensalão (roughly translated as big monthly payments)”. Thus goes an infamous Brazilian joke. It summarizes a heretofore depressing

situation: in Brasilia, corruption runs free while in the rest of the country laughs about it.

A new electoral measure sanctioned by Lula in June, the Ficha Limpa (Clean Record) law will hopefully push Brazilians out of the burlesque of the politicians who pretend to be principled despite their egregious record of corruption. Despite these legal challenges, the significance of the new initiative cannot be underestimated for two main reasons. First, its potential effect: it addresses the problem that is at the root of Brazilians' sense of helplessness – the role of impunity in politics. Secondly, its implication: it suggests that Brazilians are finally waking up to their own set of political imperatives and responsibilities.

Urna biométrica

From the forthcoming elections, the TSE promises to intensify the use of voting by means of biometrics identification, which will not be available everywhere in the country. This is the technology allows the voter to be identified by fingerprint, iris, retina, voice, face shape or format of the hand. At the coming election's biometrics ballot boxes, however, only identification by fingerprint will be used.



No Fun Intended: Brazil Forbids Election Spoofing

Make no joke about it, Brazil's presidential election is a serious affair. Originally, TV and radio broadcasters were legally forbidden from making fun of candidates ahead of the nation's Oct. 3 election and a possible second-round runoff on

Oct. 31. Brazil's comedians and satirists were not be allowed to ridicule candidates in the three months before elections. They called the anti-joking law a draconian relic of Brazil's dictatorship that threatens free speech and a blight on the reputation of Latin America's largest

nation. But recently the rules were suspended, and humor came back!

Extra: Brazilian business culture

A spirit of adventure born of plantations and Portuguese seafarers
Is history destiny? The origins of what many businesspeople recognize as particularly Brazilian talents can be traced back to the late 15th century race between Spain and Portugal to exploit the new world, writes Jonathan Wheatley.

Both countries were looking for a sea route to Asia, says Professor Alfredo Behrens of São Paulo's FIA business school. The Portuguese found one and became merchants. The Spanish found America and become conquerors.

The Portuguese also found Brazil, but largely ignored it until it became their sole overseas possession after they lost their Asian trade routes to the Dutch.

"They had to concentrate on Brazil," says Prof Behrens. "By then they were merchants through and through. They knew how to negotiate. They had *jogo de cintura* [a knack for flexibility and problem solving]. This is what makes Brazilians different from other Latin Americans."

He traces other Brazilian characteristics back even further, to the expulsion of the Muslims from the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages and the subsequent fall in population. This created a culture of low-density ranching rather than high-density agriculture, translated to Latin America in the form of enormous plantations controlled by a few wealthy landowners and worked for centuries by millions of African slaves.

"Echoes of this hierarchy – and a resulting distance and lack of trust – endure in the workplace," he says. "This leads to a personalism that tries to override those processes, where people try to be friends with the boss [and] to the *jeitinho* [another hard-to-translate concept of personal flexibility], and a spirit of adventure that means people may only stay put for a while and are dreaming of bigger things."

And this, he says, creates a business culture that foreigners sometimes find it hard to handle: "One British banker told me it was like trying to lead a herd of cats."

It is also a culture that fosters creativity and enterprise. Rolf Steiner, regional head at Swiss Re in São Paulo, was previously based in Italy, and says he was delighted to find an atmosphere of openness and creativity in the reinsurer's Brazilian offices after the much more conservative business environment he had encountered in Italy.

It is the kind of comment heard in many sectors. Tarek Farahat, chief executive of Procter & Gamble in the country, counts Brazilian executives among the most talented in the company's global operations.

But one of the most famous examples of Brazilian overseas enterprise – Anheuser-Busch InBev, the world's biggest brewer, created and led by Brazilians – is an exception that proves the rule, says Prof Behrens.

"Brazilians are better negotiators than our Latin neighbors," he points out. "But that doesn't mean we don't have our conquerors."

Brazil has rediscovered itself

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Other material

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<http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/bbc/805998-entenda-por-que-as-eleicoes-no-brasil-importam-no-cenario-internacional.shtml>

<http://g1.globo.com/especiais/eleicoes-2010/noticia/2010/07/candidatas-nas-eleicoes-2010-nao-atingem-os-30-exigidos-por-lei.html>

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<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-latin-america-11413890>

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