

## Welcome to the Fernando Henrique Cardoso Foundation

This is our first newsletter in English, where we highlight our activities in the previous quarter. Created by former Brazilian president Fernando Henrique Cardoso after he left office in 2003, our purpose is twofold: to foster public debate and the production and dissemination of knowledge about the challenges of democracy and social and economic development in Brazil in its relations with the world. It also preserves the archives of Ruth and Fernando Henrique Cardoso and other public figures linked with the couple, making them available to the public, online and offline, in order to contribute to research and the dissemination of knowledge about Brazilian history. To achieve these objectives, the foundation organizes exhibitions, educational events, cross-disciplinary debates, studies and publications.

### DEBATES

## Economic Development - Why have we been left behind?



**Photo:** Vinicius Doti

Edmar Bacha and Samuel Pessoa, two very influential economists in Brazil, presented different but complementary answers to the question “Why have we been left behind?”, the title of this seminar organized by the FHC Foundation in partnership with Insper. In it they discussed the reasons why Brazil grew on average a little over 2% a year between 1982 and 2017, after having been one of the countries with the highest growth rates throughout the 20th century. “There is a coincidence between us having been left behind and the redemocratization process, which generated heavy pressures on the treasury, as well as a political system that was incapable of arbitrating the dispute for public funds”, said Pessoa. According to the FGV professor, growing fiscal pressure pushed the tax load to over 30% of GDP, public debt increased and impacted interest rates, making credit more expensive. “High interest rates and a heavy tax load put a drag on growth”, he concluded. For the ex-president of the BNDES (Brazilian National Development Bank), the data show that the collapse in capital accumulation and the stagnation in productivity began in the second half of the 1970s, in the wake of the penultimate military president’s decision to stake everything on the closed economy model and heavy state intervention. “Between 1973 and 1983, the drop in the product/capital ratio occurred in tandem with an intensification of the import substitution policy. I am convinced that the main driver of growth for Brazil should be a pre-announced commercial opening program based on three fundamental pillars to be implemented gradually over the four years (of the next government)”, suggested Bacha.

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## SPEAKERS

**Edmar Bacha**, economist and director of the Institute of Studies in Political Economy /Casa das Garças (IEPE-CdG). Ex-president of the BNDES (Brazilian National Development Bank), he was a member of the economic team that formulated and implemented the Real Plan (in the 90’s).

**Samuel Pessoa**, economist and researcher at the Fundação Getulio Vargas Brazilian Institute of Economics (FGV-IBRE).

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## Plea Bargaining: a comparison between the United States and Brazil



**Photo:** Vinicius Doti

US Federal judge Peter Messitte and Brazilian Supreme Federal Court judge Alexandre de Moraes met to discuss the differences and similarities between plea bargaining in both countries. While in the US negotiated penal justice has been in use since the 18th century and applies to virtually every crime, enabling the state to conclude the vast majority of lawsuits rapidly by means of negotiation with the accused, in Brazil the application of “delação premiada” is circumscribed to illegal acts associated with organized crime, including corruption cases. “Without this instrument, we simply would not have the capacity to work through each stage of every trial”, said Messytte. “If plea bargaining, something new in Brazil, is applied in the wrong way it will generate a great deal of disappointment”, said Moraes.

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### **SPEAKERS**

**Peter Messitte**, federal judge, Maryland district (USA).

**Alexandre de Moraes**, Supreme Federal Court judge (Supremo Tribunal Federal). Ex-minister of Justice.

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## 50 years of the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Arms: impasses and perspectives



**Photo:** Vinicius Doti

The NTP was always an unbalanced tripod and its original sins will only be made good with the complete disarmament of all countries. But no doubt the world would be far more dangerous without it. This seminar, in partnership with IBED (Brazilian Institute for Defense Studies) and the ministries of Defense and Foreign Relations, lasted a full day. It was attended by 17 speakers, including President Cardoso, representatives of the armed forces, diplomats, ministers, specialists in international security, as well as Brazilian and Argentinean researchers. "How unique it is for a presidential foundation to organize a seminar to debate such a significant decision as Brazil's adherence to the treaty 20 years ago and, in the presence of the person responsible for it, to invite dissonant voices to discuss the question openly and transparently", said Matias Spektor (Fundação Getulio Vargas International Relations Center).

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## Assessment of one year of Emmanuel Macron's presidency: 'Breaking down taboos'



**Photo:** Vinicius Doti

"Macron has shown enormous audacity and the capacity to transgress and break down taboos, something which, in my opinion, France needed," said Pascal Perrineau, professor of the Paris Institute of Political Studies (Sciences Po). According to Perrineau, the reforms undertaken at an accelerated rate affect essential sectors in French political, economic, social and cultural life and have led to protests and demonstrations by part of the diverse groups affected, but so far there is no movement solid enough to threaten the new president's power and political majority.

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### **SPEAKER**

**Pascal Perrineau**, professor of the Paris Institute of Political Studies (Sciences Po).

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*'Journal of Democracy' em Português*

## **The Brazilian dilemma: between civic individualism and transgressive personalism**

By Bernardo Sorj



In this original article, Brazilian sociologist and director of the Centro Edelstein de Pesquisas Sociais argues that in Brazil today a civic individualism and a transgressive personalism coexist, to a greater or lesser extent, in every citizen. The former wishes to live in a society in which public institutions and citizens are oriented by rigorous compliance with the law and respect for the principles of universalism and merit. The latter sees the State as a strange, untruthful organism, which either should be feared or should be taken advantage of – if possible circumventing or not complying with its laws.



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In accordance with Brazilian archival legislation, although presidential archives are private, they are deemed to be of public interest and those holding them must preserve them and make them accessible to the public. This is what we have been doing for the last 14 years.

The set of documents in the [Fernando Henrique Cardoso Archive](#) (1931-) reflects the family environment in which the president was brought up, his studies, his academic activities as a sociologist, researcher and university professor; and, in the political realm, as a senator, constituent senator, minister of Foreign Relations, minister of Finance and president of the Republic.

The documents in the [Ruth Cardoso Archive](#) (1930-2008) portray her activities as an anthropologist, as a university professor, as first lady of the Republic and her eight years as chairwoman of the Board of the "Comunidade Solidária" program, as well as documents on her domestic and family life.



## A Real Plan - The History of the Stabilization of Brazil

The exhibition occupies part of the FHC Foundation facility and was undertaken with funding raised under the Ministry of Culture's Rouanet Cultural Incentive law. In an entertaining way, it enables the visitor to feel how the limitations and disruptions caused by inflation of more than 30% a month affected the Brazilian people, and how the stabilization of the currency changed this situation. Spanning from the eve of the return to democracy in 1984, with the 'Diretas-Já' movement, a campaign aimed at restoring direct elections for the presidency, to the launch of the Real Plan ten years later, the project bears the signature of Marcello Dantas, best known as art director of the Museu da Língua Portuguesa.

