

CIRO GOMES

Flavia Loss de Araujo

*Master in Sciences, Latin America's Integration Inter-Units Graduate Program
Prolam/USP.*

João Victor da Motta Baptista

*Master's student in International Relations at the Graduate Program in International
Relations "San Tiago Dantas" (UNESP, UNICAMP, PUC-SP)*

Candidates

Ciro Gomes, Democratic Labor Party (Partido Democrático Trabalhista.
Acronym: PDT)

Kátia Abreu, vice-president candidate, PDT

Political Coalitions

"Sovereign Brazil" - PDT/AVANTE

Prior Political Enrollments

State Deputy (1983-1988); Mayor of Fortaleza (1989-1990); Governor of Ceará State (1991-1994); Minister of Finance (1994-1995); Minister of National Integration (2003-2006); Federal Deputy (2007-2011); Secretary of Health of the State of Ceará (2013 and 2015)

Disputes in Presidential Elections

1998, 2002, 2018

International Relations Advisor

PDT's Secretariat for International Relations (under the responsibility of Márcio Bins Ely)

Ciro Gomes is a politician affiliated with the Democratic Labor Party (PDT) who is running for president for the third time. The PDT's presidential nominee, who is also a lawyer and academic, has built a solid public career whilst acting through 7 different parties¹. Katia Abreu (PDT), who is a Senator from Tocantins serving since 2007 and Dilma Rousseff's former Minister of Agriculture, Livestock and Food Supply (2014-2016), was announced as Gomes' vice-president.

In the current electoral dispute, Ciro Gomes has the party 'Avante' as his only ally - a minor party firstly founded in 1989 as PTdoB (Partido Trabalhista do Brasil/Labor Party of Brazil) by PTB dissidents (Brazilian Labor Party) - due to a setback in building up a coalition with centrist parties², which have coalesced with Geraldo Alckmin – another candidate for the presidency (Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira/ Brazilian Social Democracy Party - PSDB)³– and other leftist parties, such as the Socialist Party of Brazil (Partido Socialista Brasileiro-PSB) and the Communist Party of Brazil (Partido Comunista do Brasil - PCdoB), which declared⁴, respectively, neutrality and support to the Workers Party (Partido dos Trabalhadores – PT) candidate Fernando Haddad.

Launching its own candidacy for the fourth time⁵, the PDT presents the government plan "Guidelines for a National Development Strategy for Brazil"⁶, coordinated by Nelson Marconi, a professor at the Getúlio Vargas Foundation (FGV-SP); Roberto Mangabeira Unger, former Secretary for Strategic Affairs (2015) under President Dilma Rousseff; and Mauro Benevides Filho, an academic and politician. The content denotes strong developmentalist orientation and rests upon economic proposals. Its general objective is to provide changes at the economic and human development indices, for it's believed that Brazil holds the potential to have better figures.

The text focuses on job recovery, economic reforms⁷ and industrial development. To achieve these goals, the program discusses topics such as investments in infrastructure, the relevance of the BNDES (Brazilian

Economic and Social Development Bank) and the realization of reforms in the economic field. In addition, proposals are presented on environmental issues, health, education, science and technology, security, culture, human rights and anti-corruption programs.

The general logic of the government plan, focused on a national development project, is incorporated into the concept of national sovereignty and its relation to foreign policy and defense, since it is understood that "democratization of opportunities and capacities"⁸ and institutional wealth could reinforce sovereignty.

The foreign policy proposed by Ciro Gomes sustains the guiding principle of the whole government plan, that is, it should serve national interests and values through the construction of a development project. The plan envisages that "foreign policy must be more than independent; it must be transformative"⁹, a responsibility shared by all the spheres of government. It highlights the need for greater legislative participation in the formulation of foreign policies. Thus, from this standpoint, Brazilian foreign policy should seek the construction of a new world order, since it understands the country's role as a revisionist and its openness to new institutions and experiments¹⁰.

Regarding Brazilian relations with China and the US, Gomes' government plan emphasizes the importance of the "refusal to neo-colonial relations"¹¹ while advocates strengthening relations with the latter and rebuilding ties with the former. The plan also mentions Africa when criticizes actions taken to defend the interest of construction companies and states that generosity should be a pillar for conducting policy towards that continent.

The plan presents the need for seeking global governance, stressing the necessity of maintaining state sovereignty and that the strategy should be focused on alliances: within the region (Mercosur and Unasur), with specific countries (BRICS) or in specific setoral areas. Moreover, it reinforces the importance of the democratic question in the institutions that Brazil is a part of.

In the sphere of regional integration, the focus is on South American regionalism, with emphasis on its resumption and on revitalizing Unasur. There is a special prominence to the industrial theme, such as productive requalification, reindustrialization and fostering productive chains beyond South America.

The government plan also calls for expanding relations with the South American countries, not only at the federal level, but also at the subnational level, especially along the Brazilian borders. Regarding Mercosur, the plan proposes deepening the free trade and involving all South American countries in the relations of this bloc. Thus, the text mentions the aim to involve all South America, both in and outside Mercosur, to strengthen commercial, productive, technological, defense and research relations, and the circulation of ideas within the region¹².

It should be noted that Latin America is a notable absence in this plan of government, which does not mention the region directly, neither does it mention it indirectly, or nor reference any of its institutional arrangements, such as the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC). Likewise, references to hemispheric relations are absent from the government plan and only direct relations with the United States are pointed out.

In interviews and debates, *Ciro Gomes* points out the BRICS as one of the most relevant instruments built in international politics in recent years, especially for the construction of a new world order, which does not mean, by his words, a break in Brazilian relations with the US. He also praised *Lula's* initiative to set up the articulation and advance negotiations to consolidate the BRICS Development Bank, which, according to him, in its full operation, will allow Brazil to get rid of the "neoliberal perversion"¹³.

In addition, the presidential candidate constantly emphasizes¹⁴ the importance of multipolarity in the construction of a foreign policy based on non-intervention, peace and institutional strengthening. He underscores that the growing global protagonism of the country is related to Brazil's conduct

and activism in great international themes as well as its relevant action in international forums. Besides, as it was already mentioned, he emphasizes the importance of South American institutions such as Unasur and Mercosur.

The candidate's national project presupposes a "proactive"¹⁵ foreign policy, as it considers essential the development of agreements that transfer technology to Brazil and make possible the construction of an alternative route to the Bretton Woods¹⁶ institutions. To this end, the candidate points to bilateral relations with China¹⁷ as a possibility to expand a system of industrial trade preferences and to foster a policy for sensitive technology transfer.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that regarding regionalism the public statements of the presidential candidate do not advance in more details and proposals, but there is a preference for "South America" and few mentions to "Latin America", in accordance to the government plan. Thus, the general orientation of its integration policies should focus on the South American subcontinent, with emphasis on regional stability and conflict mediation. Overall, the plan does not incorporate major innovations in terms of foreign policy and is aligned with the paradigms of previous governments, mainly with the PT governments' ones.

NOTAS

- 1 PDS (1982), PMDB (1983-1988), PSDB (1988-1997), PPS (1997-2005), PSB (2005-2013), PROS (2013-2015) and PDT currently.
- 2 Available online: Folha de São Paulo <<https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/fsp/brasil/fc0802200620.htm>>. Accessed on: 14/09/2018
- 3 Available online: Folha de São Paulo <<https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2018/07/centrao-chega-a-acordo-para-apoiar-alcmin.shtml>>. Accessed on: Set. 14 2018
- 4 Available online: Folha de Pernambuco <<https://www.folhape.com.br/redir.aspx?mld=291058&ild=2382&url=/politica/politica/politica/2018/08/09/BLG,7196,7,547,POLITICA,2419-O-VALE-TUDO-DOS-PARTIDOS-DISPUTA-ELEITORAL.aspxl>>. Accessed on: Set. 14 2018
- 5 During previous presidential elections the PDT presented its own candidacy in the years of

1989 and 1994, with Leonel Brizola. In 1998, he was in the coalition of the PT, in the slate headed by Lula da Silva with Brizola vice; in 2002 participated in the "Labor Front" with Ciro Gomes, then candidate for PPS party. In 2006, PDT launched Cristovam Buarque without any coalition. In the 2010 and 2014 elections they supported Dilma Rousseff of the PT.

- 6 PARTIDO DEMOCRÁTICO TRABALHISTA - PDT. Diretrizes para uma Estratégia Nacional de Desenvolvimento para o Brasil. Brasília, 2018.
- 7 The reforms presented in the text are: tax, tributary and social security; budget; and public management.
- 8 PDT. Diretrizes para uma Estratégia Nacional de Desenvolvimento para o Brasil. Brasília, 2018, p. 56.
- 9 Ibid., p. 59.
- 10 Ibid. p. 59.
- 11 Ibid., p. 60.
- 12 Ibid., p. 58.
- 13 Available online: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QE_dRkBoWOU> and <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rXu5B9Aqn4Y>>
- 14 Available online: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y_aTI2oXeBk> and <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E8H7tmnqUs8>>
- 15 Term used directly by the presidential candidate in declarations, available in the videos mentioned above.
- 16 It refers to the institutions created during the Bretton Woods conference (United States) in July 1944: the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and International Monetary Fund (IMF). They were designed to restructure the world's economic and financial systems. These functions underwent changes during the twentieth century and nowadays both offer loans and orientations of a neoliberal nature to developing countries, generating criticism of opponents of these measures.
- 17 Available online: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=piqqEuLECnc>>