

FERNANDO HADDAD

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Candidates

Fernando Haddad, Workers Party (Partido dos Trabalhadores. Acronym: PT)
Manuela D'Avilla, vice-president candidate, Brazil's Communist Party (Partido Comunista do Brasil. Acronym: PCdoB)

Political Coalitions

"The People Happy Again" - PT/PCdoB/PROS

Prior Political Enrollments

Secretary of Finance and Economic Development of São Paulo (2001-2003);
minister of Education (2005-2011), mayor of São Paulo (2013-2016)

Disputes in Presidential Elections

2018

International Relations Advisor

Based on Marco Aurélio Garcia's postulates;
PT's Secretariat for International Relations (under the responsibility of
Mônica Valente)

Fernando Haddad was born on January 25th, 1963. He holds a Law bachelor's degree from the University of São Paulo (USP), a master's degree in Economics and a PhD degree in Philosophy from the same university. His political campaign is also composed by Manuela Pinto Vieira d'Ávila, candidate for vice-president. Manuela d'Ávila is a journalist graduated at the Pontifical Catholic University of Porto Alegre (PUC-RS) and a member of PCdoB (Partido Comunista do Brasil, or Brazil's Communist Party in our translation), a party for which she has held the positions of Alderwoman of Porto Alegre (2005-2006), Federal Deputy of Rio Grande do Sul (2007-2010 / 2011 - 2014) and, since 2015 holds the mandate of State Deputy in Rio Grande do Sul.

The candidacy of the Haddad-Manuela's campaign emerges in a scenario of judicial dispute around former president Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva's candidacy. Condemned by corruption and money laundering, Lula da Silva's candidature was challenged by the Tribunal Superior Eleitoral (TSE) and despite the persistence in the legal dispute, the coalition opted for the candidacy of Haddad and Manuela.

Before entering the proposals of the campaign, it is important to emphasize that this is the first election in which the Partido dos Trabalhadores - PT - (Workers' Party, our translation) is running without the presence of Marco Aurélio Garcia. Deceased in July 2017, Garcia was, alongside with the ambassadors Celso Amorim and Samuel Pinheiro Guimarães, an important formulator and driver of the foreign policy during the PT administrations, having served as an international affairs special advisor to the presidency in the Lula and Rousseff governments.

Institutionally, however, the fact that the PT has a solid and consolidated party structure dedicated to thinking about foreign policy issues indicates that, even in the absence of Garcia, there is a continuity in the objectives and strategies of foreign policy through the party and the presidential campaign. In this sense, it is worth noting the continuity through the positions of the PT's

Secretariat of International Relations, currently under the leadership of Mônica Valente, and also the studies developed by the Perseu Abramo Foundation¹, which operates as a Think Tank of the party.

In general terms, the candidacy plan presents the objective of reforming and deepening the democracy in Brazil, broken by the "parliamentary coup d'état" in 2016², which interrupted President Dilma Rousseff's office term, and by the "arresting without evidence"³ of the former president Lula da Silva. It is interesting to note that the plan explicitly links the above-mentioned episodes to an attack on the Brazilian national sovereignty.

The plan is based on a diagnosis of a resumption of the imperialist posture by the central powers in order to weaken the sovereignty of the most economically vulnerable countries, especially with respect to those states with large oil reserves. In this sense, it accuses Michel Temer, current president, of implementing a submissive and surrendering foreign policy, materialized in the deconstruction of South American regional integration processes, the abandonment of south-south cooperation and the search for the "new generation" of free-trade agreements which, according to the plan, would strangle any autonomous project.

It is clear, therefore, that this diagnosis seeks to link the so-called "parliamentary coup of 2016", the arrest of the former president Lula and the foreign policy of the Temer government as facets of the resumption of central countries' offensive policy against Brazil.

To reverse this process, the government plan aims at the resumption of the so called "política externa ativa e ativa" (haughty and active foreign policy, in a free translation), in reference to the work of Celso Amorim when in charge of the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Therefore, the plan can be analyzed in three main topics: Latin America and Regional Integration; South-South Cooperation; Multilateralism and the BRICS (the cooperation group formed by Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa).

Regarding Latin America, the plan advocates a restoration of its integration through the defense of the Amazon rainforest, the integration of production chains and the strengthening of infrastructure financing instruments (Mercosur Structural Convergence Fund - FOCEM and Bank of the South). It also refers to the need for strengthening Mercosur, Unasur and the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC). The direct reference to the election of López Obrador, president-elect of Mexico, is an indicative of the possibility of consolidating CELAC, which strengthens the perception of a foreign policy focused on the idea of Latin America. Finally, the plan states that the Unasur Defense Council should take the lead in resolving regional conflicts and repudiates force-based external interventions, in clear reference to the US foreign policy position adopted by Donald Trump's administration.

As in the government plan, in an interview on Globonews channel⁴ Haddad stated that Lula da Silva and Rousseff's foreign policy made an important contribution to strengthen South America relations, especially regarding Mercosur, and criticized Temer's foreign policy towards Latin America.

When the plan presents a proposal for the resumption of South-South cooperation, it is based on the criticism that it is necessary to rescue strategic partnerships with regions abandoned by a "neoliberal foreign policy". In this way, it proposes to expand the cooperation and foreign policy agenda to issues as health, education and nutritional security, having the countries of Africa and Asia as main partners.

The idea of defending multilateralism appears in articulation with the proposal to strengthen the BRICS by the formulation of the New Development Bank (NDB) and the proposal to host the BRICS Contingent Reservation Arrangement (a kind of monetary fund). The plan commits itself to the development of new mechanisms and instruments for cooperation and indicates the need for reforming multilateral organizations, notably the reform of the UN Security Council and the proposal to transform the G-8 into a G-20. Finally, it defends the recognition of the Palestinian state and the resumption

of negotiations on Iran's nuclear program as mechanisms to promote peace and stability in the Middle East.

It is notable the absence of at least two important countries for Brazilian foreign policy in the government plan: China and Venezuela. Regarding China, Brazil's main trading partner since 2009, no specific policy is presented, except when it is related with the BRICS.

About Venezuela, a member of Mercosur, which in recent years suffers from economic crises and disputes between the Maduro government and the opposition, the absence of proposals remains. However, despite the silence on the plan, Haddad has spoken out on debates and interviews. For a series called "O Brasil visto de baixo" (Brazil seen from below, in a free translation), organized by *Catraca Livre* and the *Casa do Baixo Augusta*⁵, the presidential candidate stated that Brazil should adopt a position in favor of democracy and the strengthening of Venezuela's institutions, assuming a mediator's role between the government and the opposition, without taking sides while avoiding ingesting in Venezuelan internal politics and respecting its sovereignty.

Overall, it is noticeable that the proposal of the coalition called "O Povo Feliz de Novo" (The People Happy Again, in a free translation) bets on the resumption of the foreign policy adopted by the last PT administrations, especially the two Lula da Silva governments. Regional integration in Latin America seems to take a central role in Brazil's international insertion strategy, mainly in order to operate as a trampoline to boost Brazil as a regional leader and, consequently, to make the country assume a greater role in world politics. The same can be said of the BRICS, which appears as a strategic instrument in order to raise resources and capacities to reform traditional international institutions, both in the economic, commercial and political spheres.

NOTAS

- 1 Available online: <https://fpabramo.org.br/fundacao-perseu-abramo/>
- 2 PT's note on impeachment characterizing it as a coup. Available online: <http://www.pt.org.br/nota-oficial-resolucao-politica-contra-o-golpe/>
- 3 Available online: <http://www.pt.org.br/partidos-de-esquerda-divulgam-nota-de-repudio-a-prisao-de-lula/>
- 4 Available online: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B8dGoDDZr-g>
- 5 Available online: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zzRJQASACyo>