



**The future of Brazil-Africa relations:  
Analysis of the proposals of the  
candidates for the Presidency  
of the Republic of Brazil**

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September 2018

## Introduction

In view of the changes that have taken place in Brazil in recent years, and of the current political instability, it is necessary to discuss the ideas that the candidates for the Presidency of the Republic in the forthcoming elections present regarding the relations between Brazil and Africa. Brazil, as a country with strong African influences, anchored in a slave-like past, needs to reinforce actions for mutual cooperation with African countries, no longer in a logic of exploitation, but in human, social, cultural and economic development.

Brazil-Africa relations have been changing. Until then the government of Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva was the only one that prioritized programs of rapprochement with the African continent, in an attempt to strengthen ties and develop partnerships. In 8 years as president - from 2003 to 2011 - Lula da Silva made 13 trips to Africa, visiting 28 countries (some of them more than once). Before that, the Brazilian leaders had made only 15 official trips, from João Figueiredo (1979-1985) - the first president to travel to an African country - to Lula's predecessor, Fernando Henrique Cardoso. More than half of the embassies that are now fully functioning were created during Lula's administration, which eventually transformed the relationship between Brazil and Africa. Currently there are 34 African embassies in Brazil and 28 Brazilian embassies in Africa.

In the government of Dilma Rousseff these actions lost intensity. President Dilma has made seven official trips to African countries. At the time, businessmen and diplomats criticized the government for weakening Brazil-Africa relations. As a response, Dilma Rousseff announced an agenda for the continent, such as the renegotiation of \$ 900 million in debts from 12 African countries with Brazil - the first stage to enable new business, and a reform in the Brazilian Cooperation Agency (ABC), office linked to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, that without a regulatory framework, would not have the autonomy to carry out projects without the partnership of an international body.

Since August 2016, when took over the Presidency after the impeachment of Dilma Rousseff, Michel Temer had not made any official trips to the African continent until last July when he visited Cape Verde for the summit of the Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries (CPLP) and South Africa for the BRICS summit. "The rapprochement with Africa is a permanent priority, which translates into concrete actions to strengthen our ties and promote development on both sides of the South Atlantic" said President Temer during his BRICS<sup>1</sup> speech. Temer also confirmed Brazil's interest in deepening economic relations with Africa. He also highlighted

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<sup>1</sup> Group of emergent countries formed by Brazil, Russia, India, China e South Africa.

Brazilian participation in the construction of a laboratory that will reduce the time for the diagnosis of tuberculosis in Sao Tome and Principe and the inauguration of the new Embraer training center in Johannesburg. "But the potential to be explored is still enormous" said Temer. "We are ready too to expand our agreement with the Southern African Customs Union."

When took office Michel Temer appointed José Serra as minister of Foreign Affairs. Serra's approach was to increase exchanges with traditional partners, such as the United States and the European Union, and the closing of Brazilian embassies in Africa, a project that has not become reality until now. It is also important to point out that the Car Wash operation has indirectly affected Brazilian investments in the African continent, generating a series of divestments by Petrobras and also by large contractors.

The Brazil Africa Institute has initially idealized a project to dialogue with the then pre-candidates for Presidency. After starting the first contacts, with the lack of return of some, the attempt proved impracticable. A more objective model was then used: the analysis of the government plans presented by the candidates.

### **An absent Africa**

We look at the programs of all Presidential candidates. The space given for Brazil-Africa relations in general is very small. Only five of the thirteen postulants to the most important public office in the country have mentioned Africa: Ciro Gomes, Fernando Haddad, Guilherme Boulos, João Goulart Filho and Marina Silva. The views that each candidate presents on the theme are not divergent, since the five postulants are within the same political spectrum. The five candidates advocate a rapprochement of Brazil with other countries in the southern hemisphere including African nations. They also acknowledge and point out as a problem the distance between Brazil and Africa in recent years. Therefore, terms such as "resumption" and "reconstruction" are recurrent in the programs of the five candidates.

Ciro Gomes defends the "reconstruction" of Brazil's relationship with Africa on "generous bases that do justice to the condition of Brazil as the largest African country outside Africa and to stop linking African politics to the interests of contractors". Fernando Haddad guarantees that Brazil will resume cooperation with Latin countries and with Africa. Guilherme Boulos says that Brazil has distanced itself from Africa and calls for a resumption of the South-South agenda and the diversification of partnerships with Asia and Africa for "beyond trade relations". João Goulart Filho calls the process of Latin American integration as well as

relations with Africa "very weak" and also calls for a strengthening of these relations. Marina Silva defends an external effort for Brazil to firmly get close to Africa, a "continent in fast economic and demographic growth (...) We will create a favorable environment for Brazilian companies to participate in the process of productive transformation and the sustainable development of Africa" says Marina Silva.

### **What each candidate proposes**

We present now a brief analysis of each foreign policy candidate's strategy, in the context of South-South Cooperation<sup>2</sup> and International Technical Cooperation, with a focus on relations with Africa.

With 15 pages and a concise, straightforward and without deepening text, **Álvaro Dias's** government plan establishes a "new Brazilian diplomacy focused on the vigorous expansion of trade in national products through new agreements." Among the 19 proposals set out in the document, Dias describes as goals: I) the defense of the national product by economic isonomy; II) 10 new bilateral and 4 multilateral agreements by 2022; and III) the gradual reduction of tariffs by 50% up to 2022. However, the program does not give details of what this "new diplomacy" really means, nor about which countries would be a priority in these agreements.

**Cabo Daciolo** has a document with 17 pages in which he defends the sovereignty of Brazil in the international political scene. In the economic spectrum, the candidate promises to strengthen the competitiveness of Brazilian commodities in the international market, classified by him as "of high importance". The text mentions that iron ore, cast iron, steel and crude oil are the main items that Brazil sells abroad and that his government will work to improve the quality of these products and promote the country's scientific and technological development "through establishing policies aiming the implementation of business for the processing of these items, in order to provide the best allocation of this production". The candidate believes that this is the strategy for Brazil to stop being an exporter of raw materials and an importer of industrialized products to become a master user of raw materials that can be applied in the areas of science and technology and in the production of final goods for domestic consumption.

With 62 pages, **Ciro Gomes'** government plan includes a chapter titled "Defense, Foreign Policy and National Sovereignty," which among other things advocates

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<sup>2</sup> Term that defines the articulation between developing countries to foment projects and exchanges in several sectors. South-South refers to the southern hemisphere, where most developing countries are located in.

coalitions between countries, be they regional coalitions (such as Mercosur and the South American Union), of countries with certain similarities (such as the BRICS) or of specific purpose (such as treaties towards climate change). Gomes also called for the strengthening of Brazil's relationship with the United States and China, strengthening the BRICS, complemented by the IBSA movement (India, Brazil, South Africa) and the "reconstruction" of Brazil's relationship with the whole continent on a "generous basis to bring justice to the condition of Brazil as the largest African country outside Africa and to stop linking African politics to the interests of contractors". Still in the geo-political spectrum, but conditioned to the discourse of sustainability, the program highlights actions for the implementation of climate goals, to reduce gas emissions by 2020 (defined by the Paris Agreement) and even proposes the articulation with other countries to achieve the goals.

With 58 pages, the plan of government of candidate **Fernando Haddad** begins with proposals for the international agenda of Brazil. The candidate argues that the country must resume and deepen the foreign policy of Latin American integration and South-South Cooperation, especially with Africa, "in order to support, at the same time, multilateralism, the search for solutions through dialogue and the repudiation of intervention and solutions of force". Haddad also calls for the strengthening of the BRICS and the development of new instruments for cooperation and reform in multilateral organizations. The document reinforces that his government will resume cooperation with Latin countries and with Africa. "It is also fundamental to strengthen the relations of friendship and partnership with Africa, the mother continent of the Brazilian Nation, and with the Arab countries with which we maintain common interests and friendly relations". The candidate also advocates strengthening the IBSA.

With just nine pages, **Geraldo Alckmin's** government program talks about economic openness and brings a promise that foreign trade can represent 50% of GDP. According to the text, this would be vital to "resume the competitiveness agenda of the country". The candidate also promises to make Brazil the most attractive country to undertake and invest in Latin America. The document points out that Brazilian diplomacy would be used to sign trade agreements that help expand Brazilian markets abroad and reinsert the country into the global economy. For Alckmin, Brazil must externally defend values such as democracy and human rights and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG)<sup>3</sup>, which will serve as a reference in the Brazilian external relationship. In addition Alckmin claims that the fulfillment of the goals assumed in the Paris Agreement will be "pursued with perseverance".

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<sup>3</sup> Set of 17 goals set by the UN in 2015 for the global agenda, which seeks to guide the construction and implementation of public policies in areas such as poverty eradication, food security, agriculture, health and climate, by 2030.

The plan of government of the candidate **Guilherme Boulos** has 228 pages and 19 chapters. The document begins with a thorough analysis of the socioeconomic situation of Brazil and the international scenarium. With the theme "International Affairs: National Sovereignty, Autonomy and Solidarity with Peoples", the chapter on Foreign Policy gives a brief overview of global geopolitics, denouncing the inequalities exposed by the unbalanced relationship between richer countries and peripheral nations. Among the main proposals in this area Boulos presents the resumption of the South-South agenda and the diversification of partnerships with Asia and Africa beyond trade relations. The candidate intends to resume the prioritization of the IBSA and other multilateral mechanisms, as well as to take up an active and proactive role in the BRICS. The text also denounces that "Brazil gave up its capacity for dialogue, generating a vacuum of diplomatic action in the face of political conflicts in Latin America," distanced itself from Africa, lost its standing in the representation of the BRICS and other coalitions and reduced South-South cooperation projects.

With 21 pages, the document of **Henrique Meirelles** brings proposals focused on development policies and emphasizes, above all, the generation of employment. Meirelles has a few paragraphs for the Foreign Policy, which would be aimed at opening markets for Brazilian products, attracting investments to the national productive sectors and to the country's infrastructure. "It will be a foreign policy to strengthen a Mercosur that privileges the free market - after all, we have to start in our region" says. The candidate also proposes new economic-trade agreements with partners from all profiles and from all parts of the world. Ongoing negotiations, such as that of Mercosur with the European Union, will be prioritized according to the program. And new fronts will be opened. He also advocates joining the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) "in pursuit of the improvement of practices consistent with the highest global standards."

The 81 pages of **Jair Bolsonaro's** governance plan are focused on internal issues. In the small part dedicated to exogenous issues, the document speaks on "facilitating international trade to promote long-term economic growth" and points Brazil as one of the least open countries for international trade, having like direct consequence the difficulty in competing in some segments, such as high technology. The only proposals in this area are the reduction of import tariffs and non-tariff barriers, in parallel with the establishment of new international bilateral agreements. Bolsonaro also claims for fostering foreign trade with countries that can add economic and technological value to Brazil. The candidate believes that the "structure of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs must be at the service of the values that have always been associated with the Brazilian people." At the same time he argues that it is necessary to redirect Brazil's "axis of partnerships" and give "an

emphasis on bilateral relations and agreements", he denounces that some "countries have tried to approach but have been deprecated for ideological reasons" even having a lot to offer to Brazil in terms of trade, science, technology, innovation, education and culture.

Candidate **João Amoêdo** begins his government program regretting the economic and social situation of Brazil, ranked 125th in the World Bank ranking of the 190 countries with greater ease of doing business. Amoedo points out two other World Bank rankings in which the country is among the 10 worst to pay taxes (184th position) and among the 15 worst to start a business (176th position). In the 23-page document, the candidate also mentions the Index of Economic Freedom, released by the Heritage Foundation, where Brazil ranks 153th in 186 countries evaluated. On Foreign Trade the candidate complains and affirms that Brazil is the second most closed country in the world for foreign trade. "We represent only 1% of world trade and 25th in the ranking," he says. The candidate claims that a more open trade as potential to take 6 million people out of poverty and the Brazilian's purchasing power would increase by 8% with this opening, according to OECD data. Amoedo advocates an external policy with greater international emphasis and guided by the interests of the Country and also the opening of the Brazilian economy with the reduction of barriers to trade and international investment. Amoedo also proposes negotiation of agreements with the largest economies of the globe but, in parallel, the removal of excessive barriers unilaterally.

The candidate **João Goulart Filho** has a document with 14 pages divided into 20 short topics. The last of these topics speaks of a resumption of independent foreign policy, an essential condition for, according to the candidate, guaranteeing the necessary autonomy for the national development process. For Goulart Filho, independent foreign policy means "respect for the self-determination of peoples and national development and other underdeveloped countries." Goulart Filho emphasizes that South-South relations must be prioritized. For this reason he advocates a resumption in the Latin American integration process, in the strengthening of relations with Africa and the consolidation of the BRICS through the constitution of its institutions and structure. "They are decisive means to strengthen South-South relations and favor the conditions for the conquest of autonomy vis-a-vis the Western powers, especially the United States".

The 27 proposals of **José Maria Eymael** are divided in 9 pages. The international agenda is reduced as "the principle of solidarity amongst nations, aiming at a world social order based on the principles of solidarity, justice and freedom and an external policy as a tool for national development, including Brazil on the global routes of socio-economic success and the attainment of world peace as Brazil's irreplaceable commitment".

For **Marina Silva** foreign policy must be a State policy guided by "principles and values such as the defense of human rights, democracy, self-determination of peoples and non-intervention, without subjectivity to ideological relativizations." Silva claims that in her government foreign policy would be committed to the environment and sustainable development, the promotion of peace and international cooperation. In the 24 pages of the government plan, the candidate defends Brazil's role in regional and multilateral organizations. Marina Silva defends resuming Brazil's place in the UN Security Council as soon as possible. She also advocates an advance in the relationship with the Pacific Alliance (Chile, Peru, Colombia and Mexico), aiming at a free trade agreement and with four other regions that she considers fundamental for Brazilian foreign policy: South America, North America, European Union and East Asia. However, Marina Silva also advocates an external effort to have Brazil anchored in Africa, defined by her as "a rapidly growing economic and demographic continent." "With the African brothers our perspective should not be a false 'help' but a partnership". "We will create a favorable environment for Brazilian companies to participate in the process of productive transformation and sustainable development in Africa."

**Vera Lucia's** plan of government has only 5 pages and is divided into 16 topics. None of them contemplates themes related to Brazil's international agenda.

### **Final considerations**

As inductors of the strengthening of relations between Brazil and the countries of the African continent we always try to discuss the relevance that Brazil must give to this relationship. The Brazil Africa Institute understands that the dialogue between Brazil and Africa must be strengthened and most candidates do not show interest in maintaining this conversation. Even the five candidates who make reference to the African continent in their programs of government invest very little time of their speeches to highlight this potential. It can be said that the current government does not value this relationship and the candidates do not present a counterpoint to the current policy.

In general lines, the government programs show that candidates either do not know the greatness of the African continent as a whole, or only talk about the continent as a rhetorical action. Africa is part of the globe and therefore can not be overlooked. As Brazilians we should look more closely at which regions or countries on the African continent are more likely to establish dialogue.



From a cultural and historical point of view, we have common roots with some African nations. Lusophone countries, for example, naturally have a historical similarity due to Portuguese colonization. Other nations are connected to the shameful past of the slave trade. In this context, the rhetoric of the ancestry that we have created and our historical debt to the African continent comes to light.

In addition there is an economic component that needs to be mentioned: Brazil must define its trading partners in the African context. That is, of the 54 countries, it is necessary to list which targets the candidates should aim for, looking at the trade balance. By defining these countries the candidates could select which ones have the most vocation to build a dialogue with Brazilian companies. Another detail not addressed by the candidates is the transfer of national technology, which may cause Brazilian brands to gain ground in the African continent.

A contingent of 1.2 billion people can not be neglected. Of the five economies that are expected to grow the most in 2018, four are in Africa (Ghana, Ethiopia, Ivory Coast and Djibouti) according to the World Bank. The Bank also includes three African nations (Tanzania, Djibouti and Ethiopia) on the list of the fastest growing economies in 2017.

Anyone who talks to Africa today has a great chance of setting a position of expression in the coming decades. The African middle class is expected to increase proportionally more than the other regions of the world. In Nigeria, for example, there are more births per day than in the European Union as a whole. What could be a problem can be seen as opportunity. After all, Nigeria is a country with 200 million people and a lot to do. While China looks at Africa as a big agenda, Brazil turns its back on the continent. Apart from China, Turkey, Japan, and the United States are some examples of other nations that already see this opportunity and make massive investments in the continent.

This analysis is the contribution we have made to the 2018 Brazilian electoral process. The Brazil Africa Institute is always available for dialogue with all candidates to help foster a common agenda between Brazil and Africa.

According to the United Nations, the African population is 1.2 billion people and over 60% are under 25 years. The number should increase. The UN projected that the young African population by 2030 will have grown almost double. "Young people in Africa are expected to continue to grow over the remainder of the 21st century, more than doubling from their current levels by 2055," Population Facts No. 2015/1 says. This statistic may contribute to rising unemployment and poverty since young people are concentrated in the poorest countries.

In Brazil 20% of the more than 51 million young people between the ages of 14 and 29 do not work or study according to data from the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE).

That is why the future of relations between Brazil and Africa involves the construction of policies that meet the expectations of the young. Believing that good ideas are born through dialogue, Brazil Africa Institute will hold the 6th Forum Brazil Africa on November 22nd and 23rd in Salvador, Bahia, Brazil with the theme "Youth Empowerment: Transformation to Achieve Sustainable Development." We leave here the invitation for the next Brazilian elected President to be with us at the Forum and open the door to new possibilities between Brazil and the African continent.

### **Profile of the candidates**

#### **Alvaro Dias (Podemos Party)**

At age 73, Alvaro Dias is in his fourth term as a Senator. From 1987 to 1991, he was Governor of the State of Paraná. In the 1970s he was a Congressman for three legislatures. Before that Dias was councilman in the city of Londrina and state representative of Paraná. Graduated in History, he has already changed parties seven times. Dias declared to have equity of R \$ 2.9 million.

#### **Cabo Daciolo (Patriota Party)**

Cabo Daciolo is 42 years old military firefighter 42, elected as federal deputy for Rio de Janeiro in the 2014 elections. He is a member of the Patriota and has been affiliated with PSOL, PTdoB and Avante parties. He gained notoriety in 2011 for leading the firefighters' strike in Rio de Janeiro.

#### **Ciro Gomes (PDT)**

Born in Pindamonhangaba, in the state of São Paulo, Ciro Gomes built his political career in the Ceará State, where he was mayor of the capital, Fortaleza, elected in 1988, and governor of the state, elected in 1990. He resigned as governor in 1994 to take over the Ministry of Finance in the Itamar Franco government between 1992 and 1994. He was also Minister of National Integration of Lula from 2003 to 2006. He is 60 years old and runs for the Presidency for the third time. Gomes declared equity of R \$ 1.7 million.

#### **Fernando Haddad (PT)**

Fernando Haddad was born in São Paulo on January 25, 1963. He is graduated in Law, Master in Economics and Phd in Philosophy by the University of São Paulo (USP). Haddad became a professor at the institution in 1990. He has been a member of the Workers Party since 1983. He was Minister of Education from 2005 to 2012 in the governments of Lula and Dilma Rousseff. In 2012 he was elected Mayor of the city of São Paulo. Haddad replaces former President Lula, who have announced his candidacy but was barred by Justice after being convicted of passive corruption and money laundering.

### **Geraldo Alckmin**

Quatro vezes governador de São Paulo, Geraldo Alckmin é médico formado pela Universidade de Taubaté. Começou a carreira política em 1972, em Pindamonhangaba, onde foi eleito vereador, presidente da Câmara dos Vereadores e prefeito da cidade. Em 1982, foi eleito deputado estadual. Participou da Assembleia Nacional Constituinte de 1986, antes de chegar ao governo de São Paulo em 2001, como vice-governador. Aos 65 anos, vai disputar pela segunda vez a eleição presidencial. Declarou um patrimônio de R\$ 1,4 milhão.

Four times Governor of São Paulo State, Geraldo Alckmin is a doctor graduated from the University of Taubaté. He began his political career in 1972 in Pindamonhangaba city, where he was elected councilor, president of the City Council and Mayor. In 1982 he was elected state representative. Alckmin took part in the National Constituent Assembly of 1986 before arriving at the government of São Paulo in 2001 like Vice Governor. At age 65, he runs for the Presidency for the second time. Alckmin has declared an equity of R \$ 1.4 million.

### **Guilherme Boulos (PSOL)**

Representing the coalition PSOL and PCB, Guilherme Boulos was born in São Paulo. He is 35, son of a doctor and a professor of the University of São Paulo (USP). Boulos is a Philosopher Graduated from the Faculty of Philosophy, Letters and Human Sciences of USP. He is also a psychoanalyst, teacher and writer. His political life began in 1997, at age 15, when he joined the student movement as a militant in the Communist Youth Union (UJC). He then met the Landless Workers Movement (MST) and the Homeless Workers Movement (MTST), of which he is the coordinator. He declared equity of R \$ 15.4 thousand.

### **Henrique Meirelles (MDB)**

At age 72, Henrique Meirelles built his career as an economist in the international market. He took the worldwide presidency of BankBoston, which he joined in 1974, and became president of the institution in Brazil in 1984. In 2002

he was elected for the National Congress, abdicating later to head the Central Bank from 2003 to November 2010 in the Lula government. Under the government of President Michel Temer he commanded the Ministry of Finance from May 2016 to April 2018. Meirelles has declared equity of R\$ 377.5 million.

#### **Jair Bolsonaro (PSL)**

Military Jair Bolsonaro, 63, is in his seventh term in the National Congress where he has a 25 year uninterrupted career. Bolsonaro was the candidate for federal deputy most voted in Rio de Janeiro in the 2014 elections, with 464 thousand votes. Married three times, he has five children, three of whom are in political life. Runs for the presidential election for the first time. PSL is the ninth political party Bolsonaro is affiliated. It declared assets of R\$ 2.3 million.

#### **João Amoêdo (Novo)**

Born in Rio de Janeiro, João Amoêdo is 55 years old and holds a degree in Civil Engineering and Administration. He was executive director of Bank BBA Creditanstalt, president of Finaustria CFI, vice president and member of the Board of Directors of Unibanco and member of the Board of Directors of Bank Itaú BBA and of the Board of Directors of João Fortes Engenharia. He founded the Novo Party with members of civil society, who go through a selective process to become candidates. He is married and has three daughters. Amoedo declared an equity of R\$ 425 million.

#### **João Goulart Filho (PPL)**

Running for the Presidency for the first time João Goulart Filho, 61, is a poet, philosopher, writer and founder of the João Goulart Institute, dedicated to historical research and reflection on the Brazilian political. He is son of former President João Goulart, known as Jango, deposed in 1964 for the military coup. Goulart Filho was a state deputy in Rio Grande do Sul. He declared equity of R \$ 8.6 million.

#### **João Maria Eymael (DC)**

Disputing the presidential elections for the fifth time, João Maria Eymael is from Porto Alegre and is 78 years old. He studied philosophy and law, and has been a businessman for 46 years in the areas of marketing, communication and information technology. It declared equity of R\$ 6.1 million.

#### **Marina Silva (Rede)**

Born in a small community called Breu Velho, in the Seringal Bagaço, in Rio Branco, Acre, Marina Silva is 60 years old and began her political career as a trade unionist in the 1980s. She was elected for the first time to public office in

the 1988 elections, when she was the most voted councilwoman in Rio Branco. After that she was elected state deputy and senator (for two terms). Marina Silva was Minister of the Environment in the Lula government. She runs for the Presidency for the third time. He declared equity of R\$ 118.8 thousand.

### **Vera Lúcia (PSTU)**

Worker of the shoe industry, with trajectory in the syndical and popular movement, Vera Lúcia, 50 years old, was born in the backlands of Pernambuco state and moved to the capital Aracaju with her family as a child, fleeing from the drought. In the capital, she worked as a waitress and typist before getting a job at the Azaleia footwear factory, where she started her union militancy. Vera Lúcia holds a degree in Social Sciences from the Federal University of Sergipe (UFS) and is currently involved in the political formation of activists. He declared equity of R\$ 20 thousand.

