

The political discourse on the Workers Party's foreign policy in Brazilian Senate: a discursive-institutional approach.¹

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Abstract

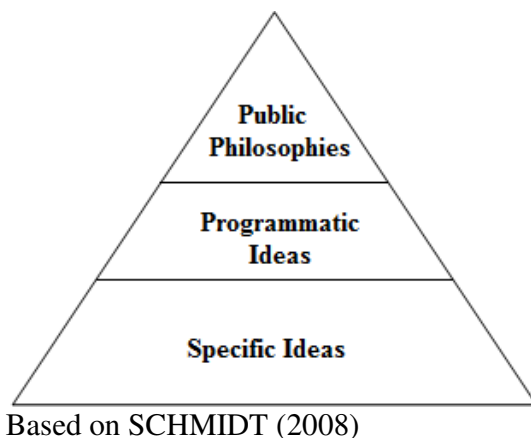
This paper presents a study on parliamentary discourse in the meetings of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Brazilian Senate. It concludes that the senator's political ideas exchanged during legislative discussions can be indicators to situate them on a left-right *continuum*, and also concludes that their specific ideas are very similar to the programmatic ideas of their own political parties related to foreign policy. The theoretical foundation of this paper lies in the discursive institutionalism, which brings the interactional role of ideas to the analysis of political institutions. In the one hand, the discursive approach is important to analyze institutional norms and structures erected to organize the political discourse as a means of engendering political action, as parliamentary institutions do. Political institutions have a discursive role which has to be seriously taken into consideration for a more complete scientific analysis. On the other hand, discursive methods also help to understand the content of the ideas expressed by individuals inside discursive institutions and their relation to the general and philosophical ideas which pervades the political system as a whole.

Key words: discursive institutionalism – parliamentary discourse – foreign policy.

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Ideas are relevant to Politics. No one could oppose the quintessential role played by ideas in the political institutions, especially when these institutions are Parliaments. No matter which are the tasks of congressmen or congresswomen, the act of speaking is inherent to their job. For Charaudeau (2008), there is no Politics (and, of course, no policy) without institutional speaking. Actually, speaking is the act which leads to action, i. e., political discourse is a basic requirement to policy. The whole institutional rules and structures aim to achieve this important goal: convey ideas through speaking. And putting ideas across is defined as *discourse* in social sciences, political science included. Recent political studies had addressed the role of ideas to the political institutions (SCHMIDT, 2008; HAY, 2001; CAMPBELL; PEDERSEN, 2001; KJAER; PEDERSEN, 2001; GOLDSTEIN; KEOHANE, 1993). This paper is based theoretically on the *discursive institutionalism* as presented by Vivien Schmidt (2008). According to her, discursive studies are congruent to the neoinstitutional theories in political science and have an explanatory role which can broaden the understanding of political institutions, helping political scholars to cope with limitations commonly related to *sticky* theories when it comes to explain institutional sudden changes or formation of interests, norms and institutions. In here, the discursive institutionalism is employed to relate the specific personal ideas of Brazilian senators to the programmatic ideas stated in their parties' programmes.

Ideas pervade all polities, politics and policies. Institutions are created by general principles – such as Republicanism, Democracy, and Accountability –, work based on ideas from their members, and engender political action and policies which reflect these ideas put across through discourse. Due to their pervasive role in institutions, ideas can be classified in three main levels of generality (SCHMIDT, 2008): specific ideas (first level ideas), programmatic ideas (second level ideas) and public philosophies (third level ideas), as shown in the picture below.



The *specific ideas* are problem-oriented and derivate directly into political action, i. e., policies to address public issues. Those are more pragmatic ideas, ultimately turning into an action in the actual and concrete political realm. That is the reason why they can be considered first level ideas; they are the nearest to political actors. The *programmattic ideas*, in a second level of generality, are those which decides the problems to be taken into consideration by policies. They comprise the objectives, methods and goals for addressing and delivering the public goods. The third level idea is the highest one: the *public philosophies* and political principals which lies more in the ideational realm, whose assumptions are commom ground and hard to be replaced fastly. They address the higher nature of the polity and politics.

Public Philosophies on Brazilian Foreign Policy

In Brazilian political Philosophy, the foreing policy has two major theoretical cleavages: the left-wing and the right-wing politics. Cleavages are conceptual divisions expressed, in political parties, through competition of political ideas, programs and public policy alternatives (LIPSET; ROKKAN, 1990; MAIR, 2006; RAE; TAYLOR, 1970). According to Peter Mair, political parties' cleavages can be structural or organizational, and persist in the long term, usually for generations. The main purpose of ideological divide of political parties is to indicate the topics that deserve their attention, simplifying their pleas to mobilise the masses, directing the debate and the political choices of its members (BUDGE, 2006). A one-dimensional left-right space model is valid and allows to clarify party differences and to present political ideas. Nevertheless, this duality in the political thought is also theoretical and intends to understand the political position of party programmes in this dual categorization. Maurice Duverger (1980, p.

40) says that there's not always a dualism of parties, but almost always there is a dualism of trends. Therefore, although the difference is not antithetical, it is two distinct policy action trends. The multi-party results from the interposition and the fragmentation of these trends of these two political philosophies: left-wing and right-wing.

The Brazilian political parties and politicians institutionally follow a logic of the ideological divide between right and left (SILVA, 2014). Even though the speech may be one and the political practice be sometimes the opposite, parties follow their ideas in the political discourse. According to Samuels (1997), even though he considers the leftist Brazilian political parties as being "more ideological" than right-wing parties, he emphasizes that the right-wing parties are not always pragmatic and often guide for their programs; similarly, the left-wing parties do not always follow their ideologies. Therefore, any classification of Brazilian political parties must take into account the symbolic role of its programs in the institutional political discourse.

In this paper, before analyzing the specific ideas of Brazilian senators on the Workers Party's foreign policy and the programmatic ideas from their political parties, the general political ideas must be outlined according to the leftist and to the rightist philosophical principles, the basis of discursive institutionalism ideational dimension (General ideas → programmatic ideas → specific ideas).

In Western Europe, countries are traditionally classified in a left-right continuum, usually according to different thoughts on social and economic policies. In this continuum, right-wing parties advocate an approach based on market forces, with minimal state interference in the economic order, while the left-wing splits into *Socialists* and *Communists*. *Socialists* advocate public policies that support workers and jobs, with a more pronounced state intervention to ensure social benefits from the surplus generated by the economy. In general, the socialists call themselves *Democrats* to differentiate themselves from the *Communists*. The *Communists* are, in general, against the political establishment and the current socioeconomic system, participating in elections only to take control of the state and make a proletarian revolution, distributing among workers the means of production. In Western Europe, the right-left political dispute is also known as conservative-socialist cleavage.

In Latin America, except for appropriate ideological and historical peculiarities about the institutionalization of political parties, the left-right continuum also presents a classification according to the programmatic ideas of economic policy, associated with hemispheric issues as the United States superpower and its foreign policy toward the region. Public philosophies on Brazilian international relations resonates the left-right cleavage which engenders the political parties position in the left-right continuum. The main general ideas or public philosophies are:

- a) *Hemispheric hegemony of the United States and the Cold War* – The doctrinal assumptions about American hegemony in Latin America is one of the main corollaries that opposed Latin American leftist movements to the dictatorial conservative political regimes that flourished in the region since the second half of the twentieth century, most of them supported by the United States. According to Menezes (2000), during this period the Hemispheric Security thesis² generated an ideological conflict in Latin countries against the United States. These groups of Marxist and socialist ideology, strongly repressed, fought against their governments, ideologically linked to capitalism. These regimes supported the free trade, international financial system (IMF, World Bank), and so were ranked in Brazil as right-wing groups, while the groups called themselves socialists or leftist groups. Many of these leftist groups were linked to international networks of communist and socialist politics, targeting the socialist revolution in their countries, with the overthrow of the government of conservative and bourgeois elites, the establishment of a socialist regime and a planned economy. With the end of the Cold War some Marxist groups continued struggling as paramilitary guerrillas (like the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia and the Shining Path in Peru), while most of them came out of hiding and became political parties in the political systems of Latin America. Integrated into the political system of Brazil in the early 1980s, those leftist groups abandoned the revolutionary excesses and realigned into a new left, inaugurating a tradition of democratic socialism in the Brazilian left: ally of democracy and capitalism, and critical to communism, to charismatic leaders and to

² The Hemispheric Security thesis were a United States' foreign policy to Latin America which intended to guard the Americas from the threat of socialist and Soviet influences, derived from the bipolar international system and the strain of two enemy powers: the United States and the USSR.

the proletariat dictatorship (REIS FILHO, 2005). These left-wing parties, such as PT (Worker's Party), had their programmatic ideas originated mainly in the ideology of Cold War insurgent groups linked to the Latin American socialist left (CASTRO, 2005), which influenced the specific ideas of foreign policy in the political discourse of the 2000s. Left-wing political parties in Brazil and in Latin America do share this socialist origin and still retain a strong orientation of distrust to initiatives from the USA and from European Union towards the region in matters of foreign trade and international financial institutions, such as the FTAA negotiations and the Doha Round of the WTO in the 2000's. The United States power in international relations is classified by leftist groups as a form of *imperialism*, and the parties of the extreme left even consider it as a *neo-colonialism*.

- b) *Latin American Integration and Identity* - The existence of a common and distinctive Latino culture in relation to European and North American countries brings a cultural identity to the Latin citizen: he is be the result of the clash and the mixing of European settlers with indigenous populations and from other people in other colonized continents (especially African). The goal of creating a community of Latin America nations is clearly mandatory in the Brazilian Constitution and is one of Brazilian foreign policy principles which both right and left policial parties agree, engendering the emergence of Mercosur in the 1990s and UNASUR in the 2000s. However, the duality of positions between righ and left wings is shown in the type and intensity of integration desired by each programmatic idea. While the right wing parties prioritize integration by free trade, the left parties emphasize political and social integration. To the right, the inter-American integration (especially Mercosur) should prioritize, in a first stage, the liberalization of tariff barriers and free trade in goods and labor inputs, and the support for a free trade area with USA such as the FTAA. For the Brazilian leftists, Mercosur should prioritize their political union (the example is Unasur), which would justify a greater acceptance of some commercial and political differences by Brazil, to prevent them from clogging greater convergence towards a community of Latin American nations. To the left, the Latin American integration is not only a form of political consultation: it also would serve as a counterpoint to imperialism and neocolonialism by capitalist and neoliberal

powers such as United States and European Union. For Brizola (PDT), for example, opposed to those facing Mercosur as solely trade liberalization mechanism because only multinationals would benefit from it, and for Roberto Freire (PPS), Mercosur is important because it confronts the United States and hampers its Latin policy based on economic imperialism (NASCIMENTO, 1998).

- c) *Development and Neoliberalism* - ECLAC (Economic Commission of the United Nations for Latin America and the Caribbean) was created in 1948 based on the structuralist studies of Argentinean economist Raúl Prebisch. The author advocated the interpretation of Latin American underdevelopment in terms of a center-periphery system. In the center are the industrialized countries of the north and in the periphery are the agrarian or sub-industrialized countries of the south. For the social and economic development of the periphery, it would require their industrialization, with the surplus earned by exporting primary goods and the formation of large national consumer markets through protectionism to the nascent domestic industry. Prebisch also proposed the formation of a common Latin market to tackle with disadvantages and remoteness of Latin America in international trade. With the collapse of the dictatorship regimes and the severe economic crisis in the region in the 1980s, there was the formation or reorganization of Latin American political forces on the issue of national development: the revolutionary leftist groups began to participate in the political game by proposing a break with economic policies of the central countries (now called neo-liberal policies, such as the payment of the foreign debt, control spending and privatization of government-run monopolies and companies) and the adoption of socialist policies, while the more conservative groups seeking the normalization of the economy with the international financial system, with the adoption of neoliberal measures and regimes (STEINFUS; BONI, 1990). For that reason, the Brazilian right, even the most liberal parties (such as the PFL and the PL, which were renamed as Democrats and PR), supports the economic and social development of the country as one of its basic principles. The PFL founding program, for example, is based on the principle of social liberalism, according to which there must be a concern with social issues typical from the socialism, together with the ideals of capitalism, such as free competition and minimal state intervention

in the economy. The PMDB entire political program relies on the principle of economic development; especially on the thesis of national-development.

- d) *The role Brazil should play in the World* - The right-wing parties in Brazil usually advocate a greater consensus with international regimes and the competitive insertion of Brazil in an international order that is given, especially to an median power such as Brazil. The social liberalism of the Brazilian right goes beyond the economic and social policies, going into the realm of international relations, overlapping the principle of free competition of economic sectors in international trade, also advocating the free flow of goods among countries without protectionism, and the exemption from central government to intervene in foreign trade and capital flows. The PFL (Democrats) adoption of the precepts of a social liberalism is accompanied by other parties in a desire to keep intact the core ideas of economic liberalism, but also presenting at the same time a political solution to the country's social issues through socialist programs, an effort to disengage the PFL from the labels of conservative and liberal right. In Brazil, the term *right* in politics is still associated with the military dictatorship and with the disastrous neoliberal policies of the 1980s and early 1990s (TAROUCO, 2002). For Brazilian liberal politicians, economic nationalism is harmful to international trade and businesses in a globalized economy, and regional integration is seen as a policy should prioritize economic interests (PAIM, 1997). So, for the right, foreign policy should focus on the gains of trade for the national economic groups through competition. To the left, there is a greater sense of independence (or *sovereignty*) of Brazil in international relations in the face of capitalist powers. Programmatic ideas of the Left parties are more verbose and more detailed than the right wing parties (where free trade and the defense of peace and human rights appear as references to foreign policy), advocating the following principles in foreign relations: international coexistence with Brazilian haughtiness (Buarque, PT), the use of the new international order to provide solutions to Brazilian urgent social problems (Lula da Silva, PT), the sovereign insertion of Brazil in the world and globalization struggle against neoliberalism and its new guise: globalization and privatization (Brizola, PDT), a foreign policy in favor of humanism, solidarity and equality (Roberto Freire, PPS), the fight against the current

international order based on the central countries, and against globalization, defined as an "euphemism for imperialism" (João Amazonas, PCdoB), the fight against the consensus of the international organizations by neoliberalism once it does not bring social development, but only favors the holders of economic power, generating a lust of the Amazon by foreign multinationals, to their countries (Ademir Andrade, PSB) service. All this must be overcome with a reform of international regimes (CASTRO, 2005), including multilateral organizations such as the UN and the OAS, in order to mitigate the strong influence of the central capitalist countries, especially the USA, in the international organizations. For the leftist parties, the WTO should also be reformed in order to attain a fairer capitalist and financial system and central countries should not submit trade agreements detrimental to developing national sectors. The objective of Brazil in international relations should be overcoming the condition of the periphery along with other countries in the same condition for the economic development of Brazil and, in the same time, seek allies and friends to strengthen arrangements of resistance of the "globalized" countries to make resistance to the "globalizers" in international relations (CASTRO, 2005, p. 106).

- e) *Ideology vs. Pragmatism in Brazilian foreign policy* – For the right wing, *pragmatism* is a term which relates trade relations to countries with greater commercial importance to Brazil and Brazilian goods. For them, ideology in Brazilian foreign policy means looking forward to obtaining independence from the northern countries, based on principles of primarily political regional integration, in order to increase South-South trade relations instead of north-south relations, and special relations with the Latin American socialist countries. In a way, the socialist indoctrination was important for the organization of left parties during the dictatorship and democratization in Brazil. The Worker's Party was the first mass party in Brazil, a successful political and anti-regime organization created in the early 80s, prioritizing links with social movements (MENEGUELLO, 1989), being followed by other leftist parties and their participation in the post-constitutional political system. Socialism and Marxism ideas were important for the institutionalization of the leftist parties (socialists and communists) due to its ideological roots, as addressed above. Furthermore, the defense of more liberalism in

trade relations also has its roots in the ideological origins of the right parties, especially those on the right, such as PP, PTB and the DEM. So, in Brazilian political discourse, *ideologically speaking* also refers to the left wing Brazilian parties.

The table below presents a classification of general political ideas or public philosophies of the left and of the right political thought on Brazilian foreign policy, which will be used to classify Brazilian political parties according to the ideas laid out in their programs.

Table 14 – Public Philosophies (general ideas) of the Left and of the Right on Foreign Relations in Brazil

Left	Right
State-centered and planned insertion in the international trade	Competitive and free insertion in the international trade
International relations based on alike political and economic ideologies (Socialist and Marxist thought)	International relations based on political and economic pragmatism
Economic integration essentially regional (Mercosur, Latin and South America)	Economic integration with multiple economic blocs and countries (EU, USA), beyond regional integration
Distrust to free trade agreements	Support to free trade agreements
Opposition to the free flow of goods	Defense of the free flow of goods
Commercial emphasis on South-South countries relations (even with commercially no relevant countries)	Commercial emphasis on North-South countries relations, as well as on South-South ones (only with commercially relevant countries)
Emphasis on political international relations	Emphasis on economic international relations
Expansion of the Brazilian diplomatic network throughout the world	Limitation of the Brazilian diplomatic network down to areas relevant politically and economically
Brazil's greater role in the big games of the hegemonic countries	Brazil's lesser role in the big games of the hegemonic countries
Greater domestic market protectionism	Greater domestic market openness
Radical reform of the whole multilateral system (reconstruction)	Punctual reforms in the international system (improvement)
Criticism to globalization and commercial liberalization	Defense of globalizations and commercial liberalization
Discourse of nationalization and State monopoly over strategic resources and economic sectors	Discourse of denationalization or free competition over strategic resources and economic sectors

Source: Rodinei, 2014.

The conceptual dualism (SEILER, 2000) shown in the table above is only a proposition for classification of ideologies. They are ideal types and do not exclude each other. It is only a qualitative categorization of the public philosophies shared by Brazilian leftists in one side, and rightists in the other side of the ideological aisle, based on their foundational ideas and on their programmatic ideas.

A left wing party on foreign policy has the following characteristics: advocates the submission of international relations to the economic development of Brazil and of the poorest nations; privileges South-South special relations (among developing or underdeveloped countries) in spite of North-South relations (between developed and developing countries); demands a new international political and financial order (with major reforms of the entire international system), seeks a foreign policy independent to the developed countries and to the world's financial centers; aligns to countries with similar ideologies (especially Latin American and socialist countries). *A right wing party on foreign policy*, by its turn, has these characteristics: advocates a competitive insertion of Brazil in international trade; seeks pragmatic and business-oriented relations and the end of the rigor of political ideologies; is forward economic integration to various economic and global blocs (European Union, United States) rather than privileging only Latin American and Mercosur countries; emphasizes on commercial pragmatism and less involvement in the political games of hegemonic countries. In summary, we can say that left parties link foreign policy to national development and to concepts typical of the left, such as inequality and structural exploitation of international relations, claiming a totally different political and financial order, that makes relations between rich and poor countries more fair and just. Right parties advocate a pragmatic foreign policy, i. e., the increase of competitiveness and trade liberalization in foreign trade, less ideological and less political conceptualization of relations among countries as North-South and as South-South, greater globalization and lesser regionalism in the Brazilian foreign policy, besides seeking a greater economic integration and liberalization in Latin America.

Programmatic ideas of the Brazilian political parties on foreign policy

Programmatic devices are not always mandatory for the behavior of parties and of parliamentarians, especially as applied to other issues such as distributional, electoral, personalist preferences etc. However, based on a discursive-institutional analysis, it is possible to place the

political parties on a *continuum* through a relation of the political discourse of members of Congress (specific ideas embedded in their speeches) to the provisions stated in the party program. Programmatic ideas are based on public philosophies and stem from general ideas common to an entire society or from ideas peculiar to a social sector such as left and right wing thought or discourse. That is the reason why these are the second level of generality of ideas. Parties' programs are programmatic ideas of political parties, which make them different one from another. However, they share public philosophies - and, more specifically, programmatic ideas - that enable their situation on a left-right *continuum*.

Party program is a declaration of principles and ideas that should guide the actions and the political discourse of its members. The program of a party is also a "product" of a political will which is presented to the citizens (HOFMEISTER; SANTOS, 2007). Moreover, it is a repository of ideas, policies and action programs aimed at the political authority and at their constituency. However, the party programs should not be evaluated teleologically because ideas do not always translate into actions consistent with them. Ideas are not totally deterministic: they are not *the* cause, but they are always *a* cause (SCHMIDT, 2008). Party programs and manifestos should not be considered self-evident categories, despite of having an important indication the ideological position of a party (MONTEIRO; OLIVEIRA, 1989) and, although the programmatic ideas of political parties have a great continuity from one election to another, the political positions are not frozen in the programs (VASSALO; WILCOX, 2006). Then the use of renewed definitions of categories and contextualized the spot verification of the ideas that the party members use during the political discourse can fulfill the emptiness of "mere ideas printed on paper" (TAROUCO, 2008; LIJPHART, 2003).

The analysis of party programs and government programs of political parties with candidates for President of the Republic between 2003 and 2012 (SILVA, 2014) was based on the conceptual dualism renovated proposed by Seiler (2000). It has resulted in the following left-right *continuum* on foreign policy:



In the dimension of foreign policy, there is an important divide between left parties and right parties in Brazil currently and it is quite similar to the traditional left-right *continuum* presented by Brazilian political scientists. Perhaps the major exception is the PR, which posits more leftist than rightist in foreign policy matters, contradicting the Brazilian political literature on general partisan ideology classification.

The analysis of programmatic ideas of political parties, schematically presented in Tables 2, 3 and 4 below, follows the classification developed by Oliveira and Onuki (2010), which considers three main features in the distribution of foreign policy issues among Brazilian political parties: common principles, oppositional (right-left) principles and peculiar principles. For this paper, these principles were also classified in order to be dispersed on a left-right *continuum* (SILVA, 2014).

Public Philosophies in Brazilian political parties - The analysis of party programs and presidential candidacy programs verified a set of political ideas and principles that are common to all parties. This was also attested by Oliveira and Onuki (2010) when they analyzed the parties' programs on foreign policy. These authors claim that there is a group of principles of foreign policy that does not vary much between the political parties:

Those parties they share a common vision, the theme of multilateralism and participation in international regimes and organizations, as well as defending the principles enshrined in Brazilian foreign policy. [...] Even more homogeneous is on defending the traditional precepts of Brazilian foreign policy, expressed as a set of general principles such as self-determination, non-interference, sovereignty, disarmament, non-intervention. Even the major political parties of the right and center, as DEM and PMDB, undermine their programs to the defense of these precepts³. (OLIVEIRA; ONUKI, 2010, p 174.).

The analysis of party and presidential candidacy programs show that public philosophies or common principles on Brazilian foreign affairs are highlighted by political parties (see table 2 below). These principles coincide with the constitutional mandatory principles that should govern international relations in Brazil, among them the principle of prioritizing integration with Latin America (Article 4, paragraph, Federal Constitution of 1988). The origin of these parties

³ Translated unofficially from Portuguese.

from the fight for democratization and under the aegis of the Federal Constitution of 1988 may explain the reason for the restatement of the general principles of the Federative Republic of Brazil in their programs. These common principles on foreign policy are higher public philosophies cristalized in the Brazilian political discourse as a whole.

Table 2 – Public Philosophies in Brazilian Political Parties on foreign affairs (left-right)

Principle	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	D
	S	C	S	D	T	P	R	M	S	P	T	R	E	
	O	d	B	T		S		D	D		B	B	M	
	L	o						B	B					
		B												
Defense of the Peace		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	
Self-determination and sovereignty of all nations	X		X	X	X		X		X		X		X	
Priority in Latin America integration		X		X	X		X	X	X		X			
Defense of Human Rights				X	X	X			X	X				
Nuclear Disarmament			X	X		X					X		X	
Greater social participation in foreign policy-making			X			X			X					
Fight against terrorism				X	X				X					

Source: SILVA, 2014.

According to table 2, the more homogeneous principles or philosophies among Brazilian political parties, regardless his position in the left-right continuum, are these:

- a) Defense of the Peace;
- b) Self-determination and non-interference in domestic affair (respect to the sovereignty of all nations).

Some themes are also more dispersed in both fields of left-right spectrum, despite the silence (only apparent) of some major parties programs. They are: nuclear disarmament, defense of Human Rights, prioritary integration with Latin America and the fight against terrorism.

Public Philosophies of Brazilian left-wing parties on Foreign Affairs – The Brazilian left-wing parties are these: PSOL, PSB, PCdoB, PT, PDT, and PPS. PR and PMDB, parties more close to the center of the spectrum (see table 3 below), share many of these principles which are absent in right-wing parties programs:

- a) Independent Foreign Policy (non-alignment), regardless of pressures from hegemonic powers in the international system;
- b) Priority in integration with South America and Mercosur;
- c) A new international financial order
- d) Opposition to the Free Trade Agreement of Americas (FTAA);
- e) Special relations with Africa (except PSOL and PCdoB);
- f) Special relations with BRICS countries (Russia, India, China and South Africa), except PSOL and PCdoB;
- g) Protection of the national development through foreign policy;
- h) Increase of cultural, academic and scientific exchange abroad.

Table 3 – Classification of Brazilian Political Parties (left-right) on Foreign Policy

Principle or Issue	PSOL	PCdoB	PSB	PDT	PT	PPS	PR	PMDB	PSDB	PTB	PP	PRB	DEM
Support to a Latin America Republic Federation	X												
Repudiation of U.S. military interventions	X												
Use of all means for concrete actions against imperialism in the Americas	X												
Internationalization of Class Conflict	X	X											
Control of inflow and outflow of capitals	X	X											
Planned insertion of Brazil in the global world	X	X											
Profiteering and Predatory Capitalist System	X	X	X										
Statization or Nationalization of Strategic Resources and Companies	X	X	X										

Principle or Issue	P S O L	P C o B	P S B	P D T	P T	P P S	P R	P M D B	P S D B	P T B	P P	P R B	D E M
An Latin American alternative to U.S. driven FTAA	X	X	X										
Opposition to FTAA	X	X	X		X								
Defense of the Brazilian sovereignty		X	X										
Defense of the Amazon from its internationalization			X										
Opposition to imperialism/neo-colonialism	X	X		X			X						
Prioritize integration to South America	X	X	X	X	X	X		X					
Independent Foreign Policy	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X					
Special Relations with Argentina	X					X			X				
Prioritize integration to Mercosur		X	X	X	X	X		X					
New international financial order	X	X	X	X		X			X				
Defense of National Development		X				X		X					
Special South-South Relations		X		X	X				X				
Defense of a fairer and multilateral international order		X	X	X	X	X	X			X			
Special Relations with Cuba			X										
Greater role of Brazil in international politics			X		X			X					
Brazil as a permanent member of UNSC			X		X	X							
Greater cultural exchange			X			X							
Greater academic exchange						X							
Greater scientific exchange			X			X							
Regulation of international financial system			X			X							
Fueling exportation of high values aggregated products			X			X							
Special Relations with African Countries			X	X	X	X		X	X				
Reform of multilateral international organisms			X	X	X	X			X				
Reform of UNSC (United Nations Security Council)			X		X	X			X				
Special Relations with China			X		X	X			X				
Special Relations with Russia			X		X	X			X				
Special Relations with India			X		X	X		X	X				

Principle or Issue	PSOL	PCdoB	PSB	PDT	PT	PPS	PR	PMDB	PSDB	PTB	PP	PRB	DEM
Special Relations with South Africa			X		X				X				
Special Relations with African Portuguese-speaking countries			X					X	X				
Reform of International Monetary Fund						X							
Reform of the World Bank						X							
Greater Foreign Office control of international trade						X							
Support to the creation of a Palestinian state						X			X				
End of commercial protectionism in rich countries						X		X	X				
Competitive insertion of Brazil in the global world						X		X		X			
non-ideological foreign policy						X			X				
Greater negotiation for FTAA						X			X				
Broadening bilateral trade agreements						X			X				
Reactivate the Amazonic Cooperation Treaty								X	X				
Lesser Foreign Office control of international trade									X				
Medium role of Brazil in international politics									X				
Prioritize integration with OECD									X				
Prioritize integration with a broad G8 group									X				
Special Relations with Europe									X				
Special Relations with the United States									X				
Special Relations with Japan									X				
Free trade (commercial liberalization)									X	X	X	X	X

Source: SILVA, 2014.

Ideas shared by extreme left-wing parties - PSOL, PSB and PCdoB present (in foreign policy) most of core socialist principles, which distinguish them from more moderate leftist parties such as PT, PDT and PPS. The more extreme left advocates a more radical change based on the ideas of socialism and/or communism. The ideas of the extreme left are:

- a) The internationalization of Class Conflicts;

- b) The state-centered control of the influx and the outflux of capitals;
- c) The state-centered planning of Brazil's insertion in the global world;
- d) Statization and nationalization of strategic resources and companies;
- e) Strong opposition to FTAA, a U.S. initiative;
- f) Forging a new Latin American arrangement for commercial integration to conter FTAA;
- g) Strong opposition to imperialism and neo-colonialism;
- h) The capitalist system is seen as predatory and profitering, exploiting poor countries and avoiding their development.

Ideas of moderate left-wing parties - (PT, PDT, and PPS) share these peculiar ideas:

- a) Greater role of Brazil in big international politics and games;
- b) Reform of international multilateral organisms such as UN, WHO, IMF;
- c) Reform of the United Nations Security Council, claiming a permanent chair to Brazil.

Ideas of center-left parties - In foreign policy, we classify the PMDB and the PR as moderate left but closest to the right parties. These parties are known as swing and office-seeking parties since democratization in the 1980s. In overall politics, PR is usually classified as a right-wing party, but in foreign policy (our matter in this paper), it turns to be more leftist.

The PMDB, known for his centrist position, have a tilt to the left in their party programs. Its principles in foreign policy fall into a tendency to the left, once it claims a competitive insertion of Brazil in globalization and the end of trade protectionism in developed countries in order to facilitate the access of Brazilian products to their domestic markets. These are core ideas of parties on the right, hence the position of the PMDB and PR closest to the center of the political spectrum in foreign policy.

The PR has some principles that would fit in the programs of the left parties, particularly the defense of an independent foreign policy and the end of imperialism/neo-colonialism. PR has also manifested for the end of trade protectionism in rich countries towards a more equal foreign trade.

Ideas of the right-wing parties - the right-wing parties in foreign policy are PSDB, PP, PTB, DEM (PFL), and PRB, once they abide colse by to the liberal philosophy of free trade, and see free market economy as an important vector of foreign policy. Its main feature is the defense of a free trade or free flow of goods and capitals.

The right-wing parties do not state on their programs the defense of an and independent

foreign policy (autonomous to hegemonic countries) that favors south-south economic relations despite of North-South relations. They also does not demand a greater role in international politics for Brazil, not demanding as well (as guiding ideas) the entire reform of the international financial system and international multilateral organizations. Thus, the right wing parties can be grouped by advocating the same philosophies.

Programatic ideas of specific to one political party - Some political parties have in their programs an idea which is not shared by other parties and, therefore, cannot be part of a dualistic categorization on foreign policy. The table 4 below shows these single programatic ideas.

Table 4 – Single Programmatic Ideas of some political parties on foreign policy.

Principle or Issue	P S O L	P C o B	P S B	P D T	P T	P P S	P R	P M D B	P S D B	P P	P T B	P R B	D E M
Special Relations with Amazonic Rim countries	X												
Greater participation of the Congress in Foreign Policy			X										
Fight against Hunger					X								
Free Flow of Labor Force						X							
Defense of the South Atlantic Sea								X					
Participatin in UN Peace Missions abroad									X				
Special Relations with Arabic countries									X				

Source: SILVA, 2014.

Above, table 3 presents that only PSOL advocates the use of any kind of concrete action against imperialist interventions; however, this defense must be undestood through a leftist ideology of struggle against imperialism, both in political and economic sense. Otherwise, the defense of special relationship with the Amazonian countries does not have, essentially, a relationship to the left-right duality programatic layed out in this study.

Political Discourse on the left-right cleavage in the Foreign Affairs Committee in the Brazilian Senate - The political discourse of the senators in CRE marks the partisan cleavages on political ideas about the concepts of left and right. The senators argue matching their speeches to their positions on this *continuum* (SILVA, 2014). In the speech below, Senator Arthur Virgilio (PSDB - AM) speaks with his peers on the left-right cleavage:

Implicitly, nowadays we have our concertación in here. I do not even think of someone here, being oppositional on a different macroeconomic responsibility, fiscal responsibility, and ultimately achieving success in an election. I do not believe in someone here doing so. It's an easy vote, which, in my view, it has become difficult because they do not come. For me, economic stability is not left, not right, not back, is not half a turn, it's no up, not down, is not upside down, is not rolling around, it's no twist; it makes good sense. If John Doe says: I am from the left. So if you are left, you earn five thousand per month and spends eight thousand? Johnny is from right. So just because Johnny is right, he earns five thousand and spends three thousand five hundred? It is such a foolish thing! It seems to me that even certain sectors of the Brazilian society blames the right wing as if the right is the only one responsible and they were not responsible. I do not think so; I think what features - then I'm going to Bobbio - the prospect of someone being of the left, sociologically, would be what to do with the surplus that the economy had generated and not to deal with fiscal irresponsibility or lack of sense and respect for the world around us the issue of macroeconomic policy, the issue of fiscal responsibility. (CRE session, 12/08/2005).⁴

The speech above highlights the ideological divide on macroeconomic issues. The senator argues that there is a set of economic policy measures that were supposed to be taken by either left and right-wing government: fiscal responsibility. The PT government (2003-2012) has not changed much the macroeconomic policies when in office, reducing the differentiation between left and right political parties in 2006, according to public opinion polls (BRAGA; PAIVA; PIMENTEL, 2007). Foreign policy, however, is considered one of the great points of difference between the PT government and previous governments, and presents the speech below:

Senator Cristovam Buarque (PDT - DF): I believe that the only political inflection President Lula did was tipping in foreign policy. The economic policy: he continued, and had to do so. In social policy he was a little more generous, a little no, a much more generous, but he continued. In political capacity, which he used to rally the nation, it is temporary. When he leaves the office, with his geniality, with his charisma, again will emerge conflicts that, today, are softened because unions feel intimidated, students are

⁴ Translated unofficially from Portuguese.

*quiet, intellectuals are silenced, is not it? But this is the result of a temporary reality. I think there was a setback in the Lula Government in relation to the ideological debate, Brazil produces fewer ideas today, there are less ideational debate than before. Now, Brazil had an inflection in my view, a positive one; sorry to use the term left, some will not like it, but this inflection **was** in foreign policy. We've had an inflection. There is a difference in the foreign policy of President Lula to the previous governments. (CRE session, 19/03/2009)⁵.*

In foreign policy, there was a clear position in the speeches of the senators on left-right *contiunnum* about the debate of international issues in the Foreign Affairs Committee (CRE). The main speeches referred to the Brazilian foreign policy towards Latin American countries with radical leftist Latin American governments such as Bolivia (Evo Morales), Venezuela (Hugo Chavez), Ecuador (Rafael Correa), Paraguay (Fernando Lugo), Honduras (Zelaya), Cuba (Fidel and Raul Castro). The rightist senators PSDB, and even senators from the center-left (PR and PMDB) preached for closer ties of the Brazilian government to governments in the moderate and democratic left, as Chile (Michelle Bachelet) and Peru (Ollanta Humala), and right-wing governments such as Mexico, Costa Rica, and Panama (SILVA, 2014). Right-wing senators complain the excessive close relations to socialist governments in Latin America. In the name of friendship between Presidents of the Republic, that said that the government would be leaving the national interest of Brazil behind. These debates surfaced many times: the statization and nationalization of the Petrobras-operated gas fields by Bolivian President Evo Morales; the moratorium that the Ecuadorian government wanted to impose the Brazilian Development Bank (BNDES); the renegotiation of the Paraguayan share value of the electricity produced by binational Itaipu Dam which is sold to Brazil; the support given by the President of Brazil to ousted Honduran socialist President who became a refugee at the embassy of Brazil, and the President Lula's friendship with the Cuban government and with the President of Venezuela. There is also a consensus among the right wing senators about the exclusive focus on the South-South relations at the expense of trade gains that would be obtained in North-South relations (especially the United States).

⁵ Translated unofficially from Portuguese.

Specific Ideas of the Brazilian Senators in the Foreign Affairs Committee (CRE)

– In this paper, the specific ideas represent the ideas of each Senator on international issues or bills which are the subject of political discourse in a legislative body, such as the Foreign Affairs Committee. Specific ideas are first level because they are presented in political discourse, descendants of programmatic ideas and public philosophies which compose the political discourse of each individual. It is the discursive exchange within a legislative institutions. According to Charaudeau, within political institutions the word turns into political action. However, any study based on discursive institutionalism can emphasize any of those levels of generality of ideas (SCHMIDT, 2008). In here, the emphasis is on programmatic ideas of political parties represented in the Foreign Affairs Committee (CRE) and the specific political ideas of the senators in that committee. It is merely a model that does not accurately portray the reality, but that approaches it, striving to explain it in more theoretical terms, especially in this case, where the distinction between parties of the right and left on policy external lacks a thorough study and a model.

The senators have used the political discourse in the CRE to expose their programmatic philosophies and their own political ideas according to their partisan ties. The hypothesis that party affiliation is an important variable for parliamentary speech was fulfilled and confirmed. To verify this proposition, the speeches of the senators were analyzed during the Committee on Foreign Relations sessions, and the units of texts (excerpts) that expressed their views on foreign policy issues were extracted and checked to the main question of the research: if there was a partisan and ideological divide about the ideas contained in these excerpts. The methodology tools were provided from *textual discourse analysis* (TDA).

Textual Discourse Analysis consists of textual verification through three steps: unitarization, categorization and communication, presenting itself as the most appropriate for the analysis of texts that are discursively elaborated, such as the shorthand notes of the Foreign Affairs Committee meetings. Based on this method, the whole texts of speeches are broken down into sub-units of analysis, cataloged, categorized, interpreted, and finally reunited again into a new ideas melted text, now denominated as *metatext*. After extracting texts of the new political ideas of senators and classifying them, the next step is the

association of related ideas and policy ideas and for each senator within the categories of analysis (left-right dualistic continuum of political parties' public philosophies in this case) which will give answers to the hypotheses raised beforehand. Textual analysis is a qualitative method of collecting relevant data from a text or set of texts, through the intervention and interpretation of an investigator-reader. In speech analysis, the texts are its unit of analysis. It is from them that this research was built.

Firstly, the discursive ideas presented by the senators in the committee meetings were categorized in main sub-themes or issues. These subthemes were followed by the committee into three periods, each with its own characteristics:

- 1) *Honeymoon or First Period*, from 2003 to 2005 - This phase lasted until March 2006 and was characterized by a more mild and conciliatory political discourse. In this period of political tolerance in the CRE, senators' ideological positions on foreign policy, especially in the hearings of Minister of Foreign Affairs Celso Amorim, reinforced by discourses on the Minister approval or disapproval in conducting Brazilian foreign policy. However, there was not a fierce and obstructionist opposition, as would occur in the next phase, starting in 2006.
- 2) *Dissent or Second Period*, from 2006 to 2010. The end of the honeymoon period was caused by differing political views on issues of foreign policy in relation to neighboring Latin government which situated themselves more to the left in their foreign affairs. They were Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador, Cuba, and Honduras. Senators spoke more ideologically in this period, approaching to their parties' programmatic ideas, and making use of more fiery speeches and institutional measures of legislative obstruction, such as requests for views to controversial bills, requests for public hearings of ministers and ambassadors, and public motions against official and foreign authorities. There was also a strong demarcation in political discourse about government and opposition divide, and between parties of the right and of the left. This antagonism has grown since 2006, reaching its highest point in 2009 and early 2010 with the political discourse about the controversial accession of Venezuela to Mercosur.
- 3) *Oppositional Parties' Twilight or Third Period*, from 2011 to 2012. The general

elections of 2010 in Brazil had as its main characteristic the relative reduction of the oppositional chairs in the Senate and, consequently, in the standing committees. The CRE, which had nine oppositional senators from the 19 committee chairs until 2010, had only four senators in 2011 and 2012. That decrease was accompanied by a reduction of discursive interventions from oppositional senators, as seen in the second period. This period was characterized by instructive public hearings on more general and issues of foreign policy, unlike the previous period, in which they referred to most controversial and contested issues. Notwithstanding being the first term in office for President Dilma Rousseff (PT), this period cannot be characterized as honeymoon owing to the high absence of the few oppositioners in the meetings leading to few discursive interventions.

Secondly, the discursive participation of senators in CRE is verified as an tool or indicator to assess the exchange of ideas through political discourse through the analysis of their speeches. *Discursive participation* is the parliamentary discursive intervention in a public session. However, it should be considered a discursive intervention any verbal presentation by the Parliamentary about any topic. There are, however, situations where there is not necessarily an ideational political discourse. The role of presenting the topics that will be object of political discourse are not yet part of the discussion, and the presentation of agenda items or reading a report, opinion or message from the President of the Republic, for example. In general, readings are discussed or not. The chairman of the committee organizes and orders the work of the meeting, taking the floor and presenting the meeting agenda. It is his decision to authorize the inclusion of new topics as well as control the discursive environment and the property of discursive interventions. The rapporteur, after reading her report, she has the right to make a defense of her opinion, ie, defending the report. This happens after the reading and when the President declares that the matter is under discussion. There being no discussion or after it is closed for further discussion, proceed to roll call or symbolic voting. Therefore, the reading of the report was not considered in this work as a discursive intervention; only his defense by the rapporteur. Similarly, the discourse supervision role of the committee chairman was not considered as discursive intervention,

since his function is to order the sequence of discussions, the matters and the bills under consideration, allow speaking time, decide on rule orders etc. There was no relevant discursive intervention of the senators when they occupied the presidency of their sessions, because their function was to mediate the political discourse in the committee meeting.

The discursive intervention of a senator was considered only as *absent* or *present*. For assessing the presence of discursive interventions of a senator, was added 0 (zero) when there was no intervention in the session from an individual in one singular session, and was added 1 (one) when there was any number of interventions.

$$\%RDI = \frac{\sum di}{PSpt} \times 100\%$$

In which:

%RDI = Rate of Discursive Intervention

$\sum di$ = sum of discursive interventions (0 = absent; 1 = present)

Ppst = Presence in public sessions total

Only 27 senators had metatexts long, clear and discursively relevant to permit inferences on their political ideas. The rates of discursive interventions were unequal among the senators in CRE. Only a portion of the members of the CRE actively participate in the political discourse on foreign policy. Holbert Carroll (1966) analyzed the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives of the United States and found that there is a formal committee and an efficient committee. Formal refers to the set of all members of the committee, with equal participation rights. Efficient refers to the smallest set of senators who really participate. The Brazilian Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate also has its "efficient" commission when it comes to spoken participation in the political discourse. During the period under analysis (2003-2012), only 27 senators have spoken in order to enable the development of a metatext to cover, at least two political ideas in a political speech. Only 14 Senate had a level of discourse intervention above 50%, with a rate of presence above 50% as well. These senators showed higher interest in the committee's

discourse attending hearings, scrutiny of ambassadors and intervening in most political speeches on foreign policy. Seven senators were quite active discursively and could be considered as the *efficient* commission, according to the attendance rate and to the rate of discursive intervention, associated with discursive textual analysis metatexts. These are the efficient senators:

- a) Eduardo Suplicy (PT);
- b) Eduardo Azeredo (PSDB);
- c) Pedro Simon (PMDB);
- d) Cristovam Buarque (PT/PDT);
- e) Arthur Virgílio (PSDB);
- f) Jéfferson Péres (PDT);
- g) Fernando Collor (PTB).

Even though it was possible to verify the existence of the *efficient* commission, one could not conclude, however, that senators with low or no discursive participation were free riders, because the CRE is only a small discursive locus within a large system of various legislative bodies that are discursive institutions. As each senator participates in several of those Congress organs (three standing committees as member, deputy member of more three committees, sub-committees, special committees and floor meetings of leadership etc.), a much larger study would be needed to verify if the not-efficient senators in the CRE act the same way in other discursive institutions inside the Senate. One could only say that there is a small portion of participating members and a large majority whose participation is very small or even absent, as already observed in studies of committees in the U.S. Congress (CARROLL, 1966; HALL, 1996). Mancur Olson (1999) also states that individuals who are part of the same organization choose not to participate when they realize their intervention will not be important for the final result (outcomes) or they will enjoy the same outcomes of those who had an active participation. However, the legislator who does not participate in any of the discursive discursive bodies is not doing an important part of his job, once the political discourse is essential to produce political action. Moreover, discursive participation is necessary for congressmen and congresswomen to disseminate their ideas and

achievements in legislative and in the constituency instances, through the media, for example. Furthermore, senators select the topics and committees in which they should actively participate and will focus their legislative efforts where they can get greater gains to show to the political party, to the government or to the constituency. Only were analyzed the coordinative discourse, which takes place between individuals who actually develop and justify political action, creating laws and policies.

Only a part of the senators, who Carroll called as "core members", presented his ideas in political discourse that enabled the development of a metatext. Analyzing their ideas through their metatexts and their political party's programmatic ideas, the conclusion was that, in general, senators followed their party ideas. So, their specific ideas are congruent to the public philosophies and programmatic ideas of their own political party and its position in the left-right *continuum*. From the 27 metatexts, only two senators have strayed from their party programs on foreign policy: Jarbas Vasconcelos (PMDB) and Jéfferson Péres (PDT). Their ideas were located more to the right off the position of their respective parties in the continuum, and they featured a more independent and confrontational position to the government. Those two senators were very critical of the Worker's Party "ideological" foreign policy, in the sense that she is guided by principles from socialism or left, especially against the cozy relations with more extreme socialist Latin American countries, while for the rest of the leftist senators on foreign policy those relations only reflected the emphasis of the Worker's Party government towards social policies in domestic and in foreign policy.

The New Foreign Policy of the Worker's Party, enacted by President Lula and President Dilma Rousseff, was explicated in hearings of their respective Ministers of Foreign Affairs in the committee, at the beginning of their term. The President Lula's Foreign Affairs Minister, Celso Amorim, told the senators that would be undertaken a humanist foreign policy which emphasis should be social issues, alongside a focus on the economic development of the country through a *social* foreign policy. The greater weight of social issues in foreign policy is a reflection of the Lula's new social policies since 2003, as the Fome Zero (Zero Hunger) and Bolsa Familia, which had international repercussions. The emphasis on the social aspect in foreign policy is considered more ideological than

pragmatic by oppositional senators. Antonio Patriota, Foreign Affairs Minister of President Dilma Rousseff, called the foreign policy *a good mix of pragmatism and idealism*. Following the standards of a *humanist* foreign policy, the social aspect becomes as important as the economic aspect, placed side by side, on the same plane.

Conclusion

Political discourse can be assessed by new institutionalists in Political Science adding analyses of ideas and discourse to broaden the understanding of preferences, path dependence and social norms. Political institutions rules are structured to harness political action through discourse. The rate of discursive intervention is a good indicator to evaluate and value the participation of legislators in the discourse of political ideas. From ideas institutions are designed and for ideas they enable discourse (politics) to achieve action (policies). So, from institutional-discursive analysis, the Brazilian Senate was structured that way and the political discourse taking place within it, such as in the Foreign Affairs Committee, can analyze their congruence to public philosophies and programmatic political ideas to specific and individual political ideas of the politicians.

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