LATIN AMERICA THOUGHT BY LATIN AMERICAN PARTIES: ANALYSIS OF THE FOREIGN POLICY PROGRAM IN THE PLATFORM OF THE MAIN POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE REGION

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The countries’ foreign policy is influenced by the political positioning of their heads of state and can sometimes be directly aligned with the party program of the political group it represents. This article aims to analyze the programmatic platform of the main political parties from eight Latin American countries in order to identify if there is a program of international politics and foreign policy, especially toward this region. We have the hypothesis that there are few parties that have this concern and they are often part of the government. At the end of the research we hope to find guidelines that point the foreign policy of the parties in Latin America to understand their motivations and strategic purposes in the region, with a broad approach and innovative in design literature regional international policy that allows the understanding of state action according to the internal political arrangements of each nation.

Key words: Politics Parties, Foreign Policy, Latin America

1. INTRODUCTION

This research aims to analyze the party program of the ruling party and the main opposition opposition in eight Latin American countries: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela, to verify whether such parties have in its program actions for the formulation of foreign policy of the countries in which they operate, especially with regard to the pro Latin America policy.

These states were chosen because they are countries that have undergone democratic transitions, and in which you observe a cycle complexity
of the decision making of foreign policy, with a share of some new national political sectors, as the case of some parties.

To do the research met the 16 programs selected or used the information on their principles of operation of these parties when their programs were not available. Supporters of programs focused on the analysis of items dedicated to international politics of each country.

The hypothesis is crafted that parties have little or no action in relation to foreign policy in each country, and those who come closest to this theme are the parties of the situation by having an urgent need to develop national foreign policy.

The first chapter presents an overview of the relationship of Latin American parties with the foreign policy of each country and its importance in engaging with this theme. The second chapter presents which are analyzed parties and their programs, with some data identified by observation of each party programs.

The third chapter provides an analysis of the context presented in the previous chapters and clarifies the questions presented, introducing new considerations about the topic and questions to be addressed in-depth in other papers.

2. PARTIES AND FOREIGN POLICY IN LATIN AMERICA

The construction of democratic regimes implemented in Latin America’s recent and constant, and these countries have worked both in the construction and consolidation of its foreign policy, seeking mechanisms of international integration in the new world order emerged from the 90s, there are often similarities in their behavior, but following particular strategies of each state and result in internal political disputes.

As pointed out by Sanz and Farm (2013) the Latin American countries developed their integration strategies to overcome the various economic crises that had to overcome, creating a complex interaction with the international system, although influence it still remains on the margins of main agenda.
This situation leads these countries to reformulate their actions in foreign policy through analyzes that consider both its position in the international arena, as the internal processes that result in household decisions.

In this context, it is essential to understand the relevance of political parties as formulators and articulators of domestic interests for the development of foreign policy of the countries in which they operate. Fearon (1998) explains the importance of internal actors in the construction of the foreign policy of a state depends on the theoretical framework used in the analysis.

If a systemic political theory which considers the state a unitary and rational institution as realistic theories point is used, the importance of domestic actors (in this case the parties) will be almost nil. However, to make use of if a domestic political theory, the domestic environment becomes more important (Fearon, 1998 p. 13-16).

Despite the consideration Fearon, Van Klaveren (2011) will be more direct when talking about the importance of the domestic structure in influencing the formulation of foreign policy, saying that apart from some extreme cases of regime change, it is obvious that the domestic political context has significant impact on its foreign policy.

The statement Klaveren is made to analyze the political regime of a state and its relationship with the foreign policy of the same, but we can apply it to other situations in which the author presents in the text, including with regard to partisan activities and strengthen its importance in influencing state policies.

Klaveren (2011) continues the discussion from the perspective of domestic sources and foreign policy comes about parties, our focus in this work, and claims that it has actively intervened in several issues of foreign policy in Latin American countries, including establishing links with brothers, ie parties that share their ideological agendas and often make parts of international networks of parties with close political orientation.

Ribeiro (2012) agree with the statement Klaveren (2011), endorsing in the literature, which he has empirical examples of the influence of political parties on foreign policy issues, running its operations through various institutional mechanisms.
On the other hand, it is perceived in Latin American literature the feeling of lack of interest by the party groups, mainly the little electoral return that this topic brings to the political actors involved (Ribeiro 2012, p. 15-16).

This debate is complex because there are few initiatives party rule in relation to issues of foreign policy of the Latin countries. However, this does not mean that they do not have a program for this theme and is crafted of less obvious way to civil society and, sometimes, the political actors.

Paulo Roberto de Almeida (1986) to talk about the role of parties in international relations of Brazil from 1946 to 1990 states that when dealing with foreign policy, the parties that have a foreign policy typically work by the same general lines in relation to international or a reassertion of national reality.

We should note that political parties themselves do not have a foreign policy, but guiding ideological viewpoints of their party programs (ALMEIDA, 1986, p. 162) and defense that make ideal sites for a good administration of public interests.

Besides the importance that parties give to foreign policy issues, another factor to be analyzed on its influence in the formulation of this is the institutional relationship that gives each state the same and openness to external actors.

As pointed out by Sanz and Farm (2013), in Brazil, for example, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Foreign Ministry, Relationships have considerable autonomy in drafting foreign policy and strong interdependency with the ruling party.

This relationship brings the party with international agendas, but may deviate from other parties that are not directly related to government, especially the lack of openness on the part of the situation and the distancing of international relations.

Having made these considerations on the relationship of the parties and foreign policy of the countries of Latin America, we look a little closer at the reality of the major parties in some countries of Latin America. The next chapter will present the parties of the chosen countries and the characteristics of their party programs.

3. PARTIES AND FOREIGN POLICY PROGRAM
As stated in the introduction, this paper will analyze the party program of the two major parties, the situation and the main opposition, eight Latin American countries: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela. The following table shows the parties have chosen from each country and the time that they remained in power.

These data are interesting to better understand the current foreign policy of the countries of the study, they reflect how much each party displayed can influence foreign policy that developed in these states.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>GOVERNMENT PARTY</th>
<th>TIME AT GOVERNMENT</th>
<th>OPPOSITION PARTY</th>
<th>LAST TIME AT GOVERNMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>Partido Justicialista (PJ)</td>
<td>2001 - today</td>
<td>Union Cívica Radical (UCR)</td>
<td>1999 - 2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT)</td>
<td>2003 - today</td>
<td>Partido da Social Democracia do Brasil (PSDB)</td>
<td>1995 - 2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>Partido Socialista do Chile (PSC)</td>
<td>2014 - today</td>
<td>Renovacion Nacional (RN)</td>
<td>2010 - 2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI)</td>
<td>2012 - today</td>
<td>Partido de la Accion Nacional (PAN)</td>
<td>2006 - 2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraguay</td>
<td>Partido Liberal Radical Autentico (PLRA)</td>
<td>2013 - today</td>
<td>Asociacion Nacional Republicana (ANRP)</td>
<td>1993 - 2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>Partido Nacionalista Peruano (PNP)</td>
<td>2011 - today</td>
<td>Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (APRA)</td>
<td>2010 - 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uruguay</td>
<td>Frente Amplio (FA)</td>
<td>2005 - today</td>
<td>Partido Colorado (PC)</td>
<td>1995- 2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venezuela</td>
<td>Partido Socialista Unido de Venezuela (PSUV)</td>
<td>1999 - today</td>
<td>Accion Democratica (AD)</td>
<td>1984 - 1994</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: own elaboration
As we can see in the table, the majority of countries have submitted parties in power with political orientation among the more moderate center-left radical, which enhances the possibility of convergence to the formulation of foreign policies with strategies similar international participation and that integrate understanding of what is Latin America and the feeling of belonging among the states in the region.

According to Oliveira (2011, p. 219), among the left parties of the region resemble party programs, mostly within the social democratic ideology and little adherence to neoliberal thinking, moving away from the principles and proposals launched by Consensus Washington, for example.

Parties analyzed, 13 had a partisan program presented in document form to approach the main topics of debate in their countries, not being found equivalent documents of the PLRA and PC, parties of Paraguay and Uruguay, respectively. The analysis of these two countries were made through the statements of vision, purpose and actions presented on their websites, where available.

The following are the main features of the programs for foreign policy 16 parties selected for this research, noting its key strategic objectives and international interests.

Parties analyzed, only 3 did not show in their specific to talk about his foreign policy vision for the country topical programs, the National Acciona, the Colorado Party and the Democratic party Accion, Mexico, Uruguay and Venezuela, respectively Party.

The Justicialist Party was analyzed by Peronist Doctrine Document 1947, created based on the speeches Juan Peron, Argentine general and statesman, founder of this movement. The development of the text cites some positions on foreign policy, but it is the last topic that the subject is detailed and is dedicated to treat this on the guidelines to be followed for the development of Argentine policy.

The ideas presented in the paper are rather generalized, focusing on affirming the essentiality to defend national sovereignty, but without joining the armed conflict, but rather to promote overall good relationship and peace between nations. Peronists views on the structure of the global order and what Argentina's position in this context are also described.
For the analysis of the Radical Civic Union, an opposition party in Argentina program were considered the programmatic basis of the 2011 election, which consists of 3 documents with specific themes appearing early in the first of these proposals for action in relation the international politics of the country.

Are dealt with topics ranging from the solution of the conflict for the possession of the Falkland Islands to relations with the various regions of the planet, including the most distant as the Middle East and Asia. The topics are quite objective and address the most current schedules in the country's foreign policy, one should probably be the feature of a document for elections approaching.

The analysis of the Workers Party, the situation in the Brazilian government, was done with the program prepared for the elections to be held in 2014 to design guidelines for the next mandate. The program has 17 pages, devoted a page and a half to talk about Brazil's position on the international scene and the outline of operation of foreign policy.

The Social Democratic Party of Brazil has a party program with a structure similar to that shown by the PT, talking broadly about their agenda of partisan activity. With regard to international politics, the program identifies potential of the country internationally and makes some criticisms of the administration by the government of the ruling party.

The National Renovacion Chile presents their political program through a declaration of principles, where the topic of international politics is the penultimate point. RN speaks of the general lines of action of the country at the international level, emphasizing the need to project the country as peaceful and defend their interests in Antarctica.

The Socialist Party of Chile, opposition of the current government, presents in its 1990 statement of principles, the defense of socialism as an alternative to that country and describes how it has worked and their aspirations in the Chilean social organization.

The final part of the paper presents broadly the vision that has over socialism in the international arena, arguing that the Chilean socialism is integrated into the worldwide movement that, according to the statement, is responsible for assisting in reducing the gap between rich and poor. From this
perspective highlights its commitment to the Hispanic ideal as a source of strengthening the continent.

The program shares the Institutional Revolutionary Party, the situation in Mexico has a very thorough presentation of its position in relation to the objectives of the country in the international field. In the text there are arguments that the country has a vocation for leadership in the internationally important topics, but these topics are not cited.

The program features a pro schedule Latin America and the Caribbean, emphasizing the need to increase the rapprochement between the countries of the region and their cooperation for the integration since the infrastructure to communications and education.

The Accion National Party presents its guidelines for a program of actions in 2002, however no points in its guidelines no discussion on the topic of Mexican foreign policy.

The Asociacion Nacional Republican, known as Colorado Party in Paraguay, has a statement of principles and party program in 1967 which outlines the guidelines of the international performance of the country. The points made in this program are very broad and focus on defending the country should maintain good relations with other countries, especially with neighboring countries.

The opposition in Paraguay is represented by Auténtico Radical Liberal Party, which is not disclosed on its website a program or mission statement. Noting the historical section of the party site and is apparently the biggest concern with the internal politics of the country and improvement of social conditions of citizens (PLRA, sd).

The advantage of the situation in Peru is the Peruvian Nationalist Party, which describes in his status (2010) its principles of operation. In many parts of the developing text examples of how the party views the international insertion of Peru are cited. The statute makes clear the position of the party on defense integration among Latin American countries and cooperation to create unique alternatives for the development and flight of imperialism of the capitalist countries (PNP, 2010).

The Peruvian APRA Party is the opposition in the country and presents a plan for government putting integration as mainstreamed. The proposals were
created for the 2011 elections and outlines actions as progress in relations with Brazil and deepening intra Andean Community (CAN) block integration to strengthen their contact with the countries of South America.

The Frente Amplio party government in Uruguay presents a detailed party program its Base Program (2014). This document last topic is dedicated to address the Uruguayan international politics and features the country’s position in the global context, the conditions for international integration and the strategic objectives of its foreign policy.

The theme of greatest importance to the country according to the FA's regional integration, being seen as a condition for increasing their representation at international level. The actions presented are focused on active participation within the Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR) and other regional organizations such as the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR) and the Latin American Integration Association (LAIA), for example (FA, 2014 , p. 187-208).

The Uruguayan Colorado Party lies in the opposition of the current government and is running for the elections. However, this is not available on its website a supporter and proposals for its presidential candidate program are not included in policies for the foreign relations of Uruguay.

In Venezuela, the United Socialist Party of Venezuela presents its position through the government program presented by the current president for the election campaign of 2013. The program includes various proposals for internationally, being seconded to the project Latin American integration to strengthen region.

Item IV of the party program is composed of the strategic objectives in the international field and supports the strengthening of relations between economic blocs in the region and the interaction between Venezuela and the countries of Latin America. All proposals for strengthening direct this against external imperialism called on the countries of the sub region.

For Democratic Accion opposition party in Venezuela, the document Plan de Barranquilla 1931 that displays the lines of principles for the performance of this partisan group was used. Probably because it is an ancient document, the points do not address international treaties and policies are geared towards
As noted in the presentation of the previous chapter, the average of the parties put in their programs only considerations of foreign policy who advocate for their country, talking, mostly about national position in the international context and the potential for broad and shallow way.

The UCR party, the PRI, PAP, FA and the PSUV, Argentina, Mexico, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela, respectively, are the ones that have more detailed designs with a clear vision of what should be the foreign policy in their countries, discoursing on the relationship with international organizations, regional integration to the relationship with other regions of the planet.

These parties have a proper understanding of what is Latin America, ranging in intensity in advocating the integration of the countries of the region, but all agree that the union of these nations is the best way to increase the bargaining power of its interests in the scenario international. This integration is done mainly by strengthening the various international organizations existing highlighting the MERCOSUR, LAIA, the CELAC and UNASUR.

As seen in the majority of the parties analyzed program, these people draw a Latin America with similar cultural ties and that should work mutually to confront the external challenges, especially in regard to economic development and overcoming differences between the northern states and South

At the beginning of this work some hypotheses that have proven parts were presented. The number of parties with proposals for international politics is large relative to the total, being present in almost everyone, even if superficial guidelines are presented in most cases.

Regarding the existence of a foreign policy towards Latin America, we find that there are few parties that focus on this topic, being more present among the parties with socialist programs and guided by a pro Americanism ideology.

Another possibility raised was that parties with a better developed thinking on foreign policy would be those that are part of government. However,
it is not possible to make such a statement, with cases of parties with very detailed about foreign policy and that are part of government programs such as the case of the Frente Amplio in Uruguay while other programs well developed by opposition parties as the case of the UCR in Argentina.

An interesting fact to note is that in most cases the parties with a well developed and comprehensive program, not only for international politics, but all the themes that comes, are those designed for use in election campaigns, serving as arguments for choice of candidates who defend them.

Overall, we note the program that the parties studied foreign policy is putting a theme on the sidelines of many others considered more important and urgent for the nations, reinforcing the arguments of Ribeiro (2012) and Almeida (1986), cited earlier.

This vacuum extends the vision of Latin America, with few parties that are working to support and strengthen the idea of nations with a source and a single destination, often described for the countries of Latin America and usually associated with ideologies with bases at leftists projects.

Thus International Relations in Latin America have a large area to develop studies, and may help particularly in understanding how the nations of the subcontinent can leverage its regional context to overcome the challenges of the new world order.

4. REFERENCES


