



Revista Moldovenească de Drept Internațional și Relații Internaționale /
Moldavian Journal of International Law and International Relations /
Молдавский журнал международного права и международных отношений

2016, Issue 1, Volume 11, Pages 54-66.

ISSN 1857-1999

Submitted: 16. 01. 2016 | Accepted: 15.02. 2016 | Published: 30.03. 2016

**TRIBUNA TÎNĂRULUI CERCETĂTOR
THE TRIBUNE OF YOUNG SCIENTISTS
ТРИБУНА МОЛОДЫХ УЧЕНЫХ**

DILMA ROUSSEFF - THE CHALLENGES OF CURRENT BRAZILIAN POLICY

ДИЛЬМА РУСЕФ И ВЫЗОВЫ НЫНЕШНЕЙ БРАЗИЛЬСКОЙ ПОЛИТИКИ

DILMA ROUSSEFF ȘI PROVOCĂRILE LEGATE DE NOUA POLITICA BRAZILIANĂ

JANUBOVÁ Barbora* / JANUBOVÁ Barbora / ЯНУБОВА Барбора

ABSTRACT:

DILMA ROUSSEFF - THE CHALLENGES OF CURRENT BRAZILIAN POLICY

Brazil as an emerging power plays an important role in world policy. Dilma Rousseff, the current President of Brazil, belongs to the most powerful women in the world. She replaces Ignázio Lula da Silva, one of the significant Brazilian politicians. Dilma's policy varies from Lula's in some fields. A good example is the foreign policy which has been changed. In contrast, the social policy remains consistent. The article deals with the above mentioned policies after Dilma's inauguration.

The paper also elucidates early life, political career and presidential campaigns of Dilma. The aim of article is to evaluate the priorities of the current Brazilian policy and the changes implemented during Dilma's administration.

Key words: Dilma Rousseff, Brazil, Foreign Policy, Social policy. Petrobras scandal.

JEL Classification: F29, K33, K39.

РЕЗЮМЕ:

ДИЛЬМА РУСЕФ И ВЫЗОВЫ НЫНЕШНЕЙ БРАЗИЛЬСКОЙ ПОЛИТИКИ

Бразилия, как зарождающаяся сила, играет важную роль в мировой политике. Дилма Руссефф, нынешний президент Бразилии, принадлежит к числу самых влиятельных женщин в мире. Она заменила Игнацио Лула да Силва, одного из показательных бразильских политиков. Политика Дилмы Рессефф варьирует от политики Лулы в некоторых областях. Хорошим примером является внешняя политика, которая была изменена. В отличие от этого, социальная политика остаётся неизменной.

В статье рассматриваются вышеупомянутая политика после инаугурации Дилмы. В статье также анализируются годы ранней жизни, политическая карьера и президентские кампании Дилмы.

Цель статьи состоит в том, чтобы оценить приоритеты нынешней бразильской политики и изменения, внесенные во время правления Дилмы Руссефф.

* **JANUBOVA Barbora** - Doctorand, Catedra Relații Economice Internaționale și Diplomație Economică, Facultatea Relații Internaționale, Universitatea Economică din Bratislava (Bratislava, Republica Slovacă). / **JANUBOVA Barbora** - PhD student, Department of International Economic Relations and Economic Diplomacy, The Faculty of International Relations at the University of Economics in Bratislava (Bratislava, The Republik of Slovakia). / **ЯНУБОВА Барбора** - Аспирант, Кафедра международных экономических отношений и экономической дипломатии, Факультет международных отношений Экономического университета в Братиславе (Братислава, Словацкая Республика).

Ключевые слова: Дилма Руссефф, Бразилия, внешняя политика, социальная политика, скандал в Петробразе.

JEL Classification: F29, K33, K39.

УДК: 327.39, 341.222.6, 341.223.7.

REZUMAT:

DILMA ROUSSEFF ȘI PROVOCĂRILE LEGATE DE NOUA POLITICA BRAZILIANĂ

Brazilia ca putere emergentă joacă un rol important în politica mondială. Dilma Rousseff, actualul președinte al Braziliei, face parte din cele mai puternice femei din lume. Ea i-l înlocuiește pe Ignazio Lula da Silva, unul dintre politicienii brazilieni semnificanți. Politica Dilmei Rousseff variază de la politica lui Lula în unele domenii. Un bun exemplu este politica externă, care a fost modificată. În contrast, politica socială rămâne consecventă.

Articolul studiază politicile menționate mai sus, inițiate după inaugurarea Dilmei. În articol se elucidează, de asemenea, viața timpurie, cariera politică și campaniile prezidențiale ale Dilmei. Scopul articolului este de a evalua prioritățile politicii braziliene curente și schimbările implementate în timpul administrării Dilmei Rousseff.

Cuvinte cheie: Dilma Rousseff, Brazilia, politică externă, politică socială, scandal Petrobras.

JEL Classification: F29, K33, K39.

CZU: 327.39, 341.222.6, 341.223.7.

Introduction

Dilma Rousseff, the current president of Brazil, belongs to the most powerful women in the world. In January 2015 she became the Brazilian president for the second time after winning the second round of the election with 51.6%¹ in contrast to the candidate Aécio Neves da Cunha with 48.4%¹. In recent years Dilma has belonged to the most powerful women in the world. In 2015 she was ranked seventh in Forbes list.² Dilma has been also awarded by a Woodrow Wilson Public Service Award on 20th September 2011³.

Brazil as an emerging power plays a significant role in world policy. Thus is important to observe a change of the foreign policy during Dilma's presidency. Brazil has become a new

leader among developing countries in Latin American region. With regards to the South-South cooperation Brazil is an active member of BRICS and also is one of the four countries trying to reform the Security Council structure. The social policy of Dilma is a basic pillar of her agenda. As a member of the Workers' Party she follows Lula and supports the social programmes introduced during his presidential terms (2003-2010).

Dilma Rousseff, a successor of Lula, has a difficult position as politician because her predecessor was one of the most favourite and successful Presidents of Brazil. Moreover Dilma has faced Petrobras scandal after first months of her second inauguration.

The paper focus on Dilma's development into a great politician and on the above mentioned fields of her current policy. The article also deals with the Petrobras scandal, one of the biggest scandals connected with corruption of politicians in the last years. Brazilian Presidents are referred by first names as Brazilians commonly refers to all politicians.

Early life

Dilma Rousseff, in full Dilma Vana Rousseff, was born on 14 December 1947⁴ in Belo

¹ BBC News. Dilma Rousseff: Brazil's 'Iron Lady'. [On-line]: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-11446466> (Visited on: 03.01.2016).

² Forbes. The World's Most Powerful Women 2015. [On-line]: <http://www.forbes.com/sites/carolinehoward/2015/05/26/the-worlds-most-powerful-women-2015> (Visited on: 03.01.2016).

³ Wilson Center. Brazilian President Dilma Rousseff Receives Woodrow Wilson Award for Public Service. [On-line]: <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/brazilian-president-dilma-rousseff-receives-woodrow-wilson-award-for-public-service#sthash.2Rbx9b3p.dpuf> (Visited on: 03.01.2016).

⁴ Palácio do Planalto. Presidência da República. Biografia da presidenta Dilma Rousseff. [On-line]:

Horizonte, Minas Gerais. Dilma is daughter of Brazilian teacher Dilma Jane da Silva and the lawyer Pétr Rúsev. Her father immigrated from Bulgaria from political reason. As an active member of Bulgarian Communist Party he had to escape and leave his homeland. Finally he settled down in Brazil and worked as a contractor and businessman. He adopted Portuguese-French form of his name, namely Pedro Rousseff. Dilma has two siblings and one step-brother from the first father's marriage. Dilma's family living in the richest areas of Brazil belonged to upper-middle class. Hence Dilma had an opportunity to study at elite schools.

Dilma began to study at Colégio Nossa Senhora de Sio. At the age of 16 she continued her studies at the Central State High School where Dilma realised the political situation in her country. Gradually she joined the Worker's Politics POLOP⁵ and later the Command of National Liberation COLINA⁶ whose leader was teacher of Dilma at high school. During her activism in COLINA she met the journalist Cláudio Galeno Linhares and married him in 1968⁷. As a member of the left wing movements "she took to the streets to protest against the military coup that ousted elected president João Goulart and participated in the organized resistance against the dictatorship"⁸. The police arrested some of the members of COLINA. Under these circumstances Dilma and Galeno was sent by COLINA to Rio de Janeiro and consequently the organization ordered Galeno to move to Porto Alegre. During Dilma's work for organisation in Rio, she met lawyer from Rio Grande do Sul Carlos Franklin Paixão de Araújo⁹ whom Dilma married after divorce with Galeno. Paixão de Araújo as head of a dissident group of the Brazilian Communist Party- PCB¹⁰ tried to

merge his organization with COLINA and Popular Revolutionary Vanguard - VPR¹¹. As a result new organization Revolutionary Armed Vanguard Palmares - VAR Palmares¹² was established. On one hand VAR Palmares worked without problems but it did not manage to maintain its unity. Opinion differences between two groups led to many disputes. The first group wanted to act directly with the help of weapons and via violence. On the other hand the second group, including Dilma, tried to work with masses in order to reach support of people. Eventually mentioned parts were divided and Dilma's wing continued its operation as VAR Palmares.

As a member of the left wing movements she risked her own safety. When she arrived unexpectedly during police intervention because of another member of left-wing movements, Dilma was also arrested because she was armed. Subsequently she was imprisoned and tortured. Despite of inhuman treatment she did not disclose the names and the shelters of her allies. She was held in prison for almost three years¹³ and as she said „the suffered wounds (...) are a part of”¹⁴her. When Dilma was released from jail in 1973,¹⁵ she moved to Rio Grande do Sul where she graduated from the Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul in Porto Alegre with a bachelor's degree in economics in 1977.¹⁶ She got her first job at the Foundation of Economics and Statistics as an intern. However Dilma was discharged from her job because of her previous participation in COLINA and VAR Palmares.

<http://www2.planalto.gov.br/presidencia/presidenta/biografia/biografiadilma>

(Visited on: 03.01.2016).

⁵ In Portuguese: Política Operária.

⁶ In Portuguese: Comando de Libertação Nacional.

⁷ Britannica. Dilma Rousseff. [On-line]: <http://www.britannica.com/biography/Dilma-Rousseff> (Visited on: 03.01.2016).

⁸ Palácio do Planalto. Presidência da república. President Dilma Rousseff. [On-line]: <http://www2.planalto.gov.br/presidencia/presidenta/perfil/president-dilma-rousseff> (Visited on: 03.01.2016).

⁹ Their relationship maintained till 2000 when the couple divorced.

¹⁰ In Portuguese: Partido Comunista Brasileiro.

¹¹ In Portuguese: Vanguarda Popular Revolucionária.

¹² In Portuguese: Vanguarda Armada Revolucionária Palmares.

¹³ In the first instance she was convicted to six years in prison, but after decision of the Supreme Military Court her sentence was reduced.

¹⁴The Washington Post. Brazil's torture report brings a president to tears. [On-line]: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2014/12/10/brazils-torture-report-brings-a-president-to-tears> (Visited on: 03.01.2016).

¹⁵Palácio do Planalto. Presidência da república. President Dilma Rousseff. [On-line]: <http://www2.planalto.gov.br/presidencia/presidenta/perfil/president-dilma-rousseff> (Visited on: 03.01.2016).

¹⁶ Britannica. Dilma Rousseff. [On-line]: <http://www.britannica.com/biography/Dilma-Rousseff> (Visited on: 03.01.2016).

Dilma was very active in above mentioned organizations; she advocated Marxist politics and worked as editor of the newspaper *The Piquet*, but never handled weapons as she one confirmed: „*I wore thick glasses, and I did not shoot very well.*”¹⁷ That is the official statement even though there exist few opinions of her using violence. In new millennium was established Brazil's National Truth Commission which deals with the abused human rights, indemnification by political prisoners arrested and tortured during the militant dictatorship. Dilma „*received financial compensation for her treatment during the dictatorship*”¹⁸.

Political career

The first step to political career of Dilma was linked to the Democratic Labour Party PDT which she helped to find in the 80's. She took office at the Municipal Secretariat of Finance in Porto Alegre and in 1993 she was appointed State Secretary of Energy, Mines and Communication by governor Alceu Collares.¹⁹ Dilma was involved in the political campaign for Governor in Rio Grande do Sul. At that time she began the doctoral studies in Economics at the State University of Campinas in São Paulo but she never defend her thesis because of involvement in the Governor election campaign.

After 2000 Dilma became affiliated with Workers' Party and with Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva. Thanks to successful activities at the Secretariat in Rio Grande do Sul which was one of the few states of the Federation not to suffer any blackouts during energy crises in 2001; Dilma was invited by President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva to join the next Federal government.²⁰ Eventually Dilma started the federal political career performing the Minister of Mines and Energy. In 2003, she was named the chair of Petrobras, state- controlled oil concern in Brazil,

¹⁷The Washington Post. Rouseff is Brazil's first female president. [On-line]: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/10/31/AR2010103104552.html> (Visited on: 03.01.2016).

¹⁸The Washington Post. Brazil's torture report brings a president to tears. [On-line]: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2014/12/10/brazils-torture-report-brings-a-president-to-tears> (Visited on: 03.01.2016).

¹⁹Palacio do Planalto. Presidência da república. President Dilma Rouseff. [On-line]: www2.planalto.gov.br/presidencia/presidenta/perfil/president-dilma-rousseff (Visited on: 03.01.2016).

²⁰ Ibid.

and coordinated the commission which may set rules for the exploitation of the newly discovered oil reserves.

Dilma Rouseff was appointed Chief of Staff by Lula da Silva. The function of the position meant coordination of government activities including the Programa de Aceleração do Crescimento, PAC (Growth Acceleration Program) and the popular housing program *Minha Casa, Minha Vida* (My House, My Life)²¹.

After two term presidency of Lula, Dilma became new candidate for Worker's Party. Her candidature was officially formalized on 13th June, 2010²².

The presidential election in 2010 and journey to victory

On 1st January 2011²³, Dilma Rouseff became the first female president of the Federative Republic of Brazil after winning the second election round on 31 October 2010. Dilma „*has defeated José Serra of the Party of Brazilian Social Democracy by 55.5% to 45.5%*”²⁴.

Dilma, as a successor of previous president Lula, has promised to continue in his policy aimed to reduction of poverty and inequality beside prudent economic management. The main points of Dilma Rouseff's programme are following commitments:

- To expand and strengthen democracy politically, economically and socially.
- Growth with expansion of employment and height of income, with macroeconomic balance without vulnerability of foreign and regional inequalities.

²¹The Economist. If you build it. [On-line]: <http://www.economist.com/news/americas/21571893-scheme-promote-working-class-home-ownership-good-start-if-you-build-it> (Visited on: 03.01.2016).

²²Palacio do Planalto. Presidência da república. President Dilma Rouseff. [On-line]: <http://www2.planalto.gov.br/presidencia/presidenta/perfil/president-dilma-rousseff> (Visited on: 03.01.2016).

²³ The Washington Post. Rouseff is Brazil's first female president. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/10/31/AR2010103104552.html> (Visited on: 03.01.2016).

²⁴ The Economist. Brazil's presidential election: No surprises this time. [On-line]: <http://www.economist.com/blogs/americas/view/2010/10/brazils-presidential-election-4>. (Visited on: 03.01.2016).

- To ensure big and sustainable productive transformation of Brazil.
- To defend the environment and sustainable development.
- To eradicate extreme poverty and continue in reduction inequalities, to promote equality.
- To turn Brazil into power science and technology.
- To unify/integrate health care and to guarantee the quality of health care system.
- To provide the towns of housing, sanitation, transport and dignified life and security for Brazilians.
- Democratization and protection of cultural property, to support dialogue with other cultures.
- To ensure the safety of citizens and combating organized crime in Brazil.
- To defend the national sovereignty. An active and proud presence of Brazil in the world.²⁵

Programme of Dilma Rousseff in first term of her presidency aimed at improvement of life quality of Brazilians as Dilma declared after winning election: „I promise to create a country filled with opportunities for everyone, where millions of Brazilians are able to enjoy access to the material benefits of civilisation ... Twenty-eight million Brazilians have been lifted out of poverty and I will remove the remaining 20 million.”²⁶ As a first woman president, she has tried to fight for women’s rights and gender equality in Brazil what confirms the following statement: „I hope the fathers and mothers of little girls will look at them and say yes, women can.”²⁷

²⁵ Coligação Para o Brasil Seguir Mudando.-Comissão de Programa de Governo da Coligação “Para o Brasil Seguir Mudando” 2010. Os 13 compromissos programáticos de Dilma Rousseff para debate na sociedade brasileira. [On-line]: http://deputados-democratas.org.br/pdf/Compromissos_Programaticos_Dilma_13%20Pontos_.pdf (Visited on: 03.01.2016).

²⁶ The Guardian. Dilma Rousseff set to be Brazil's first female president. [On-line]: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/oct/31/dilma-rousseff-brazil-female-president> (Visited on: 03.01.2016).

²⁷ CNN. Brazil elects Dilma Rousseff, nation's first woman president. [On-line]: <http://edition.cnn.com/2010/WORLD/americas/10/31/brazil.elections> (Visited on: 03.01.2016).

On the contrary her opponent José Serra, the previous governor of Brazil's richest state Sao Paulo, was voted by the richer voters with higher education level than voters of Dilma. José Serra also performed health minister during Fernando Henrique Cardoso's government.²⁸ In the years of dictatorship he was persecuted and forced into exile likewise Dilma. Although José Serra had more experiences with candidature for elected offices, Dilma defeated him thanks to active role of the president Lula in Dilma’s campaign.

Dilma was working as a technocrat behind the scenes and Lula helped her to become more visible and better known through travelling the country together. Lula voiced his trust in her during whole campaign: „This election will have an extraordinary participation. Everybody knows that I already have a candidate and that I've worked for my candidate to be elected for the presidency. I think Brazil must give continuity to this extraordinary moment it is going through.”²⁹ In a victory speech Dilma appreciated Lula’s assistance: „I offer special thanks to President Lula. I will know how to honour his legacy. I will know how to consolidate and go forward with his work.”³⁰ Many critics mentioned that Dilma is a political puppet of Lula but the policy of Dilma differed from his, at mostly in issue of foreign policy and free press.

Position of Dilma was not simple because of successful term during Lula’s presidency. Brazil became an important player in world policy due to effort of Lula who revived the integration in Latin America. Nowadays Brazil represents a political leader of Latin American countries what also expresses Brazilian participation within BRICS. The ex-president also maintained firm relations with United States and European Union. He contributed to economic growth and decrease of poor population through social programmes. The most known is Bolsa Família which helped

²⁸ CNN. Brazil elects Dilma Rousseff, nation's first woman president. [On-line]: <http://edition.cnn.com/2010/WORLD/americas/10/31/brazil.elections> (Visited on: 03.01.2016).

²⁹ The Guardian Dilma Rousseff set to be Brazil's first female president. [On-line]: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/oct/31/dilma-rousseff-brazil-female-president> (Visited on: 03.01.2016).

³⁰ The Washington Post. Rousseff is Brazil's first female president. [On-line]: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/10/31/AR2010103104552.html> (Visited on: 03.01.2016).

millions of Brazilians joined the lower middle class. Brazil also „emerged from the 2008 economic crisis stronger than before”.³¹

Dilma had to prove her qualities to lead such a big country as Brazil. Not only Lula trusted her but also members of Worker's Party what expresses the following statement of Jose Eduardo Dutra, the president of the PT, summarizing the successful policy of Brazil: „We have had a government that has rescued the self-esteem of the Brazilian people and that has overcome a dogma that existed in Brazilian politics and economics ... that Brazil was a country in which it was impossible to combine economic growth with income distribution,” Dutra claimed. „Lula's government did this [and] Dilma's government will advance further in terms of reducing inequality.”³²

The presidential election in 2014 and re-elected Dilma

In January 2015 she became the Brazilian president for the second time. Despite all the doubts she scored in the second round of the election with 51.6%³³ in contrast to the candidate Aécio Neves da Cunha with 48.4%³⁰. Dilma won in the closest election race in Brazil since 1989. In her inauguration speech she confirmed the continuity in the previous policy: „Brazil, this daughter of yours, once again, will not flee from the fight,” she concluded. „Viva, Brazil!”³⁴

Firstly the prognosis showed Dilma as an unambiguous winner. However after plane crash when died another candidate Eduardo Campos³⁵ and his consecutive replacement by ex-environment minister of Marina Silva, everything was changed and Marina Silva became a real

threat. Hence the campaign of Dilma Rousseff in first round was very strong against Marina who finished as third finally.

Her main rival in second round, Aécio Neves, representing Social Democracy Party came from rich family and his first experience with political life was connected with his grandfather Tancredo Neves who was chosen as Brazil's first post-dictatorship president in an indirect vote³⁶. Aécio Neves occupied the governor of Minas Gerais for two terms. In the presidential campaign he presented himself as a man of a change. He promised economic reforms, more independence for the central bank and less state's intervention in economics. He also wanted to deepen relations with United States and European Union throughout signing the trade contracts. The Brazilian society was divided into two parties. „The atmosphere” was „like the World Cup Finals. In the street there” the voters were „dressed in the candidates' colours and using flags.”³⁷ The fight between Dilma and Aécio resulted into insults in debates. „Neves called Rousseff „frivolous” and a „liar”; Rousseff accused him of nepotism.”³⁸

Dilma Rousseff emphasized a need of the continuity of social policy during her campaign. She strengthened the social inclusion and inequality reduction initiatives launched during Lula's presidency. In addition, Dilma expanded the mentioned programmes, namely Bolsa Família³⁹ and the Brasil Sem Miséria that have lifted millions Brazilians out of poverty. On the contrary Aécio Neves would end some of these initiatives. Dilma brings a social assistance to poor population and under these circumstances she likely won twice. The mentioned fact

³¹ Washington Post- Rousseff is Brazil's first female president. [On-line]: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/10/31/AR2010103104552.html> (Visited on: 03.01.2016).

³² The Guardian Dilma Rousseff set to be Brazil's first female president. [On-line]: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/oct/31/dilma-rousseff-brazil-female-president> (Visited on: 03.01.2016).

³³ BBC News. Dilma Rousseff: Brazil's 'Iron Lady'. [On-line]: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-11446466> (Visited on: 03.01.2016).

³⁴ The Washington Post. Dilma Rousseff is re-elected president of Brazil in bitterly fought runoff. [On-line]: https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/dilma-rousseff-is-narrowly-re-elected-president-of-brazil-in-bitterly-fought-runoff/2014/10/26/4dddf804-5d67-11e4-8b9e-2ccdac31a031_story.html (Visited on: 03.01.2016).

³⁵ Provisionally in the third place in presidential election.

³⁶ The Washington Post. Dilma Rousseff is re-elected president of Brazil in bitterly fought runoff. [On-line]: https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/dilma-rousseff-is-narrowly-re-elected-president-of-brazil-in-bitterly-fought-runoff/2014/10/26/4dddf804-5d67-11e4-8b9e-2ccdac31a031_story.html (Visited on: 05.02.2016).

³⁷ BBC News. Daniel Viotti. Brazil elections: Meet the voters. [On-line]: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-29776842> (Visited on: 05.02.2016).

³⁸ The Washington Post. Dilma Rousseff is re-elected president of Brazil in bitterly fought runoff. [On-line]: https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/dilma-rousseff-is-narrowly-re-elected-president-of-brazil-in-bitterly-fought-runoff/2014/10/26/4dddf804-5d67-11e4-8b9e-2ccdac31a031_story.html (Visited on: 05.02.2016).

³⁹ The biggest Cash Conditional Transfer Programme in the world.

expresses the following statement of Angelica Mari from São Paulo: „The poor are still the majority and we need a government that focuses on them”.⁴⁰ Dilma also has promised a political reform to fight corruption and give impulse to sluggish economic growth.

Despite of aggressive campaigns and a strong fight among candidates Dilma believed „from the bottom of my heart, that these elections have divided the country,” as she said in her victory speech. “I believe they mobilized ideas and emotions that are at times contradictory.”⁴¹ Nowadays Dilma as a head of one of the most significant developing countries faces many challenges like position of Brazil in world policy or domestic pressure on fighting against corruption and economic recession.

Foreign policy during Dilma’s presidency

During last years the foreign policy of Brazil has changed in many ways. Nowadays the country, as a representative of developing countries, belongs to the most important players in the world. In addition, Brazil has gained a place among the emerging powers. Dilma’s policy in the area of foreign affairs differs from the foreign policy realized by her predecessors. For better understanding we bring a brief review of Brazilian foreign policy during recent years.

A comeback of democracy belongs to the most significant milestones in 1985. After the fall of the dictatorship, Brazilian foreign policy has taken a new turn and Brazil has started to be more active member of international institutions. The foreign policy of Brazil called „*autonomy by distance*” has changed to „*autonomy through participation*”⁴² thanks to President Fernando Collor.

His successor Fernando Henrique Cardoso contributed to deepening and strengthening the position in international relations. He established strategic partnerships with key player, namely United States, the European Union and Japan. During Cardoso’s administration the “*autonomy through participation was updated and it becomes autonomy through integration.*”⁴³ In other words the foreign policy was aimed at integration within Latin American region. The most important role has played Common Market of the South (Mercosur).

The next president Luiz Ignácio da Silva (2003-2010) pursued a highly visible foreign policy agenda⁴⁴ during his presidency. Firstly Lula’s strategy, called “*autonomy through integration*”, was a continuation of Cardoso’s principle „and finally it consolidated in “*autonomy through diversification*”.”⁴⁵ A participation of Lula with cooperation of his Foreign Minister, Ambassador Celso Amorim, was very active in the international arena because they realized dynamic changes of international relations and politics. Within policy strategy Brazil strengthened position by bilateral relations and South-South cooperation, namely BRICS, IBSA, G-20 in order to diversify its partnerships. Lula „wanted Brazil to contribute to a more democratic and multipolar world”.⁴⁶ The regional politics was prioritized by Brazilian government and the Latin American regional organizations as Mercosur and Union of South American Nations (Unasur) have become pillars of building of relations in international area.

Dilma Rousseff has a difficult position as politician because her predecessor Lula was

⁴⁰ BBC News. Daniel Viotti. Brazil elections: Meet the voters. [On-line]: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-29776842> (Visited on: 05.02.2016).

⁴¹ The Washington Post. Dilma Rousseff is re-elected president of Brazil in bitterly fought runoff. [On-line]: https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/dilma-rousseff-is-narrowly-re-elected-president-of-brazil-in-bitterly-fought-runoff/2014/10/26/4ddd804-5d67-11e4-8b9e-2ccdac31a031_story.html (Visited on: 05.02.2016).

⁴² Modern Diplomacy. What happened to Brazil’s Foreign Policy during Dilma Rousseff’s first mandate? [On-line]: http://moderndiplomacy.eu/index.php?option=com_k2&view=item&id=586:what-happened-to-brazil-s-foreign-policy-during-dilma-rousseff-s-first-mandate&Itemid=642 (Visited on: 05.02.2016).

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Engstrom, P. Brazilian Foreign Policy and Human Rights: Change and Continuity under Dilma. Critical Sociology. [On-line]: http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2004305 (Visited on: 05.02.2016).

⁴⁵ Modern Diplomacy. What happened to Brazil’s Foreign Policy during Dilma Rousseff’s first mandate? [On-line]: http://moderndiplomacy.eu/index.php?option=com_k2&view=item&id=586:what-happened-to-brazil-s-foreign-policy-during-dilma-rousseff-s-first-mandate&Itemid=642 (Visited on: 05.02.2016).

⁴⁶ The Guardian. Dilma Rousseff has a second chance to invigorate Brazil’s foreign policy. [On-line]: <http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/poverty-matters/2014/oct/30/dilma-rousseff-brazil-foreign-policy> (Visited on: 05.02.2016).

likely the best known and favourite Brazilian politician in the 20th and 21st century. His diplomatic and political abilities have been also appreciated by Barack Obama, the president of United States: „I have been (...) a great admirer of the progressive, forward-looking leadership that President Lula has shown throughout Latin America and throughout the world.”⁴⁷

Many of political specialists have not believed Dilma will be successful such as Lula. Hence that has meant a big challenge for Dilma to show that she may be a proper leader for a big and important country as Brazil. However a stagnation of the foreign policy was observed in the first months after inauguration of Dilma. Her foreign policy can be characterised as „autonomy by the indifference”⁴⁸ what means giving less priority to foreign policy with the result that some of the achievements of Lula’s administration⁴⁹ stagnated under Dilma. The indifference reflects with a reduction of budget for the Foreign Ministry. In other words, cuts have been observed in number of places in the diplomatic sphere and in diplomatic activities. The next good example is a fact of reduction of Brazil’s budget for cooperation initiatives which has decreased significantly since 2010⁵⁰.

The foreign policy aims at BRICS within the South-South cooperation which is an exception of above mentioned stagnation. Under Dilma was established New Development Bank as well as Contingent Reserve Arrangement in July 2014⁵¹

⁴⁷ White House on NBC News. Obama, Brazil leader discuss economy, energy. [On-line]: http://www.nbcnews.com/id/29695162/ns/politics-white_house/t/obama-brazil-leader-discuss-economy-energy/#.VkJjnbcvdD8 (Visited on: 05.02.2016).

⁴⁸ Modern Diplomacy. What happened to Brazil’s Foreign Policy during Dilma Rouseff’s first mandate? [On-line]: http://moderndiplomacy.eu/index.php?option=com_k2&view=item&id=586:what-happened-to-brazil-s-foreign-policy-during-dilma-rousseff-s-first-mandate&Itemid=642 (Visited on: 05.02.2016).

⁴⁹ The Guardian. Dilma Rouseff has a second chance to invigorate Brazil’s foreign policy. [On-line]: <http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/poverty-matters/2014/oct/30/dilma-rousseff-brazil-foreign-policy> (Visited on: 05.02.2016).

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Schablitzki, J.- Esteves, P.-Abdenur, A.E.-Gomes, G.Z.- Estevão M.da Fonseca, J.M. BPC Policy Brief.: The BRICS Development Bank: A New Tool for South-South Cooperation? BRICS Policy Center- South-South Cooperation. [On-line]: <http://brics>

http://rmdiri.md/?page_id=48&lang=en ; <http://usem.md/md/p/rmdiri> **RMDIRI, 2016, Nr. 1 (Vol. 11) 61**

during the sixth Summit in Fortaleza, Brazil. Both BRICS institution are results of a closer cooperation of Brazil, Russia, China, India and South Africa.

The New Development Bank, headquartered in Shanghai with starting capital of US\$ 50 billion⁵² is based on equal contributions by the five countries.⁵³ Moreover the bank that expected to start operations in 2016⁵⁴ will support development and infrastructure projects within the members of BRICS and later the other developing countries.

Furthermore „another US\$ 100 billion are to be invested in a Contingency Reserve Arrangement,”⁵⁵ which will serve such as an emergency instrument in the case of payment crises and currency problems. The contribution of BRICS members differs one from another. „The biggest US\$ 41 billion will grant China. Brazil, Russia, and India will provide \$18 billion each, and South Africa will contribute \$5 billion.”⁵⁶

The New Development Bank and the Contingency Reserve Arrangement will play similar roles such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. BRICS tries to disrupt hegemony of the above mentioned Bretton Woods organizations in order to build up a balance in the international financial market and to reinforce others currencies beside dollar.

Furthermore, Dilma’s speeches at UN General Assembly demonstrate her ability to be as good leader as her predecessor Lula. In October 2015, Brazilian president mentioned actual issues and expressed a need to bring solutions which will be acceptable for the whole world. As she said the

policycenter.org/homolog/uploads/trabalhos/6765/doc/386811845.pdf (Visited on: 07.02.2016).

⁵² Later increased to US\$ 100 billion.

⁵³ The Politic. Building BRICS: An Assessment of the New Development Bank. [On-line]: <http://thepolitic.org/building-brics-an-assessment-of-the-new-development-bank> (Visited on: 07.02.2016).

⁵⁴ Agencia Brasil. BRICS formalize New Development Bank. [On-line]: <http://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/en/internacional/noticia/2015-07/brics-formalize-new-development-bank> (Visited on: 07.02.2016).

⁵⁵ The Politic. Building BRICS: An Assessment of the New Development Bank. [On-line]: <http://thepolitic.org/building-brics-an-assessment-of-the-new-development-bank> (Visited on: 07.02.2016).

⁵⁶ Agencia Brasil. BRICS formalize New Development Bank. [On-line]: <http://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/en/internacional/noticia/2015-07/brics-formalize-new-development-bank> (Visited on: 07.02.2016).

countries have to work together in „*building the world we want*” and it „*will require courage and determination -- from all of us*”⁵⁷.

Brazil calls for a reform of UN system that will reflect an actual balance of power in the world because the system created in 1945 is ineffective now. A topic of reorganization of Security Council *has been debated at the UN since 1993*⁵⁸. Brazil is a member of a group G4 also consisting of Germany, Japan and India. All of these countries request the Security Council reform which would represent a current power structure and improve a participation of developing and small countries in order to make UN mechanism *stronger, more representative, legitimate, and effective*⁵⁹. In other words the Security Council would be also formed not only by countries from West but also from Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, Asia-Pacific regions. G4 including Brazil suggests *creating a three class system: a category made of the current permanent members, a category made of new permanent members with a moratorium on the use of veto, in addition to non-permanent members*⁶⁰.

Dilma in her UN speech also mentioned questions of sustainability development, threats of refugees and social inclusion due to recent situation in the world. Nowadays Europe faces a large number of refugees from Middle East and North Africa where they are threatened by destabilized and military governments and seek there for asylum. Dilma as a president of Brazil

supports the refugees and migrants what has been declared during UN speech: „*(...) in a world where goods, capital, information and ideas flow freely, it is absurd to try to impede the free migration of human beings (...) Brazil (...) that welcomes all who seek refuge.*”⁶¹. However the issue is more complicated because of an enormous number of economic migrants which impersonate the refugees. They *buy counterfeit identification, and pass themselves off, for example, as Syrians*⁶².

With regard to environment, Brazil supports an agenda of sustainable development based on cooperation among states. Dilma Rousseff declares a participation in international commitments to protect environment, decline greenhouse emission gas and evolve renewable energy sources. Concretely *Brazil has pledged a 43% reduction in greenhouse gas emission by 2030 and guaranteed that (Brazil) will derive 45% of our energy matrix from renewable energy sources*⁶³. Brazilian President also declares reduction of deforestation by more than 80% over the last 10 years⁶⁴.

However one of the most controversial projects in the world was approved by Brazilian Congress in 2005⁶⁵. Brazil is constructing the hydroelectric dam Belo Monte on Xingu River in the Amazon Basin. It will be the third largest hydro-electric dam in the world. After construction, the mentioned project will provide electricity to 23 million homes⁶⁶. On contrary, environmentalists protest against this project and call for Belo Monte to be halted because of threat that area of rainforest would be flooded or drained and wildlife would be affected

⁵⁷CNN. Rousseff: How to build the world we want. [On-line]:

<http://edition.cnn.com/2015/10/16/opinions/rousseff-build-world-want> (Visited on: 07.02.2016).

⁵⁸ Global Policy Forum. UN Reform. [On-line]: <https://www.globalpolicy.org/un-reform.html> (Visited on: 07.02.2016).

⁵⁹ Global Policy Forum. Statement by H.E. Ambassador Maria Luiza Ribeiro Viotti on Security Council Reform at the Seventh Round of Intergovernmental Negotiations. [On-line]: <https://www.globalpolicy.org/security-council/security-council-reform/50064-statement-by-he-ambassador-maria-luiza-ribeiro-viotti-on-security-council-reform-at-the-seventh-round-of-intergovernmental-negotiations.html?itemid=015> (Visited on: 07.02.2016).

⁶⁰ Permanent Mission of Germany to the United Nations New York. General Assembly: Statement by Brazil, Germany, India and Japan (G4) on Security Council reform. [On-line]: http://www.new-york-un.diplo.de/Vertretung/newyorkvn/en/_pr/speeches-statements/2014/20140401-g4-on-sc-reform.html?archive=2984668 (Visited on: 07.02.2016).

62 RMDIRI, 2016, Nr. 1 (Vol. 11) http://rmdiri.md/?page_id=48&lang=en ; <http://usem.md/md/p/rmdiri>

⁶¹ CNN. Rousseff: How to build the world we want. [On-line]:

<http://edition.cnn.com/2015/10/16/opinions/rousseff-build-world-want> (Visited on: 07.02.2016).

⁶² Euractiv. Europe gears up to fight refugee smugglers. [On-line]: <http://www.euractiv.com/sections/global-europe/europe-gears-fight-refugee-smugglers-319408> (Visited on: 07.02.2016).

⁶³ CNN. Rousseff: How to build the world we want. [On-line]:

<http://edition.cnn.com/2015/10/16/opinions/rousseff-build-world-want> (Visited on: 07.02.2016).

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ BBC News. Brazil prosecutors call for halt to Amazon dam evictions. [On-line]: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-33159384> (Visited on: 07.02.2016).

⁶⁶ Ibid.

negatively. In addition, the indigenous rights activists claim that 20 thousand⁶⁷ indigenous people would be displaced from their homes.

Another global challenge is an issue of social inclusion. According to Dilma the efforts to fight against poverty and inequality in the world has to be implemented on international stage. Dilma has appreciated the Brazilian social policy thanks to *more than 36 million people were lifted out of extreme poverty, while 42 million Brazilians ascended to the middle class and Brazil is no longer on the World Hunger Map*⁶⁸.

Social Policy of Dilma Rousseff

Dilma's presidential agenda is based on a social assistance in order to fight against poverty and inequality in Brazil. As a member of the Workers' Party she follows Lula and supports the social programmes introduced during his presidential terms (2003-2010).

The main and biggest programme is Conditional Cash Transfer named Bolsa Família which was launched in 2003. Bolsa Família was implemented with aim to reduce poverty and to break the intergenerational transmission of poverty. First objective is achieved through income transfer given to a female head of family and the second via a setting of conditions in the areas of education and health care. Government of Brazil provides money to poor people after fulfilment of set conditions of the programme in order to reduce poverty and inequality and to improve their condition of life. The future vision is to build strong human capital needed for development. Beneficiaries of this programme are families with children living below national poverty line which varies from year to year. Families are classified as extremely poor and poor. Bolsa Família has set the eligibility threshold at R\$77pc for very poor families and R\$77.01 to R\$154pc for poor families⁶⁹. Bolsa Família merged four existing conditional cash transfers, namely: Programa Bolsa Escola, Bolsa Alimentação, Auxílio Gas, Programa do Cartão

Alimentação. Not all of mentioned programmes were implemented during Lula's administration. Bolsa Escola and Bolsa Alimentação were launched and federalized by Fernando Henrique Cardoso, the president of Brasil in 1995-2003.

Dilma continues on implementing Bolsa Família and „in May (2014) she announced a 10% increase in Bolsa Familia payments, well above the then inflation rate of 6%”⁷⁰. Dilma considers the education for priority of her politics, because she believes that: „Brazil will only leave behind its position as an emerging power and become a developed country if we guarantee quality education for our (Brazilian) children,”⁷¹ such as she said. Thus Dilma has introduced new programmes in order to improve lives of poor Brazilians. During her term in office she implemented the Programa Nacional de Acesso ao Ensino Técnico e Emprego, (National Program for Access to Technical Education and Employment) in the area of education. The aim of mentioned programme is to „secure free technical training as well as professional training courses for 8 million young workers, and aims at benefitting 12 million over the next four years”⁷². The next objective of Dilma's social policy is to improve quality of pre-school, elementary and secondary education and to establish new universities.

In the field of health care Dilma has created the Mais Médicos (More Doctors) program which „expands the number of physicians in underserved regions of the country, such as the interior counties and the suburbs of the main cities”⁷³ in order to substitute a lack of Brazilian physicians by international doctors in above mentioned areas. Nowadays the programme is

⁶⁷ International Rivers. Belo Monte Dam. [On-line]: <https://www.internationalrivers.org/campaigns/belo-monte-dam> (Visited on: 07.02.2016).

⁶⁸ CNN. Rousseff: How to build the world we want. [On-line]: <http://edition.cnn.com/2015/10/16/opinions/rousseff-build-world-want> (Visited on: 07.02.2016).

⁶⁹ Ministry of social development and hunger alleviation. Benefícios. [On-line]: <http://www.mds.gov.br/bolsafamilia/beneficios> (Visited on: 11.02.2016).

http://rmdiri.md/?page_id=48&lang=en ; <http://usem.md/md/p/rmdiri> *RMDIRI, 2016, Nr. 1 (Vol. 11) 63*

⁷⁰ BBC News. Dilma Rousseff: Brazil's 'Iron Lady'. [On-line]: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-11446466> (Visited on: 11.02.2016).

⁷¹ The Guardian Dilma Rousseff set to be Brazil's first female president. [On-line]: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/oct/31/dilma-rousseff-brazil-female-president> (Visited on: 11.02.2016).

⁷² Palácio do Planalto. Presidência da República. President Dilma Rousseff. [On-line]: <http://www2.planalto.gov.br/presidencia/presidenta/perfil/president-dilma-rousseff> (Visited on: 11.02.2016).

⁷³ Ministério das Relações Exteriores. Consulate General of Brazil in Miami. More Doctors for Brazil- Visa (VICAM)(„Programa Mais Médicos para o Brasil”). [On-line]: <http://miami.itamaraty.gov.br/en-us/more-doctors-for-brazil.xml> (Visited on: 11.02.2016).

practised in 3800 cities, assisting an estimated population of 50 million⁷⁴. Physicians, who may join to project, „must have medical practice license in countries with more than 1.8 doctors per thousand people”⁷⁵.

Despite of a successfully social policy the approval rating has fallen by 30 points in six months to 13%⁷⁶ which means the lowest value for president of Brazil since 1992. One of the reasons is the Petrobras scandal.

Petrobras scandal

A start of the second term of Dilma's presidency was connected with one of the biggest scandals in the last years. According to opposition, Dilma has been involved in the Petrobras scandal which is linked to corruption and kickbacks occurred while Dilma chaired board of directors of Petrobras in the years 2003-2010.

In September 2014, the former director of Petrobras claimed that the members of Brazilian current governments *had received commissions on contracts signed with the oil giant which were then used to buy congressional support*⁷⁷. A directorship of Dilma is controversial issue. Although she has not been directly implicated, many Brazilians doubted that she had no knowledge of any shams.

In March 2015, more than *1 million Brazilians took to the streets*⁷⁸ to request her impeachment⁷⁹ for corruption. In April, the demonstrations

continued but they were smaller than those in March. Finally Dilma has been cleared by a parliamentary commission with regards to the Petrobras scandal in October 2015 but her approval rating has been worsened and her reputation has been disrupted.

Conclusion

Dilma Rousseff with interesting past was politically very active during her youth and nowadays she belongs to the top 10 most powerful women. Her policy is aimed at mitigation of poverty and inequality within the national economy. The social policy, a basic pillar of the Worker's Party's programme, has been relatively evolved in the same way in comparison with Lula's administration. She continues on implementing Bolsa Família and has created new programmes, namely the Programa Nacional de Acesso ao Ensino Técnico e Emprego and the Mais Médicos.

On the other hand, Dilma's reputation has been disrupted because of Petrobras scandal. The state oil company is linked to kickbacks occurred while Dilma chaired board of directors of Petrobras in the years 2003-2010. Although she has been cleared by a parliamentary commission, many Brazilians doubted that she had no knowledge of any shams. Her approval rating has fallen by 30 points in six months to 13% which means the lowest value for president of Brazil since 1992.

In the field of the foreign policy she often faces criticism. Many of political specialists have not believed Dilma will be successful such as Lula. During her presidency she showed that she may be a good leader of Brazil in international arena. She gave an interesting speech at UN General Assembly where she mentioned actual issues and expressed a need to bring solutions which will be acceptable for the whole world. Brazil aspired to be a permanent member in Security Council. Although her foreign policy is characterised as autonomy by the indifference because of budget cuts for Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Brazilian participation within BRICS is a big success under the rule of Dilma. Brazil aspired to a big role but never aspired to play hegemonic role in the region of Latin America. The former and current leaders of Brazil think that Brazil may play an important role in the field of soft politics because of Brazilian tolerance and open-minded democracy.

⁷⁴ Palácio do Planalto. Presidência da República. President Dilma Rousseff. [On-line]: <http://www2.planalto.gov.br/presidencia/presidenta/perfil/president-dilma-rousseff> (Visited on: 11.02.2016).

⁷⁵ Ministério das Relações Exteriores. Consulate General of Brazil in Miami. More Doctors for Brazil- Visa (VICAM) („Programa Mais Médicos para o Brasil”). [On-line]: <http://miami.itamaraty.gov.br/en-us/more-doctors-for-brazil.xml> (Visited on: 11.02.2016).

⁷⁶ The Economist. Dealing with Dilma. [On-line]: <http://www.economist.com/news/leaders/21647293-many-brazilians-are-fed-up-their-president-impeaching-her-would-be-bad-idea-dealing> (Visited on: 11.02.2016).

⁷⁷ BBC News. Dilma Rousseff: Brazil's 'Iron Lady'. [On-line]: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-11446466> (Visited on: 11.02.2016).

⁷⁸ The Economist. Dealing with Dilma. [On-line]: <http://www.economist.com/news/leaders/21647293-many-brazilians-are-fed-up-their-president-impeaching-her-would-be-bad-idea-dealing> (Visited on: 11.02.2016).

⁷⁹ But according to Brazilian law the president can be impeached only for criminal acts committed during his current term.

Overcoming internal challenges seems to be more important issue for current government. Under Dilma, billions have been invested into social policy and into development of public transportation in order to modernize and expand ports, airports and highways. But Brazil should have concrete objectives in the foreign policy which must be achieved in coordination with internal aims. The connection of both external and internal issues is a key to Brazil. It is Rousseff's responsibility to strengthen a position of Brazil in the international arena and to improve quality of life for Brazilians.

Bibliography:

- 1) Agencia Brasil. BRICS formalize New Development Bank. [On-line]: <http://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/en/internacional/noticia/2015-07/brics-formalize-new-development-bank> (Visited on: 07.02.2016).
- 2) BBC News. Brazil prosecutors call for halt to Amazon dam evictions. [On-line]: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-33159384> (Visited on: 07.02.2016).
- 3) BBC News. Daniel Viotti. Brazil elections: Meet the voters. [On-line]: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-29776842> (Visited on: 05.02.2016).
- 4) BBC News. Dilma Rousseff: Brazil's 'Iron Lady'. [On-line]: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-11446466> (Visited on: 03.01.2016).
- 5) Britannica. Dilma Rousseff. [On-line]: <http://www.britannica.com/biography/Dilma-Rousseff> (Visited on: 03.01.2016).
- 6) CNN. Brazil elects Dilma Rousseff, nation's first woman president. [On-line]: <http://edition.cnn.com/2010/WORLD/americas/10/31/brazil.elections> (Visited on: 03.01.2016).
- 7) CNN. Rousseff: How to build the world we want. [On-line]: <http://edition.cnn.com/2015/10/16/opinions/rousseff-build-world-want> (Visited on: 07.02.2016).
- 8) Coligação Para o Brasil Seguir Mudando.- Comissão de Programa de Governo da Coligação "Para o Brasil Seguir Mudando" 2010. Os 13 compromissos programáticos de Dilma Rousseff para debate na sociedade brasileira. [On-line]: http://deputados-democratas.org.br/pdf/Compromissos_Programaticos_Dilma_13%20Pontos_.pdf (Visited on: 03.01.2016).
- 9) Engstrom, P. Brazilian Foreign Policy and Human Rights: Change and Continuity under Dilma. Critical Sociology. [On-line]:

http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2004305 (Visited on: 05.02.2016).

10) Euractiv. Europe gears up to fight refugee smugglers. [On-line]: <http://www.euractiv.com/sections/global-europe/europe-gears-fight-refugee-smugglers-319408> (Visited on: 07.02.2016).

11) Forbes. The World's Most Powerful Women 2015. [On-line]: <http://www.forbes.com/sites/carolinehoward/2015/05/26/the-worlds-most-powerful-women-2015> (Visited on: 03.01.2016).

12) Global Policy Forum. Statement by H.E. Ambassador Maria Luiza Ribeiro Viotti on Security Council Reform at the Seventh Round of Intergovernmental Negotiations. [On-line]: <https://www.globalpolicy.org/security-council/security-council-reform/50064-statement-by-he-ambassador-maria-luiza-ribeiro-viotti-on-security-council-reform-at-the-seventh-round-of-intergovernmental-negotiations.html?itemid=015> (Visited on: 07.02.2016).

13) Global Policy Forum. UN Reform. [On-line]: <https://www.globalpolicy.org/un-reform.html> (Visited on: 07.02.2016).

14) International Rivers. Belo Monte Dam. [On-line]: <https://www.internationalrivers.org/campaigns/belo-monte-dam> (Visited on: 07.02.2016).

15) Ministério das Relações Exteriores. Consulate General of Brasil in Miami. More Doctors for Brazil-Visa (VICAM) („Programa Mais Médicos para o Brasil”). [On-line]: <http://miami.itamaraty.gov.br/en-us/more-doctors-for-brazil.xml> (Visited on: 11.02.2016).

16) Ministry of social development and hunger alleviation. Benefícios. [On-line]: <http://www.mds.gov.br/bolsafamilia/beneficios> (Visited on: 11.02.2016).

17) Modern Diplomacy. What happened to Brazil's Foreign Policy during Dilma Rousseff's first mandate? [On-line]: http://modern diplomacy.eu/index.php?option=com_k2&view=item&id=586:what-happened-to-brazil-s-foreign-policy-during-dilma-rousseff-s-first-mandate&Itemid=642 (Visited on: 05.02.2016).

18) Palácio do Planalto. Presidência da República. Biografia da presidenta Dilma Rousseff. [On-line]: <http://www2.planalto.gov.br/presidencia/presidenta/biografia/biografia-dilma> (Visited on: 03.01.2016).

19) Palácio do Planalto. Presidência da República. President Dilma Rousseff. [On-line]: <http://www2.planalto.gov.br/presidencia/presidenta/perfil/president-dilma-rousseff> (Visited on: 03.01.2016).

20) Permanent Mission of Germany to the United Nations New York. General Assembly: Statement by Brazil, Germany, India and Japan (G4) on Security Council reform. [On-line]: http://www.new-york-un.diplo.de/Vertretung/newyorkvn/en/_pr/speeches-statements/2014/20140401-g4-on-sc-reform.html?archive=2984668 (Visited on: 07.02.2016).

21) Schablitzki, J.- Esteves, P.- Abdenur, A.E.- Gomes, G.Z.- Estevão M. da Fonseca, J.M. BPC Policy Brief.: The BRICS Development Bank: A New Tool for South-South Cooperation? BRICS Policy Center-South-South Cooperation. [On-line]: <http://bricspolicycenter.org/homolog/uploads/trabalhos/6765/doc/386811845.pdf> (Visited on: 07.02.2016).

22) The Economist. Brazil's presidential election: No surprises this time. [On-line]: <http://www.economist.com/blogs/americas/view/2010/10/brazils-presidential-election-4>. (Visited on: 03.01.2016).

23) The Economist. Dealing with Dilma. [On-line]: <http://www.economist.com/news/leaders/21647293-many-brazilians-are-fed-up-their-president-impeaching-her-would-be-bad-idea-dealing> (Visited on: 11.02.2016).

24) The Economist. If you build it. [On-line]: <http://www.economist.com/news/americas/21571893-scheme-promote-working-class-home-ownership-good-start-if-you-build-it> (Visited on: 03.01.2016).

25) The Guardian Dilma Rousseff set to be Brazil's first female president. [On-line]: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/oct/31/dilma-rousseff-brazil-female-president> (Visited on: 03.01.2016).

26) The Guardian. Dilma Rousseff has a second chance to invigorate Brazil's foreign policy. [On-line]: <http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/poverty-matters/2014/oct/30/dilma-rousseff-brazil-foreign-policy> (Visited on: 05.02.2016).

27) The Politic. Building BRICS: An Assessment of the New Development Bank. [On-line]:

<http://thepolitic.org/building-brics-an-assessment-of-the-new-development-bank> (Visited on: 07.02.2016).

28) The Washington Post. Brazil's torture report brings a president to tears. [On-line]: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2014/12/10/brazils-torture-report-brings-a-president-to-tears> (Visited on: 03.01.2016).

29) The Washington Post. Dilma Rousseff is re-elected president of Brazil in bitterly fought runoff. [On-line]:

https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/dilma-rousseff-is-narrowly-re-elected-president-of-brazil-in-bitterly-fought-runoff/2014/10/26/4ddd804-5d67-11e4-8b9e-2ccdac31a031_story.html (Visited on: 05.02.2016).

30) The Washington Post. Rousseff is Brazil's first female president. [On-line]: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/10/31/AR2010103104552.html> (Visited on: 03.01.2016).

31) White House on NBC News. Obama, Brazil leader discuss economy, energy. [On-line]: http://www.nbcnews.com/id/29695162/ns/politics-white_house/t/obama-brazil-leader-discuss-economy-energy/#.VkZjnbcvdD8 (Visited on: 05.02.2016).

32) Wilson Center. Brazilian President Dilma Rousseff Receives Woodrow Wilson Award for Public Service. [On-line]: <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/brazilian-president-dilma-rousseff-receives-woodrow-wilson-award-for-public-service#sthash.2Rbx9b3p.dpuf> (Visited on: 03.01.2016).

Copyright©JANUBOVA Barbora, 2016.

Contacte / Contacts / Контакты:

Faculty of International Relations,
University of Economics in Bratislava,
Dolnozemska cesta 1, 852 35 Bratislava 5,
Slovakia.

Číslo kancelárie: E4.11.

E-mail: barbora.janubova@euba.sk