

# ágora: Thinking

We present the second edition of the ágora: Thinking, which focuses on the Lula administration's legislative agenda, presented on February 12<sup>th</sup> under the name Agenda União e Reconstrução.

The ágora: Thinking is our fortnightly bulletin on the political-institutional scenario. In each edition we will deal with different themes that are highlighted on the Brazilian political agenda.

## Union and Reconstruction Agenda

### Overview

The Union and Reconstruction 2025 Agenda seeks to align the government's legislative priorities with the National Congress, structuring six strategic axes that cover everything from economic themes to social and environmental policies. However, the political viability of this agenda depends on institutional variables that are still undefined.

Two central factors impact governability and the Executive's ability to advance this agenda:

The unfinished ministerial reform, which should accommodate parties from the center and consolidate the support base in Congress, but remains undefined.

The uncertainty regarding parliamentary amendments, currently under analysis by the Federal Supreme Court (STF), which could restrict the government's main political negotiation tool.

The 2025 legislative scenario will be marked by party fragmentation and the anticipation of the 2026 electoral cycle, making the environment even more complex for the approval of structural measures.



Fabio Rodrigues-Pozzebom/Agência Brasil

## Agenda Priorities and Feasibility Levels

The themes on the agenda can be divided into three distinct blocks, according to the likelihood of progress in Congress.

### High Viability – Economic and Regulatory Topics

These are less ideological proposals, aimed at legal security and economic traction. They tend to advance more easily, as they meet the demands of the productive sector and have less resistance from the parliamentary benches.

- Regulation of the energy transition and incentives for green hydrogen, carbon markets and biofuels (taking advantage of the momentum of COP30).
- Proposals to reduce bureaucracy for exports and investments (Bill 167/2024 – Crédito Exportação, PL 7063/2017 – Public Service Concessions).
- New Bankruptcy Law (Bill 3/2024), which brings more predictability for companies.
- Legal Framework for Artificial Intelligence (Bill 2338/2023), with support from business and technology sectors.

Scenario: These themes can move forward with less controversy, as they serve sectors that press for predictability and clear rules, in addition to having a certain consensus in Congress.

### Medium Viability – Climate and Digital Agenda

The environmental agenda gains strength due to the international context and pressure from foreign investors. The digital agenda is on the radar, but faces disputes over platform regulation.

- Amendment Bill for Public Security, to structure the Unified Public Security System (SUSP).
- Pantanal Law (Bill 2334/2024) and Escazú Agreement, with support from the government base, but resistance from agribusiness.
- Protection in the digital environment (Bill 2630/2020 – Fake News Law), which faces divergences between platforms and Congress.

Scenario: The global context drives the environmental agenda, but agribusiness imposes limits. In digital, there is a risk of polarization.

### Low Viability – Ideological and Sectoral Themes

These projects face resistance from strengthened benches (agribusiness, evangelical and arms groups), in addition to greater potential for political polarization.

- Crimes against the Democratic Rule of Law (Bill 3611/2023 and 3612/2023), with strong opposition from the right wing.
- Amendment Bill to the Military (Amendment Bill 42/2023), which encounters barriers in the military bench and in the government itself.
- Regulation of gold and illegal mining (Bill 836/2021 and Bill 3025/2023), which faces resistance in Congress, especially in the Legal Amazon.

Scenario: More ideologically sensitive measures will depend on a high political cost for approval, which makes them unlikely in the short term.

## Execution Analysis and Political Context

The government will have difficulty securing solid commitments from Congress without first resolving two fundamental impasses:

- Definition of parliamentary amendments: Without the broad release of this instrument, the Planalto loses its capacity for political articulation.
- Ministerial reform: Without more space for the center, promises of legislative support are fragile.

Furthermore, party fragmentation and the anticipation of the 2026 electoral race make the environment more volatile. Parliamentarians focus on issues with a direct impact on their electoral bases, reducing the scope for more complex government agendas.



Vinicius Loures/Câmara dos Deputados

## Conclusion

The Union and Reconstruction 2025 Agenda is well structured, but faces an unstable legislative scenario.

### What tends to move forward?

- Economic and regulatory issues, which guarantee predictability and legal certainty.
- Energy and climate transition projects, which have international support and need concrete progress by COP30.

### What should face the most obstacles?

- Agendas with a strong ideological bias, which mobilize sectoral groups against the government.
- Measures without a clear counterpart for Congress, which require high political articulation.

In the short term, no formal commitment made by Congress leaders can be considered definitive, until the political obstacles to governance are resolved.