A NEW POWER BLOC OR GOING IT ALONE? 
Brazil and South American Regionalism

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From the Region to the World: Concept and Policy

Concept:
All regional powers that aspire to become global protagonists… must first be legitimated at the regional level since they do not possess enough material capacity or soft power to act autonomously in international politics.

Maria Regina Soares de Lima (Brazilian IR scholar), Fall 2008

Policy:
No Governo Lula, a América do Sul será nossa prioridade.

Celso Amorim (Lula’s foreign minister), January 1, 2003
Is Regional Leadership Necessary to Become a Global Power?

Structure of the presentation

- The region: a puzzle
- Leadership: a disappointment
- Global emergence: a revelation
- Conclusions
European Integration: Complex, but relatively concentric
Size matters: Europe and Latin America compared
OAS - Organization of American States
(35 members)
Latin America (20 independent states)
Ibero-America (22 independent states)
ALADI - Latin American Integration Association (12 members)
UNASUR - Union of South American Nations (12 members)
MERCOSUR - Common Market of the South
(4 members)
CAN - Andean Community (4 members)
ALBA - Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of our America (8 members)
NAFTA- North American Free Trade Agreement (3 members)
Pacific Alliance Agreement (4+1 members)
Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (33 members)
The economics of regional divergence

1.- Mexico and Central America
Growing share of manufactured exports

2.- South America
Prevalence of resource-based goodies (agriculture and/or mining)

3.- Caribbean countries
Specialization based on services (tourism and finance)
Brazil and Mexico: Export Share to the United States
China-led recommoditization:
Brazilian exports by economic sector, 1964-2009
Participation % over total

Source and elaboration: MDIC/SECEX
Intra-regional trade in several integration schemes

UNASUR's coefficient is 18.7%

Fuente: CEPAL, División de Comercio Internacional e Integración, sobre la base de información oficial
Trade interdependence in Mercosur
## Balance sheet of Brazil’s bid for regional leadership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Achievements</th>
<th>Setbacks</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH)</td>
<td>Permanent seat at the United Nations Security Council</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Secretary-General of the World Trade Organization (WTO)</td>
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<td>Presidency of the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB)</td>
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<td>UNASUR’s hijack, Mercosur’s standoff</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Pacific Alliance Agreement</td>
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Followers of whom? Contenders to Brazilian leadership in South America

- **Argentina**: itself, USA (sporadically)
- **Bolivia**: Venezuela, Argentina
- **Chile**: global player (albeit small)
- **Colombia**: USA
- **Ecuador**: Venezuela
- **Paraguay**: Argentina, USA, Taiwan
- **Peru**: USA, China
- **Uruguay**: Argentina, USA
- **Venezuela**: itself
Balance sheet of Brazil’s bid for global middle power

Setbacks
- BGJI (quartet for UNSC seat bid)
- Brazil-Turkey-Iran agreement

Achievements
- ‘BRIC’ status
- G20 leader at WTO (and G4)
- G5 outreach group / Financial G20
- IBSA grouping
- EU-Brazil strategic partnership
- Climate summit G5
So, how does the world see Brazil?
And yet…

BRICs’ Comparative Growth Rate
What prospects for presidential diplomacy after FHC and Lula?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>International Trips</th>
<th>Obama</th>
<th>Bush</th>
<th>Lula</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Trips</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nations Visited</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Km flown (000)</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>390</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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(first 22 months in office)
Conclusions

- In spite of its regional preeminence, Brazil has failed to consolidate itself as a regional leader.

- However, it has been quite successful in its bid for recognition as a global middle power.

- In sum, the means have failed but the goal was achieved.

- So think again: is regional leadership a condition for global emergence?