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ARTIGO

## **Brazil's rise on the international scene: Brazil and the World**

### **A ascensão do Brasil no cenário internacional: o Brasil e o mundo**

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#### ABSTRACT

Since Cardoso and during Lula's Administration, the international order has undergone significant changes. These changes have allowed the Brazilian foreign policy to mitigate in established by others and, at the same time, to become an active participant in the formulation of the democratize globalization became the mainspring of Brazilian foreign policy. In the scope, President I tradition of formulating and programming foreign policy as a State policy, and also has fostered the lo incorporation of Brazil into the international scene.

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**Key-words:** Brazilian foreign policy; new global order; emerging countries.

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## RESUMO

Do governo Cardoso ao governo Lula, a ordem internacional passou por significativas mudanças. Essa política externa brasileira mitigar os efeitos internos da ordem estabelecida pelos outros ao mesmo tempo ativamente na formulação de uma nova ordem. Democratizar a globalização tornou-se motivação da brasileira. Nesse escopo, o Presidente Lula manteve a tradição de formular e programar a política externa política de Estado, mas também aprofundou a estratégia logística de inserção do Brasil no cenário internacional.

**Palavras-chave:** política externa brasileira; nova ordem global; potências emergentes.

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## From the Cardoso to the Lula era: Brazil and the world

In the course of their sixteen years in office, Presidents Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1995-2002) and Lula (2003-2010) were two statesmen who defined the pattern of Brazil's integration into the international scene from the 20<sup>th</sup> into the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Cardoso's ideas and decisions drew inspiration from the neoliberal political model derived from a logistic mission of the State. The two presidents' modes of thinking are not sufficient to explain the change, though. As he essayed the logistic model of foreign policy in his second term, Cardoso, the neoliberal president, formulated the concept of asymmetrical globalization, paved the way for his successor, who adopted the model to promote Brazil's interdependent integration into the international scene.

### *From neoliberalism to global interdependence*

Neoliberalism had both adverse and positive effects on Brazil's international relations. Adverse effects included the opening of the domestic consumers market, foreign trade deficit, foreign indebtedness, sale of assets and submission to consensus and advice from capitalism's center, obedience to the rules of global governance, rich to their own benefit, and the sacrificing of relations with emerging countries in favor of the first world, with a loss of power on the international scene.

In time, though, economic opening resulted in the modernization of industrial plants and made the Brazilian economy competitive, while liberalism led to a smaller role of the State and the attendant rise of civil society. Lula began the move and advanced farther on the path of real interdependence. He discarded previous mechanisms of integration and placed Brazil among the nations that move on their own feet in search of their destiny, without support. Here lies the jump in quality of the Brazilian model of integration into the international scene in the new millennium: the State's intermediary role and external action on behalf of the social segments, subsurface, which encompasses the objectives of producers and consumers, entrepreneurs and wage earners alike.

To stake out its space in the world, instead of just opening itself to the world as before, Brazil would have to deal with asymmetries caused by the inequality of power and benefits in the international order. To what extent did it succeed in this respect?

The international order at the outset of the new millennium is in a state of effervescence involving actors and forces. Neoliberalism has receded to the periphery and placed itself at the service of the European Union and the United States, reinforced their political, geopolitical, and economic alliance and resisted the regulation of economic globalization during the 2008/09 crisis. On the other hand, globalization had altered an order imposed by the liberal doctrine of the 19th century by the States and its military power, and by transnational corporations. Old capitalism's supremacy and the United States had to come face to face with the emerging nations, which have come together to tame globalization's forces. One sees what Bertrand Badie calls the *power's impotence*; to the south, we see the *counterpower's play*; Gilberto Dupas, both actors recognize the limits of the national States.

In the south, counterpower springs from the social and political legitimization on whose bases the rule will be defined so as to benefit all; it springs further from democracy, which leads to the formulation of the rules from neoliberalism, which motivates individuals and, on the other extreme, from terrorism, which not only motivates but also legitimizes. Globalization's order is entering a new, still more global phase: each actor feels bound to the whole - the rich, the poor, to the developed and to the emerging countries, and to those benefited or excluded by capitalism - through international trade, peace and war, the environment, human rights, the energy and the financial crisis, and food. The entry of new actors on the stage adds other voices to the criticism of global asymmetries, and to the negotiations. This explains the stagnation of multilateralism, which was supposed to draw up the rules for the 21<sup>st</sup> century; it also explains the defensive reaction on the part of the developed countries, which results from the confrontation of two dispute settlement strategies: the Chinese-Brazilian, through the peaceful negotiations, and the US-NATO, through the violent means of intervention or sanction.

Since Cardoso and during Lula's Administration, international order has undergone significant changes that have allowed Brazilian foreign policy to mitigate the internal effects of the order established by others and, in the process, become an active participant in the formulation of the new order. How has this occurred?

With globalization of democracy seeming a utopian objective, as shown by the American failure in Iraq and the Chinese political regime, why not democratize globalization? This objective, susceptible of producing a new order, is the mainspring of Brazilian foreign policy.

As a first step, Lula's foreign diplomacy adopted this approach at the World Trade Organization's Conference in Cancún, 2003. Since World War II, international economic regulations had been established by capitalism's central powers. Developing countries, later called emerging countries, were at the most spectators at negotiation table and were bound to abide by the rules. All of this was seen as natural. After Cancún, in the view of Brazilian diplomacy, either the rules would be modified or countries would participate in the formulation of the rules or the process would stop. To create counterweight to the developed countries, they worked then and thereafter to form coalitions in the South, the first of which was the G-20, a group of countries that met on the occasion of the Cancún Conference to address trade issues.

The determination to democratize globalization added new facets to foreign policy: reinforcement of the role of the international negotiator; sovereign defense of national interests, including big business under the protection of alliances with emerging countries with identical objectives, beginning with those of South America; or, in the case of subservience to more developed countries; and a component of morality in the form of fight against global inequalities.

Lula has maintained the tradition of formulating and programming foreign policy as a State policy. It has preserved the interests, and modes of conduct adopted through historical channels, such as an industrial calling and the connection between the State and society. It has preserved Brazil's historical participation in multilateral organizations and increased by more than thirty percent the number of countries where Brazil maintains representations. It has established three external objectives: a) market liberalism ensuring reciprocity of business abroad through trade and internationalization of Brazilian companies; and c) reinforcement of influence global order and sectoral regimes. This is what makes the logistic strategy of incorporation in the international scene.

### *Consolidation of the logistic mode of participation in the international scene*

At the 2003 World Economic Forum in Davos, Lula, as an initial message of his first Administration, marked a departure from the neoliberal model, which he saw as an exaltation of the *market-god*. In the view of Foreign Minister Celso Amorim, *faith* in open markets and in the State's stepping back cannot induce development and equality among nations. World leaders have thus developed an awareness of the role of the State and demanded political action to allow Brazil to penetrate global processes as an active agent in the system, without submitting itself to the play of trade forces.

A logistic State is one that does not lend itself merely to rendering services, as was the case at the time of the liberal State, but to remaining a passive spectator of market forces and hegemonic power, as was the case at the time of the mercantile State because it reassumes development's strategic planning and the function of supporting and coordinating initiatives of other economic and social actors, to which it delegates responsibilities and power. Contrary to the liberal presumption about globalization, this new mode introduced by Cardoso and consolidated by Lula produces a new order.

being incapable of governing owing to international forces. Being Brazil an organized society, with its bringing together industrialists, farmers, bankers, workers, businessmen, and consumers, it is incumbent upon the State to support the achievement of the interests of these segments of society, watching over the welfare of all, and national interest. As all of this depends on both internal and external factors, the State ensures that the weight on foreign policy, and becomes an agent of global governance. This development warrants seeing the Lula era as a decisive step toward maturity.

Two factors, among others, contribute to the consolidation of the logistic State in Brazil: the high degree of organization, which facilitates the leader's coordinating work; and political and economic stability, which transfers the logic of internal governability to the logic of global governance. The combination of these factors, with the progress of development, gives rise to the logistic State, whose conduct differs from that of the neoliberal State, in that it turns to the reinforcement of national economic decision-making autonomy in the political sphere and turns to the reinforcement of national economic decision-making in the economic sphere.

In light of this conceptual framework, we can now review the different areas of external activity geared toward the nation's interests. And thereafter we can assess the results, as it is appropriate to a study of the country's international relations.<sup>2</sup>

## **High priority attached to integration into the global scene**

Brazil is forging ahead in the 21<sup>st</sup> century to become a globalist country. But its mode of integration into the global system differs from that of other globalist countries, such as Chile's. Chile's international insertion fits the trajectory of a society that prolongs its infancy by taking as guidelines free trade treaties and an economy based on primary products, in accordance with the precepts of the 1990s. Brazil adopts the industrialist globalism mode, characterized at this stage of maturation by two essential features: reciprocal multilateralism and economic internationalization. We will now conduct a thorough study of these features to describe the Brazilian mode of incorporation into the international system.

### *The concept of reciprocal multilateralism*

Brazilian foreign policy in the 21<sup>st</sup> century operates through reciprocal multilateralism: "We want free trade agreements characterized by reciprocity," said Lula in Davos on January 26, 2003. Reciprocity does not apply only to trade, but to all areas of the international order - economy, trade, security, environment, health, and human rights - when the rules of multilateral order benefit all nations. Without these rules, international order remains weak, as shown since 1945 by the discussions at GATT-WTO and the UN, the two pillars of multilateralism.

As a co-founder of these two more relevant multilateral organizations devoted primarily to trade and security, Brazil has maintained continuity of ideas and conduct, as it has advocated the peaceful, negotiated solution of conflicts and the promotion of the interests of the rich and the poor through the international trade system. However, it has not always been guided by these principles over time. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the Security Council still lacks representation and efficacy for maintaining peace, while the WTO lacks balance in the decision-making process to meet the needs of developing countries.

As of 2003, Brazilian foreign policy has found more power to demand reciprocity in international relations. At the G-20 in Cancun, when the United States and the European Union were attempting to impose an unfair trade agreement with farm subsidies virtually untouched and offered little or no opening to products of interest to developing countries, "demanding from these disproportionate concessions," wrote Celso Amorim.

Brazilian diplomacy applies its concept of reciprocal multilateralism to trade and security, but also extends it to other areas of international relations. The concept involves two presuppositions: the existence of rules to govern the relations between states without which the power disparity will prevail in favor of the great powers; and the joint formulation of rules that will not favor the interests of some to the detriment of the interests of others.

Reciprocal multilateralism eliminates two theoretical utopias for an understanding of Brazilian foreign policy: the idea of stability, and a necessary connection between foreign policy and political regime.

The hegemonic stability theory lies at the foundation of an international order based on the unilateral dominating power - the United States since the end of the Cold War - or on the subservience of the other powers and the irrelevance of the multilateral organizations. But a hegemonic instability theory would serve just as well according to Badie, as can be seen in contestation, anti-Americanism, terrorism, the outbreak of the first world war, the hegemonic center, the random conduct of certain powers, the ease with which the States move. As an engender order, much less an acceptable order, only multilateralism can preserve the order from the perspective of Brazil's foreign policy. In other words, the ideal order is the multilateral order.

A political regime does not necessarily show any connection with peace, development, justice, and modernization, and democratic regimes operate toward these ends but may also operate in an opposite direction. In 50 years of development models have shown similar results, regardless of the democratic or authoritarian nature of the regime.

### *Reciprocal multilateralism: examples*

To describe the reciprocal multilateralism that characterizes the Brazilian foreign policy in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, I will give five examples in five areas, for didactic purposes. (1) reciprocity in the international economy and in the relations with the major economic powers: the G-8, whose meetings are attended by the Brazilian Head of State; and the financial summit was held in November 2008 to combat the effects of the crisis and the stagnation of the development of the world; (2) international trade and Brazil's conduct at WTO's Doha Round, as well as its determination to establish a new international order for emerging countries; (3) international security, especially the efforts before the Security Council, and the strategy of negotiation instead of that of violence in dealing with issues; (4) climate changes and other global issues; (5) health and human rights.

#### 1. international economy: G-8 and G-20

The basic characteristic of Brazil's international economic relations is the pursuit of actual interdependence in the achievement of interests through negotiation at different forums, and of economic international negotiations have incorporated this economic policy and guided diplomacy's conduct at the WTO, in the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), and toward the European Union, as well as in the formation of coalitions with other countries. The purpose of this strategy is to strengthen ties to the largest possible number of nations, but regardless of their geographical situation, but with emphasis on the Southern Hemisphere, where Brazil is more evident. In 2004, for instance, Argentina was the second largest destination of Brazilian exports, after the United States. China came third, and southern countries were the destination of fifty percent of total exports. In 2010, the United States was the first trade partner.

In economic relations with the European Union and the United States, the unrestricted liberalization of trade and products flows does not serve the achievement of the national interest, as the country still lags behind. With unrestricted liberalization, Brazil would jeopardize its industrial future. It is under this light that the country has shown the rejection of free trade treaties, which perpetuate asymmetries; the search for partnerships and coalitions with other countries; attention to Mercosur; and the construction of South American economic unity - all of which are features of a pragmatic realism. While the North offers little other than a large market, and requires much in structural terms, the South is more favorable, in addition to offering opportunities that would be insane on the part of good policy.

The financial crisis that erupted in September 2007 in the United States and then spread to Europe, following the 1929 crisis, reveals the new equilibrium of the international economy, thus showing the need for a new international economic policy, which maintains strong ties to the North, but reacts logistically to the needs of the South. Emerging countries appear, with good regulation, high productivity, production, and exports, in amounts in United States Treasury papers; on the other, one sees bad regulation, high imports level, and public indebtedness at the center of capitalism.

Rich countries hold frequent meetings to discuss the direction of international relations and their own interests, those that are not addressed by multilateral decisions of global organizations. For some years now, the emerging countries they see as global actors to sit at the table. At the 2007 Germany Summit, for instance, the G-8 (Germany, United Kingdom, United States, Japan, and Russia) invited one of the G-5 (China, India, South Africa, Mexico, and Brazil) to attend. President Lula offered President Obama the opportunity to attend the negotiations of the rich. At its 35<sup>th</sup> Summit, held in

2009, the G-8 decided to convert itself into the G-14 (G-8+G-5+Egypt). The invitation addressed at the mere courtesy but by these emergent countries' weight, needed for addressing the issues and solving scale.

When the developed economies went into recession in 2008, the G-8 was forced to dilute itself into the shelters the twenty largest economies plus the European Union, a forum then established for adopting speculation and for reigniting growth. But it is the rich countries' defense instinct that explains the mai which in June 2009 had been declared dead by Celso Amorim and; Lula, accordingly, characterized the inadequate to make decisions about the international economy. At the June 2010 Toronto meeting of t reformulated its *modus operandi*.

As the instinct of defense, coupled with emerging interests and the multiplicity of economic negotiatio 20, and Central Banks) fails to conciliate decisions, it entails the irrelevance of these multilateral meeti new economic order, to be ultimately determined by the rich and the emerging countries. The rich cou stagnation reflects adversely on Brazilian economy in three ways: a reduction of exports, especially of direct investment, and a slackening of the pace of economic growth. Reaction to these effects has been of investments under the Growth Acceleration Program (PAC); reinforcement of the southern coalitior international financial system, the IMF, and the World Bank; and the making of ten billion dollars avai reinforce its lending resources.

At economic forum meetings, Brazilian government has advocated biofuels as a means of meeting the is similar to the challenge presented by China, with its massive population and its fast growth pace, to investment protection issue, which puts in opposition the interests of two worlds, has been shifted to l new form of protectionism has come up into the discussion, introduced by countries such as Canada a which proclaim the freedom of investment but begin to reconsider and even prohibit businesses that acquisition of their strategic corporations by emerging countries through shares transfer.

As regards intellectual property, which protects patents and technological innovation, discussion at th situation. Regulations in favor of laboratories and corporations of rich countries are accepted with res China, while Brazil has already issued compulsory licensing of medication against AIDS, thus breaking

From the negotiations with the big ones - if one might speak of real negotiation between rich and eme conclusions can be drawn. First, the meetings address issues that are vital to Brazilian interests; the co which regulations it would be advisable to accept and make its policy clear at multilateral forums and international agreements. Second, it is necessary to learn from this process, as the country now becom property and international investor. Third, the perception imposes itself of how important it is for the preserve decision-making autonomy in foreign policy, as expressed in President Lula's unpolished w the Germany meeting: "The developed world thinks that it can make a speech and that we have to take obey."<sup>4</sup>

## 2. International trade and the WTO

Globalization stimulates international trade in goods, services, and factors. The volume of foreign trac reflects on the income of producers and consumers, on the employment level, and on the country's ex attention should be devoted to trade.

After the trade deficit of the 1990s owing to the devaluation of the *Real* in 1999, Brazilian foreign trade s but it was only as of 2003 that this rising trend confirmed itself, with considerable surpluses, owing to l higher prices of export commodities. Finance Ministry data show that exports totaled 48 billion dollar 2002, and 197.9 billion in 2008, falling to 152.3 billion in 2009, due to the crisis. Surpluses also arose, fr dollars in 1999 to 40 billion in 2007. This was the year when the list of exports was further diversified, i exports, in which Brazil is a world leader (it ranks first as an exporter of ethanol, sugar, coffee, and ora sophisticated exports, such as aircraft and software. Manufactures, which accounted for 52.3 percent of primary exports then. In 2007, the United States and the European Union accounted for less than half billion dollars as compared with 161 billion dollars. As consumption in rich countries fell, China beca



partner in 2010.

Despite globalization, the modernization of the Brazilian productive system, and the logistic strategy for the international scene, Brazil has not been able in the 21<sup>st</sup> century to substantially modify its list of export benefits from foreign trade. In 2009 it exported more commodities than manufactures. As regards manufactures, 60 percent went to the major economies (United States, European Union, and China), while another 40 percent went to other countries, which attests to the attention to the neighbor countries.

These data illustrate the Brazilian diplomacy's activism at the WTO. As an advocate of the liberalization of international trade, Brazilian diplomacy seeks to address the imbalance between Brazilian productivity's higher status within the global market and its participation in international trade. Two specific objectives drive Brazilian participation at these negotiations: the liberalization of the agricultural market and the end of farm subsidies in Europe and the United States. Brazil demands concessions on manufacture trade as long as this injustice is not redressed. That is, to establish the reciprocity between the rich and the emerging countries. This Brazilian trade policy practiced also at the WTO negotiations, as it met with resistance, it caused the collapse of the FTAA and of the Mercosur-European Union Free Trade Agreement.

The trade G-20 was formed in Geneva, in August 2003, during preparatory meetings and thus preceded the WTO negotiations. It is made up of emerging countries willing to prevent the acceptance of results predetermined by the multilateral trade negotiations. Its original membership has been expanded from twenty to twenty-three countries, whose ministerial meetings take place at regular intervals. The WTO has been taken by surprise by the emergence of the G-20, which has caused it to change its modes of negotiation. It no longer accepts prior agreements proposed to the Assembly as a possible consensus to be imposed from above. The interests of the South have become a central element in the negotiations' dynamics.

The two groups' confrontation, particularly on the agricultural issue, dragged on for the entire decade, confirming Celso Amorim's prediction that the WTO would tend to become irrelevant. On one side, the developed countries, which did not yield to the emerging countries' right to take part in the decision-making power in the global trade order, demanding from them the liberalization of their industrial markets without giving anything in return. On the other side, stood the emerging countries, which since Cancún had gained sufficient power to do away with the WTO, to ensure international relations and to ensure reciprocity in the achievement of interests. In June 2006, the Doha Development Agenda negotiations were suspended and were actually resumed only at the end of the decade. But discouragement took hold among the specialists. Agricultural negotiations were thus shifted to the United Nations, which convened a major summit in Rome, to discuss food security, which was placed in jeopardy by the food crisis. The meeting was attended by 120 states and 4,800 delegates from 192 UN member countries.

As it happened at the WTO, negotiations at FAO also bogged down and yielded insignificant results. In international negotiations, countries easily shift responsibilities to one another.

For Brazil, multilateralism's failure at trade negotiations in the 21<sup>st</sup> century both harms and disturbs the country's matters of foreign trade: should one continue to wager on global free trade, move toward the bilateral trade agreements advised by diplomats of the Cardoso era and some businessmen, or seek an alternative in the South? If the first strategy did not occur, the South alternative began to materialize. Trade with China now ranks first, and the South has been promoted with this purpose in view, and in December 2009 Brazil signed a trade agreement with 19 countries, under which mutual tariffs have been reduced by 20 percent.<sup>5</sup>

### 3. Security and the Security council

The powers' security policy shows an internal face, the provision of means, and a strong connection with the international scene. Despite multilateralism and the formation of blocs, security is grounded on internal reality, from which the state derives its action and for exercising the decision-making power. In recent years, the Brazilian academia has involved itself in the study of security issues, which are no longer limited to a concern on the part of the armed forces and the state. As Vaz, there is a gap in Brazil between the strategic capability and the perception of the role to be played in the international and global levels.

With its ability to form consensuses, Brazilian diplomacy offsets the armed forces' scarce means of dis

This is why it extols Brazil's international role in security matters. It berates the United States's unilate doctrine of European intervention and terrorism; in addition, it links security to development and proposes a strategy of favoring negotiation over the resort to violence for the solution of conflicts and peace. It points out the positive effects of its praxis on the construction of peace and calls for the demo the Security Council as another way of achieving reciprocity in the multilateral order. It has recently ta respect, such as the attempted mediation between Iran and the West in regard to that country's nuclea talks between Arabs and Israelis regarding conflicts in the Middle East. But Brazilian diplomacy has no attempt to join the exclusive club of political and military power, which remains firmly closed.

The 1996 plan to reform national defense led to institutional advances, such as the establishment of th and the alternation of civilian ministers at its whelm, which however produced no effect on the countr Ten years later, the Lula government drafted a second plan conceptually appropriate for reequipping whose results are not yet known: to restart the military industry and technological research aimed at p with internal means. But as long as a cultural change does not occur in the country, foreign policy will operational means.

Despite these contradictions, Brazilian foreign policy moves on with the intention of playing a relevan security, based on the negotiated conflict solution. In 2004, Brazil joined Southern Cone countries, Arg the cooperation of Uruguay, Peru, and Bolivia, assumed the command of the troops, and acted to brin and redemocratization to Haiti - Brazil's major involvement in UN peace missions since 1946.

Let us now look at two objectives of Brazilian external involvement: the UN Security Council and the S Council.

Consistently with its pacifist foreign policy, Brazil has preference for a multilateral approach as a mecl conflicts. It attaches importance to the UN Security Council, of which it has made part since its foundir participates in peace missions. But Brazil calls for a reform of the Council in view of its lack of represer effectiveness in facing 21<sup>st</sup> century conflicts.

In 2005, the Brazilian government submitted to the UN General Assembly a proposal for the Council's had the support of other members of the G-4 (Brazil, India, Germany, and Japan), a group of major po made permanent members of the Council. Despite the G-4 endeavors, global reaction prevented the r permanent members' fear of losing power, the regional rivalries among powers, and disagreement as reform have kept the Council just as it was when it was established right after World War II.

On the occasion of the signing of the treaty establishing the Union of South American Nations (Unasur Brazilian government submitted a proposal for the establishment of a South American Defense Council steering bodies. After some obstacles to its establishment were overcome, the Defense Council was of March 2009. Its purpose is to keep external powers away from security matters in South America, to m zone of peace and negotiation, and to solve any regional conflicts.

Threats to security in Brazil's neighborhood do not come from the reequipping of the nations' armed differences between governments, of geopolitical rivalries. But the United States's reactivation of the I Latin America, Central America, and the Caribbean, inactive since 1950, and the use of seven airbases ( regional hegemonic power's answer to South America's pretended security autonomy.<sup>6</sup>

#### 4. climate and other environmental issues

In the view of the Brazilian foreign policy, the environmental issue encompasses three other issues: th development; and hunger. Multilateral negotiations for establishing appropriate regimes to address th been carried out under the auspices of the United Nations. Three Conferences were devoted to the ma Rio de Janeiro in 1992; and Johannesburg in 2002. Brazilian diplomacy has played a significant role in intention of introducing the reciprocity of effects into the discussion.

The industrial countries introduced the environmental issue into multilateralism at the Stockholm Co



developing countries injected their interests into the discussion, and in this Brazil has had a prominent role. Brazil associated the issue with development, and more recently with sustainable development.

The discussion has turned into polemics. On one side, the rich countries ascribe poverty and hunger to the South, such as corruption, government incompetence, and the restricted opening to the economic age. Since Rio-1992 they have been willing to finance projects of their interest. On the other side are developed countries, which point to the industrial countries as the culprits of environmental degradation and of the inequality among nations. When hampered, the discussion has proceeded, with conceptual gains for the developing countries, but with little practical result in general.

Climate change has become the most salient issue in the discussion. It surfaced in 1992, was the subject of the Convention entered into force in 1994, made headway after the 1997 Kyoto Protocol, in force since 2005, and has advanced rapidly. Owing to the reports of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, released by the United Nations in 1995,

International law sets targets for pollutant gas emissions that cause the planet's warming; these targets are to be met by industrial countries and left to the emerging countries' sense of responsibility. Alleging that compulsory emission cuts violate sovereignty, the United States has refused to ratify the Kyoto Protocol, thus setting up a serious obstacle ten years after it was established. Moreover, the Copenhagen Conference failed.

Under these circumstances, the United Nations is going ahead with its efforts to save the planet from total collapse, a compromise not only the planet's very survival but also the survival of the poor. In late 2007, the XIII World Climate Change Conference was held in Bali, Indonesia, and was attended by 189 countries. Totally isolated, the United States and finally a protocol of intentions for the post-Kyoto era was signed, to enter into force in 2012. The rich countries will not make progress as the emerging countries committed themselves to reduce their emissions with the help of the rich countries, including the United States, which would then make quantified cuts.<sup>7</sup> But there has been no progress. This is the conclusion warranted by the failure of the 2009 Copenhagen Conference, which was attended by heads of state and fifteen thousand delegates.

## 5. Health and human rights

Military spending and the costs financial systems' recovery after the recent crisis have required huge sums of money in developed countries. The internal and international impact has been indifference toward hunger, the neglect of health in many nations, and the heightening of international tension. Mankind's food situation became more serious.

The Brazilian foreign policy regarding human rights, as in the aforementioned cases, is critical of an international system of reciprocity or justice. Human rights have been seen traditionally by the North in light of the ideas of the French revolutions of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, which were incorporated into the United Nations 1948 declaration. Since the 1970s, a new strain of political philosophy has inspired the realism of international relations theory and of political economy. The United States with hegemony for defining the global order on the basis of interests and power, or rather, on the basis of those that wield power, without taking morals into consideration. This realism, a target of criticism in the South, does not match the Brazilian vision, which for decades has associated human rights with development and the fight against combating poverty and hunger.

At the UN General Assemblies he has attended since 2003 and at meetings of world leaders and of multilateral organizations, President Lula or his diplomats have chastised an order that ignores the scourge of hunger and diseases. On the domestic front, action is taken through social programs such as the Family Grant, the Zero Hunger subprogram; on the external front, action is taken through cooperation extended to poor countries, especially from Africa. Before Lula, the Brazilian government already resorted to international negotiations to achieve results, such as the Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights-TRIPS mechanism; it has fought, under pressure from the emerging countries, so as to rein in the right to medical drugs patents and export restrictions on medicines when required by public health. As an example, it may be mentioned that in 2007, the Lula administration fought over the lack of results in the negotiations with a lab holding the rights to the Efavirenz, a drug for combating HIV/AIDS, a competent agency to break its patent.<sup>8</sup>

*Internationalization of the Brazilian economy*

For the first time in history, internationalization of Brazilian companies has become part of the country's strategy. The President indicated this conceptual change at the 2005 Davos World Economic Forum when he said: "Something that distinguishes Brazilian businessmen is that they should not be afraid to make their companies into multinationals, like those in other countries, as this would be very good for Brazil." At meetings with businessmen, Celso Amorim, the President's special representative for the objective of turning Brazil into a globalized country, through the expansion of its businesses abroad, emphasized the need for greater participation in the international scene through dependence and subordination for a sovereign, cooperative world. The President said the same year before hundreds of businessmen in São Paulo. The dialogue between the state and the business community will continue.

A trend that has deserved much attention in international relations since 1990, globalization manifests itself through the opening of markets and expansion of internal businesses abroad and of external businesses into the internal market. The United States and other developed countries have benefited from globalization and thereby increased their systemic competitiveness. Brazil's objective in this regard is to have strong corporations to compete on a global scale, with the technical and financial support of national institutions, such as the National Economic and Social Development Bank (FINEP) and the Bank of Brazil. If Cardoso privatized [enterprises], Lula conglomerated [them]. The President's formation of the great national conglomerates. Despite this earlier achievement, Brazil has a long way to go to reach the density of developed countries, whose multinationals co-opt their own governments, which then form a pressure to influence decisions at multilateral organizations, such as the WTO, the IMF, and the World Bank. Brazil's goal is to obtain internal and intergovernmental rules in their own favor.

The Brazilian businesses' rising globalization trend has been recorded by the Brazilian Society of Studies on International Corporations and Economic Globalization, whose data we have used here.

The internationalization of the Brazilian economy has picked up speed since 2005, in tandem with the other emerging countries. Brazilian direct investments abroad have increased an average of 14 percent a year, rising from 12.5 billion dollars in 2004 to 18 billion dollars in 2006, but falling to 13.9 billion dollars in 2008 and dropping to 4.5 billion dollars in 2009, due to the global financial crisis. The emerging countries held about 5 percent of direct investments abroad in 2004, but this share exceeded 20 percent by 2007. In that year, with 180 billion dollars consolidated, Brazil had become the second largest emerging country among the emerging countries and foreign investments in Brazil totaled 34.6 billion dollars, a 100-percent increase over the previous year. In early 2008, international reserves totaled 194 billion dollars, a threefold increase over 59.8 billion dollars, and continued to rise, exceeding 250 billion dollars in 2010, after the country received a downgrade from the risk rating agencies. In December 2008, Brazil's consolidated direct investment abroad totaled 13.9 billion dollars.

Brazilian corporations invest abroad, starting in South America, where they maintain about one thousand subsidiaries. The movement involves medium companies as well as large groups. Among the major ones, Vale, Petrobras lead the way, followed by Gerdau, Embraer, Odebrecht, Itaú, Braskem, Votorantim, Camargo, among others. They operate in various areas, including mining, prospecting, metallurgy, industry, and technology. In neighboring countries, investments have been redirected: between 2001 and 2008, investments in the United States rose from 15 percent to 9 percent; between 2001 and 2010, the share of investments in the United States, which has become the main destination for investments, rose from 13 percent to 37 percent of Brazil's total direct investments abroad.

The companies' motivation varies: a valued currency, which prompts the acquisition of shares in multinationals; the establishing of subsidiaries; the association with or the purchase of other companies, which facilitates access to resources abroad; technological development; and raising productivity to a systemic global level, in order to compete in higher quality exports. Globalization occurs also when a company enters production chains in a world market. To follow this trend, national economy perpetuates its structural dependence. As a remarkable example, one often refers to Embraer, whose performance has been studied by Martinez.

After its 1994 privatization, anchored on the technological knowledge amassed by two previous centers, the Aeronautics Center and the Aeronautics Technological Institute - the Brazilian Aeronautic Corporation, Embraer entered the global market, adopted new innovation processes, replenished its resources, and embraced specialization. Later, it ranks as third maker of commuter jets in the world, and its products have topped the list of Brazilian exports.

The central countries are showing signs of concern over the pace and the effects of the internationalization of the economy.

emerging countries and are starting a dangerous tendency to reverse globalization. Substantial finance accumulated in the treasury of emerging countries that are exporters of raw materials or manufactures countries and China. These countries establish sovereign funds, which currently total about three trillion billion in possession of the Brazilian treasury.

The reversal of the financial situation now under way still does not displace the hegemony of the capital countries, but is leading these countries to resort to other forms of protectionism, such as raising difficulties in the transfer of the control of the assets of their multinationals to emerging countries, arguing that control will determine their structural position on the capitalist system's hierarchy.

Before seeking developed markets, Brazilian capital was channeled primarily to South America, especially today it is part of Quilmes, in the brewery area; of Perez Companac, in the fuel and energy sector; of LORCA concern; of Alpargatas, in textile and footwear; and of Acindar, the steel company; in addition to major

## **Integration and bilateralism: establishment of the global network**

The formation of blocs is the trend in international relations in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, although it lacks the dynamism of the European Union has given up on a Constitution, rejected through plebiscites in 2005, and replaced it with a treaty which has also failed to obtain unanimous approval of the 27 members. In South America, governments seek to improve social and economic conditions, which had deteriorated at the time of neoliberalism, and seek domestic and international projects, in addition to programming different modes of participation in the international scene. However, governments do not view integration as an efficient strategy for overcoming difficulties. Under these conditions, Brazilian foreign policy, of a marked integrationist bent, makes use of integration processes to establish a network of cooperation and power network directed at the South, starting from South America and advancing toward other regions, so as to achieve the goal of making Brazil into a global-oriented country.

### *Mercosur and Unasur*

The concept of *relations along the same axis* has been introduced into the international relations theory by Patrício, who investigated the role played in the origin and development of integration processes between key countries in a region, such as France and Germany in the case of the European Union, and the case of MERCOSUR and South America. We have presented this concept and reviewed its application in my book *Inserção Internacional*.

Brazil-Argentina relations were affected by the 1999 devaluation of the Real, the Brazilian currency, and Argentina's profound economic and social crisis in 2001-2002. At the outset of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the governments of Kirchner and of Luiz Inácio da Silva faced a trade dispute caused by Brazilian export manufactures that hindered industrialization. Other factors helped raise further difficulties in the management of bilateral relations with neighbor countries: scarce provision of energy, the acquisition of Argentine debt bonds by the Venezuelan government, the approval of Venezuela's adhesion to MERCOSUR by Uruguay and Argentina and obstruction on the part of the Paraguayan Congresses for some years. As regards multilateral negotiations, the two countries have both have identical interests. The same has occurred in regard to regional security on the occasion of the crisis in Ecuador in March 2008, triggered by a preemptive action by Colombia against a guerrilla camp located in its territory. In brief, the axis has survived, the partners walking side by side though not hand in hand.

In addition to the exponential growth of Brazilian direct investments in Argentina, bilateral trade has also grown between Brazil. Between 1996 and 2003, Argentina recorded yearly surpluses of nearly one billion dollars, equivalent to 10 percent of total bilateral trade. Between 2004 and 2007, as a reflection of the Argentine crisis, it was Brazilian surpluses that rose from 1.8 billion to 4.0 billion dollars. Significantly, manufactures account for nearly 30 percent than 30 percent of Argentina's. This difference in the exports list is an indication of unequal development.

Succeeding her husband as President of the Republic in 2008, Cristina Fernández de Kirchner expressed her desire to reestablish good understanding with Brazil, as Argentina had shown to be capable of economic recovery.

given to deepening integration in the areas of energy, science and technology, defense, production, sp  
This past February, the two countries signed seventeen bilateral agreements covering these areas, an i  
relations along an axis as being essential.

The first South American countries summit meeting, held in Brasilia in 2000, reflected the intent of furt  
integration, with Mercosur as a starting point. An action plan for the integration of regional infrastru  
established. The 2004 summit meeting of the 12 countries in Ouro Preto, Minas Gerais, took steps in th  
funds to finance economic convergence and the organization of a future community of South America  
Parliament, with its headquarters in Montevideo, later replaced the Interparliamentary Commission. /  
Mercosur decisions mingled with South American decisions, showing the desired intertwining of the t

Brazilian foreign policy sees Mercosur as a political project that neoliberalism's crisis and the continu  
asymmetries have made more flexible. Organized segments of Brazilian society intended to use it in fa  
transactions, while diplomacy envisages it as an instrument for reinforcing the international bargainin  
considered, integration purports to establish a regional hub more appropriate for achieving the objec  
reciprocity and of globalization of the Brazilian economy. At bottom, just as in all countries and sector  
relations, the hegemony of national interests comes first, more so in the 21<sup>st</sup> century than in the 1990s

The building up of South America advanced, consistently with Brazilian political thinking, with the an  
Community of South American Nations at the 2004 Cuzco Summit, which was established on the Marg  
became institutionally enacted under the Union of South American Nations-Unasur constitutive treaty  
at the summit of the twelve South American countries in Brasilia.

On the basis of its operational structure and purposes, one could say that Unasur does not play only a  
Brazilian interests and foreign policy's global objectives. If it becomes operational, the recently create  
entity South America - will fully meet Brazilian interests.

The Union is structured into four bodies: The Council of Heads of State, the Council of Foreign Ministr  
Defense Council, and the Council of Delegates.

Unasur came into being to serve political, geopolitical, and economic objectives. In the political area,  
unanimously approve decisions, their intention is to put the region on the world map, express the uni  
in a multilateral setting, and enhance its political independence, as it enjoys the status of a legal entity  
In the geopolitical area, although it is not a military alliance, it creates a regional nucleus of power and  
regional security; disputes in this context are settled through diplomatic activity, on the basis of South  
law doctrines, respect of sovereignty, and nonintervention in the internal affairs of the States. This pre  
external powers and organizations, such as the OAS, the Rio Group, and the old Inter-American Treaty  
signed at the outset of the Cold War. In the economic area, Unasur seeks to promote production, energ  
integration, but without replacing either Mercosur or the Andean Community, both of which remain a

This South American integration process displays two distinctive characteristics: originality as compar  
and the fact that it starts with political and geopolitical rather than economic integration, as was the ca  
Union.

Doubts raised at the time of Unasur's founding regarding its performance questioned the possibility c  
the superimposition of regional bodies, the scarceness of financial resources, and the difficulty - giver  
and political arrogance - of implementing projects aimed at improving infrastructure and at energy in  
South America a variety of models of international integration, and different worldviews and concepts  
Nevertheless, favorable conditions warrant this new step forward in the process of integration: econor  
century and greater social inclusion, in addition to the establishment of financial reserves and the ava  
stocks.<sup>10</sup>

*Casting the net beyond the neighborhood*

The casting of a global network as a goal of Brazilian foreign policy in the 21<sup>st</sup> century gains impetus v

multilateralism impelled by diplomacy, which establishes coalitions and takes the leadership in global economic internationalization, impelled by Lula's personal interest and by economic and social agent threads in South America in these two aspects and, fortified at its base, extends toward the world, as if locus. We should now look at this long-reach movement and the ties to blocs, regions, and countries.

## 1. Blocs and regions

Relations between Europe and Brazil take place in three contexts: relations between the European Union and Brazil; relations between the European Union and Brazil; and relations between European countries and Brazil. Negotiations have been under way for establishing a European Union-Mercosur free trade area; but they have elapsed, no conclusion has been reached. The impasse is due to the Brazilian aversion to treaties that lack reciprocity, as is the case here and with the treaty calling for the establishment of the Free Trade Area of the Americas, which has never been concluded either. Europeans and Americans do not relinquish their agricultural protectionism but demand concessions in the areas of industrial goods, public call to bids, and services. Brazil's industrial development at risk.

However, recognizing Brazil's role in the international economy and in multilateral negotiations, especially at the WTO's Doha Round and of the Mercosur-EU agreement, the European Union, at a special summit meeting proposed to confer on Brazil the status of a "strategic partner", a proposal that was endorsed by the European Council. From the European view, Brazil, as a key country in the region, is an indispensable ally in meeting global challenges such as climate change, human rights, intellectual property, industrial policy, and other economic and social issues. The decision was based on specific data and on expectations: Brazil accounts for approximately 80 percent of the European Union's foreign trade while the European Union accounts for 22 percent of the Brazilian foreign trade, it directs only 1.8 percent of the Brazilian investments. European investments in Brazil are significant, but business would increase should there be a legal framework and lower customs duties - if adopted, these measures would facilitate European Union's trade with South America.

This concession to Brazil signals a change in the European bloc's international strategy; since its formation, it has assigned priority to inter-bloc relations, assuming that it would export its model of integration that yields benefits to all. Brazil became European Union's eighth strategic partner, after the United States, Japan, Canada, India, and Africa. The programming of the joint cooperation plan began promptly and has continued at ministerial level in a series of Brazil-European Union summits held since then.

The financial crisis affected the European Union, disclosing some countries' heavy public indebtedness and threatening the Euro. Trade with and investments in Brazil were indirectly affected. A further difficulty in relations has been raised by Brazilian diplomacy's strong reaction to the EU's collective measures and to the EU's discipline on immigration. This reaction was especially strong in view of the detention and mistreatment of Brazilian tourists at the Madrid airport in 2008 and the mistaken execution of Brazilian Jean Charles de Menezes at Heathrow, as Itamaraty officially pointed out, meant disregard for human rights.

Bringing together potentially great economies, Brazil took the initiative of forming a political bloc of emerging economies. It was formally established in 2007, under the acronym BRIC - Brazil, Russia, India, and China. The bloc promotes business transactions among its members by also to coordinate their diplomatic activity and to coordinate their positions in respect of issues of their interest in international negotiations. Its weight on the international scene is increasing owing to the accelerated growth of the four economies and to the recession that has affected the rich countries. It is also a result of Brazilian diplomacy's desire, from now on multipolarity is a fact, so that the establishment of rules for international relations means shared responsibility.

Since the first BRIC foreign ministers meeting in Yekaterinburg, Russia, in May 2008, there have been several meetings of the four ministers as well as of other authorities. In 2009 summit meetings of the four great emerging countries were held on a regular basis, the first of which also in Yekaterinburg and the second in Brasilia in 2010. The bloc is gaining influence on the establishment of the rules that govern the global order by the financial G-20, the IMF, the World Bank, the United Nations reform, the Doha Round and the legal frameworks in important areas of international relations. The power is thus acquiring a new face, with BRIC being on the same footing as the old G-8.

IBAS is another political group devoted to cooperation among its members and to the harmonization of the international scene. It came into being in Brasilia in 2003, bringing together three major southern countries - each one being the major democracy on its respective continent: India, Brazil and China. More than global interests that occupy the group in their successive summit meetings, such as associating South America with development, South-South cooperation is envisaged under agreements covering areas of specific need: information technology, energy, health, food, and interconnection with Mercosur.

The emerging countries have given indication of their strength at the joint BRIC-IBAS summit meeting in 2010, when international economy was facing the worst crisis since the Great Depression of the 1930s. Global governance is at a crossroads, facing the challenge of promoting sustainable development.

In May 2008, Lula attended the summit meeting of the member countries of the Central American Integration System held in El Salvador, to reinforce economic, political, and cultural relations with one more regional bloc. The command of the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) carried out with concern for economic and social issues, has opened the doors of the Caribbean to Brazil. Also other countries in the region are receiving attention from the Brazilian government, which provides business transactions and investments, especially for oil prospecting and the production of biofuels. The region, previously removed from Brazil and close to the United States, was illustrated by the Brazilian involvement when the Honduran Judiciary and Executive deposed President Manuel Zelaya in 2009, and sought to subvert the Constitution.

The net extends also to Africa and the Arab countries. Lula has visited Africa more than a dozen times, bringing about the African Countries-Latin America summit meeting and being a special guest at the Africa-Positive Results Summit. Positive results from this approximation include programs in the area of health, especially for combat malaria, the presence of Brazilian contractors, activity by Petrobras, integration with Mercosur, increased exports, and support against farm subsidies. Although economic and strategic returns from relations with the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC) are scant, cultural gains are substantial. Africa is creating favorable conditions for foreign investment. In this respect the United States, China, and Brazil stand out.

Since 2003, the government intended to change the Brazilian policy toward the Near East and the Arab world to establish an Arab-Latin American bloc so that the two regions could raise their voices at international forums and could expand its trade with the Muslim world. This thought led to the South America-Arab Countries Summit in May 2005, a new example of Brazilian diplomacy's activism. The summit was attended by 33 countries from Latin America and 22 from the Arab world, including the six members of the Gulf Cooperation Council - and 800 businessmen. It elicited no concern on the part of the powers used to intervening in the region - Europe and the United States. Brazilian diplomacy's moderating role worldwide. The same cannot be said of the agreement signed by the United States aimed at making possible the Iranian nuclear program. On the occasion, Secretary of State Hilary Clinton expressed her indignation of the United States's conservative sector against the Brazilian diplomacy's naïve intervention. In the western powers have been traditionally involved.

## 2. Bilateralism

Bilateral relations or relations between a given country and a bloc have intensified in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Firstly, the crisis of multilateralism, as illustrated by the United Nations inefficiency and its stagnated reform, incapacity to conclude the Doha Round; secondly, the State's reinforcement after neoliberalism's failure in Latin America, and the United States's unilateralism; thirdly, the proliferation of bilateral free trade agreements carried out outside the WTO.

Bilateral free trade agreements have stricken a fatal blow against negotiations of a global agreement and Brazilian diplomacy abhors the former as much as it prefers the latter. By 2007, a network of approximately 400 free trade agreements had been signed, encouraged by the United States, eventually joined by the European Union and in Latin America.

Relations between Brazil and the United States unfold in a dual context: on the one hand, the foundation of a historical political and economic alliance between the two countries, whose benefits have always been



appreciated by both parties, regardless of which governments are in office; on the other hand, competition both as regards geopolitical views and the confrontation of specific economic interests. This substratum of relations under the two Administrations of George W. Bush and Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva in the first decade of the 21st century. The two leaders talked with each other with frankness and autonomy, whether in agreement or disagreement.

Used, just as their predecessors, to consulting with businessmen of their respective countries, Bush, Lula, and Inácio have had little to do to help them move forward on their own and discover business opportunities on their own. This has been opened decades ago. But the presidents of the two countries have established on their own a new paradigm under the technological cooperation agreement signed in Camp David in March 2007, on the production of ethanol and other biofuels. In addition, the two governments have signed a military cooperation agreement without compromising sovereignty. And through negotiations, they have solved bilateral disputes, such as the WTO's authorization for Brazil to retaliate against the United States because of cotton subsidies.

Relations between Brazil and China, viewed as strategic by both governments, are based on mutual trust, bilateral trade, and coordination of positions in respect of multilateral policies, pursuant to the agreement by Hu Jintao and Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, the two presidents, as they exchanged visits in 2004 and 2007, followed by the Brazil-China Businessmen Council. Studies sponsored by this Council have shown that China has gone from being an exporter of commodities to being a destination of Chinese investments and that since 2004 it has become Brazil's trading partner. During Jintao's last visit, a wide-ranging Joint Action Plan was established.

The strong effort to establish a partnership springs from the familiarity cultivated at multilateral forums such as the G-20 conferences on the environment, the financial G-20, and BRIC, and finds bilateral expression in trade agreements. Exports of capital goods, raw materials, and intermediary goods have facilitated the expansion of the Brazilian market. Exports of final consumer goods have fallen to approximately 10 percent. The trend of business transactions under the pressure of Brazilian industrialists on the government to contain the entry of Chinese manufactures, such as electronics and textiles, as well as Itamaraty's complaint because of the lack of Chinese investments in Brazil. On the other hand, investments in China are scarce and restricted to the area of technological cooperation between Brazil and China, such as the Research and the Chinese Space Agency, which in 2007 launched jointly a remote sensing satellite.

Brazil and India take common positions at multilateral forums, especially aimed at changing trade rules. However, their bilateral cooperation is meager and IBAS does not fill this gap. Despite good political and geopolitical relations, as illustrated by BRIC's very existence, another country that maintains bilateral relations with Brazil much more than Russia, as regards both trade and technological cooperation. There persists in Brazilian diplomacy a universal suspicion of a possible transfer of military technology by other countries, such as Russia, France, China, and the United States. This presumption became evident in the attempts made by Defense Minister Nelson Jobim, all of which fruitless. This is the case to expect in this area of international relations.

To celebrate the first centennial of Japanese immigration, Japan's Crown Prince visited Brazil in 2008. A historical assessment was made of our bilateral relations, comparable to those established with the United States. The government considers the participation of Japanese companies in Brazil's industrialization process in recent decades. Exports to Japan also enhance these relations, recently intensified by cooperation in the area of biofuel production and marketing. The challenges to be met for strengthening these relations further call for the expansion of trade, which is modest, and for higher Japanese investments, which have remained stagnant in recent years and kept Brazil a secondary destination.

As regards Europe, in addition to maintaining traditional relations, the Lula government has renewed ties with Germany and now welcomes France's renewed interest in our country. Portugal and Spain are the newcomers, as our bilateral relations shifted from the sentimental to the instrumental plane. As dynamic forces of internationalization, the two Iberian countries have turned their attention to Brazil, which they have chosen as a partner in Latin America for both economic and cultural reasons. Around 2000, Brazil became the first destination for Spanish direct investments abroad, which have been channeled in Brazil to both large and medium-sized enterprises. Privatizations have ceased, just as has the establishment of great corporations, particularly in the area of energy. These flows will tend to abate.

In South America, despite the formation of blocs, relations privilege the bilateral trend, such as in energy.

for instance. On the occasion of Argentina's bicentennial celebration, two books edited by Botana and excellent analyses of the internal and external profile of that country, Brazil's main partner. They also concepts of *declinación* and of international *extravío*, as well as Brazil's success and difficulty in dealing Countries with a strong introspective bias, such as Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Paraguay do not humor, and he maintains spontaneity in his relations with their leaders.

From the preceding and on the basis of other cases not mentioned, one concludes that in the world of attention should be devoted to bilateralism, the crucial path for ensuring the achievement of national tempting stance, as multilateralism and integration are two waning trends, while the unfettered movement seems to be the rising tendency.<sup>11</sup>

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