



Understanding International Partnership: *The Complicated Rapprochement between the United States and Brazil*

Javier Corrales
Professor of Political Science
Amherst College
Amherst, Mass. 01002
jcorrales@amherst.edu

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Obama warns Russia not to invade Ukraine



Interesting tidbits from the Clinton memos



Collapse spurs calls for Bitcoin oversight



PHOTOS | Week's best news photos

Why Venezuela's student protesters have already won



Rodrigo Abd/Associated Press - A youth walks under a large Venezuelan flag during a rally in support of the government in Caracas, Venezuela.

By Javier Corrales, Published: February 28 [E-mail the writer](#)

Javier Corrales is the John E. Kirkpatrick professor of political science at Amherst College. He is writing a second edition of his co-authored book "Dragon in the Tropics: Hugo Chávez and the Political Economy of Revolution in Venezuela."

In a country known for tense, bitter politics, this is the loudest things have gotten in a decade. For three weeks and counting, university students in Venezuela have staged somewhat chaotic yet determined [street protests](#) against the government of President Nicolás Maduro. The government has responded with repression, and at least 15 people have died, with many others wounded or arrested.

The students are inspired and ready to press on. The government shows no signs of ceding ground. Yet in this stalemate, the students have already achieved two significant victories. First, they have delivered a message to the government that the formal opposition has failed to convey. Second, and more important, the protesters have revealed to the world the true nature of Venezuela's regime.

The Post Most: Opinions

- 1** A nuclear weapons strategy that's stuck in the past
- 2** Condemnation isn't enough for Russian actions in Crimea
- 3** Obama's best hope for change 
- 4** Putin's Ukraine gambit 





<http://www.esmaelmorais.com.br/2013/12/ex-agente-que-denunciou-espionagem-de-obama-contra-dilma-pede-asilo-ao-brasil/>

Outline

- Theory
- The Complicated *Rapprochement*
- Rival arguments
- Geopolitical origins of demand for partnership:
 - Comparisons with the Anglo-American *Rapprochement*
- Differences

Theory

Power Transition → Conflict/Competition

(Organski 1958, Gilpin 1981, Tammen 2000, Mearsheimer 2001)

The Rise of Brazil



November 2009

Brazil's Growing International Role after 2004:

- 2004 – Leader of UN Haiti Peacekeeping Mission (Minustah)
- 2004 – Cancels Mozambique's debt (\$332m)
- 2007 – Agreement with Bolivia on gas prices
- 2008 – Founds UNASUR (12 countries in South America w/o US)
- 2009 – Brazil lends \$10 million to the IMF
- 2010 – Hosts 4th IBSA Summit (India, Brazil and South Africa) and 2nd BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India and China) Summit
- 2010 – Announces participation on UN Lebanon Peacekeeping Mission



Bush II, Lula II

- 2007: Two high-level meetings → Memorandum of Understanding to promote bio-fuels (MOU).
 - Technology Sharing
 - Feasibility studies
 - Joint cooperation to develop ethanol globally
(DR, ELS, HAI, SKN, GUA, HON, JAM, SEN)
- 2008: MOU expanded
- 2009: US Export-Import Bank will provide up to US\$10 billion loan to Petrobras
- 2009 Sen. Lugar's bill would provide \$6 Million to expand bio-fuels cooperation

Obama

- 2010, 2012: Defense Cooperation Agreements

U.S-Brazil: Key Disputes and Their Outcomes

Period	Number of Key Dispute Issues	Issue Settled?	Settlement Ratio (%)	U.S. Concessions	Brazil Concessions
1980-2006	21	12	57.1	3	9
2007-2013	16	13	81.3	11	8

Source: Author's elaboration based on Appendix 1.

Washington-Brasília trouble

2010: UN Resolution 1929 Against Iran



12 Yes. 2 No (Bra and Tur). 1 Abs (Leb).

2011: Re-Set



Fuente: <http://theobamadiary.com/2011/03/19/meet-the-family/>



New results (2011)

Iran:

Voted in favor of sending a UN rapporteur

Bolivia:

Advocates collaboration on drug interdiction

Libya:

Abstained on the UN vote for a no-fly zone

Security Cooperation Agreement:

2012



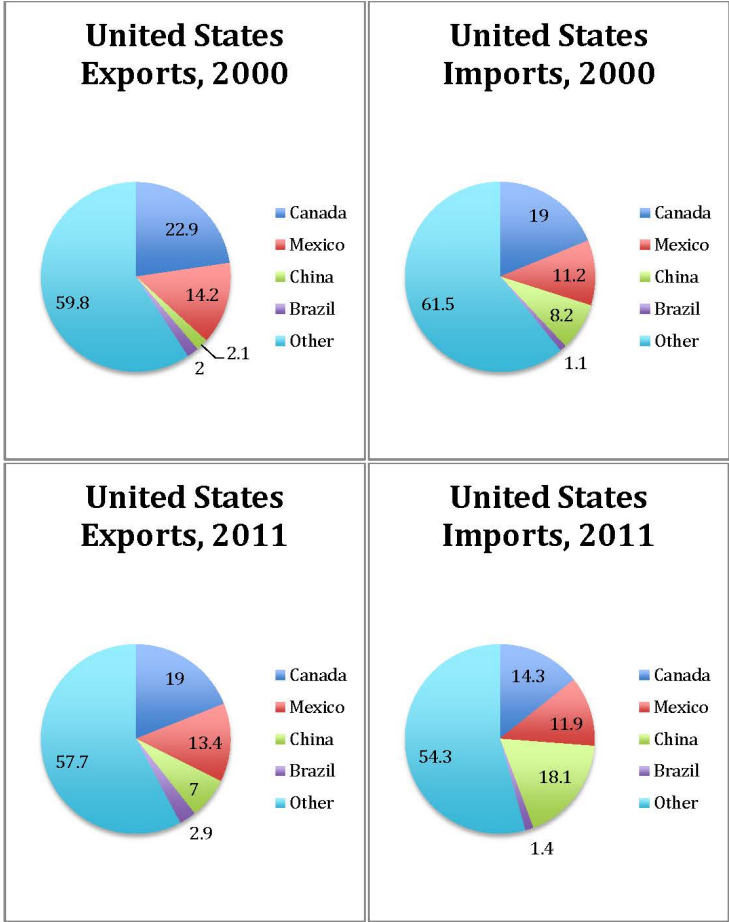
<http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Americas/2013/0923/Two-snubs-for-Washington-Brazil-to-deliver-strong-words-at-UN-video>



<http://www.embassynews.ca/2013/10/22/the-cyber-samba-turns-nasty/44676>

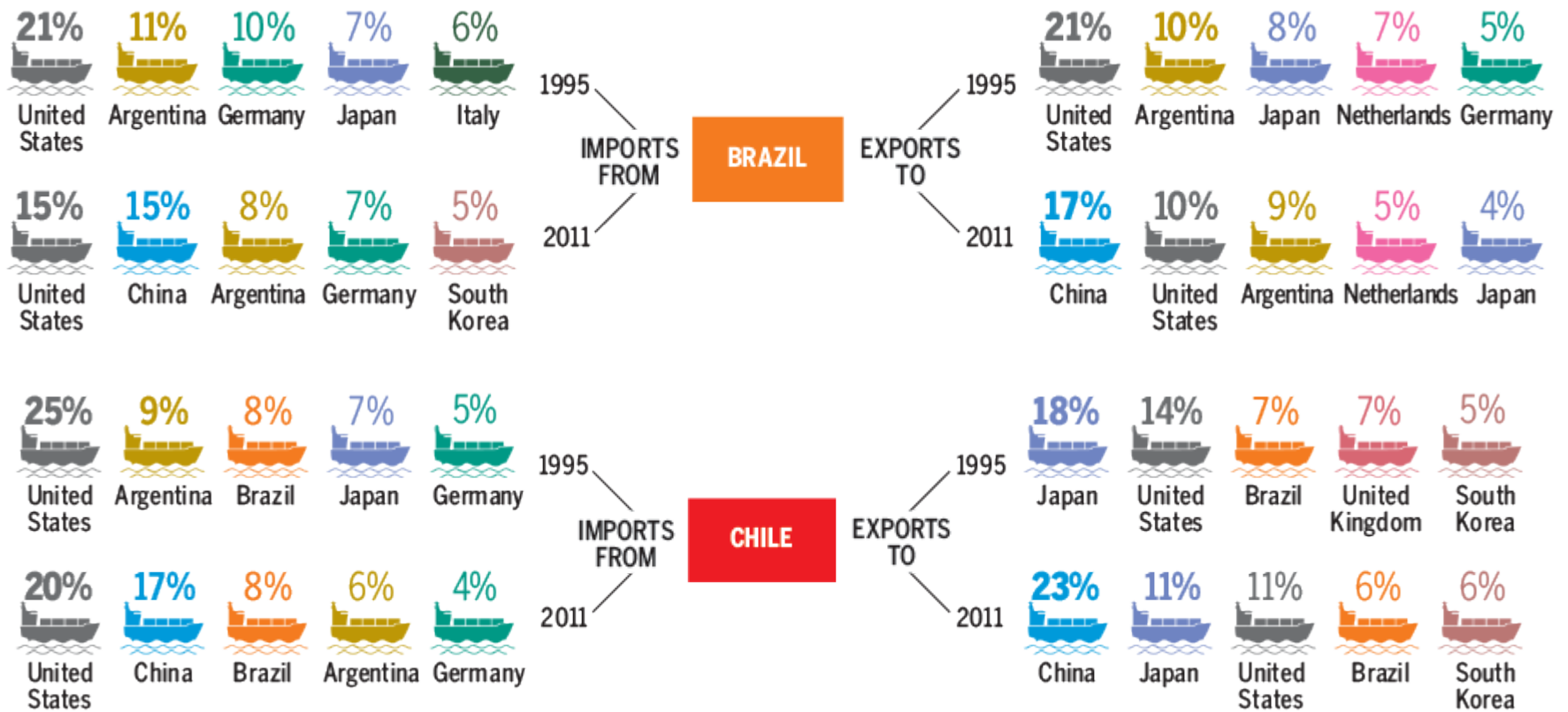
Rival Theories:

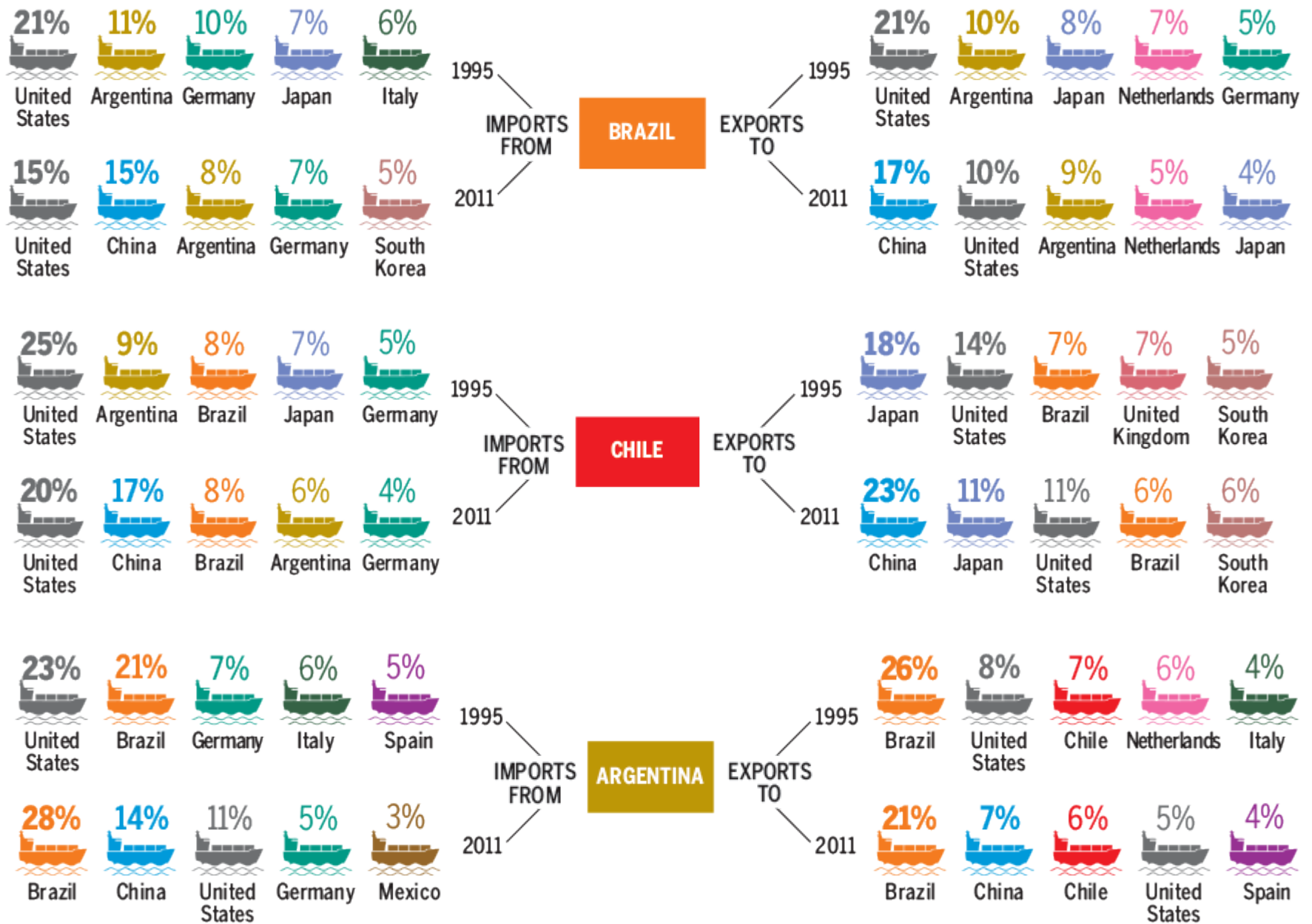
Rising Economic Interdependence?



source: <http://tse.export.gov/>

Numbers for United States Charts, taken from tse.export.gov				
	Exports, 2000	Imports, 2000	Exports, 2011	Imports, 2011
Canada	\$178,941,040,325.00	\$230,838,328,045.00	\$280,889,644,271.00	\$315,346,534,227.00
Mexico	\$111,349,041,173.00	\$135,926,405,241.00	\$198,377,552,537.00	\$262,864,421,807.00
China	\$16,185,275,918.00	\$100,018,428,636.00	\$103,939,433,941.00	\$399,361,922,088.00
Brazil	\$15,320,854,247.00	\$13,852,533,371.00	\$42,943,943,851.00	\$31,736,201,951.00
World	\$781,917,667,285.00	\$1,218,022,032,848.00	\$1,480,431,903,237.00	\$2,207,823,920,229.00

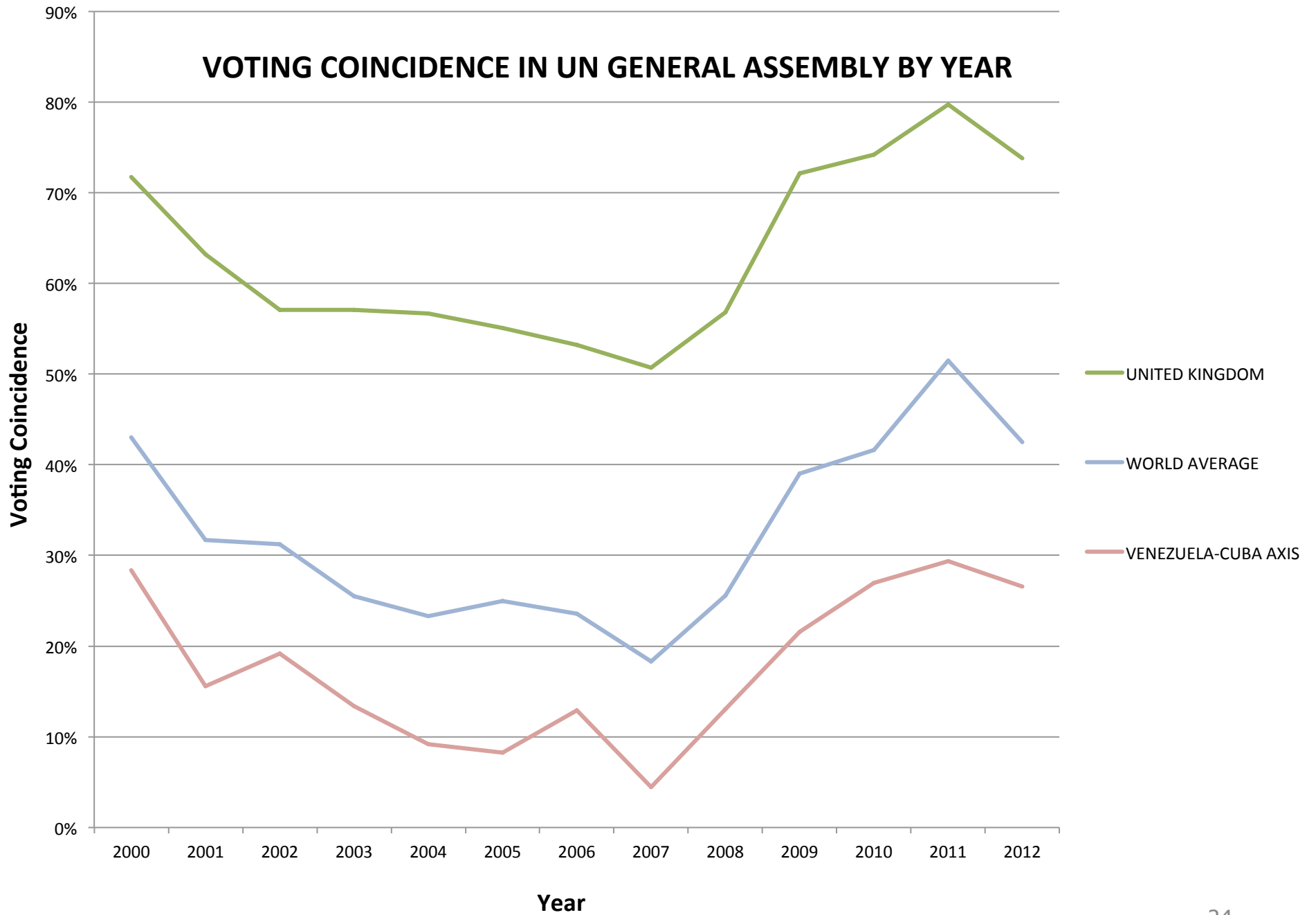




Rival Theories:

Rising Ideological / Interest Convergence?

VOTING COINCIDENCE IN UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY BY YEAR



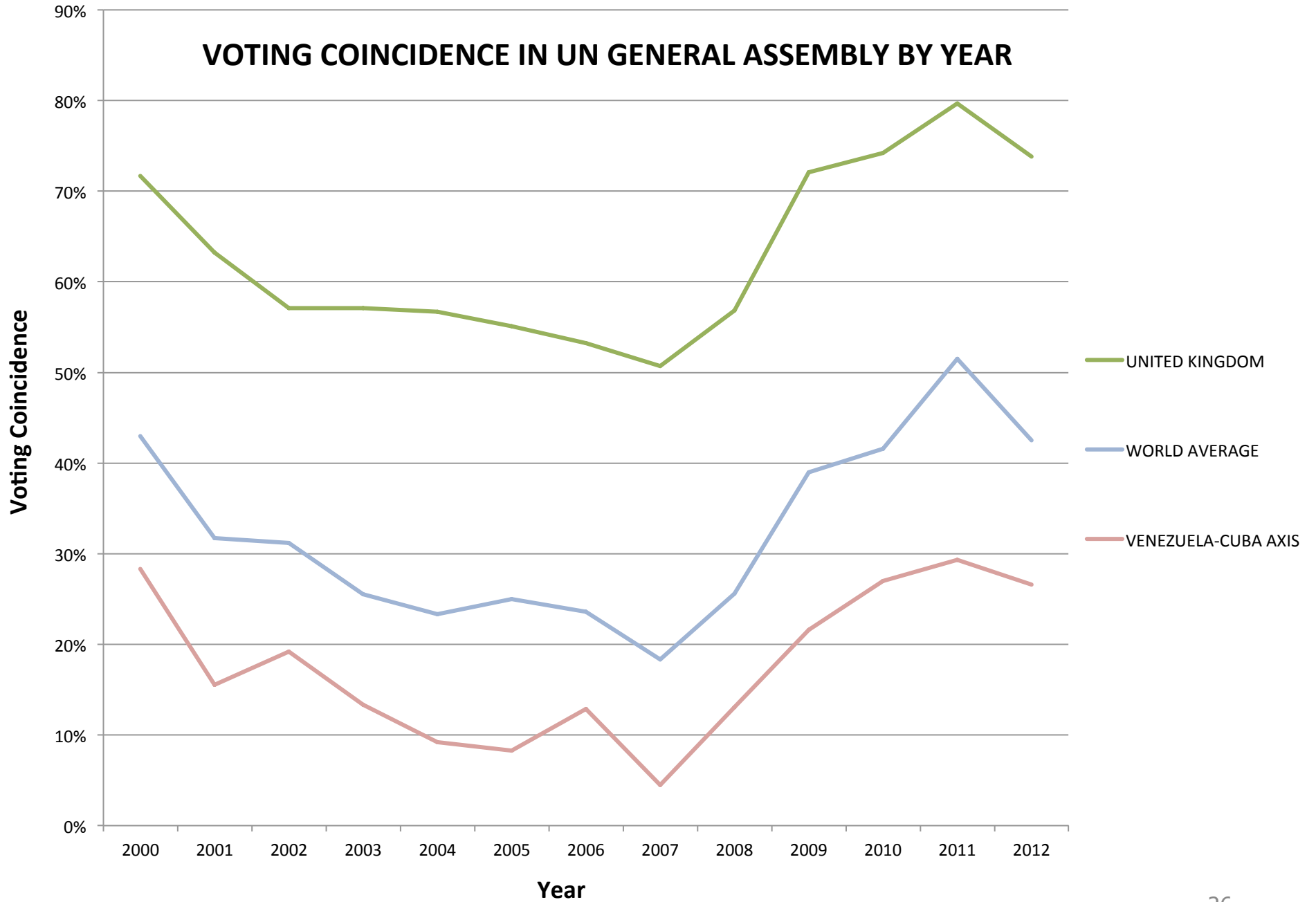
$$\text{VOTING COINCIDENCE} = \frac{\text{SAME VOTES}}{\text{Total Votes}}$$

"SAME VOTES" =

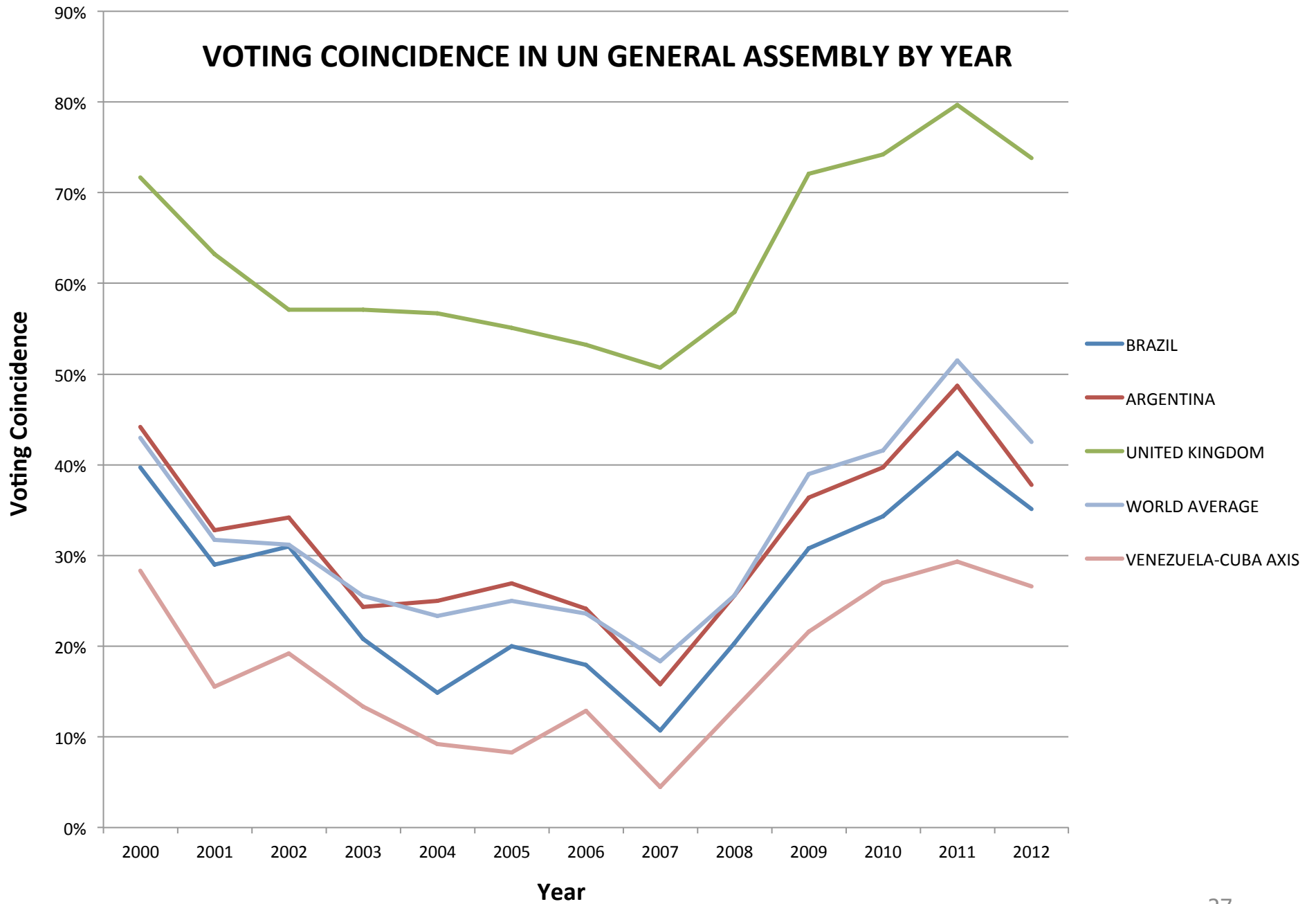
No. of votes for which US voted **YES** and country voted **YES**
+
no. of votes for which US voted **NO** and country voted **NO**

Source: U.S. State Department, "Voting Practices in the United Nations." Reports 2000-2012. Available at: <http://www.state.gov/p/io/rls/rpt/>

VOTING COINCIDENCE IN UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY BY YEAR



VOTING COINCIDENCE IN UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY BY YEAR



My argument:

Demand for Partnership v. Supply and Trust

1898: Poster promoting the United States and Great Britain Industrial Exposition (1899-1900). Shows Columbia and Britannia in the background holding flags, and Uncle Sam and John Bull in the foreground shaking hands.

Source: Wikipedia.



The Great Rapprochement

Bradford Perkins, *The Great Rapprochement* (New York: Atheneum, 1968).

Kathleen Burk, *Old World, New World* (London: Little Brown, 2007).

Stephen R. Rock, *Why Peace Breaks Out – Great Power Rapprochement in Historical Perspective* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1989).

Charles Kupchan, *How Enemies Become Friends: The Sources of Stable Peace* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010).

$$\begin{array}{ccc} \text{(England – U.S.)} & = & \text{(U.S. – Brazil)} \\ \text{1901-08} & & \text{2001-08} \end{array}$$

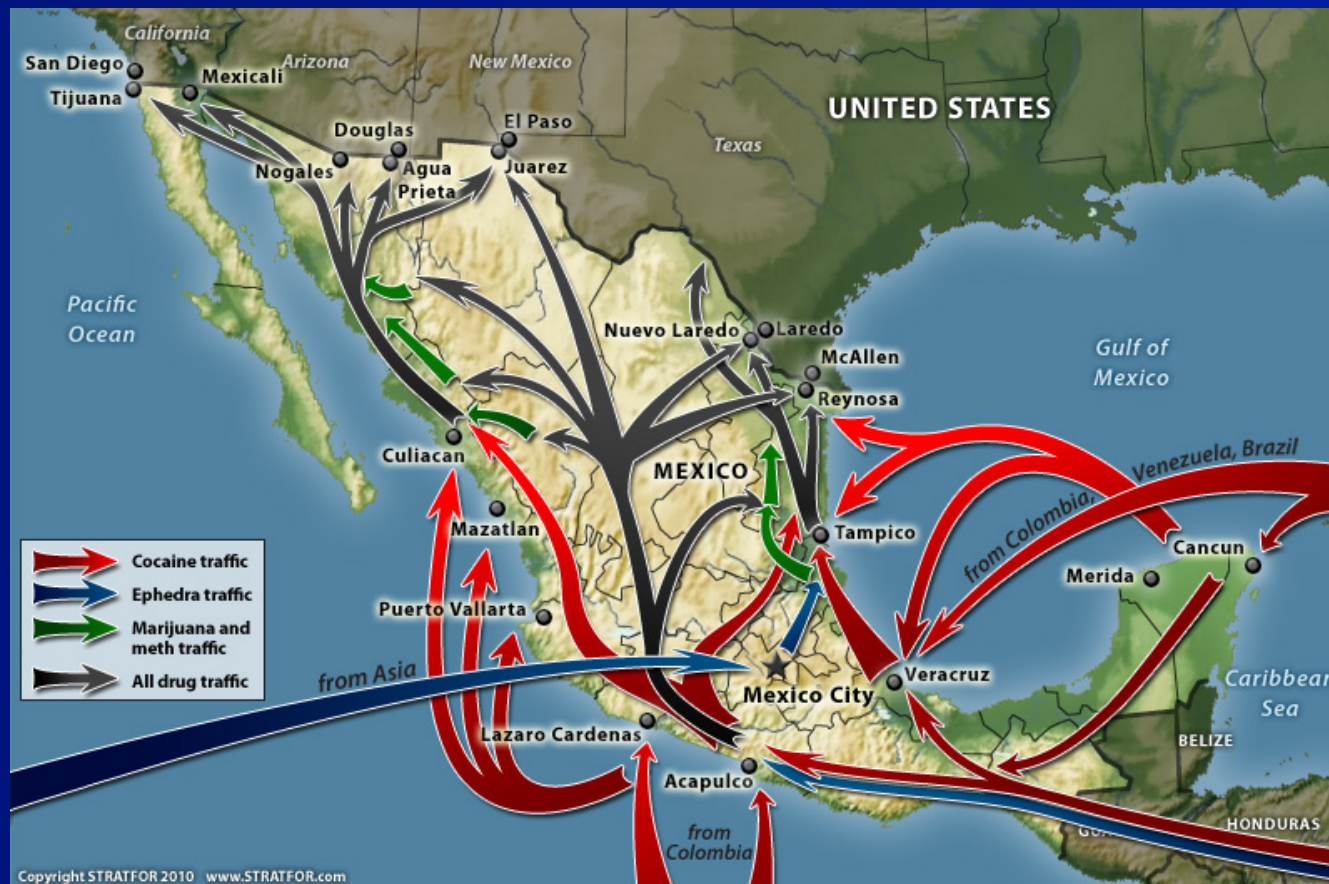
**(England – U.S.)
1901-08**

=

**(U.S. – Brazil)
2001-08**

	Great Power ENG 1900s vs US 2010s	Emerging country US 1900s vs Brazil 2010s
Similarities	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Decreasing interest in the region- Distant wars- Security threat near borders- Convergence on economic ideology (commerce)	

Drug Routes: Mexico



■ Source: Stratfor, "Mexican Drug Cartels: An Update, May 17, 2010." 10.

Mexican drug wars claim US Consulate lives

Hit men allied to the drug cartel in Ciudad Juárez are suspected to be behind attacks on two cars carrying families with ties to the US Consulate, amid a surge in violence along Mexico's border with Texas.

The US State Department has warned staff to send families out of six cities and advised against travel in the states of Durango, Coahuila, and Chihuahua.



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1901-08**

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**(U.S. – Brazil)
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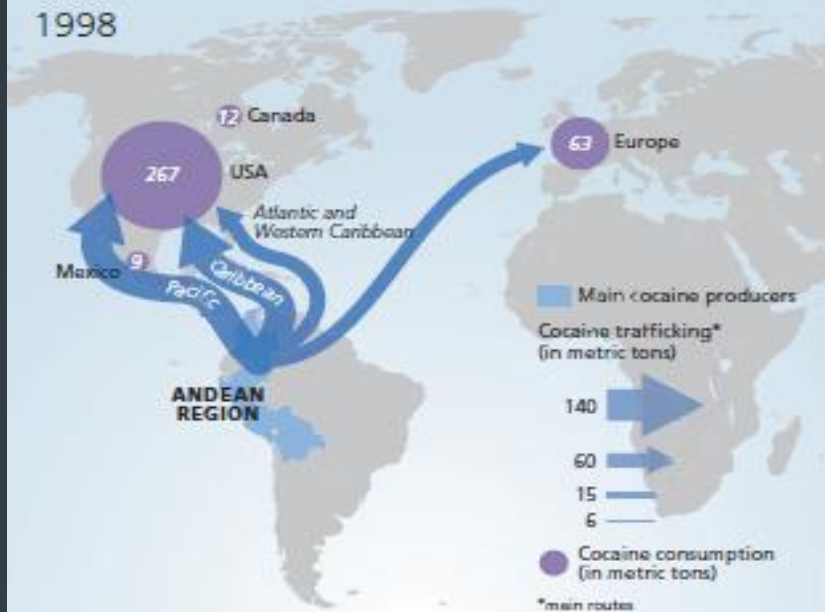
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Differences	- U.S. still does not want to let go (drugs)	

Map 1: Global cocaine flows, 1998 and 2008

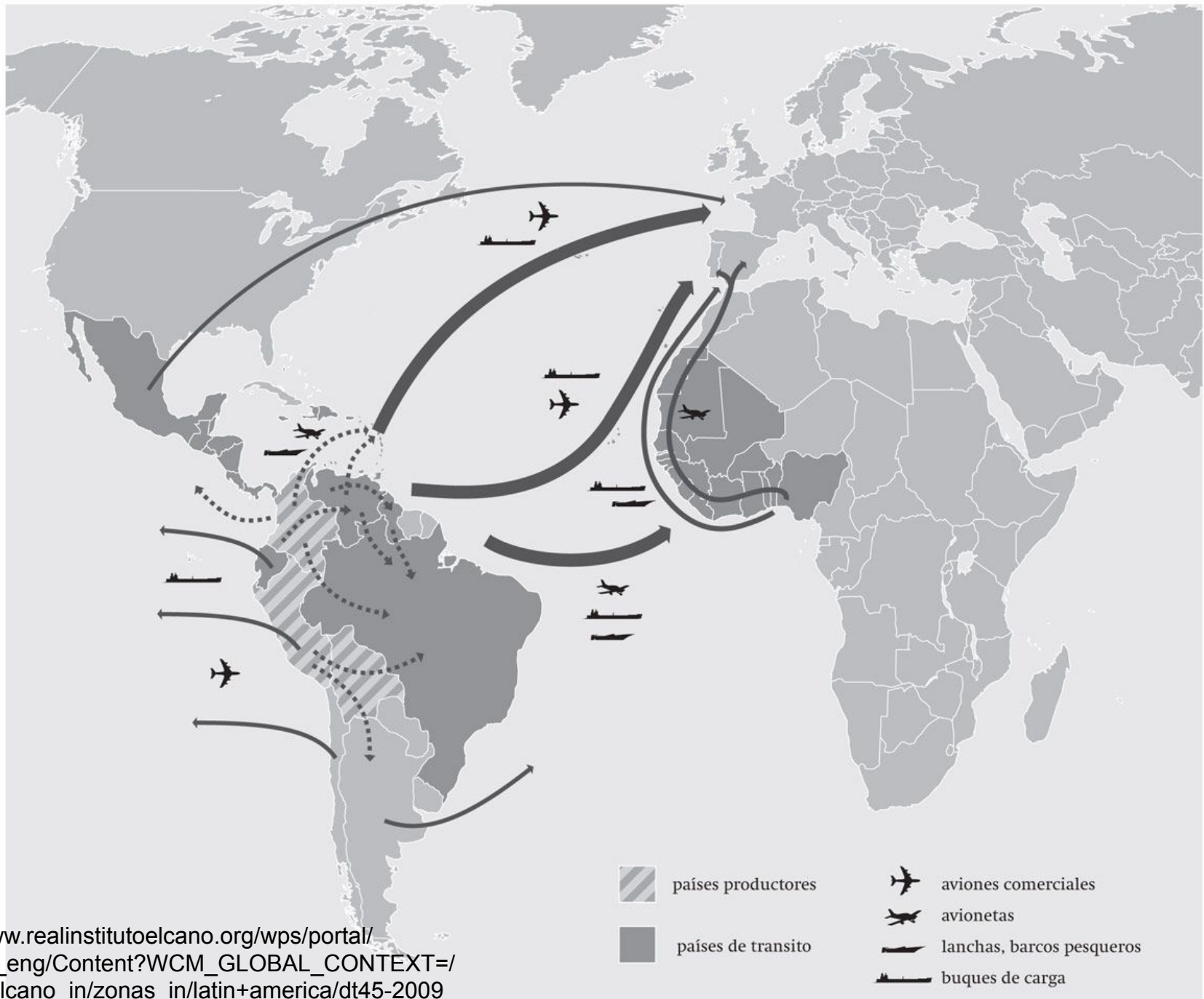
Source: UNODC *World Drug Report*, 2009 and UNODC calculations, informed by US ONDCP, Cocaine Consumption Estimates Methodology, September 2008 (internal paper)

1998



2008





http://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/wps/portal/rielcano_eng/Content?WCM_GLOBAL_CONTEXT=/elcano/elcano_in/zonas_in/latin+america/dt45-2009

**(England – U.S.)
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Differences	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- U.S. re still does not want to let go (drugs)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- U.S. 1900 strong state: willing to take on the costs

TABLE 5-1. South–South Aid Disbursements, Selected Countries

<i>Country</i>	<i>Amount (millions of U.S.\$)</i>	<i>GNI (percent)^a</i>	<i>Total South-South aid (percent)</i>
Saudi Arabia ^b	5,564	1.5	40.0
China ^c	1,500–2,000	0.06–0.08	14.4
Venezuela ^c	1,116–2,500	0.71–1.52	18.0
Turkey ^c	780	0.11	5.6
South Korea ^b	802	0.09	5.8
India ^d	586.6	0.05	4.1
Taiwan ^b	435	0.11	3.1
Brazil ^c	356	0.04	2.6
Kuwait ^b	283	...	2.0
South Africa ^c	194	0.07	1.4
Thailand ^b	178	...	1.3
Israel ^b	138	0.07	1.0
United Arab Emirates ^b	88	...	0.6
Malaysia ^c	16	0.01	0.1
Argentina ^c	5.1–10	0.0025–0.005	0.07
Chile ^c	3–3.3	0.0026–0.0029	0.02
Total	12,076.6–13,915.9		

Source: Reality of Aid, “South–South Development Cooperation: A Challenge to the Aid System?” 2010 report (www.realityofaid.org/aideffectiveness).

a. GNI data used is for 2007.

b. Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development/Development Assistance Committee, *2010 Development Cooperation Report*, table 33 (statistical appendix).

c. United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), *Background Study for the Development Cooperation Forum: Trends in South-South and Triangular Development Cooperation* (April 2008), table 2 (www.un.org/en/ecosoc/docs/pdfs/south-south_cooperation.pdf).

d. Indian Ministry of External Affairs, *Annual Report 2008–2009*, Appendix VII.



Final Point:

Paradox of Partnership-Seeking:

- Large power: Distrust → Tests → Disappointment
- Rising power: Expectations → Tests → Disappointment