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

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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
Outline

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

Power Transition \(\rightarrow\) Conflict/Competition

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Number of Key Dispute Issues</th>
<th>Issue Settled?</th>
<th>Settlement Ratio (%)</th>
<th>U.S. Concessions</th>
<th>Brazil Concessions</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980-2006</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007-2013</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>81.3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.embassynews.ca/2013/10/22/the-cyber-samba-turns-nasty/44676
Rival Theories:
Rising Economic Interdependence?
### United States Exports, 2000
- **Canada**: 22.9%
- **Mexico**: 14.2%
- **China**: 2.1%
- **Brazil**: 2%
- **Other**: 61.5%

### United States Imports, 2000
- **Canada**: 19%
- **Mexico**: 11.2%
- **China**: 8.2%
- **Brazil**: 1.1%
- **Other**: 61.5%

### United States Exports, 2011
- **Canada**: 19%
- **Mexico**: 13.4%
- **China**: 7%
- **Brazil**: 2.9%
- **Other**: 57.7%

### United States Imports, 2011
- **Canada**: 14.3%
- **Mexico**: 11.9%
- **China**: 18.1%
- **Brazil**: 1.4%
- **Other**: 54.3%

### Source:
- [http://tse.export.gov/](http://tse.export.gov/)

### Numbers for United States Charts, taken from tse.export.gov

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>$178,941,040,325.00</td>
<td>$230,838,328,045.00</td>
<td>$280,889,644,271.00</td>
<td>$315,346,534,227.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>$111,349,041,173.00</td>
<td>$135,926,405,241.00</td>
<td>$198,377,552,537.00</td>
<td>$262,864,421,807.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>$16,185,275,918.00</td>
<td>$100,018,428,636.00</td>
<td>$103,939,433,941.00</td>
<td>$399,361,922,088.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>$15,320,854,247.00</td>
<td>$13,852,533,371.00</td>
<td>$42,943,943,851.00</td>
<td>$31,736,201,951.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World</td>
<td>$781,917,667,285.00</td>
<td>$1,218,022,032,848.00</td>
<td>$1,480,431,903,237.00</td>
<td>$2,207,823,920,229.00</td>
</tr>
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García (in *Americas Quarterly* 2013)
García (in *Americas Quarterly* 2013)
Rival Theories:
Rising Ideological / Interest Convergence?
VOTING COINCIDENCE IN UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY BY YEAR

Voting Coincidence

Year

UNITED KINGDOM

WORLD AVERAGE

VENEZUELA-CUBA AXIS
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

VOTING COINCIDENCE IN UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY BY YEAR

Year

Voting Coincidence

- BRAZIL
- ARGENTINA
- UNITED KINGDOM
- WORLD AVERAGE
- VENEZUELA-CUBA AXIS
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.

The Great Rapprochement


(England – U.S.)
1901-08

= 

(U.S. – Brazil)
2001-08
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<td>- Security threat near borders</td>
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<td>- Convergence on economic ideology (commerce)</td>
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Drug Routes: Mexico

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

SOURCE: IISS
© GRAPHIC NEWS
**Great Power ENG 1900s vs US 2010s**  
- Decreasing interest in the region  
- Distant wars  
- Security threat near borders  
- Convergence on economic ideology (commerce)  

**Emerging country US 1900s vs Brazil 2010s**  
- Increasing interest in the region  
- Presidents open to contest anti-imperialist sentiments
(England – U.S.)
1901-08
= (U.S. – Brazil)
2001-08

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| Differences  | - U.S. still does not want to let go (drugs) |                                          |
Map 1: Global cocaine flows, 1998 and 2008


1998

- Main cocaine producers
- Cocaine trafficking* (in metric tons)
  - 140
  - 60
  - 15
  - 6

- Cocaine consumption (in metric tons)
  - *main routes

2008

- Main cocaine producers
- Cocaine trafficking* (in metric tons)
  - 124

- Cocaine consumption (in metric tons)
  - 124

Legend:
- Main cocaine producers
- Cocaine trafficking* (in metric tons)
- Cocaine consumption (in metric tons)
  - *main routes
(England – U.S.)
1901-08

=  
(U.S. – Brazil)
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(England – U.S.) 1901-08 = (U.S. – Brazil) 2001-08

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<td></td>
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<td>- U.S. 1900 strong state: willing to take on the costs</td>
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### TABLE 5 - 1. South–South Aid Disbursements, Selected Countries

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

**Total** 12,076.6–13,915.9


a. GNI data used is for 2007.


Final Point:

Paradox of Partnership-Seeking:

- Large power: Distrust $\rightarrow$ Tests $\rightarrow$ Disappointment
- Rising power: Expectations $\rightarrow$ Tests $\rightarrow$ Disappointment