Seminar on
Brazil - Between Regionalism and Globalism: Old Ambitions, New Results?

9:10 – 10:00 Panel 1 - Historic Background/Scene Setter

Two Foreign Policies
From Cardoso to Lula

Paulo Roberto de Almeida
Instituto Brasileiro de Relações Internacionais, Brasília
(www.pralmeida.org pralmeida@mac.com)
PT’s foreign policy and Lula’s diplomacy: Transition from big principles to active practices

Before: a typical Latin-American leftist party: the struggle against imperialism and the international capital

During: accepting some compromises in campaign a subtle transition to a pragmatic foreign policy

After: sleeping with the enemy (IMF, bankers, and the like) some big changes, despite continuities (as in South America…)

Transition discomforts: globalization, Wall Street and much more between Porto Alegre and Davos, an exercise in conciliation
A very active diplomacy: 
Lula’s travels and visits

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Lula travels to:</th>
<th>Visitors from:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Argentina, Chile, USA (all in december)</td>
<td>(president elected only)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>World Social Forum and Davos; G-8 in Evian; Mercosur summit (Asuncion); USA; Colombia; Portugal; Rio Group in Cuzco (Peru); Progressive Government (London); Spain; UNO General Assembly; Mexico; Cuba; São Tomé; Angola; Mozambique; Namibia, South Africa; Bolivia; Syria; Lebanon; United Arab Emirates; Egypt; Libia; Mercosur summit (Montevideo)</td>
<td>Argentina; Colombia; Malaysia; Netherlands; Peru; Bolivia; Venezuela; Ecuador; Lebanon; Argentina; Suriname; Guiana; Paraguay; Chile; Norway; Paraguay; Ukraine; Spain; Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Summit of the Americas, Monterrey; India; meeting in Geneva with Chirac, Lagos and Kofi Annan (Zero Hunger for the world); G-15 in Caracas; China (may); Mercosur summit (Buenos Aires)</td>
<td>Lebanon; Argentina; FTAA ministerial conference (Brazil) Mercosur summit (Brasília)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Will Lula be invited to the G-8 meeting? UN General Assembly again in 2004?</td>
<td>and counting…</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Grand total: 
about 65 high level meetings (travels by Lula and/or visits from heads of State or government to Brasília) (probably more than the double of that for minister Celso Amorim, both ways…)
Two foreign policies: FHC and Lula in perspective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Selected topics</th>
<th>FHC</th>
<th>Lula</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Relations with the United States</td>
<td>Essential, cooperative; Personal relationship FHC-Clinton; Sectoral disagreements, most limited to trade issues; “Realistic” emphasys on bilateral cooperation; Moderate reciprocity</td>
<td>Important, but not deemed essential; Large areas of disagreement, both political and economic; Political emphasys on multipolarity; Strict reciprocity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) South America</td>
<td>Strategic relationship; Rhetorical emphasys but little real initiatives during first term in office; Andean-Mercosur trade pact stalled; Brasilia meeting of Heads of State, during second term (Sept. 2000); Physical integration (IIRSA)</td>
<td>Strategic relationship; Political initiatives to translate rhetorics into reality; Self-proclaimed leadership; Bilateral visits to and from all countries; Resumed regional trade negotiations (at last a CAN-Mercosur agreement); Yes to physical integration</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Two foreign policies:**
FHC and Lula in perspective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Selected topics</th>
<th>FHC</th>
<th>Lula</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>3) Europe</strong></td>
<td>Historical ties; Most important partner, but realistic assumption on trade opening; Not viewed as strategic leverage in the relationship with the U.S.</td>
<td>Important partner; A compensating role in the strategic alliance against unilateralism (U.S.); Trade pact Mercosur-EU viewed as more beneficial than the FTAA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4) Mercosur</strong></td>
<td>One of the top priorities of the Brazilian foreign policy; A possible basis for economic integration into the world and the strengthening of economic relationships in the region; Trade and economics first</td>
<td>The top priority of the foreign policy; Strategic importance and a basis for the political union of South America, free from outside influences and hegemonic constraints (fortress); Social and politics take the lead</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Two foreign policies: FHC and Lula in perspective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Selected topics</th>
<th>FHC</th>
<th>Lula</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5) Argentina</td>
<td>A strategic partner; Political and economic coordination within limits in a few grounds; Realistic assumptions on Mercosur economic coordination and a common currency</td>
<td>The strategic partner; Frequent talks on many issues, looking for shared policies (FTAA, f.i); Political pursuit of a common currency and a political union (Parliament) in Mercosur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6) FTAA</td>
<td>Not very enthusiastic, but no real opposition; FTAA could be a opportunity for the modernization of Brazilian economy, provided it guarantees real market access (farm sector); Realistic bargaining over sectoral protectionist policies (U.S. farm subsidies) and acceptance of new issues (rules and access)</td>
<td>PT opposed, at first; SG-MRE: very critical; Lula candidate: “annexation”; Reluctant acceptance in power, and very hard bargain at negotiating table; “Compensations” to correct structural asymmetries; Very limited agreement on new rules in the absence of real market access (farm sector)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Two foreign policies: FHC and Lula in perspective

#### Selected topics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FHC</th>
<th>Lula</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7) <strong>Multilateralism, UN Security Council</strong></td>
<td>Realistic multilateralism; Reliance on international law but tacit acceptance of the “more equals”; A non-insistent candidate to a UNSC permanent chair (balanced against Argentina relationship)</td>
<td>Strong multilateralism; Sovereignty and equality of all countries; Alliances with other middle powers and emerging economies (South Africa, India, China); UNSC chair: a top priority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8) <strong>Brazil as a “leader”</strong></td>
<td>Seen as a result of economic preeminence and limited to the region; Awareness of the Brazilian limited strategic and economic capabilities; Cooperation with Africa</td>
<td>A main political objective, not only in the region; To be acquired by diplomatic activism; No apparent constraints in “real” factors (Brazil’s limited capabilities); Solidarity with Africa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Two foreign policies:  
FHC and Lula in perspective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Selected topics</th>
<th>FHC</th>
<th>Lula</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **9) Globalization** | At first, a “new Renaissance”;  
Not only acceptance, but participation;  
Yes to Davos, not even accepted in Porto Alegre;  
After: limitations due to asymmetries and financial volatility;  
Implicit acceptance of the Washington Consensus;  
Economic sustainability | At first, “a new world is possible”;  
National sovereignty against capitalist globalization;  
Yes to Porto Alegre; a resounding NO to Davos;  
After, realistic dialogue with both worlds;  
But, explicit refusal of the Washington Consensus (“Buenos Aires consensus”);  
Social sustainability |
| **10) IMF, hot money** | Non-ideological approach;  
Cooperative relationship during financial turmoil;  
Three support packages (1998, 2001; 2002);  
accept, as long as needed | PT opposed any agreement, at first;  
After, reluctant acceptance and silent distrust;  
Accepted extension of last package (insurance);  
Tolerate, only while needed |
## Two foreign policies:
FHC and Lula in perspective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Selected topics</th>
<th>FHC</th>
<th>Lula</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>11) WTO, multilateral trade negotiations, South-South</strong></td>
<td>Full participation, moderate activism; Economic interdependence and openness to FDI; Dialogue but not real coordination with the South; Visits to most important partners (India, China, Russia); G-15: only by Vice-President Marco Maciel</td>
<td>Full participation, strong activism; National economic sovereignty and sectoral development policies; Strategic alliances (G-20; South Africa and India); G-15: personal involvement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>12) Foreign tools</strong></td>
<td>Itamaraty as main locus of diplomacy; Explicit presidential diplomacy; Economic priorities; Accept the world as it is; Perhaps a Tobin tax to avoid volatility; Dialogue with the G-7 and a OECD-like approach to international agenda</td>
<td>Itamaraty and presidential advisors; Implicit and explicit presidential diplomacy; Political priorities at first; To change the world (Zero Hunger efforts); Yes to a Tobin tax and other “distributive” instruments; G-8 dialogue and G-15 coordination; A “new geography of trade”.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Two foreign policies:
FHC and Lula in perspective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Selected topics</th>
<th>FHC</th>
<th>Lula</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13) Leading features</td>
<td>Integration into a globalized world; Claim for “globalization with a human face”; More traditional approaches of diplomacy; Diplomacy as as supportive role in the development; Dialogue with other world leaders, looking for a better and cooperative environment for development;</td>
<td>Participation into a globalized world; Preservation of national sovereignty; Active, proud and creative foreign policy; Diplomacy has a role in the “national project”; Regional and international leadership to change and bring justice to the world</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Source materials:

Article by Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva:
“La política exterior del nuevo gobierno brasileño”
in *Foreign Affairs En Español*, January-March 2003
available in  in Spanish: [http://www.pralmeida.org/docs/LulaForAffairsEsp.pdf](http://www.pralmeida.org/docs/LulaForAffairsEsp.pdf)
abridged version in English: [http://www.pralmeida.org/docs/LulaForAffEng.htm](http://www.pralmeida.org/docs/LulaForAffEng.htm)

Essay by Paulo R. Almeida:
“A política internacional do Partido dos Trabalhadores: da fundação do partido à diplomacia do governo Lula”
revista *Sociologia e Política* (nº 20 junho 2003)
available in Portuguese at: [www.pralmeida.org/docs/1009PolExtPT.pdf](http://www.pralmeida.org/docs/1009PolExtPT.pdf)

New essay by Paulo R. Almeida:
“La politique internationale du Parti des Travailleurs: de la fondation du parti à diplomatie du gouvernement Lula”,
Chapter in a forthcoming book by Denis Rolland (ed.)
available in  in French: [www.pralmeida.org/docs/1193PRADiplomatiePT.pdf](http://www.pralmeida.org/docs/1193PRADiplomatiePT.pdf)

Two Foreign Policies: FHC and Lula
available in  in English: [http://www.pralmeida.org/docs/1213bTwoForeignPol.htm](http://www.pralmeida.org/docs/1213bTwoForeignPol.htm)
Paulo Roberto de Almeida
Diplomat and Professor
Instituto Brasileiro de Relações Internacionais, Brasília
www.pralmeida.org

SQS 213 Bloco E apt. 102
70292-050 Brasilia, DF
Tel.: (61) 245-1997  Cel.: 9208-0082
E-mails: pralmeida@mac.com  palmeida@unb.br

Nucleo de Assuntos Estratégicos - SECOM-PR
SCN Q. 2 Bl. A Corporate Financial Center, sala 1102
70712-900 Brasilia, DF  Tel: (61) 424-9600 Fax: 4249661
E-mail: palmeida@cgee.org.br