

# Brazil is Back

## Diplomacy by Returned President Lula



Photo: August 24, 2023 BRICS Summit in South Africa. From fourth-left in front row: President Lula of Brazil, President Xi Jinping of China, President Ramaphosa of South Africa, Prime Minister Modi of India, and Foreign Minister Lavrov of Russia. Also in attendance were high officials from Iran and Saudi Arabia: Indonesia's President Joko (front row, far right), and former Brazilian President Rousseff (front row, second from the right), President of the BRICS Bank. (Brazilian Presidential Office, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/palaciოდoplanalto/53138422306/in/album-72177720310697720/>)

**JETRO Institute of Developing Economies, KONTA Ryohei**

# The Global South

## Latin America in the global political economy structure

- What is the “**Global South**”? (Kawamura 2023)

The term “South” does not simply refer to the geographical location of these countries, which are primarily located in the southern hemisphere. As opposed to “North,” the term “South” connotes the perception that the slow economic development and political and social instability in these countries were caused by the global political economy structure created by developed nations (the “North”).

- **Dependency Theory** (mid-1960s~, Cardoso & Faletto 1979)

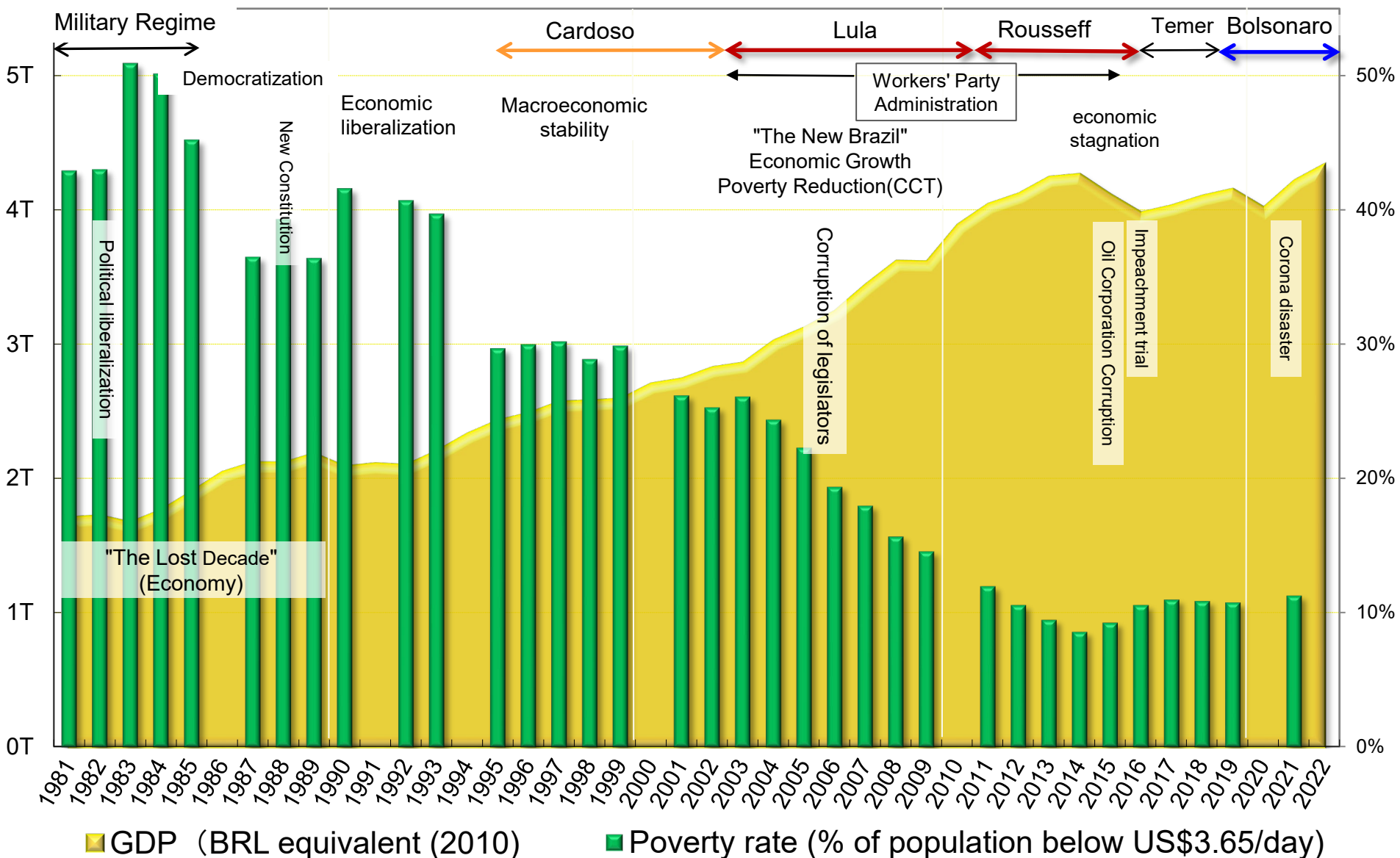
- ✓ The “core (center)” and “periphery (satellite)” in the world capitalist economic system
- ✓ Dependency relationship of the “periphery” to the “center” (where primary production is predominant) = Underdevelopment
  - The development of “peripheral” Latin America: “Underdevelopment or Revolution” (Frank 1967)
- ✓ The first development theory emanating from the “South”
  - Import substitution industrialization (1960s-1980s), “Brazilian Miracle” (1970s)
- ✓ Countries moved from the “periphery” to the “center”: Japan, China (back on the developing course)

# Diplomacy of Cardoso (FHC) and Lula

- **Cardoso advocated Dependency Theory and became President** (1995-2002)
  - ✓ Advocating that it is possible to move from the periphery to the center
  - ✓ Diplomacy that prioritizes developed countries: an intellectual leftist and professor at the University of São Paulo
  - ✓ Ministry of Foreign Affairs policy: omnidirectionalism and multilateralism
- **The unique diplomacy of President Lula of the left-wing Workers' Party**
  - ✓ Diplomacy prioritizing emerging & developing countries: a leftist leader from the poor
  - ✓ Promoting regional integration with neighboring countries with left-wing governments: similar ideologies
    - UNASUR (Union of South American Nations, 2007): Summit with Middle Eastern and African countries
    - CELAC (Community of Latin American and Caribbean States, 2011): Americas excluding the U.S. and Canada
  - ✓ **"The New Brazil"** 2003~2010 (Roett 2010; Fishlow 2011)
    - Continuous development:
 

Political (1980s) + Economic (1990s) + Social (2000s) ⇒ Diplomacy
  - ✓ Third time as president: 2023~ (2018~ imprisonment)

# Figure 1. Changes in Brazil's GDP and poverty rate



Note: The left axis is the GDP amount (the unit is Brazilian currency; Real converted in 2010, "T" is 1 trillion). The right axis is the poverty rate (percentage of the population living on less than the 2017 international price of USD 3.65 per day).

(Source: Prepared by the presenter based on data from the Institute of Applied Economic Research (IPEA) for GDP and World Development Indicators of the World Bank for poverty rates.



# Diplomacy by Returned President Lula

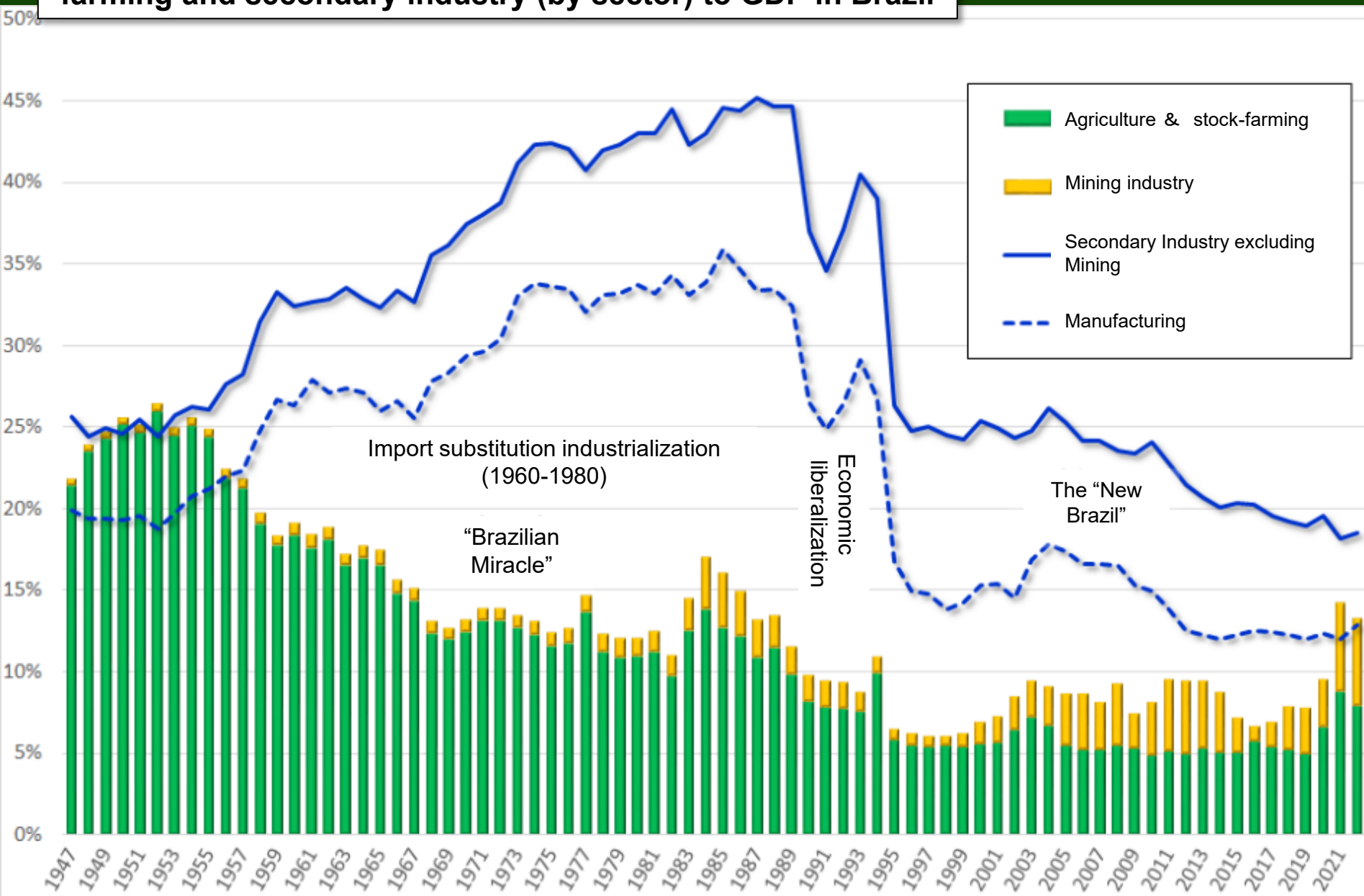
## • The foreign policy of Lula's 3rd administration

- ✓ Supposed to win the 2022 election with “defense of democracy”...
- ✓ Conflicts: Ukraine-Russia, Israel-Hamas, Venezuela-Guyana
- ✓ BRICS expansion, US-China relations, Latin America-South America regional integration (Weeks 2023)
- ✓ G20 hosting/presidency (2024), Environmental issues (COP30 2025)

## • The Brazil of President Lula who has returned

- ✓ **“Brazil is Back”**: Event title commemorating the 100th day of the government's establishment
  - Used in various areas, including diplomacy, and repeated more than 20 times in speeches
  - First statement: “Brazil is back to have a government”
- ✓ Domestic polarization: “there are no two Brazils...”
- ✓ The “periphery” suffers from subordination from the “center” (Carrança 2023)

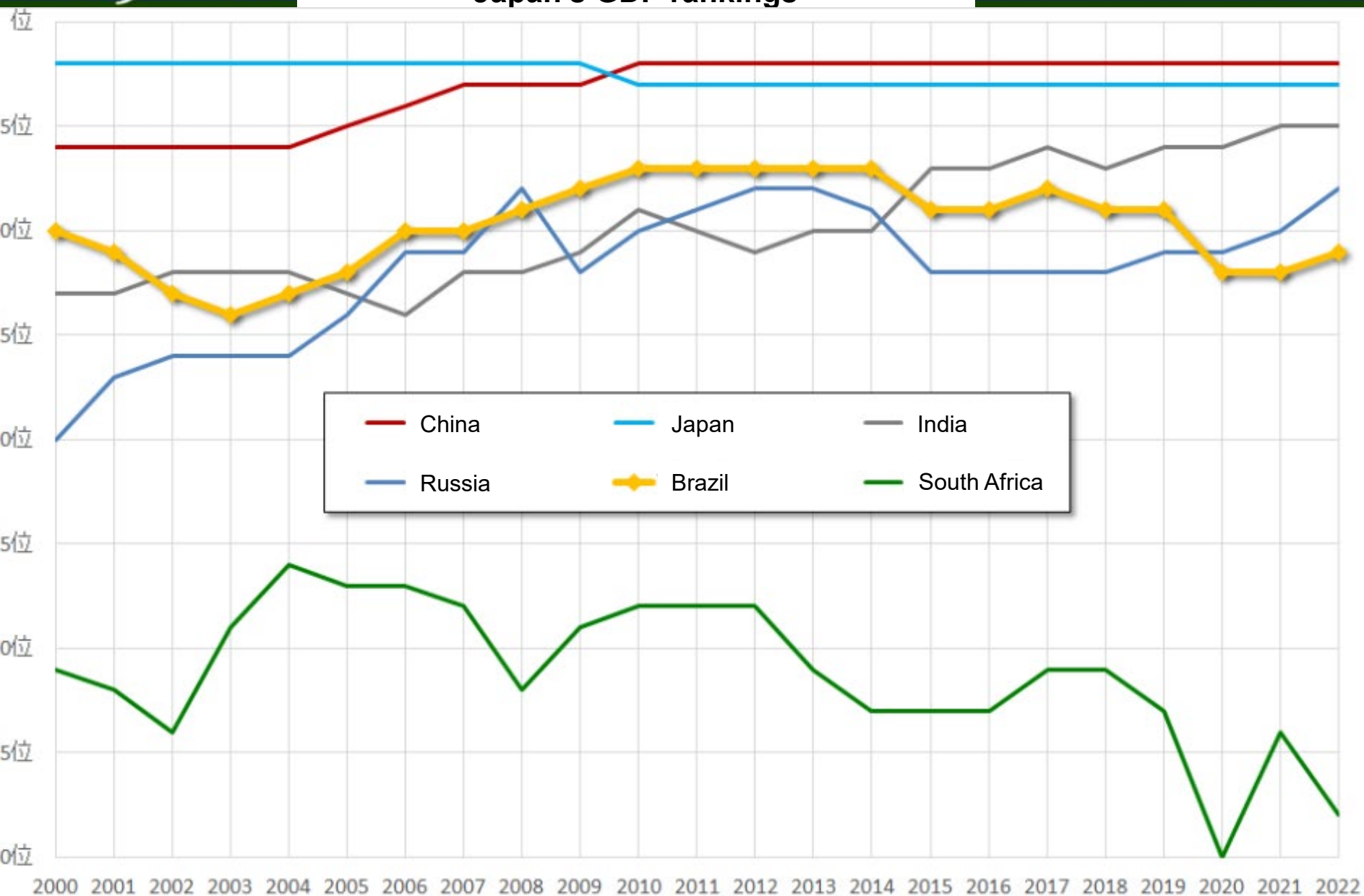
**Figure 2. Changes in the ratio of agriculture and livestock farming and secondary industry (by sector) to GDP in Brazil**



# Brazil is Back?

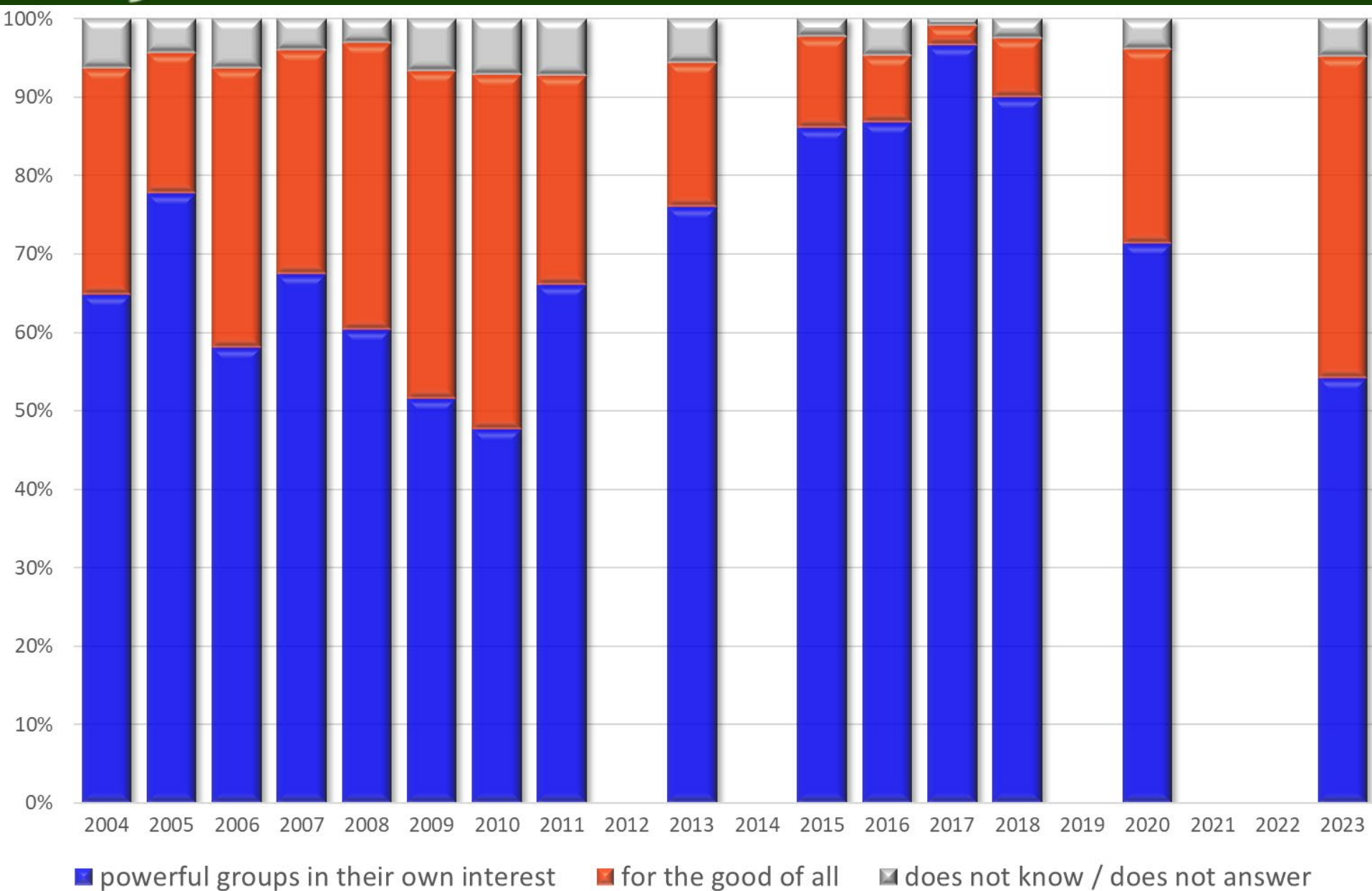
## Brasil voltou?

- **“The New Brazil”** [2013 International Symposium]
  - ✓ Continuous development and institutionalization
    - ⇒ Increased diplomatic presence
  - ✓ High approval rating of President Lula:
    - Over 80% when he left office (2010)
  - ✓ Alliance of Latin America/South America and emerging countries (BRICS)
- **“Global South” Brazil** [Japanese fiscal year of 2023]
  - ✓ The “Global South” is not an “alliance”
  - ✓ Can it coordinate and reflect polarizing domestic forces and interests?
  - ✓ Role as the regional power:
    - Development of export infrastructure and Changes in pink tide
  - ✓ Conflict mediation by the country with no military threat





**Figure 4. Trends in answers to the question, “What is the country ruled by?” in Brazil**



(Source) Prepared by the presenter based on data from Latinobarómetro.



Photo (April 14, 2023): President Lula and his delegation on visit China for an official reception with President Xi Jinping. The agribusiness sector and others criticized the decision to accompany the leader of the Landless Workers Movement (MST) (back row, center) (Brazil's Presidential Office, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/palaciodoplanalto/52819161224/in/photostream/>)

Photo (May 30, 2023): Union Summit of South American Nations in Brasilia. Venezuelan President Maduro's (far left) participation in the event and President Lula's comments, which appeared to support his administration, were controversial (Brazil's Presidential Office, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/palaciodoplanalto/52938796503/>)





**Thank you very much**  
**Muito Obrigado**

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Photo by the presenter. Protests in Sao Paulo in August 2019, when Lula was imprisoned for alleged corruption.  
The banners read, "Lula Livre" ("Free Lula").

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