

COBRADI as an Instrument of “Graduation” During the Second Lula Government

Leonardo Emídio Machado ^a

^a Instituto de Economia e Relações Internacionais, Universidade Federal de Uberlândia, Uberlândia, Minas Gerais, Brasil.

Abstract. During the 20th century, the importance of collaboration between States in the international system grew exponentially, especially due to the frightening consequences of the two world wars. In addition, technological advances, especially in the field of communication, have allowed greater contact and integration between nations across the globe. Therefore, the challenge of cooperation between States is of legitimate importance for Brazilian rulers, both for economic, social, cultural or humanitarian reasons and for Brazil's insertion in the international system. In 2010, recognition by COBRADI, the Lula government gives cooperatives different from the traditional ones to achieve as an important actor in the international system.

Keywords. International Cooperation, Lula Government, Foreign Policy.

1. Introduction

This project is a study on cooperation during the Lula government, especially through COBRADI, in order to understand whether Brazil during this period was interested in carrying out the Graduation process proposed by Lima, Milani and Pinheiro.

During the Lula government, cooperation was an important instrument of foreign policy to maintain good relations and gain importance within the international system. The president of Brazil and his foreign affairs minister, Celso Amorim, used pragmatism to conduct the country's foreign relations at the time. The COBRADI (Brazilian Cooperation for International Development) played an important role in directing cooperative relations at this time.

The graduation concept proposed by Lima, Milani, Pinheiro helps to understand the aspirations of a national State as a protagonist in the elaboration of norms, seeking an ascension in the international hierarchy without using military power or using anti-systemic models to from the political change of the rules of global governance.

2. Research Methods

2.1 Goal

This research seeks to understand how cooperation was during the end of the Lula government. In addition, to show whether during this government

Brazil had the intention to carry out the graduation process.

2.2 Methodology

To achieve the objectives, the methodology adopted is to use data from the COBRADI 2010 report and analyze them from the graduation concept proposed by Lima, Milani and Pinheiro. In this way, it is possible to see if the government would have this intention to carry out the graduation process.

- Literature review of the text "Graduation Dilemma" by Lima, Milani and Pinheiro to understand the main points of graduation theory.
- Analysis of the data shown by the COBRADI report on Brazil's cooperation during the proposed period.

2.3 Development

- Literature review;
- Synthesis of major concepts;
- Data analysis.

3. Main text

The approach to the project concept proposed by Lima, Milan Pinheiro [1], in contrast to its creation in the development and macroeconomics literature, phenomenon of not as a result, but as a historical process of ascension in the hierarchy and international status, of the means of development Political nomenclatures : the first concerns the space of instances of international institutions, through the

change of posture from a taker to that of rules - one would be a creator occupying veto positions in these entities; through the international political economy, due to trade, as well as at regional level or global weight; In addition, the notoriety expressed in the socialization of States, especially by the recognition of dominant powers and emerging partners.

Still, it is worth mentioning three assumptions of the chosen instrument, namely: the analysis should be based on semi-peripheral countries of relative importance in the international political economy, presenting a certain differentiation from other developing countries; in addition, it does not apply to states that possess nuclear weapons, regardless of their relationship with the non-proliferation regime - excluding countries such as China, Russia and India -; Finally, it is necessary to observe the desire to rise in the international hierarchy, in addition to the political will to collaborate in changing the rules of global governance without using military power or anti-systemic means.

		Graduation	Non-graduation
Categories	Ambition	Prominence	Followership
	Role	Rule-maker	Rule-taker
Dimensions	Southern perspective on North-South relations	Geopolitical vision	Short-term imperative
	Relationship with the region	Integration	Interaction

Fig. 1 – Differences between graduation and non-graduation

In this first frame, there are the differences between Undergraduate and Non-Graduate, describing the behavior of the State within the categories of Ambition and Role, with Ambition being the political projection that decision makers and the elite can elaborate and implement in terms of Global Prominence or Subordination, while the Role relates to the production of international rules that the country imposes itself as a Rule Maker or Rule Taker.

Furthermore, it also contrasts Graduation and Non-Graduation within the dimensions of connections with the global and behavior within the region. In North-South connections, the Undergraduate country is concerned with a long-term geopolitical vision, while in Non-Graduate it is linked to a short-term benefit vision based on investments and commercial interests. Within the region, the Undergraduate country aims at regional integration in all areas, while the Non-Graduate country is only in a few interactions in some political dialogues and commercial exchanges. It is noticed that the Graduation aspires to a prominent role in the international system, a role of legislator, a vision of geopolitics and committed to regional integration.

The use of the term 'dilemma' refers to the contradictions present in the assumptions described above, since the very condition of being in the background in the international hierarchy corresponds to a process marked by uncertainties

related, at first, to the impossibility of contesting the global hegemonic powers and non-recognition by regional neighbors of the rising country's potential for action. As for the inability of agency in veto scenarios, power is expressed and used at the institutional level to change norms in order to guarantee a relative share.

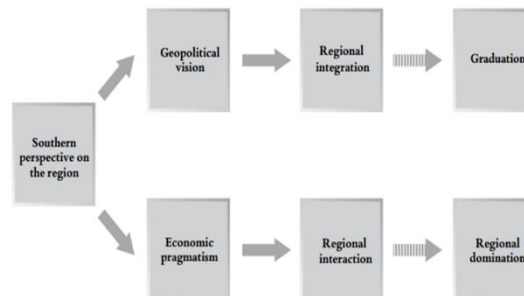


Fig. 2 – Prospects for graduation

As shown in the scheme above, the structural and political difficulties of building deeper ties with regional neighbors, whether due to asymmetry of power or lack of greater efforts to do so, lead to the gradual establishment of regional domination - in this way, the role of the region finds compromised by a short-term pragmatism, under the condition of instrument to obtain ephemeral and conjunctural advantages.

On the other hand, regional integration as a geopolitical concept allows the premises for graduation to be possible, without any constraints on the potential for domination being observed in this interaction. Building lasting alliances and fostering investments is essential for this process to take place.

Given the analytical conditions and assumptions described, what is sought is to approach the phenomenon of COBRADI [2] as an initiative of substantial relevance in terms of changing the diplomatic paradigm in the FHC and Lula administrations, there is a transition with regard to the strategic considerations of integration with peripheral neighbors, even those overseas.

Furthermore, it is understood that the examination of the national conjuncture, when placed in parallel with the assumptions of graduation, is capable of answering the fundamental problem of the studied context, such as 'are structural problems susceptible to immediate solutions?' particular constraints and obstacles to the condition of a peripheral country, whether endogenous or not.

The work will focus on the first three conditions for graduation, in which the first concerns the 'increase in relative material capabilities', which can be economic and/or military, promoting a differentiation in relation to other semiperipheral countries. To support the argument, we will use the rise in international studies promoted, particularly GDP growth and the achievement of the position of sixth largest economy in the world in 2011 - taking into account that the positions above in the table are

occupied by countries such as the United States, Germany, France, Japan and China on the rise, Brazil established its notoriety here.

The last two conditions refer to complementary elements, namely the 'graduation political will expressed in foreign policy actions and development strategies' that 'aim at systemic change and the consequent recognition of the great powers'. For such assumptions, comparative analysis is used, observing the transformations in foreign policy and the adoption of more active postures, such as the will to occupy a place on the Security Council, the initiatives for peripheral countries beyond COBRADI, as well as the participation in informal forums, confirming the change in the status of the Brazilian position in the international scenario.

The GDP is considered an important indicator of the country's importance to the world economy and manages to demonstrate the country's interest and power to obtain a degree in the International System. Therefore, as can be seen in the images below, the increase in the value of GDP by almost 3 times during the Lula government and the rise of Brazil in the ranking of the largest economies in the world are indicative of the possibility of graduation.

2002			
(Banco Mundial, PIB em bilhões, US\$ correntes)			
1 - EUA	10.775	11 - Brasil	597
2 - Japão	4.301	12 - Coreia do Sul	593
3 - Alemanha	1.884	13 - Índia	509
4 - Reino Unido	1.567	14 - Holanda	408
5 - China	1.406	15 - Austrália	392
6 - França	1.380	16 - Rússia	305
7 - Itália	1.137	17 - Suíça	274
8 - Canadá	731	18 - Suécia	242
9 - México	694	19 - Bélgica	242
10 - Espanha	624	20 - Turquia	226

Fig. 3 - GDP in Billions of Dollars in 2002 according to the World Bank

2010			
(Banco Mundial, PIB em bilhões, US\$ correntes)			
1 - EUA	15.143	11 - Espanha	1.450
2 - China	5.669	12 - Rússia	1.424
3 - Japão	5.376	13 - Coreia do Sul	1.053
4 - Alemanha	3.549	14 - México	1.029
5 - França	2.756	15 - Austrália	1.024
6 - Reino Unido	2.412	16 - Holanda	808
7 - Itália	2.153	17 - Turquia	719
8 - Brasil	1.859	18 - Indonésia	600
9 - Índia	1.555	19 - Suíça	576
10 - Canadá	1.511	20 - Bélgica	500

Fig 4 - GDP in Billions of Dollars in 2010 according to the World Bank

It is important to realize that Brazil manages to stay ahead of other countries that may also intend to graduate from the International System, such as South Korea, Mexico, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Nigeria and South Africa. Another highlight is that Brazil is the only country in South America that appears in the Top 10, showing its importance and prominence within the region and the Mercosur bloc.

In terms of HDI, Brazil managed to grow, despite only occupying the 73rd position in the Ranking in 201, according to reports at the time, there was confidence in greater growth in Brazil. In addition, Brazil both in 2009 and had achieved high human development status within the reports.

It is worth noting Brazil's expenditure on international cooperation provided by COBRADI's 2005-2009 and 2010 reports, which was the last year of the Lula government. International technical cooperation is an important indicator of the effectiveness of the Brazilian presence internationally as an influential country in the relations between nations in the International System.

From the COBRADI report it can be seen that Brazilian spending from 2005 to 2010 quadrupled from R\$ 25 Million to R\$ 101 Million. Other than that, expenses with international organizations were also high in 2010, these expenses totaled R\$ 548 million, which is equivalent to US\$ 311 million. Being distributed in i) payment of contributions to multilateral organizations; ii) payment of quotas from development finance organizations; and iii) other expenses.

The COBRADI report also shows that, in 2010, the federal government's expenditure on the payment of these contributions totaled R\$236 million, equivalent to US\$134 million, representing 43.1% of the total payments made to international organizations that year. Of this total contributions paid, R\$102 million, equivalent to US\$58 million, corresponded to Brazil's participation in the UN System, that is, 43.4% of the total contributions made in 2010.

The Fund for Structural Convergence and the Strengthening of Mercosur's Institutional Structure (Focem) aims to deepen the process of regional integration in the Southern Cone, by reducing asymmetries, encouraging competitiveness and stimulating social cohesion between countries -block members. Created in December 2004 and established in June 2005, Focem is intended to finance projects to improve the infrastructure of Mercosur's smaller economies and less developed regions, boost the economic productivity of "States Parties", promote social development - especially in border areas - and support the functioning of the bloc's institutional structure.

In these data on spending on international organizations, spending with the UN System and FOCEM is noteworthy. The first can be related to Brazil's intentions to gain prestige in order to secure its seat within the Security Council and increase its influence within the organization as a whole. The second, as it is a fund that aims to strengthen the integration of the Mercosur bloc within the Southern Cone, is related to the objectives of strengthening South-South relations and to Brazil's role as a power and regional leader.

This government's intention with the regional integration of the countries of the South is even more perceptible when analyzing the distribution of COBRADI's public expenditures. Of the total of R\$ 286 million of public expenditures by Cobradi with actions of technical cooperation, scientific and technological cooperation, educational cooperation and humanitarian cooperation directly with countries, 68.1% correspond to cooperation processes with Latin America and the Caribbean, and 22, 6% with countries on the African continent.

Regarding the second topic, understanding the graduation condition expressed in terms of political will and international engagement requires attention to different aspects that make up the theoretical framework and its practical consequences with regard to the realization of this desire for notability. Thus, seeking to understand the commitment of foreign policy in the Lula Government, the notion of 'multidimensional diplomacy' explored by André Luiz Reis da Silva [3] is sought to outline the conjuncture and its main results.

In the article 'Geometria Variável e Parcerias Estratégicas: A Diplomacia Multidimensional do Governo Lula (2003-2010)', André Luiz states that throughout his terms, foreign policy underwent a transformation of its insertion matrix, betting on overcoming the constituted during the period of redemocratization in the 1990s. From this new matrix, it appears that there is a deepening in the processes of regional integration, while the national tradition of multilateralism is resumed: even if a contradiction appears, it is necessary to consider the concept of 'strategic partnerships', linked to the search for a rapprochement with countries from all over the global sphere that present conditions similar to national ones, without negligence in this process regarding relations with developed countries.

National interests were placed in relationships beyond traditional scopes and dichotomies, investing in the prioritization of spaces that would guarantee the prominent position required for underdeveloped countries that intend to pursue graduation and its resulting gains. Thus, the room for maneuver guaranteed by this diversification of partnerships is denoted, since this intermediate position - from investment in regionalism to good relations with the North - guaranteed Brazil the management of distinct relations that, in their particular nature, were determined by a specific articulation to the case.

According to André Luiz, the effects of the post-9/11 conjuncture produced opportunities for Brazil, represented by three more general objectives that intend the political will for graduation, but above all the recognition of the great powers, being them - the search for a permanent seat on the UN Security Council; the restoration of traditional economic relations (Europe, USA, Japan) along with greater attention to strengthening economic relations with

regions that were previously devalued (Africa, Arab World, India and China); and an opening of spaces for the great Brazilian conglomerates.

Por fim, no que concerne à terceira e última condição analisada, entendida como a vontade de provocar transformações sistêmicas que se realizem no reconhecimento internacional, atenta-se para o poder de barganha em relação aos países centrais, adquirido pela presença assídua e no fomento do multilateralismo, responsável por aumentar a capacidade nacional de negociação e articulação, ao passo que enfraqueceu a tendência unilateral dos Estados Unidos e seus respectivos constrangimentos.

4. Conclusions

Considering COBRADI's role as an instrument of international projection, as well as Brazilian efforts to commit to multilateralism, there is a correspondence with the prerogatives for Brazilian entry as a peripheral leadership: from informal coalitions to the substantial desire to occupy a seat on the Security Council, there is the use of the opportunity to rise in the international hierarchy, contemplated by different means that, put in particular analysis, register the diligence towards their peers, as well as the will to transform the international system into a space cooperation that appreciates the particularities and tries to establish horizontal relationships.

However, taking into account that the instrument of analysis assumes the existence of a national project with a long time horizon, it is of paramount importance that the analyzed conjuncture not be assumed as the effective realization of the undergraduate internship, since ideological planning depends on forces greater than the inherent transience observed in democratic logic. In addition to the paradigm shift, graduation requires that the determination of anxieties transcend the temporality of government policies, corresponding, therefore, as the institutional basis of State policies, expressed regardless of the front that the public machine occupies.

Yet, it is not possible to discard the context just because of its assessment of insufficiency - the history of Brazil's international relations demonstrates that external constraints, above domestic structural fragility, shaped the way of doing politics, always given as a method of reaction in order to of seeking advantages in the gains of others without committing themselves to taking the lead in the process. Therefore, Lula's governments were important in registering that national potentialities were not only not precluded from autonomy, but also that peripheral leadership in terms of cooperation is possible.

5. Acknowledgement

I would like to acknowledge my thanks to the

opportunity and support to develop this research received from the INCBAC Institute and its UNIGOU Remote scientific training. Also, is needed to acknowledge the support of the people from Universidade Federal de Uberlândia, like my colleagues and my professors.

6. References

- [1]MILANI C. R. S., PINHEIRO L., Lima M. R. S. Brazil's foreign policy and the 'graduation dilemma.' *International Affairs*. 2017; 93 (3):585-60

- [2]IPEA, ABC. *Cooperação Brasileira para o Desenvolvimento Internacional (COBRADI): 2010*. Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada (IPEA), Agência Brasileira de Cooperação (ABC), Brasília; 2013; 135 p.

- [3]SILVA A. L. R. Geometria Variável e Parcerias Estratégicas: A Diplomacia Multidimensional do Governo Lula (2013-2010). *Contexto Internacional*. 2015; 37 (1):143-184.