

---

ANNALS  
UNIVERSITATIS MARIAE CURIE-SKŁODOWSKA  
LUBLIN – POLONIA

VOL. XX, 1

SECTIO K

2013

---

Department of Latin American and Caribbean Studies, Faculty of International Economy,  
Megatrend University, Belgrade – Serbia

IVAN IVANOVIĆ

*New drivers of Brazilian foreign policy:  
general policy directions and relations with Balkans*

---

ABSTRACT

In the introduction the main drivers of Brazilian foreign policy strategy will be analyzed. In fact, it means that regional and international position of Brazil will be presented having in mind the social, economic, political, scientific-technological, and military potential. Furthermore, the Brazilian regional policy will be presented briefly as well as its relations with USA, Russian Federation and the European Union. In order to summarize, the intention is to conclude that Brazil is becoming not only a regional leader of Latin America but also a very important member of the so-called BRIC countries. A short overview of Brazilian-Balkan relations will be analyzed having in mind the fact that in spite of the absence of more significant economic and commercial cooperation the political and diplomatic presence of Brazil is continuous in this region. Finally, it should be underlined that Brazil was a constant peace observer and protagonist during the Yugoslav crisis.

**Key words:** Foreign Policy Strategy, international position, regional leader, emerging power, diplomatic activity, the Balkans, BSEC.

NEW DRIVERS OF BRAZILIAN FOREIGN POLICY:  
GENERAL POLICY DIRECTIONS AND RELATIONS WITH BALKANS

Globalization has changed the world, which is not seen today as bipolar or unipolar as it was the case at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Money, goods, people, technology and ideas transgress national borders with ever increasing pace. Although it was one of the major benefits for the most developed countries, globalization also prompted the

development of at that time dormant giants, including Brazil, Russia, India and China, jointly named by acronym the BRICs. Only one of these countries is situated in the western hemisphere, in the neighborhood of the greatest world power, and it is Brazil.

George F. Kennan [1993] placed Brazil in the category of “monster country” for its geography and demography, its economic and political potential, and the magnitude of its problems and challenges. Challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century for Brazil imply (but are not limited to) border security, drugs smuggling, inflation, as well as enormous heritage related to foreign debt from the period of militant regime, along with the interior problems such as unemployment, education and health protection.

Brazil is one of the peripheral countries which actively participated in the construction of new economic order in different epochs by means of its diplomatic presence at numerous international conferences. However, few research papers have been written as regards the position of Brazil in the 21<sup>st</sup> century international relations. The history of studying Brazilian international relations is rather recent, dating back from the 1990s.

By studying the organization of diplomatic system, as well as forms, methods, objectives and results of diplomatic acting of a state such as Brazil, the focus of research in diplomacy area is being moved from powerful states to peripheral states, which are mighty in their regions. From this viewpoint, we can see their path to building up their positions in the new world order, in the world’s globalized society, in which the United States of America is becoming weaker, while the Russian Federation, People’s Republic of China, India and the EU are becoming stronger, due to their diplomatic and, above all, multilateral acting.<sup>1</sup>

Having acquired knowledge on gravitating directions of Brazil, the path which may be followed by all small and middle-sized countries has been isolated, and due attention has been paid to ‘other’ part of the world, together with widening the actually narrow scope of information on this topic.

There is no doubt that Brazil has been an extremely influential state in the diplomatic system and today’s diplomatic relations. Recent history of Latin America has been characterized by the periods of domination of Brazil over the whole continent, or periods of fighting for establishment of such domination (as is the case nowadays, when numerous countries such as Venezuela, Argentina, Chile, the USA and some of their allies indirectly derogate such leadership of the biggest Latin American state).<sup>2</sup> As different from Russia, India and China, which it is often compared to, Brazil stands alone in its power on the continent, among weaker and smaller states, with developing liberal democracy and economic progress, in the vicinity of the USA, in possession of the last world’s forests (ecologically strong country), managing energy potential,

---

<sup>1</sup> There are a lot of studies in Serbia made on those issue with special emphasis on the role of emerging global powers and the corresponding fundamental changes in the existing structure of the international relations at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

<sup>2</sup> For further information about regional challenges of the Brazilian foreign policy strategy consult: Soares de Lima, Maria Regina, Monica Hirst [1996].

with huge population and territory, technologically on the rise, unexhausted by wars, winner of almost all international legal disputes, fascinating exporter, leading country of MERCOSUR, key state in creation of attitudes of other Latin American countries towards Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), influential negotiator in World Trade Organization, member of G-20 (developing countries), one of major participants in four-member association of 'new power' BRIC, but also a state with numerous problems concerning the success of microeconomic reforms, reducing consumption, creation of more adequate tax system, and equalizing an increase of growth on the annual level.

The subject of this paper is at the same time both interesting and difficult due to, above all, absence of regional Latin American studies in the Balkans, where there are only few centers. Most studies are of historical, economic, cultural, or partly political nature, while those focusing on diplomatic acting and general foreign policy priorities almost do not exist. The level of knowledge of Brazilian diplomatic system and its diplomatic acting is rather low. While global diplomatic and international studies concerning research in diplomacy and diplomatic acting of Brazil have been increasing in number, systematic development of this field is still to be initiated in our region.<sup>3</sup>

Therefore, the work on the chosen topic shall represent a step towards the right direction of making contributions in encouraging research in this poorly developed scientific area, as well as in providing the findings which may be immediately applied in practice and which are lacking in establishment of diplomatical acting of Balkan countries towards Brazil and Latin America on the whole, with possible short-term, or especially mid-term benefits for the realization of specific and important goals.

Scientific works in Serbia focusing on research of diplomatic acting of individual countries mostly deal in states with great military, economic and regional powers, such as the EU, Russia, China, America, sometimes India and Japan, neglecting smaller countries, often neighbours – Slovenia, Macedonia, Croatia, Albania. Uncomparably less attention has been paid to diplomacy, diplomatic acting, and important determinants of diplomatic systems of the countries located far from Serbia, but which may definitively play a major role in the world under the changed circumstances, and which are undoubtedly regional leaders. Federative Republic of Brazil is such a state.

#### REVIEW OF DIPLOMATIC ACTING OF BRAZIL

Overall conclusion is that diplomatic acting of Brazil has been multilateral. Consequently, bilateral relations have been positioned as priorities of multilateral strategy. Brazilian subregional, regional and interregional diplomacy supplements the selected multilateralism. This distinctive form of diplomatic acting is conditioned by

---

<sup>3</sup> Ivan Ivanović defended Master's thesis: "Diplomatic Priorities of Brazil at the Beginning of the 21st Century", on 15 July 2010 at the Faculty of Political Sciences, Belgrade University. Additionally, this is the first thesis in that field presented in Serbia.

two main drivers. On the one hand, it is the need to certify national identity, ensure state unity and achieve success in internal socio-political and economic development. On the other, it is the interest to increase its influence in running the world's operations within the existing system of states, as a medium power.

In brief, Brazil has especially increased the level of its multilateral diplomatic acting in the circumstances characterized by parallel and simultaneous processes of globalisation and internationalization, inspired by the United States of America, and new and renewed processes of regionalization and interregional integration after the end of restrictive bipolarization of the Cold War. By advocating principles and adequate acting, Brazilian diplomacy tends to take up the role of actuator in subregional and regional integration of Latin America and become influential in interregional integration of the world. Thus it contributes to the building of global order by mutual agreement. In addition, by acting in multilateral framework, either permanent or temporary, and in diverse levels from global to subregional, Brazil has been gradually establishing the position which would enable it to obtain the competences corresponding to status of power by the mid 21st century.<sup>4</sup>

Foreign policy of Brazil is determined by its economy in many ways. From the historical viewpoint, interest for Brazil, especially by the Portuguese, was focused on export of primary products including wood, sugar, gold, diamonds, coffee and caoutchouc (therefore, exploitation in the classical colonial meaning). Even today in consequence of such a position (peripheral), production is an important part of its export-oriented economy, only the goods have changed. Iron, soy, orange juice, frozen chicken and coffee are being exported today.

On the other hand, industrial manufacture exceeds the value of primary production, which is highly important for the economy, so airplanes, steel, automobiles and automotive spare parts, electric appliances and fast moving consumer goods are being exported. A long time ago, Brazilian government initiated the process of creation of state industry by construction of the National Steel Mill in Volta Redonda<sup>5</sup> and oil company Petrobras (acronym of *Petrol* and *Brazil*).<sup>6</sup>

During the 1960–1970 period, rapid economic growth drew international attention to Brazil. The growth was financed by reduction of the value of work in production by limiting salary increases, as well as by the state pension insurance funds and foreign loans. The possibility to borrow financial resources disappeared as option by the end of 1970s, when Brazil, together with the whole Latin America, fell into an economic and debt crisis known in the economic history of Latin America as the ‘lost decade’.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> For more information consult: Huguene Clodoaldo [2003].

<sup>5</sup> When it opened in 1946, it was the first steel mill in South America.

<sup>6</sup> The company was created in 1953 by president Getúlio Vargas.

<sup>7</sup> “Lost decade” refers to the end of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s, when all countries of Latin America, especially Brazil, Argentina and Mexico, fell into economic and debt crisis due to significant loans from abroad.

Further on, in the 1980s, while Brazilian president José Sarney and Argentinian president Raúl Alfonsín concentrated their internal policies on establishment of civil control over their armies and institutionalization of political transition, their foreign policies were directed towards regulating bilateral relations. In fact, the Agreement on Bilateral Cooperation and Integration was signed in 1988.<sup>8</sup> Later on, Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay initiated negotiations concerning their mutual regional market – internal free trade, with minor exceptions, as well as negotiations referring to mutual foreign tariff. All this was inaugurated under the name of MERCOSUR in 1991. Despite an unclear vision of economic imperatives in such kind of integration, free trade zone represented an acceptable political and economic success. Trade within the block was increased, while Brazil and Argentina received important international assistance in the process of ending the transition from military to civil government and building trust between the two states, strong enough to simultaneously construct the mechanism for reciprocal control of nuclear weapons. Melting of political relations provided for demilitarization of Brazilian-Argentinian border, and enabled for Brazil to redistribute important military capacities to the Amazon river basin. MERCOSUR also helped in establishment of political stability in Paraguay. Organization widened its multilateral work groups by inclusion of business and other forms of civil participation, thus gradually becoming a significant and very successful actor not only in the Latin American region. Moreover, the EU, whose exchange in trading with MERCOSUR is becoming equal to the exchange with the USA, has started to consider Latin American integration as a very promising issue, while an increasing number of Latin American countries has been turning to cooperation with Brazil, supporting its vision of economic integration.

#### BRAZIL AND THE ISSUE OF SECURITY IN LATIN AMERICA

Undoubtedly, Brazil possesses the biggest and the most powerful army in the region, although South America is a peaceful continent where wars happen very rarely. Consequently, Brazil participated only in two wars – Triple Alliance War in 1895 and the Second World War. In addition, Brazil does not have any territorial disputes with neighbours or some resentful rivals (as is the case of relations between Chile and Bolivia concerning the dispute on Pacific Ocean access of Bolivia).<sup>9</sup> These facts may be considered as favourable circumstances for Brazilian security. As regards unfavourable ones, Brazil is the only country, apart from China and Russia, which has

---

<sup>8</sup> Tratado de Integración, Cooperación y Desarrollo entre la República Argentina y la República Federativa del Brasil.

<sup>9</sup> It is well known that Pacific and Paraguay Wars were the most important regional arm conflicts in the recent Latin American history. Chile defeated the Peruvian-Bolivian Alliance and according to peace treaty obtained a significant territorial benefits. For further information consult: G. Pope Atkins [1991: 396–398].

land borders with 10 and more nations. Moreover, Brazil has 16.880 km<sup>2</sup> of border on land and 7.367 km<sup>2</sup> of borders of the shores, which requires patrolling and defense. In total, armed forces must defend the territory of 8.5 million square kilometers of land and patrol on 4.4 million square kilometers of territorial waters (wider zone than the shore itself). This zone is called “Blue Amazon” in the military jargon. In order to execute this colossal task, significant human and other resources are necessary, and therefore Brazilian army has turned to quantity rather than quality (although it is not negligible, especially taking into account the fact that the country shall surely not enter into war). Brazilian army is split in three branches – land forces, air-forces and navy. Military police is a supplementary force. All branches are a part of Ministry of Defense. Brazilian navy is the oldest part of armed forces, and its includes marine and naval air-force.

The role of Brazil in the policy of regional security and defense relates to the cooperation with the two other Latin American actors – Argentina and Chile. The relations between these countries are often referred to as ABC rivalry and are considered to be one of the most important issues in studying international relations and geopolitics of Latin America. Cooperation in the field of protection from traditional threats between the Amazon state and its neighbours dates back to the 1990s. However, latest developments indicate to the progress in mutual suppression of transnational threats (organized crime and international terrorism). What is the contribution of Brazil as an emerging leader in the development and consolidation of South American security environment, and which development phase has been reached so far as regards security and political cooperation? The answer to this question lies in the interaction among the Brazilian society, government, international and regional system. Regional security is influenced by the factors such as Brazilian civil and military relations, international policies on security, as well as security interests of the USA in the region. The results indicate that Brazil plays a key role in the development of Latin American consensus concerning new security concept, as well as provides fundamental contribution to consolidation in the given time. This has been realized by establishment of cooperative, regionally leading power which positively affects the area (hegemonic stability). In this respect, the nature of cooperation of Brazilian security policy and defense is especially present in close cooperation with neighbouring Argentina (otherwise its important rival in economy, politics and culture or sports, but not in security matters). Stable axis Brasilia–Buenos Aires forms a strategic gravitational center for security union, similar to headquarters, which strongly attracts other, smaller South American states. Chile plays an extraordinary role in bilaterally organized cooperation concerning defense. With the framework of MERCOSUR, even the smallest countries play a part in organized multilateral suppression of international non-military threats to security such as trafficking of drugs and weapons, money laundering and international terrorism. On the other hand, the principle of national sovereignty has been deeply rooted in Brazil, Argentina and Chile, and therefore the transfer of authorities has not even been considered.

## NEW PRIORITIES IN FOREIGN POLICY STRATEGY OF BRAZIL

As different from other countries in BRIC, Brazil, as it has already been mentioned, enjoys the favourable circumstances of being alone among weaker countries, but also of being within the hemisphere of the USA dominant influence, practically beside this most powerful state in the world. Brazil shall take the position of an important factor in multi-polar world, which has been in the process of formation since the end of the Cold War, and this position shall be reached on the basis of the power of its economy and potential of its human, technological and natural resources. However, this possibility to influence international outcomes shall presumably be determined by the skills of elite to recognize and use those quality resources and soft power of stable and democratic government, instead of means of cruel power. Brazil is evidently one of the essential countries of BRIC in terms of its diplomacy. It is the only of all countries with the potential to become an ecological power, in the world increasingly occupied by global warming problems. It is estimated that Brazil shall be important power before the end of the first half of the 21st century [Davidov 2008: 85–99], if not one of the first three in the world. Together with its partners – Russia, India and China, at the beginning of 2040 Brazil will outperform traditionally powerful Western European States in the issues concerning relative material possibilities within the global system. However, as different from Russia, India and China, future political allies of Brazil have been historically and geographically predetermined. Brazil shall be a west-oriented power, closely connected to the USA and Western Europe.

Is it the case indeed, and shall Brazil necessarily be linked to the USA? Projections of the power of Brazil are fundamentally based on diplomacy and largely depend on the quality of democratic institutions built after the return of civilian government in 1985. From the viewpoint of the Brazilian people, these institutions are a proof of legitimacy of diplomatic acting and assertions. Brazilian political decision-makers already actively participate and establish international institutions on the regional and global levels. It is interesting to note that Brazil may achieve the status of global super power almost by accident. Despite the long tradition of dreams of becoming the super power, relatively small number of decision-makers considered the responsibility and complications, which form an integral part of the status of powerful player on the world stage. One option is positioning Brazil as a growing ecological-natural power state. As the owner of the last large tropic rainforest in the world, one of renewable resources of drinking water, and the world's largest biodiversity area, with the best energy matrix between large countries, and with the most successful industrial production of renewable fuels, Brazil has the capacities to play exactly such a role, but only under the condition that it decides for the policy of preservation of the mentioned capacities and for using them as political weapon in the world preoccupied by climate problems [Sotero, Elliott Armijo 2007: 43–70].

Brazil has made advances from the technological point of view and it explicitly-renounced nuclear weapons since it became a democratic state. Brazil is a signee of

all major international agreements on the control of armaments. Taking into account that Brazil is the sixth biggest producer and owner of uranium, with the capacities to enhance it, the country had to accept the obligations of the states internationally recognized as suppliers of nuclear material. Such nuclear policy is rather a controversial issue, as it has been accepted neither by nationalists, army, nor by the Minister of Foreign Affairs [Valazquez-Sotomayor 2004: 29–60].

What characteristics distinguish Brazil from Russia, India and China, i.e. why is Brazil not one of regular BRIC countries? The answer lies in the perception of threat. As different from Russia, India and China, not a single western country perceives Brazil as a threat to its own interests – especially not to their economies. Additionally, it should be highlighted that Brazil forms an integral part of western civilization and that it shares its values (culture, religion, etc.). Moreover, Brazil has traditionally been an ally to western countries and western-oriented states. Brazil endangers neither Washington, London, Paris, Tokyo, nor Berlin. On the other hand, Russia imperils the EU in terms of energy by suspension of gas deliveries, and it imperils the USA in military sense; China is a threat to Far East – Japan and Korea, and economy threat to the USA, India threatens the USA in the field of technology. Brazil has been inevitably connected to America and Western Europe. It is important to point out that although geography does not completely determine the political strategy of a state (as illustrated by the case of Cuba, as well as Venezuela – which turns to Iran, Belarus and Russia) it restricts the strategy in many issues.<sup>10</sup> As a state which shares the culture and values of the western world, Brazil is the only BRIC country located in the dominance sphere of a world's biggest super power state. In terms of military security, Brazilian wide territory seems as a safe zone to the powers dominating the contemporary security regimes. Therefore, nobody reviews Brazil in their analyses. Brazil is the 'green zone'. For example, moving from the USA eastwards, perception of threats colours the map of the global world order in diverse shades of yellow and red (potential hot spots, outlaw states, critical areas, war zones, terrorism). On the contrary, Brazil seems rather tranquil. Even in Brazil itself all kinds of policies – foreign, internal, security, have always been oriented towards the issues of economy and have always been serving it, dedicated to the improvement of trade connections and relations. Foreign policy and the policy of security are separated in Brazil, which especially worries the theoreticians of international relations [Skidmore: 1988].

#### BRAZIL AND THE BALKANS

There is a general conclusion that the relations between the Balkans and Latin America have been going through a period of deep crisis after the fall of bipolarism

---

<sup>10</sup> More detailed review is provided in the thesis: "Diplomatic Priorities of Brazil at the beginning of the 21st Century" by Ivan Ivanović.

and collapse of communism in Europe. Additionally, it may be noted that the process of political and economic transition of the Balkans alienated these countries from Latin America and redirected its political and economic, scientific and technological, as well as cultural priorities to the EU. For example, it can be seen from the case of Bulgaria that in the initial year of transition, 1989, drastic fall in cooperation with Latin America was recorded, including Cuba as strategic partner from the 1970s and 1980s. The fact that during the 1990s the volume of trade cooperation between Bulgaria and Latin American countries equalled less than one percent is indicative for the situation [Toscheva 1998: 62–66]. Similar tendency was noted in cases of other Balkan countries, including those arising from former Yugoslavia. However, Greece as a EU member state, and recently Bulgaria and Romania, have been following the principles of joint policy of Brussels towards Latin America.

Still, the interest for studying Latin America in Serbia and in the Balkans records a significant surge in the last few years. And it does not relate just to enormous popularity of Latin American culture, literature, music, sports but also, to the so-called, soap operas, and increasingly, international relations in this part of the world.<sup>11</sup> Of course, this has not been happening accidentally, as the Brazilians are the most similar to the people of this region of all other BRIC nations in terms of mentality, temper, and ethno-psychology. According to some historians, that resemblance may be explained as being a consequence of similar historical destinies [*Brazil...* 2002].

It is not a secret that Latin America has always been a training ground for the USA in testing diverse forms of imperial aggression. All those forms of special war and conflicts of low intensity were transferred later to the region of former Yugoslavia. There are numerous other similarities, including the ongoing significant social differentiation after abrupt impoverishment of majority of inhabitants, sizeable corruption in all segments of society, criminalization of majority of society, small percentage of extremely rich people.

However, the subject of this research refers primarily to diplomatic and economic relations between Brazil and the Balkan states, and investigation into which role could this region take in Brazilian foreign policy strategy. Federative Republic of Brazil has its diplomatic missions in Athens, Sofia, Bucharest, Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana. The embassy in Sofia is also in charge of Bosnia and Hertzegovina and Macedonia, the embassy in Belgrade is in charge of Montenegro, while the embassy in Rome is authorised for Albania. Greece, Bulgaria, Romania, Serbia and Croatia have their embassies in Brasilia.

The relations between the Balkans and Brazil could be methodologically categorized in two groups. The first group refers to the relations of Brazil with the EU member states located in the Balkans, and it is realized by a number of agreements

---

<sup>11</sup> For example, sports should not be forgotten, in the first place football. In case of former Yugoslavs it was noted that they called themselves for a long time 'European Brazilians', while the biggest stadium was named "Maracana", the same as the one in Rio.

between MERCOSOUR and the EU. Although the EU membership of these states has been a part of recent history, with exception of Greece, their relations towards Latin America have been embedded in the relation between the EU and Latin America, dating back to 1960 and comprising a number of economic, political, cultural, science and technology, and other agreements. In May 2007, the EU proposed strategic partnership with Brazil aimed at further strengthening of relations. In July of the same year the first EU – Brazil Summit was held in Lisbon, with key discussion topics relating to efficient multiculturalism, climate changes, sustainable energy, fight against poverty, integrations of Latin America.<sup>12</sup> Still, a lot has been written on the relations between the EU and Latin America, especially Brazil, and probably there will be many more researches on this issue, taking into account that this topic is to become one of the most important ones in international relations studies.

On the other hand, the research on the relations between Brazil and Balkan states which are not EU members, i.e. the countries of former Yugoslavia and Albania, is insufficient. From the historical point of view, Brazil and Yugoslavia always had friendly relationships without disputes or open issues. Economic relations have existed for more than four decades, but they have never developed into an advanced form of economic cooperation, while the exchange of goods is carried out almost in one direction, mostly by importing coffee and raw materials from Brazil. All agreements aimed at improving this cooperation, such as agreement on avoiding double taxation, were postponed or never took place, although both parties were interested. The trade between Brazil and Serbia in the last year amounted to 145 million dollars, out of which 95 percent was Brazilian exports to Serbia. Similar case is with Croatia, where the sufficit of Brazil equals 220 million dollars, with honey, maple syrup, sugar and coffee as major items of import. In Montenegro, Macedonia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina there are almost no data concerning the relations with any Latin American country including Brazil, excluding three Embraers in Montenegrin national airline fleet. It is interesting to mention that Montenegro, which before the World War I had Honorary Consul in Brazil and Argentina, today does not have any diplomatic missions in Latin America.<sup>13</sup>

It is difficult indeed to explain the absence of politicians and businessmen of these countries who would strengthen the relations with Brazil, as well as the occupation with the accession to the EU and development of relations with the USA, Russia and China. Potentials for such activities are immense and mutual. Above all, they relate to export of know-how in agricultural sector, especially biofarming and machines, to Brazil, as well as agricultural products, but also to possible joint-venture projects from this or other sectors, for example pharmaceutical sector.

On the other hand, if Brazil actually intends to become one of the world leaders, it needs to use above all the geostrategic position of this area as a link between

---

<sup>12</sup> For more information visit: [ec.europa.eu/enterprise/policies/.../brazil/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/enterprise/policies/.../brazil/index_en.htm).

<sup>13</sup> For more information consult: <http://www.vlada.cg.yu/mininos/>

Western and Central Europe on one side and Black Sea Basin and East Europe on the other. The ports of Bar (Montenegro) and Rijeka (Croatia) are certainly less burdened than, for example, Hamburg, while they are simultaneously very close to all centres and may represent the new 'south path' to the rest of Europe. Accordingly, the development potential of the Bar-Belgrade connection (rail and road traffic) should not be underestimated, taking into account the fact that Serbia is the only European country which has signed Free Trade Agreement with Russian Federation and Turkey, so production of parts for airplanes, building material, as well as other forms of joint venture production processes located in free zones of Serbia would have much wider destination than the area of South Eastern Europe. Finally, ideas on joint activities in Middle East and North Africa should not be neglected, in which experience of our companies in working in those regions would merge with Brazilian technology.

#### CONCLUSIONS

Although Brazil seems a rather average country from the viewpoint of a series of parameters (e.g. household income, economy sectors, economic growth, standards of global economy place it among poorer countries, etc.), in respect of its size, regional importance, global breakthrough, development pace, and influence on climate, it is a country which deserves due attention in terms of studying international relations.

Brazilian experts consider Brazil a developing country, again judging upon the country's material resources, noting that Brazil needs to maintain, or even increase, the existing development level. Sustaining the development rate of 4% annually should not be difficult, taking into account the political stability; however, this goal was very illusive in the preceding decades.

Brazil is inevitably a western-oriented power, closely connected to the USA and West Europe by its culture, history and geography, and therefore its future military and diplomatic inclinations should not be questioned. As regards managing international community, Brazilian capacities could replace Italy, Canada or France in G-7, without anybody noticing the difference [Sotero, Elliott Armijo 2007: 43–70]. At the same time, Brazil is still a developing country and its international economic preferences are more similar to the modalities of the developing countries than those of advanced industrialized democracies. This is the official position of Brazil within G-20.

Without significant security threats from abroad, Brazilian leaders have more than enough space and time to dedicate their work to improving the image of Brazil at the international scene, such as Canada and West-European countries.

With huge possibilities, visions and problems, remarkable differences and grand goals, Brazil is indeed a promising nation. Being the tenth economy of the world, Brazil is the major promoter of integration processes on its continent, but also in wider area. Brazil is the gravitational center due to its potential of influence, its power, and its own expectations concerning integrations. Brazil's determination to become

a leader in regional integration appeared after twenty years of political maturing and important economic reforms which led the country under the dictatorship to the path of democracy and self-awareness as regards its own economic strength and potential, with much more active foreign policy playing an important role in this process. Foreign policy professionals know very well that such activity at the regional level and openness of Brazil towards its neighbours on the continent have not been an important characteristics of the country. Although Brazil has always participated in economic initiatives on the continent, it was performed in the “low profile” policy and lack of enthusiasm for realization of those policies. The direction of the country’s present foreign policy is only a logical continuation of the internal policy of the country.

Brazil is today one of the major world’s emerging markets, with maturing democracy and economy which gradually stabilizes after 40 years of high inflation rates. The country has been coping with global economy and political consequences of such a choice. The tradition of inflation, debt financing and oligopoly industries was terminated. New social programs in the fields of education, insurance and health have been initiated. From the international viewpoint, Brazil now appears as dual leader – political and economic, in Latin America. Brazil does not report any major disagreements or historical differences with neighbouring countries, nor ever had any in more serious forms. Seat in the Security Council remains a long term political goal. However, there are still numerous other problems which reveal the other side of the medal: inequality, ignorance, carelessness and similar, which require resources presently not available to the government.

The difficulty in finding the right solutions is largely based on the nature of democracy which proved dysfunctional for a number of times when the Brazilian political system created the atmosphere of inequality and injustice in the society (in order to protect the privileges of powerful citizens). Income requires redistribution, government expenditures need cutting down, more results have to be achieved especially in the areas of health, education and land-related reforms.

According to our opinion, common characteristics for Russia, China, India and Brazil is that future status in the international system largely depends on how their leaders will face internal challenges. Will the next government manage to “pay social debt”? As regards Brazil, the challenges are mostly of economic nature. Provided they are adequately handled – Brazil will be in the position to play a global role in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Until that happens, Brazil shall be nothing more than the frightening regional giant, moderate negotiator and useful international partner.

In the future, it could be expected that the relations between Brazil and the Balkans would be intensified in accordance with Brazil’s efforts to achieve the goals of its global protagonism. On the other hand, it is evident that each manifested global protagonism in resolving the Balkan conflict at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century had achieved the presence and activities. The role of Brazil, till now, was reduced mainly to the participation in peacekeeping missions by the UN.

The second segment of analysis focuses on the necessity to strengthen economic and cultural presence of Brazil in this part of Europe in order to achieve global influence and protagonism – having in mind that all those prerequisites exist, as it was previously indicated. But the latest transformations in the geopolitical and geoeconomic map of the South Eastern Europe, the Balkans and Black Sea Basin indicate the new shift in the economic and trade cooperation and the emergence of new leaders with similar intentions as Brazil. For example, in comparison with Brazil, Turkey – in the past two years – has increased importantly its economic and trade presence in South America. On the contrary, Brazil did not succeed to gain more economic, political and cultural presence in this region.

Finally, if we take this objective and comparative approach and analysis of Brazilian presence in this part of Europe and Turkish in South America, it seems that Brazil stands out with different advantages, particularly its full membership in the BRIC. This fact could also lead us to another study and new research in the general frame of European relations with Latin America, which is the appearance of possible rivalry between Russia and Turkey in the near future – as the two most important regional hegemonic centers. If we compare Brazil with Turkey we would come to the conclusion that Brazil has various advantage, mainly concerning the ownership of natural resources, nuclear energy, hi-tech technology and evidently more experiences in managing international issues. This stand confirms the hypothesis that Brazil circumstantially has a much better possibility to achieve a global protagonism compared to Turkey, which indicates that regional cooperation must be intensified in the future.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Clodoaldo, H. 2003. *Brazilian Foreign Policy at the Beginning of the Twenty-First Century*, [in:] Álvaro de Vasconcelos & Helio Jaguaribe (eds), *The European Union, Mercosul and New World Order*, Sage, London.
- Davidov, V. 2008. *BRIC u rekonstruisanju međunarodnog poretka*, “Megatrend revija” 5, 1. (*BRIC in reconstruction of international order*, “Megatrend Review”, vol. 5 (1)), pp. 85–99.
- Fagundes, V. P. 2007. *Brazil: The Dialectical Nature of Security and Integration in South America*, “Policy: issues and actors” 20, 9, Centre for Policy Studies: Johannesburg, April.
- Feinberg, R. E. 1997. *Summitry in the Americas: A Progress Report*, Institute for International Economics: Washington, DC.
- Jugoslovensko udruženje latinoamerikanista (ed.), 2002. *Brazil, pet vekova postojanja 1500–2000*, Idea: Beograd.
- Kennan, G. F. 1993. *Around the Cragged Hill: A Personal and Political Philosophy*, W. W. Norton & Company: London.
- Lima, de S., Regina, M., Hirst, M. 2006. *Brazil as an Intermediate State and Regional Power: Action, Choice and Responsibilities*, “International Affairs” 82, 1.
- Moreira, S. 2008. *Brazil: Keeping the Lights on*, “The Whitehead Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations” (Summer/Fall): 115–140; URL: [www.journalofdiplomacy.org](http://www.journalofdiplomacy.org).
- Pope Atkins, G. 1991. *América Latina en el sistema político internacional*, ed. GEL, Buenos Aires, pp. 396–398.

- Regina, M. 1996. "Brazil's Response to the «New Regionalism»", [in:] Gordon Mace & Jean Philippe Therein (eds), *Foreign Policy and Regionalism in the Americas*, Lynne Rienne Publishers, Boulder.
- Skidmore, T. 1988. *The Politics of Military Rule*, Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Sotero, P., Elliott Armijo, L. 2007. *Brazil, to be or not to be a BRIC?*, "Asian perspective", vol. 31, No. 4, pp. 43–70.
- Toscheva, S. 1998. *La Cooperación Búlgario-Latinoamericana en el Nuevo contexto internacional*, Ed. Centro de Estudios de España e Iberoamérica, Instituto de Política y Economía Internacionales, Belgrado, pp. 62–66.
- Valázquez Sotomayor, A. C. 2004. *Civil-Military Affairs an Security Institutions in the Southern Cone: The Sources of Argentine-Brazilian Nuclear Cooperation*, "Latin American Politics and Society", 46 (4), pp. 29–60.

#### BIOGRAPHY

**Ivan IVANOVIĆ** – starting from 2009, he is teaching and research assistant at the Department of Latin American and Caribbean Studies (DEALC), Megatrend University. He graduated at the Faculty of Geoeconomics (Department of European Union Studies) and finished the Master Program in International Economy with the specialization in Latin America and the Caribbean (Megatrend University). Paralelly, he finished the postgraduate studies in the field of "International relations" at the Faculty of Political Sciences of the Belgrade University (he defended the thesis "Diplomatic priorities of Brazil at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century", July 15<sup>th</sup> 2010). He published various articles dealing with different topics concerning Brazilian foreign policy and generally, Latin American international status.