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Assessing the Brazilian-Chilean bilateral relations: public diplomacy, nation branding and presidential diplomacy

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Conclusion

Since they became independent in the early nineteenth century, the relationship between Brazil and Chile has been significant for both countries' foreign policy. From 1808, Brazil's centralised monarchical system brought relevant gains in the establishment of a very strong institutional presence. The conservation of the monarchy in Brazil was a key element to understanding the stable scenario in which the country established its bilateral links with Chile. The fact that Brazil took a different path to other Latin American republics made the other nations skeptical about the region's only monarchy. This was a determining factor in the difficulties faced when shaping relations with other Latin American countries. The difficulty in cementing relations with other Latin American nations did not, however, occur with Chile, with whom Brazil achieved important bilateral ties in the post-independence period.

From Chile's perspective, boundary disputes in the nineteenth century, such as the War of the Pacific (1879-1884), led to a difficult relationship with Bolivia and Peru, since both countries were defeated by and lost territory to Chile. The aforementioned circumstances brought Brazil and Chile's traditional diplomatic links closer even though Brazil did not express its official support of Chile during the War of the Pacific. Chile was the first Latin America country to establish traditional diplomatic links with Brazil. This symbolic representation of traditional diplomacy highlights the importance of the relationship between Chile and Brazil. According to Melissen (2005), traditional diplomacy goes hand in hand with mid-term objectives and long-term aims, demonstrating the strategic character of the Brazil-Chile partnership.

Therefore, Chile became a key nation for building a bridge between monarchical Brazil and other Latin American republics. Ever since, the absence of a conflict of interests, of territorial disputes and of mutual affinities between Brazil and Chile has demonstrated that bilateral relations should be observed from a public diplomatic approach. Brazil and Chile developed multi-level cooperation to complement traditional diplomacy and the two countries consolidated their informal geopolitical relations after the post-independence period. As Cann (2012) emphasises, non-institutional

actors also play a key role, given the growing participation of the media, political parties, organised interest groups and the Legislative and Executive bodies in international affairs. In this way, the multi-level nature of Brazil-Chile relations and the importance of public-private partnerships in bilateral affairs illustrate the importance of public diplomacy.

Since the post-independence period, Brazil and Chile have enjoyed significant traditional diplomatic links. An informal bilateral alliance was important for building proactive public diplomatic relations. Maintaining this informal bilateral alliance demonstrated the ongoing long-term orientation of Brazil-Chile relations by contrast to other Latin American nations. Their mutual trust and perceived friendship was a core component of the regional geopolitical context. The ABC Pact of 1915 between Argentina, Chile and Brazil illustrates the commitment to creating stronger levels of cooperation between the three states. Coordination between Brazil and Chile in the pre-ABC Pact years endorsed talks and helped strengthen common positions. The ABC Pact had important results for traditional diplomacy, counterbalancing Argentina's geopolitical influence and the power of the United States in the region. However, the treaty was only ratified in Brazil and the programme lacked a clear focus; in fact, the declaration of mutual friendship was more related to public diplomacy, given the importance of the informal bilateral ties created by the pact. The period before the ABC Pact provides an opportunity to analyse Brazil-Chile cooperation from a public diplomacy perception, since the initiative also demonstrated their informal bilateral links, given the fact that the pact was never ratified by Chile and Argentina.

In fact, public diplomacy shaped the boundaries of the Brazil-Chile relationship, even though the post-independence period considered bilateral links from a traditional diplomacy perspective. From 1870 to the end of the nineteenth century, the perception of a partnership between Rio de Janeiro and Santiago, encouraged by rivalry from their common neighbour Argentina, was in Chilean-Brazilian interests. Therefore, the idea of public diplomacy explains bilateral relations in a broader perspective. Since this period, the Brazil-Chile long-term perception of easy communication directly influenced political relations and the participation of non-official actors in the long-standing partnership.

While diplomacy is exclusively responsible for managing state-state

relations, contemporary diplomacy is shaped by the participation of non-state actors. Therefore, traditional diplomacy has, to a certain point, seen its role in the world order lose importance, given the interdependence between the government and the private sector and between civil society and institutions. By contrast to what Von Bülow (2010) states, traditional diplomacy's role in foreign affairs has not diminished and state representatives still play an important role, with contemporary international relations demanding, in fact, a multifaceted approach. Therefore, traditional diplomacy's secrecy and exclusivity goes against the current demand that negotiations and international agreements need to be public. At the same time, diplomacy cannot be totally open and proper measures should be taken regarding discretion and publicity. In general, there is consensus, since Szondi (2008) argues that diplomacy has achieved a much more public aspect. Foreign policy strategy has had a significant impact on the private sector and, therefore, public diplomacy also explores the interaction between the public and private sectors in international affairs.

Public diplomacy has a lot to do with Schneider (2005) perception of the exchange of ideas, information and aspects of culture. However, new forms of media communication, such as the internet and intervention in public opinion make it difficult to maintain a coherent foreign policy. In extremely large countries like Brazil, domestic political crises, like those during President Dilma Rousseff's second term have led to difficulties in maintaining collaborative diplomatic relations with multiple actors. Openness and transnational cooperation are key elements to understanding current international relations as Copper (2003) indicates, whereas the participation of diverse actors in foreign policy can cause political turmoil, given the increasing number of multiple voices in international relations.

Whilst the increase of non-traditional issues on the international agenda favoured closer interaction between official and non-official actors as Riordan (2005) points out, transnational problems demand the adoption of collective and coherent approaches. From this perspective, domestic political instability has generated a difficult scenario for carrying out public diplomacy, since civil society tends to participate in internal politics. As Serra (2009) indicates, in the context of a central domestic crisis, paradiplomatic relations and decentralisation play an important role in international relations. Despite the political instability of central

governments, local governments maintain high levels of cooperation with decentralised actors. Brazil-Chile decentralised relations illustrate the capacity of local governments to participate in international affairs despite domestic political turmoil. The Brazilian 475/2005 Constitutional Amendment Project provides legal support for establishing decentralised international links, while in Chile, the participation of the so-called 'Intendencias' and municipalities in international affairs has increased in recent years.

As Saraiva (2006) states, federal entities have shown more spirit in recent years, which has facilitated interaction between local governments. The respective significance of subnational entities in Brazil-Chile bilateral relations allows for dynamic interaction, like that between the Brazilian state of Ceará and Santiago de Chile. Subnational ties have emerged to become an integrated part of Brazil-Chile relations. Apart from diplomats, subnational authorities have also adopted an active role in bilateral relations. In this context, public diplomacy and the communications approach are not the only adequate approaches for analysing Brazil-Chile relations, given the important interaction between local authorities.

Today, diplomacy operates in a network environment, whereby not only state-centric but also non-official actors play a relevant role in foreign affairs as White (2011) and Figueira (2009) highlight. This does not mean that diplomats and official actors have no direct role in conducting foreign policy and they continue to engage in the formulation of foreign policy strategy. However, non-traditional actors from civil society, such as NGOs, the private sector and individuals, have come to participate more in foreign affairs, to the extent that diplomacy involves a two-way message. This means that people have also a 'voice' in international relations and exert influence on how the country's foreign policy is carried out. People should have confidence in their country's foreign policy objectives so as to support their implementation. Public diplomacy also encompasses what people have to say in terms of foreign policy creation and implementation. The international agenda requires collaboration between governments and decentralised actors in order to deal with emerging issues, such as the Brazilian Access to Information Law, which shows that diplomacy is open to participation from society. Indeed, bilateral technical cooperation has become an important decentralised cooperation initiative, as seen in the

Basic Agreement on Scientific, Technical and Technological Cooperation in 1998 and the Cooperation Agreement in the Field for the Peaceful Use of Nuclear Energy in 2002.

Public diplomacy deeply embraces the idea of the need to strengthen the communication between different actors for a dynamic approach of foreign affairs. The increasing participation of decentralised actors in the international community shows that interstate relations cannot be restricted to a state-centric perspective as long as non-official actors exert an increasing influence in foreign policy. However, the study of international relations has still not sufficiently stressed the fact that public diplomacy has increased in Brazil-Chile relations. In addition, paradiplomacy and nation branding also play an important role in Brazil-Chile relations, since foreign investments, tourism, trade and bilateral agreements are core elements in both countries' relationship.

In fact, public diplomacy was only taken into consideration in the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Itamaraty) after it became evident that there was an increasing interest in sectors of civil society in the way foreign policy was conducted. In the last few years, the Itamaraty's efforts to make its activities more transparent and improve its channels for interaction with civil society have been seen. The Ministry initiative to promote events, such as the 'Dialogue on foreign policy', on 26th February 2014, encouraging debate and the like demonstrates a commitment to foster a more open debate of the country's foreign policy implementation. The growing participation of non-official actors has contributed to the adoption of a dynamic approach of international relations. Nonetheless, official groups still play a significant role, given the increase in open debates initiatives carried out by government actors.

Chile focus on an intense trade flux, foreign direct investment activity, free trade agreements and a network of alliances led to its well-known pragmatic approach to foreign affairs. Chilean foreign policy favours so-called business diplomacy, insofar as public-private interaction is an important tool in carrying out the country's foreign policy. The involvement of the local business community is relevant to the country's foreign affairs, hence the lack of significant Brazil-Chile political ties does not mean an absence of important bilateral relations. As Hurrell (2006) states, international organisations, NGOs and multinational companies are also important actors

in international affairs when look at the Brazil-Chile relationship.

The increasing importance of trade, infrastructure and investments in international relations means that the relationship between states should not exclusively take into account the state-centric approach, since public-private partnership has become a relevant component. As Cabral and Weinstock (2004) argue, bilateral technical cooperation has become a significant mechanism for strengthening ties. Public diplomacy is becoming an important part of Chile's foreign policy, despite the fact that the concept of public diplomacy has not yet been adopted by the Chilean diplomatic academy. Chile's dynamic foreign policy approach allows for links to be established with the private sector to develop policy strategy without the official participation of public diplomacy in foreign policy, as occurred in Brazil.

The collaboration of decentralised actors means that Brazil-Chile relationship goes beyond traditional diplomatic links, given that the coordination of projects in the area of trade, investment and infrastructure are core elements to understanding bilateral relations. However, not everything is dominated by economic or commercial interests. Both countries have the same democratic and human rights values, a policy of non-interference in the international affairs of other states and favour international security and the peaceful resolution of controversies. Whilst Brazil-Chile relations remain strongly influenced by the traditional diplomacy approach, bilateral links cannot only be observed from a classic diplomacy standpoint, since public diplomacy, paradiplomacy and presidential diplomacy should be the prevailing concepts when trying to understand current bilateral relations.

The over-competitive international scenario has led to the growing importance of the projection of the country's image as a brand on the world stage. Although the projection of a nation's image is not something new, the field of nation branding has grown insofar as countries have launched sophisticated brand campaigns to attract foreign investments, trade and tourism, to improve their private sector's competitiveness and to secure geopolitical influence, as stated by Anholt (2005). As long as nation branding is a relevant marketing concept in the study of foreign affairs, Brazil-Chile relations cannot be studied without incorporating this phenomenon into the analysis. Chile's well-organised economic

management, respects for institutions and rule of law is widely recognised by the international market and its foreign policy that focuses on projecting a nation brand with public-private partnerships should be taken into account when studying Brazil-Chile ties. Brazil and Chile have not historically developed strong political ties; however, multifaceted cooperation between both countries goes hand in hand with the contemporary concepts of public diplomacy and nation branding.

The famous statement of Baron of Rio Branco that “the relationship between Brazil and Chile are limitless” has been proved by the stable bilateral relations between the countries throughout the course of history. Although nation branding is an important mechanism for understanding Chile’s foreign policy strategy, the concept has also become important to the study of Brazil’s brand projection, given the country’s association with renewable energy and ethanol production. When Brazil’s Operation Car Wash in 2015 uncovered widespread corruption, the country had to build a new nation branding. The domestic political turmoil when Michel Temer was interim president, after the impeachment of President Dilma Rousseff demanded a new strategic nation branding. However, Operation Car Wash legitimised the Brazilian legal system, since the operation revealed bribery and illegal campaign financing in all Brazilian political parties.

In the Brazilian nation branding context, energy is an important component when analysing Brazil-Chile ties, given its increasing importance in both countries’ foreign affairs. On the one hand, Chile’s difficult energy scenario, demonstrated by the diplomatic energy crisis with Argentina in 2004, provides a platform for discussion between Brazil and Chile, since energy security is overwhelmingly important in South American international relations. On the other, Brazil’s unique energy matrix, in which renewable sources - particularly sugar cane and hydropower, in addition to traditional fossil fuels (with pre-salt discoveries announced in 2007) and nuclear energy - reveal that the country’s recent economic development has been closely related to energy development.

Presidential diplomacy has also achieved significant results regarding Brazil-Chile bilateral relations and how presidents play an active role in foreign policy. This was particularly illustrated by the Brazilian Presidents Cardoso, Lula and Rousseff and the Chilean Presidents Lagos and Bachelet. President Cardoso’s international prestige and friendship with president

Lagos were always highlighted in Brazil-Chile official summits, as on the occasion of the agreements signed in 2002 between both countries to reduce import dues and implement quotas to facilitate trade. Cardoso and Lagos' close relationship laid the groundwork for promoting better bilateral dialogue between both countries. Despite the differences between presidents Cardoso and Lula, the personal participation of President Lula in the foreign policy agenda and his support for regional cooperation efforts favoured Brazil-Chile bilateral ties. Lula created ways of developing bilateral trade and promoting infrastructure cooperation, given that Chile was a strategic partner for gaining access to the Pacific because of Brazil's soy exports to China. President Rousseff gave priority to Latin America, particularly under the second mandate of President Bachelet, when the two countries had proactive bilateral foreign policy in order to foster economic and trade relations.

Linking Brazil's Atlantic coast to Chile's Pacific coast via Bolivia constitutes an important infrastructure project in terms of regional cooperation and also as part of a strategy for Brazil's international insertion. The project emphasised the importance of the business sector for Brazil-Chile relations, given the public-private coordination necessary to carry out the initiative. Both countries' infrastructure cooperation is overwhelmingly significant to strengthening long-term bilateral ties. Brazil's urgent need for access to the Pacific coast has demonstrated that Chile is a key partner to facilitate Brazil-China business relations. The importance of the Pacific for global trade and the lack of Brazil's access to it currently put domestic products at an unfair disadvantage.

The emergence of Brazil as a global player means it requires access to the Pacific Ocean to facilitate growing trade and foreign investments and enhance cooperation while the Brazil-China economic and trade relationship continues to steadily expand. Moreover, Chilean investments and trade with Brazil has shown the importance of the Brazilian market to the Chilean economy, given that, since 2010, Brazil has emerged as Chile's largest South American trading partner. Bilateral trade has increased throughout the years, particularly in aircraft, locomotives and subway cars. Brazil-Chile business cooperation has achieved significant results, as shown by the fusion between the Chilean airline company LAN with the Brazilian TAM, which led to the creation of LATAM as the region's current leader in

passenger air transportation. Thus, Brazil-Chile relations cannot be restricted to political and traditional diplomatic links, since trade, investments, infrastructure cooperation and tax agreements demonstrate that bilateral ties embrace a more complex approach than the state-centric perspective.

Brazil and Chile have an increasing number of common interests, with growing collaboration in multilateral forums. Chile has supported Brazil's application to be a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council, which is an important mechanism for promoting greater cooperation between both countries. The Brazil-Chile peacekeeping mission in Haiti has shown that security has become an important field of cooperation between both states. Brazil-Chile's relationship in the multilateral field has contributed to creating a new architecture for regional cooperation in multilateral forums. Topics such as organised crime, immigration, energy security, phytosanitary measures, infrastructure collaboration, environmental issues, drug trafficking, trade, judicial cooperation, human rights among others have promoted new forms of dialogue between Chile and Brazil. The emerging topics on the regional agenda cannot be treated in isolation and demand closer interaction to encourage dialogue between countries in order to deal with contemporary issues.

The analysis of Brazil-Chile relations has always taken into account their relationship with their common neighbour Argentina, since both countries enjoy strong diplomatic ties with their Argentine counterparts. Brazil and Chile have strong cooperation links in security matters with Argentina. Brazil has developed strong collaboration links with Argentina summarised in the Brazilian-Argentine Agency for Accounting for and Controlling Nuclear Materials (ABACC). The strong connections between Chile and Argentina in security matters can be seen through the creation of the Standing Committee on Chile-Argentina Security (COMPERSEG), in which issues related to defence and security are discussed bilaterally as well as at the multilateral level. Since the ABC Pact and the creation of their informal links, the public diplomacy approach has shown the relevance of multifaceted analysis in Brazil-Chile-Argentina relationship.

Brazil and Chile share relevant economic and political links with Argentina, given that the three countries are members of Mercosur, UNASUR and

IIRSA, all of which require constant dialogue and negotiations. The nature of Brazil-Chile discreet relations can be easily understood through both countries' relationship with Argentina. Brazil and Chile tend to avoid strong bilateral links in order to raising Argentine suspicions. Therefore, both countries have historically and constantly maintained intense dialogue but without exhibiting this relationship excessively in public.

In accordance with the contemporary international scenario, Brazil-Chile relations cannot be understood through a state-centric approach, given that dynamic bilateral links embrace the increase of non-official actors in both countries' foreign affairs. Common democratic values and pragmatic bilateral cooperation between Brazil and Chile have laid the groundwork for the upkeep of a long-term partnership. The inability of traditional diplomacy to encompass Brazil-Chile relationship has shown that ongoing bilateral ties should be studied from the multifaceted approach of public diplomacy, paradiplomacy, nation branding and presidential diplomacy.