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Brazil's Emerging Role in Global Governance

Health, Food Security and Bioenergy

Markus Fraundorfer



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Health, Food Security and Bioenergy

Markus Fraundorfer

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Germany*

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Abbreviations

ABC	Brazilian Cooperation Agency
Act-UP	The AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power
ADB	Asian Development Bank
AfDB	African Development Bank
AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
APEX	Brazil's Trade and Investment Promotion Agency
ARV therapy	Antiretroviral Therapy
ARVs	Antiretrovirals
ASARECA	Association for Strengthening Agricultural Research in Eastern and Central Africa
AZT	Zidovudine (also: Azidothymidine)
BASIC	Group of countries formed by Brazil, South Africa, India and China
BRICs / (BRICS)	Group of countries formed by Brazil, Russia, India and China (and South Africa)
CESCR	Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
CFS	FAO Committee on World Food Security
CG Fome	Brazil's General Coordination of International Actions in the Fight Against Hunger
CGIAR	Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research
CICT	International Centre for the Cooperation on HIV/AIDS
CIPHI	Commission on Intellectual Property Rights, Innovation and Public Health
CORAF	West and Central African Council for Agricultural Research and Development
CPLP	Community of Portuguese Language Countries
CPTech	Consumer Project on Technology
CSD	UN Commission on Sustainable Development
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
CTBE	Brazilian Bioethanol Science and Technology Laboratory
DFID	The UK Department for International Development

DNDi	Drugs for Neglected Diseases initiative
EATG	European AIDS Treatment Group
EC	European Commission
ECLAC	Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
ECOSOC	United Nations Economic and Social Council
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West-African States
EEA	European Environment Agency
Embrapa	Brazilian Agricultural Research Corporation
ENSP	Fiocruz's Sergio Arouca National School of Public Health
EPSJV	Fiocruz's Joaquim Venâncio Polytechnic School of Health
EU	European Union
EUBIA	European Biomass Industry Association
EU RED	EU Framework for the Promotion of Renewable Energy
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
FARA	Forum for Agricultural Research in Africa
FCTC	Framework Convention on Tobacco Control
FGV	Getúlio Vargas Foundation
FIAN International	Food First Information and Action Network
Fiocruz	Oswaldo Cruz Foundation
FNDE	Brazil's National Fund for the Development of Education
G8	Group of 8 (leading developed countries)
G8 + 5	Group of 8+ Brazil, China, India, Mexico and South Africa
GAIN	Global Alliance for Improved Nutrition
GAPA	Brazilian Group of Support for the Prevention against AIDS
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GAVI	The Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunisations
GBEP	Global Bioenergy Partnership
GCAAP	Global Call to Action Against Poverty
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEF	Global Environment Facility
GEG	Global Environmental Governance
GFATM	Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria

GHG	Global Health Governance
GIZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (German Federal Enterprise for International Cooperation)
GPGs	Global Public Goods
GV Agro	The Centre for Agrobusiness of the Getúlio Vargas Foundation
Health GAP	Health GAP Access Project
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HLPE	High-Level Panel of Experts of the FAO Committee on World Food Security
HLTF	The High-Level Task Force on the Global Food Security Crisis
IANPHI	International Association of National Public Health Institutes
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
IBSA	Group of countries formed by India, Brazil and South Africa
ICAZA	Indigenous Caucus
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
ICRAF	International Centre for Research in Agroforestry
ICTSD	International Centre for Sustainable Development
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
IEA	International Energy Agency
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IFPRI	International Food Policy Research Institute
IGC	International Grains Council
IGOs	International Governmental (intergovernmental) Organisations
IHR	International Health Regulations
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INGOs	International non-governmental organisations
INSERM	The French National Institute of Health and Medical Research
IP	Intellectual Property
IPCC	International Panel on Climate Change
IPC-IG	UNDP's International Policy Centre for Inclusive Growth
IPEA	Brazilian Institute of Applied Economic Research

IR	International Relations
IRENA	International Renewable Energy Agency
ISAGS	South-American Institute of Health Governance
JICA	Japanese International Cooperation Agency
Labex	Embrapa's international network (laboratórios no exterior).
LOSAN	Brazil's Law of Food and Nutrition Security
MBA	Master of Business Administration
MDA	Ministry of Agrarian Development
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MDS	Ministry of Social Development and the Fight against Hunger
MERCOSUR/ port.: MERCOSUL	Southern Common Market
MIJARC	Mouvement International de la Jeunesse Agricole et Rurale Catholique (International Movement of Catholic Agricultural and Rural Youth)
MME	Ministry of Mines and Energy
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
MPA	Ministry of Fisheries and Agriculture
MRE	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MSF	Médecins Sans Frontières (Doctors Without Borders)
NGOs	Non-governmental Organisations
OAS	Organization of American States
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OHCHR	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
OTCA	Amazon Cooperation Treaty Organization
PAA	Purchase from Africans for Africa Programme
PAHO	Pan-American Health Organization
Pela VIDDA	For the Valorization, Integration and Dignity of people with AIDS
PhRMA	The Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America
PNAE	Brazil's National School Meal Programme
ProAlcool	Brazil's National Ethanol Programme
Pro-Renova	Brazil's Structured Support Programme for developing countries in the area of renewable energies
P4P	WFP's Purchase for Progress Programme

REAF	MERCOSUL's Special Meeting on Family Agriculture
REN21	Renewable Energy Policy Network
RESP	Network of Public Health Schools
RETS	International Network of Health Technicians Training
RETS-CPLP	International Network of Health Technicians Training for the CPLP countries
RETS-UNASUL	International Network of Health Technicians Training for the UNASUL countries
RINSP	Network of National Health Institutes
RINSP-CPLP	Network of National Health Institutes of CPLP countries
RINSP-UNASUL	Network of National Health Institutes of UNASUL countries
RSB	Roundtable on Sustainable Biomaterials
SADC	South African Development Community
SAE	Secretariat of Strategic Affairs at the Presidency of the Republic
SARS	Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome
SISAN	Brazil's National System of Food and Nutrition Security
SOA	Spheres of Authority
STD	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
SUAS	Brazil's System of Social Assistance
SUS	Brazil's National Health System
SU/SSC	UNDP's Special Unit for South-South Cooperation
TAC	Treatment Action Campaign
TNCs	Transnational Companies
TRIPS (or TRIPs)	Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights
UEMOA	Union Economique et Monétaire Ouest Africaine (West African Economic and Monetary Union)
UNAIDS	Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
UNASUR / port.:UNASUL	Union of South-American Nations
UN CERF	United Nations Central Emergency Response Fund
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development

UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNHCT	United Nations High-Level Task Force on the Global Food Security Crisis
UNICA	São Paulo Sugarcane Industry Association
UNICEF	United Nations Children Fund
UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organization
UNITAID	International Facility for the Purchase of Drugs
UNSCN	United Nations Standing Committee in Nutrition
USTR	US Trade Representative
WAMIP	World Alliance of Mobile Indigenous Peoples
WB	World Bank
WBCSD	World Business Council on Sustainable Development
WCRE	World Council for Renewable Energy
WFHFF	The World Forum of Fish Harvesters & Fish Workers
WFP	World Food Programme
WHA	World Health Assembly
WHO	World Health Organization
WTO	World Trade Organization
WWF	World Wide Fund for Nature

1

Introduction

a) The research puzzle

This book is an attempt to provide new answers to the research question of how Brazil has exercised power in the mechanisms of global governance since the beginning of the new century, and how this exercise of power has developed on various interfaces of global governance.

This research question arises from a fundamental theoretical and empirical puzzle in a situation of transformation and change in the international system. A political phenomenon which characterised the last decade in international politics was the economic and political rise of a group of countries from the global south, which Jim O'Neill of the investment bank Goldman Sachs acronymised as the BRICs (Brazil, Russia,¹ India and China) (O'Neill 2001).²

Given their continental dimensions, these countries have the potential to challenge the existing global order and advocate new paradigms in the international system. The BRICs acronym itself is the most obvious sign for this ongoing transformation and aroused significant enthusiasm among scholars of International Relations (IR).

In a follow-up report published in 2007, Goldman Sachs further encouraged the increasing enthusiasm by concluding that '[o]ur "BRICs dream" that these countries together could overtake the combined GDP of the G7 by 2035 [...] remains a worthy "dream"' (Goldman Sachs 2007: 5). The BRICs are the largest economies outside the OECD. While in the year 2000 only one of them appeared in the list of the top ten economies by GDP, namely China at number six, in 2013 all of the four BRIC countries figured among the top ten biggest economies by GDP with China coming second, Brazil sixth, Russia ninth and India tenth (Ro 2013; Wilson et al. 2011: 8).

This economic rise has also been accompanied by a political rise of these countries in the international political system. The most obvious example of the new political role these countries play in the international system refers to the curious creation of the BRIC(S) summits. Based on the BRICs acronym, these countries actually came together in 2009 to celebrate the first BRIC summit in Yekaterinburg, Russia, with the intention of forming a common position on a variety of global challenges and establishing a new front to challenge the established powers.

Since 2009, the BRIC have repeated their summit every year, with each one taking place in a different BRIC country (2010 in Brasília, Brazil; 2011 in Sanya, China; 2012 in New Delhi, India; 2013 in Durban, South Africa; 2014 in Fortaleza, Brazil). In 2010, the BRIC foreign ministers decided to invite South Africa to join the BRIC, which for the first time attended the 2011 BRIC summit in Sanya, China, turning the BRIC into the BRICS (BRICS 2013a). Apart from increased cooperation among these countries and the creation of other institutional mechanisms,³ they decided at the 2013 summit to establish a BRICS development bank as a counterpart to the Bretton Woods institutions (BRICS 2013a).

It remains to be seen how this alliance, consisting of hugely diverse countries with very different political systems, will further develop.⁴ Nonetheless, this unique process of institutionalisation of the cooperation efforts among these countries, based on the potential economic outlook, can be seen as a reflection of this transformative process and the new developments taking place in the international system. Apart from the BRICS alliance, these countries have also demonstrated their political clout through other alliances such as IBSA and BASIC.

IBSA was formed on the initiative of Brazil's ex-president Lula da Silva in 2003 as a grouping of Brazil, India and South Africa. IBSA has developed into a coordination mechanism among the three emerging countries on a variety of different political issues including health, agriculture, energy, science and technology, climate change and others (Andrade et al. 2010).

These emerging powers have also made clear to the world that they have a say in climate change negotiations. In the run-up to the Copenhagen Climate Summit in December 2009, Brazil, South Africa, India and China formed a new coalition called the BASIC group (Dasgupta 2009; Hunter 2010). By establishing an organised front, the BASIC countries brokered the final Copenhagen Accord with the US (Hunter 2010: 7). While the Copenhagen Accord itself was no more than a weak political agreement without real consequences (Hunter

2010: 15), the BASIC countries showed that they were willing to act together in global climate change negotiations. After Copenhagen, the BASIC countries have met on a continuous basis to coordinate a common position among themselves and other developing countries for the following Climate Change Summits (ICTSD 2012).

What began as an enthusiastic report by an economist who optimistically summarised the economic outlook of a group of countries of continental dimension and coined the BRIC acronym with a clear economic meaning has, over the course of one decade, assumed a life of its own. The BRIC countries, on their own initiative, started to form several alliances, with the aim of gaining more leverage in the international system and building a new front of emerging countries from the global south, which the developed countries can no longer ignore. As a result, the BRIC acronym gained an unintended political meaning, as these countries attempted to assert themselves in the international system.

From this new situation in the international system, the following puzzle has emerged, which has engaged an increasing amount of scholars in IR. How has this political rise been possible for countries from the global south, which in the last century had only limited importance in international affairs and, with a few exceptions, were not able to continuously influence the international agenda or shape the mechanisms and organisations of the international system? Which are the strategies employed by these new powers and how do they use them to increasingly influence decision-making processes in the international system and contribute to the shaping of the international agenda? And what are the consequences of their activities for the international system?

In an international system dominated by the developed countries from Europe and North America, emerging powers from the developing world are confronted with considerable obstacles (Ikenberry and Wright 2008: 3). Ikenberry and Wright called the developed countries, in particular the US, 'creators, owners, managers, and chief beneficiaries' of the international system (Ikenberry and Wright 2008: 3).⁵ And yet, Hurrell observed that emerging countries are no longer sitting at the margins of the chess board of world politics, merely observing how the developed countries perform in the global power game (Hurrell 2010). Brazil in particular provides a good example of the new role emerging powers can play in global governance. Hurrell argued that '[t]he Lula administration's achievement has been to help reinforce this new reality, while demonstrating the degree to which Brazil has become an influential player in the new global order' in its principal foreign policy goal to

present itself as a weighty contender for a permanent seat in the UN Security Council (Hurrell 2010: 65–6).

For instance, Brazil's wide-ranging international activities in international development issues over the course of the last decade transformed the country into one of the largest aid donors worldwide (*The Economist* 2010a). In this context, the annual budget for technical assistance of Brazil's Cooperation Agency (ABC) increased between 2003 and 2011 from around US\$ 2 million to around US\$ 22 million (Presidency of the Federative Republic of Brazil 2011: 2). In the same vein, between 2003 and 2010, Brazil cancelled debts in Africa worth some US\$ 1 billion, and trade between Brazil and African countries has increased from US\$ 4 billion in 2000 to US\$ 27.7 billion in 2011 (Ogier 2012).

This book starts from the assumption that Brazil's exercise of power and its subsequent ability to shape the structures and processes in global governance developed on the basis of its activities in three different sectors of global governance, namely global health, the global system of food security and global environmental governance. In accordance with Hannah Arendt's conception of power as 'action in concert' (Arendt 1970: 44) Brazil successfully interacted in these three sectors on many fronts with other state and non-state actors alike and contributed to the shaping of global governance mechanisms based on three national solutions for development challenges, which were extremely successful in Brazil. These three solutions refer to Brazil's National AIDS Programme, the Zero Hunger strategy and the decades-long experience in producing ethanol.

b) The sectoral dimension of global governance

Several scholars have approached the analysis of Brazil's increasing influence in the international system from Brazil's position as a regional power in South America (see Hurrell 2000; Nel et al. 2012). Flemes argued that Brazil aimed to strengthen its status as a regional power to become a serious contender for a permanent seat in the UN Security Council (Flemes 2010: 102) and, in this context, used its own region 'South America primarily as a geo-strategic power base for the pursuit of its interests in world politics' (Flemes 2010: 110). And yet, Malamud (2011) discovered an increasing mismatch between Brazil's regional and global performance. While the other South American nations have not accepted Brazil's leadership within its own region, the country has managed to play an unprecedented role on the global stage (Malamud 2011: 18–19). In Bethell's words, 'Brazil has a presence and influence on the