

**INTERREGIONAL RELATIONS: PERSPECTIVES ON THE SUMMIT OF
SOUTH AMERICAN-ARAB COUNTRIES 'NEW' PATTERNS OF
ENGAGEMENT**

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ABSTRACT

INTERREGIONAL RELATIONS: PERSPECTIVES ON THE SUMMIT OF SOUTH AMERICAN- ARAB COUNTRIES 'NEW' PATTERNS OF ENGAGEMENT

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This thesis presents a novel approach in analysing the foreign policy perspectives of 'new' engagements between the Arab Middle East and South America regions. The specific focus is on Brazil's strategic, pragmatic and heightened foreign policy approach- 'autonomy through diversification', enlarged under Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva government (2003- 2011). The Summit of South American-Arab Countries (ASPA) an interregional dialogue forum serves as the empirical frame, while interactions are analysed through interregionalism. This is a theoretical approach typically reserved for advanced interregional networks of the Triad regions; North America, Western Europe and Japan. With this knowledge, the thesis highlights forms and functions of interregionalism. Although a developed form for ASPA is not easily discerned, analytical discussions are based on studies of non-Triad regions arranged as South-South relations. The thesis' evaluation of functions of interregionalism is operationalized within the structured frame of the Summit relying on three global-crossing optimal areas of interests reflected in international conditions for ASPA members to increase synergies. It is noted that though interregionalism theory is complementary to the Summit there are cases of limitations and lacunae in research on non- Triadic regions. Furthermore, given the low level of institutionalisation of the ASPA Summit undermining its structures and asymmetries among members; it is only capable of acting as an interregional springboard. However, if accorded long-term functionality and visibility as other interregional dialogue groups emerging from the South, there will be a potential for impact at the global multilateral level.

Keywords: Interregionalism, ASPA, Foreign Policy, South-South relations, Triad

ÖZ

BÖLGELERARASI İLİŞKİLER: GÜNEY AMERİKA - ARAP ÜLKELERİ ZİRVESİNDEKİ “YENİ” ANGAJMAN YAPISI PERSPEKTİFLERİ

Hall, Marsha Marie

Yüksek Lisans, Ortadoğu Araştırmaları Bölümü

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Bu tez Arap Ortadoğu Ülkeleri ve Güney Amerika bölgeleri arasındaki bölgelerarası ilişkilere dair yeni bir yaklaşım sunmaktadır. Tezin odağında, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva hükümeti altında genişleyen (2003-2011), Brezilya'nın stratejik, pragmatik ve yükselen dış politika yaklaşımı “Çeşitlilik Üzerinden Gelişen Özerklik” vardır. Bölgelerarası diyalog forumu Güney Amerika - Arap Ülkeleri Zirvesi (ASPA) ise ampirik vakayı oluşturmaktadır. Burada amaçlanan genelde Kuzey Amerika, Batı Avrupa ve Japonya gibi üçlü gruplar arasındaki, yüksek bölgelerarası ağlar için kullanılan teorik çerçeveyi Arap Ortadoğu ülkeleri ve Güney Amerika arasındaki ilişkileri açıklarken kullanmaktır. Bu bilgiler çerçevesinde bu tez bölgelerarasıcılığın şeklini ve işleyiş biçiminin altını çizer. Her ne kadar bölgeler için gelişmiş bir form kolaylıkla kavranamasa da analitik tartışmalar üçlü grup olmayan Güney-Güney ilişkilerinin çalışmalarına dayanmaktadır. Tezin bölgelerarasıcılığın işleyiş biçimi değerlendirmesi ASPA üyeleri arasındaki sinerjiyi yükseltmek ve geliştirmek bazında ASPA zirvesinin yapısal çerçevesi içerisinde ortaya çıkan üç küresel konu üzerinden işlevselleştirilmiştir. Bölgelerarasıcılığın, gelişen yapısı ve üçlü olmayan bölgeler üzerindeki araştırma eksikliklerinden dolayı açıklayıcılığının sınırları da dikkate alınmalıdır. ASPA zirvesinin düşük seviyedeki kurumsallaştırması nedeniyle üyeler arasındaki yapının ve asimetrinin gözden kaçmaktadır; ASPA şimdilik sadece ülkelerin kendi çıkarlarını korurken kullandıkları bölgelerarası bir araç olarak kalmaktadır. Fakat uzun dönemde işlevsellik ve görünürlüğü, güneyde yükselen diğer bölgelerarası gruplardaki gibi, uyumlaştırılması durumunda çok uluslu küresel siyasete gerçek bir etki etmesi söz konusu olabilir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Bölgearası, ASPA, Dış Politika, Güney-Güney İlişkileri, Üçlü Topluluk

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

“The process of social change is much the same today as it was 2,000 years ago... We can tell how change will occur if it occurs; but what we cannot foresee is what change is going to occur”.

(Arthur Lewis, *The Theory of Economic Growth*, 1970)

“Change. That is the key word... We will change, but at the same time we know that it is a gradual and continuous process and not just a simple expression of will...”

(Excerpts from Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, *inauguration speech to the Brazilian Congress* in 2003)

Common talk on the effects of change in a transformative international system is a multipolar world,¹ from which the principle of multilateralism² is a clear extension. A multipolar order is synonymous with three or more powers having to contend with each other in the international system and neither dominating the other. This thesis shares the view³ that two visible results of such changes are:

¹. Robert H. Wade, “Emerging World Order? From Multipolarity to Multilateralism: in the G20, the World Bank and the IMF,” *Politics and Society* 39, no. 3 (2011): 347-378, accessed November 13, 2014, doi: 10.1177/0032329211415503.

See, Luk Van Langenhove, “Multilateralism 2.0: the transformation of international relations,” *United Nations University*, May 31, 2011, accessed November 15, 2014, <http://unu.edu/publications/articles/multilateralism-2-0-the-transformation-of-international-relations.html>.

². John Gerard Ruggie, “Multilateralism: The Anatomy of an Institution,” in *Multilateralism Matters*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 3-36. Multilateralism is an institutional form that coordinates relations among three or more states on the basis of generalised principles of conduct.

- Note: As it pertains to the thesis, I interpret multilateralism to be a logical principle for interregional engagements and cooperation involving social, economic and political activities at the global level.

³. Heiner Hanggi et al. *Interregionalism and International Relations*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006).

- i. The rise of interregional dialogue forums, and
- ii. The making of independent foreign policy

Both issues will be analysed through the thesis empirical frame- the Summit of South American- Arab Countries (ASPA)⁴ from which the chapter specific research questions are formulated:

- Is ASPA a strong case for interregional relations, if so who are the actors pushing for this and what form is the relation taking?
- What are the value-based interactions of the ASPA Summit members?
- To what extent functions of interregionalism are embodied in the ASPA Summit?

The ASPA Summit initiated under former Brazilian president Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva administration in 2005,

Is an interregional forum for two regions facing similar global challenges seeking to reinforce South-South relations coordinated through two regional organisations the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR) and the League of Arab States (LAS). The Summit aims at pursuing closer cooperation and strengthening ties in economic, political, social and scientific field.⁵

For more concise understanding see, Cooper and Flesmes both authors question and analyse whether a foreign policy strategy of emerging powers is a strong preference to operate through institutions or “competitive mechanisms.” See, Andrew F. Cooper and Donald Flesmes, “Foreign Policy Strategies of Emerging Powers in a Multipolar World: an introductory review,” *Third World Quarterly* 34, no. 6 (2013): 943-962, doi:10.1080/01436597.2013.802501.

⁴. *Brazil Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, “Summit of South American- Arab Countries,” members are a total of 34 countries – 22 members of the Arab League (Saudi Arabia, Algeria, Bahrain, Qatar, Comoros, Djibouti, Egypt, United Arab Emirates, Yemen, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Mauritania, Oman, Palestine, Syria, Somalia, Sudan and Tunisia), and 12 Latin (South) American (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Guyana, Paraguay, Peru, Suriname, Uruguay and Venezuela), http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=9967:summit-of-south.

⁵. Silvia Feraboli, “The League of Arab States and the International Projection of an Arab Collective Identity Building,” *SÉCULO XXI, Porto Alegre*, 3, no. 2 (2012): 90-91.

- The First ASPA Summit, Brasilia Declaration May 11, 2005, “South American and Arab Countries Summit”, this document was approved at the first Summit,

Thus, it is important to understand the relevance of economic, political and social pillars of cooperation to a developing ASPA Summit and interregional relations.⁶ Ralf Roloff is of the view that interregional relations signifies “a process characterised by the widening and deepening [of] political, economic, societal [and ideational] interactions between international regions.”⁷ The thesis underlines that ASPA is one such effect of these entente, which incorporates members from two regions; South-America and the Arab Middle East. Here the thesis adheres to Hettne’s description of ‘regions’ as evolving entities not bounded by geography, “but as political constructions based on material transactions and interdependence...”⁸ In accordance with the literature provided,⁹ the thesis hypothesise that the ASPA Summit is a political construct of Brazil’s efforts to transform its role on the global stage. Paul Amar expresses similar

outlining 13 chapters of which biregional cooperation; peace and security were the main focus.

- A second Summit convened in Doha, Qatar on March 31, 2009, “Summit of South American and Arab Heads of State and Government resulted in the Doha Declaration, reaffirming the pillars and points of Brasilia Declaration,” <http://unispal.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/0/FD271F3424180A91852570C70076EE4A>.
- See, the Doha Declaration (2009). However, a noticeable feature of Doha Declaration was the inclusion of a second pillar on “Political Coordination,” covering a wide range of political issues notably Arab-Israeli conflict, non-interference of the US in Iraq and Syria, <http://qatarconferences.org/south/english/doha1.pdf>.
- A Third Summit held in Lima, Peru produced the Lima Declaration October 2, 2012, which basically reiterated the pillars and points of the Doha Declaration, <http://unispal.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/0/7E9B1F3B7225A4BF85257A9800553638>.

⁶. For indepth scholarship on interregionalism and interregional relations, see, Jürgen Rüländ, “Balancers, Multilateral Utilities or Regional Identity Builders? International Relations and the Study of Interregionalism, *Journal of European Public Policy* 17, no. 8 (2010): 1271- 1272, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13501763.2010.513586#abstract>.

⁷. Ibid., 1271.

⁸. Ibid.

⁹. The central location of Brazil in South America provides geopolitical advantage, see, Philip Kelly, *Checkerboards and Shatterbelts: The Geopolitics of South America*, (Texas: University of Texas Press, 1997), 15-16.

See, Nima Khorrami Assl, “Brazil a new face in the Middle East,” *The Guardian*, December 21, 2010, <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2010/dec/21/brazil-israel-palestine-diplomacy>.

sentiment, following Lula's tour of the Arab Middle countries of Egypt, Dubai, Lebanon and Libya in 2003.¹⁰

Addressing the regions, South America is a geographical and geopolitical expression used in reference to the twelve countries that occupy the Southern hemisphere of Americas. Historically rooted in Latin America and often perceived as a singular geographical space, South America is not a monolithic entity. The dominant role of Brazil a Portuguese-speaking country is one clear example. Similarly, the Middle East region is a cartographic construct and is quite problematic to define. But Hinnebusch posits the region "is constituted around an Arab core, with a shared identity but fragmented into multiple territorial states" with the core bordered by three non-Arab states: Iran, Israel and Turkey.¹¹ Halliday suggests that, the Arab Middle East is a collection of different societies and particular political systems.¹² For purposes of this research, the Arab Middle East includes all countries that are members of the League of Arab States. Arguments aside, Brazil's interaction and engagement extends beyond the Arab Middle East to include the non-Arabic speaking countries.

Thematically presented at the onset of this thesis is the issue of change. On the first, Rüländ states "interregional dialogue forums are regarded as an intermediary level of interaction between the regional and the global level performing five major potential functions."¹³ Extending beyond regional

¹⁰. The year 2003 marked the start of Lula's gradual whirlwind tour across the Arab Middle East eager to secure a global platform in international affairs and to present the country as a legitimate international actor. For more analysis, see, Paul Ammar, *The Middle East and Brazil: Perspectives on the New Global South*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014), 2.

¹¹. Raymond Hinnebusch, *The International Politics of the Middle East*, (UK: Manchester University Press, 2003), 1.

¹². Fred Halliday, *The Middle East in International Relations: Power, Politics and Ideology*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

¹³. See, Jürgen Rüländ, "Balancers, Multilateral Utilities or Regional Identity Builders? International Relations and the study of Interregionalism," *Journal of European Public Policy* 17, no. 8 (2010): 1271-1283, accessed August 10, 2014,

borders, interregional dialogue forums such as those between the European Union and Mercado Común del Sur (EU- MERCOSUR),¹⁴ Forum for East Asia-Latin America Cooperation (FEALAC),¹⁵ India, Brazil and South Africa (IBSA),¹⁶ and now the Summit of South American-Arab Countries (ASPA) to date are part of these global interactions.

In terms of the latter, the making of independent foreign policy is not as a ‘normative’¹⁷ discourse of leading hegemons, but by regional and ‘emerging middle powers- titles ascribed to states playing significant roles in the international system.¹⁸ Ian Manners explains “normative is a way of saying I want to change things – human conduct and international practice – I do not accept either the way world politics is, or theories that seek to maintain the status quo.”¹⁹ Furthermore, use of the term ‘normative’ holds positive or

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2010.513586>. The functions are named further-on in the introduction and analysed thoroughly in successive chapters.

The concept of interregional dialogue forums are further elaborated in, Jürgen Rüländ, “Interregionalism and International Relations: Reanimating and Obsolescent Research Agenda?” in *Intersecting Interregionalism: Regions, Global Governance and the EU*, ed. Francis Baert et al. (Dordrecht: Springer, 2014), 15-25.

¹⁴. Matthew Doidge, “Interregionalism Beyond Europe- Asia Relations,” in *The European Union and Interregionalism: Patterns of Engagement*, (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2011), 145-170.

¹⁵. Linda Low, “The Forum for East Asia- Latin America Cooperation (FEALAC): embryonic interregionalism,” in *Interregionalism and International Relations*, ed. Heiner Hanggi et al. (London: Routledge, 2006), 85-93.

¹⁶. Jürgen Rüländ and Karsten Bechle, “Interregionalism without regions: IBSA as a form of shallow multilateralism,” in *Asia and Latin America: Political, economic and multilateral relations*, ed. Jörn Dosch and Olaf Jacob, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), 157- 178.

¹⁷. Ian Manners, “Normative Power Europe: A contradiction in Terms?” *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 40, no. 2 (2002): 235-58, accessed June 9, 2015 <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1468-5965.00353/pdf>.

¹⁸. Paulo Roberto De Almeida, “Brazil as a Regional and Emerging Global Power: Foreign Policy Strategies and the Impact on the New International Order,” *Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Policy Briefing Paper* 8 (2007),4-7, <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/iez/global/04709.pdf>. For a global outlook of Brazil foreign policies and global interactions, see Daniel Fledes, “Emerging Middle Powers’ Soft Balancing Strategy: State and Perspectives of the IBSA Dialogue Forum,” (working paper, *German Institute of Global and Area Studies*, Hamburg, no. 57, 2010): 7-10, http://www.plataformademocratica.org/Publicacoes/21248_Cached.pdf.

negative connotations, generally depending on which major power is associated with a particular foreign policy and that country's ability to shape global preferences.²⁰ Insights from Nathalie Tocci references the US and the EU foreign policy strategies characteristically seen as the 'norm', examples: issues of democratisation, rule of law and human rights.²¹ A major reason is due to universal appeal and status quo, hence, the label of 'normative foreign policy actor'.²² Brazil to some extent Tocci shares would also fit the profile of a normative foreign policy actor;²³ the country has an increasingly active presence and influence in South America. Also shifts in balance of power has led to Brazil's institutionalising and shaping of relations with non-traditional partners through the formulation of a foreign policy, which Vigevani and Cepaluni, term 'autonomy through diversification.'²⁴ In this instance the ASPA Summit is one proof of Brazil's established autonomy and the country's active participation in international affairs. Perhaps, it is modest to say this major foreign policy strategy have elevated Brazil to the

¹⁹. Ian Manners, "European Union. Normative Power and Ethical Foreign Policy," in *Rethinking Ethical Foreign Policy: Pitfalls, possibilities and paradoxes*, ed. David Chandler and Volker Heins (New York: Routledge, 2006), 116-136.

²⁰. Normative power is conceptualised around five main points: ideational, principles, actions, impacts and consequences in world politics. "The EU's Normative Power in Changing World Politics," in *Normative Power Europe in a Changing World: A Discussion*, ed. Andre Gerrits (The Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael, 2009): 9-15, http://www.clingendael.nl/sites/default/files/20091200_cesp_paper_gerrits.pdf.

²¹. For in-depth arguments on 'normative' and the issues on normative foreign policy actor, see, Nathalie Tocci, "Profiling Normative Foreign Policy: The European Union and its Global Partners." (Brussels: Centre for European Policy Studies, 2007), 2-3, accessed July 15, 2015, <http://aei.pitt.edu/7580/1/Wd279.pdf>

²². *Ibid.*, 3.

²³. *Ibid.* note, Brazil's normative foreign policy actor role is more regional than global.

²⁴. Autonomy through diversification is a policy of adherence to international norms and principles by means of South – South alliances, including regional alliances, and through agreements with non-traditional partners (China, Asia-Pacific, Africa, Eastern Europe, Middle East, etc.), trying to reduce asymmetries in external relations with powerful countries, see, Tullo Vigevani and Gabriel Cepaluni, "Lula's Foreign Policy and the Quest for Autonomy through Diversification," *Third World Quarterly* 28, no. 1 (2007): 1309-1326, accessed April 20, 2014, doi:http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/01436590701547095#_i3.

centre,²⁵ though not with equal weight as developed countries. Brazil's unsuccessful bid for permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) attests to this, even though the country has been elected as a non-permanent member ten times. Another double standard was the disparaging comment purported by one United States ambassador regarding ASPA's formation that, "Brazil does not understand Middle East affairs".²⁶ This signifies the unwillingness of a leading power to accept the 'rise of the rest.' Therefore, the use of Brazil's foreign policy strategies to understand these 'new' engagements between the regions performs dual functions in this research.

In the first scenario a general overview of foreign policy takes into account the behaviour of a hegemonic North vis-à-vis a developing South. Secondly, foreign policy perspectives are articulated along the lines of Brazil's 'autonomy through diversification' by means of South-South cooperation.²⁷ Or this is perhaps in reality South-South relations engaging with multilateralism. To clarify, South-South relations cover a broad framework for collaboration among countries from the 'Global South.'²⁸ This term is

²⁵. Julia E. Sweig, "A New Global Player: Brazil's Far-flung Agenda," *Foreign Affairs* (2010), accessed February 8, 2014, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/brazil/2010-11-01/new-global-player>.

For more up-to-date readings, see: Peter Dauvergne and Déborah B.L. Farias, "The Rise of Brazil as a Global Development Power," *Third World Quarterly* 33, no. 5 (2012): 903-917, accessed February 8, 2014, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2012.674704>.

²⁶. This was because Brazil refused US request for observer position in the Summit, see, US Ambassador to Brazil Clifford Sobel alleged remarks to the State Department revealed through Wikileaks cable, <http://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/1893/arab-south-american-region>.

²⁷. Chris Alden, Sally Morphet and Marco Antonio Vieira, *The South in World Politics*, (UK: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010), 3-4. The South consists of peripherals and semi peripheral countries (caught somewhere in-between the periphery and centre, neither great but still not equated with the influence of developed regions).

²⁸. Charles William Kegley and Shannon Lindsey Blanton, "The Global South in a World of Powers," in *World Politics: Trends and Transformations*, 14th ed. (Boston: Wadsworth, 2014), 102-134.

The Global South (as opposed to the wealthy developed North) is a broad term used when referring collectively to developing and peripheral countries formerly known as "Third World" located in the Southern Hemisphere.

used interchangeably with the South, due to growing importance of emerging economies from the Southern hemisphere and efforts to increase and stimulate relations among themselves and with rest of the world. So, the Summit was the building block for the linking of domestic policies with international politics as a means of twenty-first century engagement with the Arab Middle East region.²⁹

Despite historical propensities to dismiss the Arab Middle East into the imaginings of others, the thesis shows that concerted energies between the regions have an international dimension. Along this line, it is fair to stress that South America's 'new engagements' with the Arab Middle East region is not a one-sided affair, there are various socio-political and economic dynamics to interregional relations. Also, before the main Summit convened there were high-level formal preparatory meetings with government officials from both sides and discussions on logistics.³⁰ Not in the least, the Arab Middle East countries positive reception of the Summit serves to legitimise Brazil's role in global multilateral institutions, thus showing-up the regions interests of managing relations in an open system. The concept of an *open* system alludes to a pluralistic and global expansion of regions in international relations. In theory regions are supposedly not constrained by geography, social, economic and political barriers,³¹ although easier said than done.

Empirical analysis discloses it will not suffice that the regions, (the thesis concurs with Hettne's concept mentioned earlier) present a willingness to engage through formal structures and in various multilateral institutions.

²⁹. Paul Amar, *The Middle East and Brazil: Perspectives on the New Global South*, (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2014), 1-39.

³⁰. See, "An Overview of the First Summit of Arab-South American Countries (Brazilia 2005)," : 30-31, http://qatarconferences.org/south/english/info/first_summit.pdf.

³¹. Talks of an open system is typically framed in international politics and is credited to well-known theorist Robert Kaplan. Patterning from this knowledge pool I formulate a different interpretation, see, Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, (Illinois: Waveland Press Inc.: 2010), 58.

There must be some capability to *act*, since for Hettne, regions can also be understood “as processes; not geographical or administrative objects but potential subjects, and thereby actors in the making (or un-making; their boundaries are shifting, and so are their *actorship* and capacity as *actor*.”³² This concept to act has an external dimension and Hettne continues to elaborate, can also increase or decrease overtime of course depending on different variables and thus, an actor can actually lose actor capacity.³³ However, unpacking any idea of the ASPA Summit fulfilling the role of a global actor must take a backseat for now. The Summit is yet to develop any regional or external weight in international affairs, despite Brazil, UNASUR, LAS and the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) presence. Research shows the EU is widely located to a large extent in the actor framework,³⁴ although actor capacity is not the sole domain of this institution. On that salient point, Hettne is keen to emphasise that the EU may, “serve as an analytical framework in studying the transformation of any region from object to subject, that is with a certain actor capacity in its external relations”.³⁵ Bearing in mind the EU’s preeminent position is not to be ignored, the first research question asks: Is ASPA a strong case for interregional relations and if so who are the actors pushing for this and what

³². Björn Hettne, “EU Foreign Policy: The interregional Model,” in *The European Union and the Global South*, ed. Fredrik Söderbaum and Patrik Stalgren (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc., 2010), 16-17.

Actorship is synonymous with the ability of regions or states to influence the external environment through policies or processes at the social, political and economic level.

³³. Ibid., 1.

³⁴. For a concise introduction on the nature of EU as a global actor, see, Fredrik Söderbaum and Luk Van Langenhove, *The EU as Global Player: The Politics of Interregionalism*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006).

For further readings, see, Björn Hettne and Fredrik Söderbaum, “Civilian Power or Soft Imperialism: The EU as a Global Actor and the Role of Interregionalism,” *European Affairs Review* 10, no. 4 (2005): 535-552.

For comparative readings, see, J.U. Wunderlich, “The EU as actor sui generis? A comparison of EU and ASEAN actorness,” *Journal of Common Markets Studies* 50, no. 4 (2012): 653-669.

³⁵. Björn Hettne, “Regional Actorship: A Comparative Approach to Interregionalism,” in *Intersecting Interregionalism: Regions, Global Governance and the EU*, ed. Francis Baert et al. (Dordrecht: Springer, 2014), 60.

form is this taking. In order to answer this question, the thesis highlights relevant cases of interregionalism from outside the EU and Triad relations.

Contingent to this thesis empirical frame is also the theoretical approach of interregionalism. Interregionalism owes much of its development to regionalism limited in institutional arrangements with developing regions.³⁶ Within this context ‘new regionalism’³⁷ is said to be more compatible with multilateralism. These theories have moved beyond ideologies and political hegemonic discourse to confront an open international system. Subjected to waves of *old* and *new* concepts, interregionalism parallel to regionalism is distinguished in a chronological structure, Aggarwal and Fogarty, old or pure interregionalism³⁸ and Hanggi’s, new interregionalism.³⁹ The new differs from the old in the sense that multidimensional arrangements are projected through large diffusion of states cooperating and building

³⁶. Dennis Rumley, “Geopolitical Change and the Asia-Pacific: The Future of New Regionalism”, in *Geopolitics at the End of the Twentieth Century: The Changing World Political Map*, ed. Nurit Kliot and David Newman (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2000), 90.

³⁷. Norman D. Palmer, *The New Regionalism in Asia and the Pacific*, (Lexington: Lexington Books, 1991).
Current interregionalism is a direct result of the new wave of regionalism- introduced by Palmer as “new regionalism.” This new regionalism must be understood in socio-historical context of a multipolar world, than the previous wave of regionalism (1970s- 1980s) dominated by a bipolar world order.
Literature on old and new regionalism, see, Björn Hettne and Fredrik Söderbaum, “The New Regionalism Approach,” *Pre-publication manuscript, Politeia*17, no. 3 (1998): 6-21. “New regionalism is a complex process of change taking place simultaneously at the various levels of analysis: the global system level; the level of interregional relations; the internal structure of the region (including the nation-states, subnational ethnic groups and transnational microregions).”
See also, Raimo V.A. Väyrynen, “Regionalism: Old and New,” *International Studies Review* 5 (2003): 25-51, accessed July 24, 2014, http://www.wiso.uni-hamburg.de/uploads/media/11_Vaerynen_2003.pdf.

³⁸. Vinod K. Aggarwal and Edward A. Fogarty, “Explaining Trends in EU Interregionalism” in *European Union Trade Strategies: Between Globalism and Regionalism*, ed. Vinod K. Aggarwal and Edward A. Fogarty, (London: Palgrave, 2004). The EU in particular remains the singular case describing pure or new interregionalism.

³⁹. Heiner Hanggi, “Interregionalism: empirical and theoretical perspectives” (paper prepared for the workshop Dollars, Democracy and Trade: External Influence on Economic Integration in the Americas, Los Angeles, CA, May 18, 2000), accessed July 27, 2014, <http://www.cap.lmu.de/transatlantic/download/Haenggi.PDF>.

interactions in an institutionalised manner. Thus, new interregionalism is not a twentieth century phenomenon, but one *in continuum*. Interregionalism earns the spot of being a complex concept and process lacking a clear theoretical approach. For such reasons, Hanggi *et al.* remarked that, research on interregionalism remains in an embryonic stage,⁴⁰ allowing space for a more conclusive theory. This is complementary to ASPA a new interregional dialogue forum that is also evolving.

Consensus on how interregionalism is defined varies, but this thesis highlights those from leading scholars of the theory. Understandably, their explanation of interregionalism though conceptualised along similar lines do diverge. Hanggi theorises interregionalism as covering institutionalised relationships between regional organisations and groups of states from two or more regions.”⁴¹ Indeed, Dent maintains that interregionalism constitutes relationship between two distinct, separate regions.⁴² Meanwhile, Söderbaum and Stalgren states, “interregionalism refers to the process where two specified regions interact as regions, that is region-to-region relations.”⁴³ An important point to note is that regions occupy a central place in each author’s understanding and explanation of interregionalism. Certainly this reflects the realities of a multipolar world and role of interregional dialogue forums. It does not necessarily mean interregional relations will always be coherent and uniform given that foreign policy

⁴⁰. For a comprehensive analysis, see, Heiner Hanggi, “Interregionalism: A new phenomenon in international relations,” in *Interregionalism and International Relations: A Stepping Stone to Global Governance?*, ed. Heiner Hanggi et al., (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006), 6.

⁴¹. Heiner Hanggi, “Interregionalism as a multifacteted phenomenon: In search of a typology,” in *Interregionalism and International Relations: A Stepping Stone to Global Governance?*, ed. Heiner Hanggi et al., (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006), 1.

⁴². Christopher M. Dent, “From inter-regionalism to trans-regionalism? Future challenges for ASEM,” *Asia Europe Journal* no.1. (2003): 224.

⁴³. Fredrik Söderbaum and Patrik Stalgren, *The European Union and the Global South*, (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2010), 4-5.

Ibid., 2. (At the same time the authors emphasised that “because a region is not unified does not mean we should dismiss it as an actor.”)

strategy is malleable and adapts to different political climate. Nonetheless, the thesis is threading across many fields not only in search of an applicable form, but to substantiate whether functions attached and assigned to interregional dialogue forums are noticeably performed in ASPA. To this end, such intent presents a departure from the proliferation of literature on *Triadic* regions relations.⁴⁴ These are relations between developed regions and advanced economies of the US, Western Europe and East Asia -mainly Japan. Hence, the thesis main objective is to analyse interregionalism as a useful theoretical approach to explain interregional linkages (albeit ad-hoc and inchoate) within the ASPA Summit and among Summit members.

Few articles and studies have been the focus of new interregionalism⁴⁵ developing among *non-Triadic* regions, which describe developing relations between ‘weaker’ economies from the South. The ASPA Summit members relations are categorised as non-Triadic, since none of the countries represented are located in the Triad sphere. Undoubtedly, the Summit presents a logical case study for the empirical frame of the thesis effort to move towards a non-Triadic discourse. Citing examples; MERCOSUR and FEALAC are now receiving some attention as classical non-Triadic cases involving two distinct regional organisations.⁴⁶ Such major change in the rise of interregional dialogue forums from the South as with ASPA is the context in which new interregionalism is emerging. As a result, the second

⁴⁴. Heiner Hanggi, “ASEM and the Construction of the New Triad,” *Journal of the Asia Pacific Economy* 4, no.1 (1999): 56-80.

⁴⁵. Julia Gilson, “New Interregionalism? The EU and East Asia,” *Journal of European Integration* 27, no. 3 (2005): 307-326, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/07036330500190164>
See, Valeria Marina Valle, “Interregionalism: A Case Study of the European Union and Mercosur,” *GARNET Working Paper* no. 51, (2008), accessed August 27, 2014, <http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/garnet/workingpapers/5108.pdf>.

⁴⁶. Linda Low, “The Forum for East Asia- Latin America Cooperation (FEALAC): embryonic interregionalism,” in *Interregionalism and International Relations*, ed. Heiner Hanggi et al., (London: Routledge, 2006), 85-93.
Also see, Rodrigues P. Bessa, “The European Union- Mercosur: In search of a ‘new’ relationship?,” *European Foreign Affairs Review* 4, no. 4 (1999): 81-98.
See, Matthew Doidge, “Interregionalism Beyond Europe- Asia Relations,” in *The European Union and Interregionalism: Patterns of Engagement*, (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2011), 145-170.

research question is addressed: What are the origins and value-based interactions of the ASPA members? To answer this question the thesis recalls historical affinities of the regions prior to ASPA formation and examines the benefits and opportunities created for Summit members thus far.

Critical to interregionalism are the expansion of interregional relations, which warrants classification of forms and functions regardless of interregionalism definitions, spatial and temporal limitations.

Interregionalism is a broad and multi-layered term under which Rüländ suggests three forms of dialogue situations may be incorporated: bi-regional or bilateral interregionalism, transregionalism and hybrid-interregionalism.⁴⁷

Bilateral interregionalism is defined as regularised meetings between high level institutionalised organisations, for example; EU- MERCOSUR.

Transregionalism, Rüländ states, is a ‘dialogue process representing a diffuse membership with member states from more than two regions without membership in a regional grouping, non-state actors, plus some overarching organisational structures (Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation- APEC)’.⁴⁸ Rüländ’s final form is *hybrid interregionalism*, which extends to cover all other types of interregional interactions, notably those of the Africa Caribbean and Pacific process (ACP) “imagined interregionalism” and IBSA cooperation interregionalism without regions.⁴⁹

1.1. Layering a ‘diffuse type’ of Interregionalism

In developing a form of interregional relation for the ASPA Summit, this section will explain the Summit layers and identify its limitations. A fundamental issue of ASPA is the Summit lack of regional agency in the Arab Middle East or South America. Regional agency is a mechanism or

⁴⁷. Jürgen Rüländ, “Interregionalism and International Relations: Reanimating an Obsolescent Research Agenda?” in *Intersecting Interregionalism: Regions, Global Governance and the EU*, ed. Francis Baert et al., (Dordrecht: Springer, 2014), 16-17.

⁴⁸. Ibid., 16-17.

⁴⁹. Ibid.

formalised policies associated with interregional organisations or groups taking on greater roles alongside multilateralism.⁵⁰ Official information from Itamaraty website on ASPA designates two regional coordinators said to be responsible for *assuring* the functioning of ASPA. On the Arab Middle East side, functions of regional coordination are performed by the General Secretariat of the LAS. For the South American counterpart, the role is managed by Brazil, as agreed by countries in the region, but will later transfer to UNASUR.⁵¹ In contrast to more developed interregional relations among the Triad regions, the ASPA Summit and regional coordinators face constraints on an international and regional level. To date ASPA most tangible achievements is the facilitating the Arab-South American Commerce Federation and the opening of BibliASPA library and research centre in Sao Paola, Brazil.⁵² Furthering this, the Summit structure was formalised during the, “Third Meeting of ASPA Ministers of Foreign Relations,” in Cairo, Egypt (2009).⁵³ Yet, as members frequently interact, through various track level meetings on the side-lines of main Summits and hosted forums while the general Summit was ‘inactive,’⁵⁴ no distinct comprehensive regional partnership has emerged or signed-on. The ASPA Business Forum, Meeting of ASPA Ministers of Environment, ASPA Health Ministers Meeting and the ASPA International Forum of Women Leaders organised by the Arab League General Secretariat are the main track-level meetings distinguished under the Summit.

⁵⁰. Fredrik Söderbaum and Rodrigo Tavares, *Regional Organizations in African Security*, (Oxon: Routledge, 2011), 6-7.

⁵¹. Summit of South American-Arab Countries (ASPA), *Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/index.php?option=com_tags&view=tag&id=845.

⁵². See, Lima Declaration pillar 4 “Cultura land Education Cooperation,” point 4.5., <http://www.rreee.gob.pe/politicaexterior/Documents/Lima%20Declaration%202-10-2012%20PDF.pdf>.

⁵³. See: Summit of South American Arab Countries <http://archive.is/bjFzq#selection-605.14-605.67>.

⁵⁴. See, discussions by former Foreign Minister of Brazil (1993–1994 and 2003–2010) Celso Amorim, “Brazil and the Middle East,” *The Cairo Review of Global Affairs*, <http://www.aucegypt.edu/GAPP/CairoReview/Pages/articleDetails.aspx?aid=6>.

Consequently, the thesis converge with Söderbaum and Hettne arguments, that some ‘regions’ encapsulates ‘a diffuse type of interregionalism, due to the porous and undefined nature of the regions and weak actorship’.⁵⁵ Arguably, this weak actorship is by virtue of a Triadic-centred or Western dominated international system, regional and international factors, asymmetries of members (socio-political and economic type). These asymmetries will evolve or dissolve with time and Doidge, analytical contributions notes that even Triad relations experience asymmetries.⁵⁶ Inevitably, this is one of the main arguments proposed. Such description reiterates the precedent given to highly formalised groups from the Triad regions and the bias nature of literatures on interregionalism. At the same time Hettne explains, even weak regions can have impact and leverage in international affairs and on global multilateral institutions. The oil producing economies of the GCC is a prime example of a sub-regional group with significance in international affairs, not only because of its natural resources, but on matters of securitisation. South America, no stranger to region-building, has potential for some rudimentary projection of international influence. The region created numerous alliance-buildings tools as a means of pursuing interregional trade interests, regional energy security and limiting US socio- economic and political influence regionally.⁵⁷ Internationally Brazil’s interest in securing a place for

⁵⁵. This explanation is applied in a wider context of pure interregionalism and biases in literature which the authors mention, see, Fredrik Söderbaum and Patrik Stalgren, *The European Union and the Global South*, (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2010), 5. Attention to diffuse type interregionalism was relayed to me via email correspondence with Dr. Söderbaum 28/08/2014.

⁵⁶. The EU and US relations experience asymmetry, due to US formation of NAFTA, see, Matthew Doidge, *The European Union and Interregionalism: Patterns of Engagement*, (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2011), 33.

⁵⁷. The creation of UNASUR and MERCOSUR are two recent drivers of regional autonomy developing external dimensions in the international political economy. See, Ernesto Vivares, *Exploring the New South American Regionalism (NSAR)*, (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2014).

Also see, Detlef Nolte and Leslie E. Wehner, “Geopolitics in Latin America: old and new”, in *Routledge Handbook of Latin American Security*, ed. David R. Mares and Arie M. Kacowicz (Abingdon: Routledge 2016), 36-37.

developing countries in multilateral negotiations against large trade blocs in the World Trade Organisation (WTO) is documented.⁵⁸ Generally speaking the Arab Middle East and South American regions are seen as a source of problem and a region that aspiring powers can project their interests.

A novelty of interregional relations is that interregional dialogue forums must be functional. Apart from the ability to impact regional and global multilateral fora, Rüländ contends that interregional forums perform ‘five major *potential* functions: balancing, institution-building, rationalising, agenda-setting and identity-building’.⁵⁹ Granted that the functions are not static and applicability to non-Triadic groups is outstanding. Consequently, the final research question reads: to what extent functions of interregionalism are embodied in the ASPA Summit? As a matter of principle, operationalizing the functions must have a clear basis, and the thesis identifies three global-crossing optimal areas: historical-social, political and economic widely reflected in regional and international conditions. For clarification, the term global- crossing optimal issues describes high-level social, political and economic agendas, for examples; environmental sustainability and terrorism. These issues cut across geographical boundaries and most governments are now confronted with gradual threat of such and how to deal with challenges. Further still, the agendas coincide with the pillars of ASPA Summit declarations and are

⁵⁸. Brazil success in securing trade negotiation in the WTO against a perceived Euro-America trade monopoly , is seen as an achievement for developing Global South, thus a boost for South-South relations. See, Mahrukh Doctor, “Brazil's Role in Institutions of Global Economic Governance: The WTO and G20,” *Global Society* 29, no.3 (2015): 286-300. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13600826.2015.1025041#abstract>.

⁵⁹. These functions are stressed in the first chapter, for further discussions, see, Jürgen Rüländ, “Balancers Multilateral Utilities or Regional Identity Builders? International Relations and the Study of Interregionalism,” *Journal of European Public Policy* 17, no. 8 (2010): 1271-1272, accessed February 2014, doi: 10.1080/13501763.2010.513586 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2010.513586>.

proposed by the thesis as mutual *pull* factors for the members to solidify interregional relations.

1.2. Structure of the Thesis

The general introduction already sets the empirical and theoretical frame of this thesis outlining the research questions and changes in the international system. It draws together two issues: the rise of interregional dialogue forums and the making of independent foreign policy. In that section foreign policy perspective takes specific interest in Brazil's foreign policy strategy of autonomy through diversification recognising its direct role in ASPA's formation. Definitions are also clarified at best and most importantly, the introduction engaged in discussions of the main scholars of interregionalism elucidating different forms and functions of interregional dialogue forums to ensure formulation of the research questions. What follows below is a structure of the thesis chapters and the corresponding research questions. An exception is made concerning the final research question to: what extent functions of interregionalism are embodied in the ASPA Summit, this is analysed in chapters two-four. The rationale for this method is that these chapters are not only represented as global-crossing optimal areas of interest, but are outlined as pillars of coordination and cooperation in the ASPA Summit.

The first chapter presents a theoretical discourse on interregionalism new development within the framework of old- new regionalism (Väyrynen 2003). Research from leading scholars of interregionalism (Hanggi et al. 2006), (Rüland 2010; 2014), (Hettne and Söderbaum 2005; 2008), (Hettne 2010; 2014), (Söderbaum et al. 2014), (Söderbaum and Stalgren 2010) and (Söderbaum and Langenhove 2006) allude to the Triad and EU dominance, and biases in literature on non-Triad relations. Arranged in four sub-headings, I briefly explain the 'old- new' phenomenon of regionalism,⁶⁰

⁶⁰. Matthew Doidge, "Joined at the Hips: Regionalism and Interregionalism, *Journal of European Integration* 29, no. 2 (2007): 229-248, accessed August 15, 2014, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/07036330701252474>.

conceptualising the rise of interregionalism as Doidge suggests, regionalism and interregionalism are impacted by one another.⁶¹ From this the thesis gives an overview of interregional relations classified under Rüländ's three forms: bilateral interregionalism, transregionalism and hybrid interregionalism. These forms are identifiers in an attempt to answer the first research question, is ASPA a strong case for interregional relations, if so who are the actors pushing for this and what form is the relation taking. After answering the question, I transition to functionality which covers the second subheading on functions of interregionalism: balancing, institution-building, rationalising, agenda-setting and identity building, deduced by Rüländ as the 'major *potential* functions' of interregional dialogue forums. A final sub-heading features more in-depth case study on ASPA's establishment, the Summit structure and declarations which emanated from past sessions. Simultaneously, noting the making of independent foreign policy, attention is given to Brazil's foreign policy strategy of autonomy through diversification. It also assesses asymmetries of ASPA members and the capacity of actorship in the international system. Within the same continuum functions of interregionalism are operationalize across three global-crossing optimal areas: historical-social, political and economic policy fields. These are crucial policy fields to the research structure as individual chapters and set the tone for evaluating whether functions attached to interregional dialogue forums is undertaken by ASPA. The thesis makes clear Doidge statement that not all functions are mandatory for interregional dialogue forums to perform. Referencing other non-Triadic relations; MERCOSUR and FEALAC indicates that developing interregional relations through ASPA is a diffuse type. This point of view is attributed to Söderbaum and Hettne. Reasons being, the Summit falls 'short' on actorship and so far lack of regional agency in impacting decisions on regional and international politics and economic affairs.

⁶¹. Björn Hettne and Fredrik Söderbaum, "The future of regionalism: Old divides, new frontiers," in *Regionalisation and Global Governance: The taming of globalisation?* ed. Andrew F. Cooper et al., (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008), 61-77.

In the second chapter, historical and social ties of the regions are traced to show that rapprochement between the regions is not new. Early migration of Arab Middle East immigrants to countries of South America where large integrated communities reside displaying significant influence cannot be ignored. If the Summit is to truly provide a valuable frame for constructing interregional relations, then the thesis must ‘tap’ into past connections. On that point, the second research question is profiled here, what are the origins and value-based interactions of the ASPA? Moving to the next sub-heading, the context of current relations is premised on the Summit representing itself as “a mechanism for South-South cooperation and policy coordination in multilateral forums.”⁶² This concept is expressed in Brasilia Declaration pillar 8, on the “Development of South-South Cooperation,”⁶³ which emphasised its importance and mutual benefits to the regions across economic, social technical and scientific and cultural areas. Vaguely though, South-South cooperation agreed on in the “Preamble” of Doha Declaration and the final Lima Declaration is limitedly enhanced as ‘capacity building’ mechanism through development, innovation and poverty reduction.⁶⁴ An accompanying subheading gives special attention to an often overlooked group -the Arab Diaspora- and what role they provide in promoting interregional relations.

⁶². See, the Summit of South America Arab Countries, first paragraph, http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=9967.

⁶³. See, Brasilia Declaration (2005), pillar 8 “Development of South-South Cooperation,” <http://unispal.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/0/FD271F3424180A91852570C70076EE4A>.

⁶⁴. See, “Preamble” of Doha Declaration (2009), reference to South-South cooperation as ‘promoting capacity building...’ is stated in the second point system, <http://qatarconferences.org/south/english/doha1.pdf>.

- The Final Declaration from Lima (2012) is not in verbatim of Brasilia 2005, but more of a follow up to Doha and the “General Guidelines 1.1., agreed to “reaffirm the importance of bi-regional coordination in international fora and their conviction in South-South and triangular cooperation as a means of effectively promoting development and poverty reduction, through capacity building, innovation...”
<http://unispal.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/0/7E9B1F3B7225A4BF85257A9800553638>.

Chapter three analyses the political dimensions of ASPA extending to international relations activities considering the very active diplomacy of government officials on both sides. The thesis argues that changes in the international system have provided the regions with enough latitude to strategically shift their priorities away from a western orientation. But, this has provided little if any change in the regions, except for the occasional political rhetoric. Essentially, political coordination is very limited and is not centred on disseminating ideologies or exporting of a revolutionary discourse. Cases typified are the ASPA members' responses to the 'Global War on Terror' introduced post- September 9, 2011 terror attacks on the US⁶⁵ and the Arab 'Uprisings' of 2011. Incidentally both events are assessed in this chapter. The second subheading on the Arab Uprisings notes the changes and continuities fostering internal and external impact in certain Arab Middle East countries at present.⁶⁶ This is emphasised due to unilateral actions taken by the US in Iraq and Libya leading to extensive instability and the international community evasive response to Syria's on-going civil war. Whatever internal 'imaginings' exist in the scheme of ASPA, interregional relations serves to facilitate a push past observer-spectator side lines. Instead, advocating for greater global visibility and inclusion not competition. Optimally, it is a different world view of power- politics and reconstruction of identities instead of a set world order built on hierarchy. Two other pertinent sub-heading completes this chapter, matters of the environment (climate change) and reform of the UN and affiliate organisations outlined as point systems in the Brasilia, Doha and Lima declarations.

⁶⁵. See, the Doha Declaration (2009) of second ASPA Summit, outlined in point 14, where members clearly stated their condemning of terrorism in all forms, but at the same time reject the linkages of terrorism to specific people, ethnicity, culture or religion. The members also agreed to take step to fight against terrorism but within the frame of a UN coordinated effort, <http://qatarconferences.org/south/english/doha1.pdf>.

⁶⁶. Alejandra Galindo et al., "Diversity Behind Unity: Latin America's response to the Arab Spring," in *The International Politics of the Arab Spring: Popular unrest and Foreign Policy*, ed. Robert Mason (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 125- 145.

The fourth and final chapter explains the economic ties between ASPA members; indeed the nature of business is more trade and investments. In 2013, the “First Energy Ministerial Meeting of ASPA” adopted the Abu Dhabi Declaration for the purpose of strengthening and increasing cooperation in the energy sector.⁶⁷ Since the Summit convened, trade between the regions has increased, with Argentina and Brazil as the largest exporters of goods and services to the Arab Middle East.⁶⁸ But oil and energy links remain top priorities, with food and agriculture imports and exports increasing. From the Arab Middle East, the GCC countries have the bulk of investments in South America, with private commercial investments mainly in banking, air transportation and energy sectors. While other proposals remain in the works and the economic aspect is promising, the regions are still trading well below their capacity. This indicates there is a need for even greater economic coordination. Subsequently, emphasis is placed on the global financial and economic crisis 2007/2008, which began in the US. One perceived advantage of this was potential opportunities for the Arab Middle East in particular and South American countries to find ways of increasing trade and diversify their economies. This no doubt accounts for the huge demand in food trade attracting many interests.⁶⁹

⁶⁷. “First Energy Ministerial of South American and Arab Countries (ASPA) Adopts Abu Dhabi Declarations,” (January 16, 2013), <http://energy-l.iisd.org/news/first-energy-ministerial-of-south-american-and-arab-countries-aspa-adopts-abu-dhabi-declaration/>.

⁶⁸. Aarti Nagraj, “Trade between Arab Region, Brazil Hits \$26bn In 2012,” *Gulf Business*, March 18, 2013, accessed November 16, 2014, <http://gulfbusiness.com/2013/03/trade-between-arab-region-brazil-hits-26bn-in-2012/#.VbtbAvntmko>. It is recognised that trade and investments are reciprocal between the two regions. See: Elizabeth Dickenson, “Gulf Embraces Latin American Flavours as trade triples,” *The National Arab Emirates*, October 2, 2012, <http://www.thenational.ae/news/world/americas/gulf-embraces-latin-american-flavours-as-trade-triples>.

See, Rachel Glickhouse, “Arab countries Pursue Latin American trade,” *Americas Society-Council of the Americas*, October 4, 2012, <http://www.as-coa.org/articles/arab-countries-pursue-latin-american-trade>.

⁶⁹. Lucinda Elliott, “Appetite grows for food trade between Latin America and the Middle East,” *The FinancialTimes*, June 29, 2014, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/5a0be580-f856-11e3-815f-00144feabdc0.html#axzz3hT2gOL7N>.

Brazil, Peru and Uruguay are cited as the leading countries to the region, while Egypt and Saudi Arabia trade flows to South American countries.

Raising several concerns on the global financial crisis, the second round of ASPA Summit held in Doha 2009, called for implementations of new regulations to global multilateral financial institutions.⁷⁰ Closing off this chapter subheading is cognizance of opportunities and challenges for improved economic ties. While commercial ties are growing, there is disequilibrium among some ASPA members and many areas of investment remain unexploited or stagnant. The space is thus open for more diverse and balanced economic activities, even in a volatile Arab Middle East and the challenges of ‘doing business’ in the South American region. One cannot overlook the interplay of economic policies from global financial centres and institutions. Importantly, the three global-crossing optimal areas hold many possibilities for further research on future functionality of the Summit and interregionalism theory.

Having analysed and presented arguments on interregional relations and its emerging presence in non-Triadic regions. The research concludes by emphasising once again that interregional dialogue forums and the making of independent foreign policy are part of the dynamics in a transformative international system. This thesis argues that there is clear channel to consider ASPA Summit as a mechanism for interregional relations, despite weak actorship, low institutionalised structure, asymmetries of members and primacy of EU-focused literature and biases. Though such drawbacks are acknowledged, interregionalism is an on-going process that allows for continuous study of ASPA members relations. Moreover theoretical analysis of interregionalism is two-fold, first it demonstrates that ASPA Summit can potentially develop to ‘fit-in’ any of the forms identified based on the evolving interregional relations. On the second inquiry, Doidge contends, it is not a requisite that functions must be performed in all interregional dialogues, and that asymmetries of members in interregional relations is an

⁷⁰. “Second Summit of Arab- South American Countries,” *Permanent Committee for Organizing Conferences (Doha – State of Qatar)*, March 31, 2009, http://qatarconferences.org/south/english/news_website_details.php?id=39.

often had experience. Likewise, functions of interregionalism have been categorically ignored among non-Triadic regions, except for sparse cases which involve the EU.

The appendices present an outline of the final ASPA Summit declaration, structure of the Summit and table formats on forms of interregionalism including a 'prototype' for ASPA

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL ANALYSIS OF INTERREGIONALISM

This chapter incorporates a newly developed interregionalism conceptualised within the framework of old-new regionalism. The first subheading presents a concise discussion on the old-new phenomenon that is new regionalism. Based on the systematic paradigms of (Söderbaum 2003), (Hettne 2003), (Doidge 2007, 2011) and (Shaw et al. 2011); since interregional relations cannot be understood without reference to the regionalism on which interregionalism is a direct extension.⁷¹ Although this thesis is not a comparative research, theoretical analysis of interregionalism dictates that other non-Triad relations (MERCOSUR and FEALAC) are referenced. Following the heuristic pattern addressing interregional relations this section covers Ruland's classification of; bilateral interregionalism, transregionalism and hybrid interregionalism. These are assessed in order to raise the first research question, whether ASPA is a strong case for interregional relations and if so what form it is taking and the actors involved. This will clarify why it is not categorised under the Triadic model. Then, transitioning from forms to functions of interregionalism: balancing, institution-building, rationalising, agenda setting and identity-building are each identified as the main potential functions performed by interregional dialogue forums. Analysis of each function enables understanding of the context in which ASPA emerged, the actors pushing and dominating dialogue forums (Hettne and Söderbaum 2005, 2008) and (Söderbaum et al. 2010). To complete this chapter, a detailed examination of ASPA is conducted linking the structure and declaration pillars to the making of independent foreign policy. This is where the thesis explains and analyse Brazil's foreign policy strategy of autonomy through diversification. Operationalizing functions of interregionalism through ASPA is tested across three global-crossing optimal areas: social, political and economic

⁷¹. Matthew Doidge, *The European Union and Interregionalism*, (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2011), 3.

present in regional and international conditions to see whether the functions ‘come to life.’

2.1. Old-New Phenomenon: Regionalism and Interregionalism

A major error would be to speak of interregionalism without acknowledging in brief the effect that new regionalism has in this context. At most both regionalism and interregionalism is inextricably linked and according to Doidge, are “joined at the hip.”⁷² So the thesis considers both in similar framework and not opposing factors. The old- new phenomenon of regionalism is connected to a changing international system where reconstructing ‘new models’ of old processes are critical to rationalising concepts. What is regionalism? The term is not neatly defined and suffers from numerous ambiguities. Thus, I rely on Katzenstein who defines regionalism in terms of both socio-cultural factors internal and political factors external to the region, [analytical perspectives typically incorporate economic relations].⁷³ It is a state-driven policy or process built on cooperation and coordination within a particular region, often leading to institution-building. Therefore, the thesis intends to escape from the theoretical shadow of the European Community, and the ASPA Summit as the empirical frame is a step in this direction.⁷⁴

Temporal placement on regionalism characterises it into waves or generations of ‘old’ and ‘new’ regionalism. A *first wave* is said to have

⁷². Matthew Doidge, “Joined at the Hips: Regionalism and Interregionalism, *Journal of European Integration* 29, no. 2 (2007): 229-248, accessed August 15, 2014, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/07036330701252474>.

⁷³. Peter J. Katzenstein, “Regionalism in Comparative Perspective,” (*ARENA Working Papers series*, Faculty of Social Sciences, Center For European Studies, University of Oslo, Oslo, 1997), <https://www.sv.uio.no/arena/english/research/publications/arena-publications/workingpapers/working-paper>.

⁷⁴. Andrew Hurrell, “Regionalism in theoretical perspective,” in *Regionalism in World Politics: Regional Organisation and International Order*, ed. Louise Fawcett and Andrew Hurrell (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 46

occurred in the 1940s and post-Cold War 1960s identified as ‘old’ regionalism started in Western Europe. The *second wave* regionalism around mid-1980s considered ‘new’ regionalism revived again in Western Europe, but gradually spread world-wide.⁷⁵ At quick reference it must be pointed out that many scholars continue to question use of the term ‘new’ in regionalism. Other scholars give good reasons for retiring the so-called ‘new regionalism’ label- (Hettne 2003; 2005) and (Hettne and Söderbaum 2008). These scholars are cognisant that patterns of continuities in ‘old’ and ‘new’ regionalism draw from similar processes. Beyond this dichotomy, current regionalism is no longer over-emphasised in a Triad-centred mode, as case studies from the Arab Middle East and South America supports⁷⁶ in a multipolar world structure.

Having recognised that regional cooperation, alliances or agreements between states are not recent novelties. South-South relations have provided ASPA a platform to declare their shared objectives on similar global agendas and inclination to cooperate in international multilateral institutions.⁷⁷ The thesis reminds naysayers that regionalism is not an innovative approach for the regions, the Arab League established in 1945, predates formation of the UN. Whereas the Organisation of American States created in 1948 covering the Americas, is listed among the worlds’ oldest regional organisations.⁷⁸ Regionalism process, regional organisations and

⁷⁵. Fredrik Söderbaum, “Introduction: Theories in New Regionalism,” in *Theories of New Regionalism* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 3-4.

⁷⁶. For individual case studies of regionalism in both regions, see, Marc Schelhase, “The Changing Context of Regionalism and Regionalisation in the Americas: Mercosur and Beyond,” in *Regionalism*, ed. Timothy Shaw et al., (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2011), 175-189.

- Ibid., 273-289. Korany traces the establishment of Arab regionalism examining socio-cultural dynamics and the LAS which pre-exists the UN, see, Bahgat Korany, “Middle East Regionalisms: Can an Institution Bridge Geo-Culture to Geo-Economics?”

⁷⁷. ASPA Summit Brasilia Declaration “Introduction”, pillar 1, articles are affirmed and extended in Doha and Lima Declarations, <http://unispal.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/0/FD271F3424180A91852570C70076EE4A>,

regional groups in the Arab Middle East are not analogous and conventional assumptions should be avoided. Formation of the Gulf Cooperation Council (1981), Arab Cooperation Council and Union of the Arab Maghreb (1989)⁷⁹ more precisely provides timely analytical hindsight to differences shaping internal structures, resources and instruments readily available to the region.

In these converging waves of regionalism; relationships between regions, regional groups and organisations unfolded beyond the physical. Coalescing into dynamic arrangements of trade, politics, socio-culture and environment to what Väyrynen identified as functional regions.⁸⁰ It was this transformative environment; embodied by a non-discriminatory and open process that interregionalism emerged to form a permanent feature of the international system. However, challenges in the mid-1990s failed to match an incoming millennium. Almost within the space of one year history caught unaware was set on a collision course of financial fallouts, uprisings and wars on untold terrors with sustained repercussions. The exploratory patterns of interregionalism in the twenty-first century weighed with the gravity of interregional dialogue forums functioning as ‘stepping stones’⁸¹ for non-Triadic regions move away from object to subject is evolving. The characteristics of regional actors involved in the interregional process and the formation of interregional relations must be understood within the broader context of interregionalism.

⁷⁸. For a brief outline and discussions of both LAS and OAS, see, V.N. Khanna, *International Relations*. 4th ed. (New Delhi:Vikas Publishing, 2009), 402-403.

On Latin America, see, *Resilience of Regionalism in Latin America and the Caribbean:Development and anatomy*, ed. Andrés Rivarola Puntigliano and Miguel Ángel Barrios, (UK: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013).

⁷⁹. The GCC is viewed as sub-regional group with increasing influence, the ACC and AMU based on regional trade and economic relations are limited in scope yielding less success, see, Alexander Brock, “Regional Corporation in the New Middle East,” *Summary Report at the Council on Foreign Relations International Institutions and Global Governance Program, Cairo, Egypt, November 11-12, 2012*, www.cfr.org/.../IIGG_Cairo_Conference_Report_Pubs_edits_final.pdf.

⁸⁰. Raimo Väyrynen, “Regionalism: Old and New,” *International Studies Review* 5, no. 1 (2003): 25-51, <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1521-9488.501002/epdf>.

⁸¹. This term is ‘borrowed’ from Francis Baert et al., in *Intersecting Interregionalism: Regions, Global Governance and the EU*, (Dordrecht: Springer, 2014), 180.

2.2. Interregionalism: ‘The Nature of Actorship’

The thesis main objective is to outline the theoretical approach of interregionalism as a useful analysis to explain interregional linkages (albeit ad-hoc and inchoate) within the ASPA Summit which involves no Triad members. In view of this, I will approach interregionalism from a non-Triadic discourse departing from the usual Triad-centred approach. Afterwards, the nature of the actors involved in establishing interregional relations is also considered. Similar to regionalism, the emergence of interregionalism is referenced on a chronological trajectory of old and new. However, Hanggi remark that such distinction is primarily linked to-specific type of actor (agency) versus systematic change (structure) - rather than the difference in types of institutionalised interregional relations.⁸² Both old regionalism and interregionalism long-since centred on the European Community (now the EU) and advanced regions is evident from the literature. But the EU to some extent has retained the hub of interregional relations increasing actor capacity with almost every regions and its highly institutionalised structure. Yet, the rise of various agencies even with limited structures from non-Triad regions has reconceptualised the state of interregionalism to permit cases of interregional relations not exclusive to Triadic core. Covering narrow forms is the example of FEALAC, where there is no formalised structure or regional institution for either Latin America or East Asia.⁸³

When assessing interregional relation, it is poignant to examine the nature of regional actors and motivation for establishing such relations. Just to reiterate Hettne, it is not sufficient that regions display willingness to engage in an organised setting, but there should be some actor capability

⁸². Heiner Hanggi, “Interregionalism as a multifaceted phenomenon: In search of a typology,” in *Interregionalism and International Relations: A Stepping Stone to Global Governance*, ed. Jürgen Rüländ et al. (Oxon: Routledge, 2006), 33.

⁸³. Charalambos Tsardanidis, “Interregionalism: a comparative analysis of ASEM and FEALAC,” in *Asia and Latin America: Political Economic and Multilateral Relations*, ed. Jörn Dosch and Olaf Jacob. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), 231-232.

and this can be internally or outside the regions. Outlining actorship, Hettne suggested three prerequisites these being: *regionness*, *presence* and *actorness*.⁸⁴ Stimulating the first of these interactions is regionness, subjected to internal integration or cohesion. Since ASPA is not an integration project there is no clear ‘ASPA identity,’ one disadvantage is the fragmentation of interregional relations. Nevertheless interregional relations and interregional dialogue forums are likely to change overtime due to social and political constructs⁸⁵ and the actors involved. The second component, presence relies on acuteness of size, economic strength, military capabilities, diplomacy and some motivating strategies to shape global outcomes. If the thesis should consider diplomatic activities, it was four years after the first Summit of 2005 that an organised structure was actually put into effect.⁸⁶ On the surface, this would mean ASPA was only represented on paper, which casted doubts about the process and mode of operating. But the track level meetings offered some assurances of a functional Summit. As a whole, ASPA is yet to directly impact or shape the global system through presence, but specific members have in limited ways asserted a ‘capacity to act purposively’ at the global economic level. New perspectives on the GCC and Venezuela through their petro-finances have

⁸⁴. Björn Hettne, “EU as a Global actor: An anatomy of Actorness,” (paper presented at the EU in International Affairs Conference 2008. Grande Salle/Grote Zaal, April 25), http://www.ies.be/files/repo/conference2008/EUinIA_IV_1_Hettne.pdf.

⁸⁵. ASEAN and the EU are examples of regional organisations that have evolved with time. See, Matthew Doidge, *The European Union and Interregionalism: Patterns of Engagement*, (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2011), 21.

- For a comparative assessment of current regionalism and interregionalism stating with the EU then Asia and Latin America, see, Björn Hettne, “Regional Actorship: A Comparative Approach to Interregionalism,” in *Intersecting Interregionalism: Regions, global governance and the EU*, ed. Francis Baert et al., (Dordrecht: Springer, 2014),

⁸⁶. A formalised structure for ASPA was decided at the Third Meeting of ASPA Foreign Ministers held at the LAS headquarters in Cairo on March 3, 2009. See, <https://archive.is/bjFzq>. This is not to say ASPA was ignored, the US was denied observer status and Israel voiced concerns over Brazil initiative for the Summit.

managed to act in the international political economy,⁸⁷ while Brazil's foreign policy strategies are extending beyond South America region. The examples are recognition of ASPA member's room for manoeuvre and external influence with relative and limited security in terms of political and economic activities. For the third and final component, actorship, which is linked closely to presence, draws on the capacity of interregional dialogue forums to affect domestic and external settings. This can only be realised if certain tools are in place for members to make collective decisions.

Juxtaposing the components, the Summit falls short on all three because of asymmetries among the members, regional resource challenges and international constraints. In particular when referencing the Middle East region, Hettne states, the region falls short of actorship because of interstate and intrastate conflicts. To this, the thesis adds susceptibility of the regions to Western interferences, problems of securitisation, competing non-state actors and regional players. The Arab Middle East in particular is constantly connected to fragmentation or defined from without, as a subsystem of international politics. It is perhaps why the US was refused observer position in the Summit and the EU non-involvement, as ASPA seek to work as an 'imagined region'.

It is now necessary to look at the context in which interregional relations are arranged, even when regions are framed by weak and limited actorship.

⁸⁷. New scholarship on the GCC foreign policy and sub-regional actors are emerging, see, "The New Politics of Intervention of Gulf Arab States," (*Collected Papers* 1, April 2015, London School of Economics Middle East Centre).

- For a global perspectives on the GCC, see, Kristian Coates Ulrichsen, "The GCC States and the Shifting Balance of Global Power," *Centre for International and Regional Studies*, Georgetown University School of Foreign Service in Qatar, no. 6 (2010).
- The GCC together with OPEC of which Venezuela is a member "accounts for roughly one third of the current account surpluses in the world economy," see, Marga Peters, "The changing pattern in international trade and capital flows of the Gulf Cooperation Council countries in comparison with other oil-exporting countries," (Summary for non-specialists Economic Papers no. 415, 2010), http://ec.europa.eu/economy_finance/publications/economic_paper/2010/pdf/ecp415_summary_en.pdf.

2.2.1. Forms of Interregional Relations

The ASPA Summit links on a country by country basis and although there are possible overlaps in arrangements, the regions have managed to create an institutionalised structure oblivious to the asymmetries relating to member countries. Emphasising the old-historical roots between the regions were also promoted through the United Nations General Assembly established “Alliance of Civilisation” in 2005. Drawing on this concept, participation of the regions at the first UNGA Alliance of Civilisation Forum in 2008 drew high level participations “in the political, cultural and non-governmental fields.”⁸⁸

Interregional relations as categorised by Rüländ takes three different forms: biregional or bilateral interregionalism, transregionalism and hybrid interregionalism. These neatly confined arrangements and forms earlier characterised in Triad regions relations has evolved less for non-Triadic relations in general. In fact the reasons for interregional relations among non-Triad regions are much different,⁸⁹ as per examples, MERCOSUR and FEALAC. As later analysis shows, ASPA similar to ASEM and FEALAC’s interregional relations is premise on South-South relations and diversifying of foreign policy strategies to avoid marginalisation in the international system.⁹⁰

Bilateral interregionalism presents the classical case of interregional relations where dialogues are conducted in highly formalised and institutionalised structures. The regions typically have achieved relative

⁸⁸. For further reading see, “An Overview of the First Summit of Arab-South American Countries (Brazilia 2005),”: 46-47, http://qatarconferences.org/south/english/info/first_summit.pdf.

⁸⁹. Björn Hettne, “Regional Actorship: A Comparative Approach to Interregionalism,” in *Intersecting Interregionalism: Regions, Global Governance and th EU*, ed. Francis Baert et al. (Dordrecht: Springer, 2014), 55-70.

⁹⁰. In this respect, see, Charlabos Tsardanidis, “A Comparative Anlaysia of ASEM and FEALAC,” in *Asia and Latin America: Political, economic and multilateral relations*, ed. Jörn Dosch and Olaf Jacob, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), 231.

cohesion and some type of actor capacity that allows for regional and international reach. The example of ASEAN and EU interactions is an often cited empirical frame and members cooperate and coordinate on policy issues (economic, security, trade, environment and political agendas).

Transregionalism consists of a more or less diffused membership; the ASEM and FEALAC are two such forms of relations. There is no distinct regional organisation and members negotiate for their own benefits without interference from others. Söderbaum and Stalgren explains transregionalism as ‘outside the box’ of region to region processes, it is open ended and both concur this leaves room for close association with diffuse type relations.⁹¹ More importantly, Dosch asserts neither can be regarded as having any important say on policy making for the international political and economic systems.⁹² Interlocking discussions on transregionalism, Hettne recognises the existing relations of regional state and non-state actors. On the other hand hybrid interregionalism is used in reference to particular institutional arrangements between major representatives taken as leader in their respective regions. General arrangements are strategically developed out of specific challenges and constraints such as; political, social and economic needs. The IBSA and BRICS meetings are contemporary examples of emerging markets of growth from the Global South combining under this premise to have a greater say in international affairs. Raising the first research question, the thesis asks whether ASPA is a strong case for interregional relations and if so, what form is it taking who are the actors pushing for this.

While retaining the diffused element of transregionalism, the construct for ASPA is much the case of peripheral members in FEALAC,⁹³ but not in the

⁹¹. Fredrik Söderbaum and Patrik Stalgren, *The European Union and the Global South*, (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2010), 5-6.

⁹². Charalambos Tsardanidis, “Interregionalism: A comparative analysis of ASEM and FEALAC,” in *Asia and Latin America: Political, Economic and Multilateral Relations* ed. Jörn Dösch and Olaf Jacob (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), 228.

⁹³. *Ibid.*, 228.

main factor. What differentiate ASPA are; the historical connections, institutionalised structure and inclusion of two regional agencies- UNASUR and the LAS coordinating on both sides.

To close off this subheading, the multidimensional and multi-layered features of interregionalism concede that new forms are always emerging and the field is in constant motion. But reality reveals an inconsistent, sometimes incoherent, overlapping and complex mix of cooperation. As a final point, non-standard forms may place diffuse type relations at the extreme and weaker end of the interregional relations spectrum. The thesis hopes that ASPA's emergence will be buoyed by functionality and less by institutionalised structures.

2.2.2. Operationalizing Functions of Interregionalism

The preceding sub-heading identified and explained forms of interregional relations; the space is now open to discuss the functional role of interregionalism.

No study on interregionalism is completely understood without reference to the functions attached to the process. The functions are important as useful identifiers for elaborating the context in which interregional relations emerge and whether dialogue forums can contribute effectively towards shaping new international discourses. Five major functions of interregionalism are suggested by Rüländ: balancing, institution-building, rationalising, agenda-setting and collective identity building are each necessary to examine the purpose of interregional dialogue forums.

Processing the literature, Doidge extends that performing these functions are not mandatory for all interregional dialogue, but enhances legitimacy to certain extent and gives visibility to organisations in the international system.⁹⁴

⁹⁴. Matthew Doidge, *The European Union and Interregionalism: Patterns of Engagement*, (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2011), 34.

Since introduced, debates have transpired over whether the functions should be attributed to empirical or theoretical deductions; however, the thesis is not absorbed with such concerns. The ASPA Summit for now is not expected to perform all five functions at once. In fact the Summit is quite limited in how the functions are facilitated within its internal and external agendas. Therefore, it is unrealistic to expect that the functions can accomplish or generate identical results (if any at all) where weak mechanisms are in place.

The functions are outlined and explained below and connections are made to ASPA in the final subheading.

- **Balancing.** In most studies the balancing function is the predominant starting point and often considered the main function of interregional groupings or arrangements. Contributors to the literature on interregionalism also confer that interregional groups from the South are simply created to balance the monopolistic tendencies of the North in international multilateral organisations. This notion of ‘*soft balancing*,’ is commonly linked to formation of interregional dialogue forums as an incentive by weak states from non-Triadic regions attempting to ‘balance’ the dominance of Triadic powers in global multilateral institutions.⁹⁵ Whatever the agreement, it is a general knowledge that global distribution of institutional power is uneven and the type of balancing that concerns the thesis would be institutional-balancing, through soft balancing. Soft-balancing is high on the agenda in a transformative international system,⁹⁶ where the leading world powers make unilateral decisions without

⁹⁵. For further reading see, Jürgen Rüländ et al., *Asian European Relations: Building Blocks for Global Governance*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008), 15-17.

⁹⁶. For exceptional analysis, see, Robert A. Pape, “Soft balancing against the United States,” *International Security* 30, no. 1 (2005): 10

- Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth, “Hard times for Soft balancing,” *International Security* 30, no. 1 (2005): 72–108.

consensus of multilateral institutions. This was the situation post-September 11, 2001 when the United States and few allies decide to take military actions in Iraq and later acting alone in Libya during the Arab uprising without the UNSC approval. The onus rests with ASPA Summit to maximise what limited level of autonomy is available to them to coordinate and respond cohesively against unilateralism. Analysis of foreign policy and more coherently the making of independent foreign policy by semi peripherals are of increased significance in this aspect.

- Institution-building. The concept of institution-building stems from multilateralism and call towards global governance in times of international conflicts and other severe problems. Interregional groups can help to mitigate hostile circumstances when global multilateral institutions cannot maintain responses to every international crisis. Thus, forums, meetings and summits such as ASPA can be considered as an alternative to the growing trend of regional groups frustrated with the dominant influences of high powered Triad members. Also, countries in regions where conflicts are likely to erupt, are sometimes more likely to understand the social and political realities and specific needs on the ground than individuals working in multilateral institutions far-removed from that country everyday realities. Doidge discloses that formalised interregional relations through interregional dialogue forums may eventually frame part of member countries foreign policy strategies. Thus, bringing to the table a more stable framework facilitating cooperation and dialogue on economic, political and socio-cultural policies. However, these are dependent to a great extent of the type of arrangements and agreements.⁹⁷

⁹⁷. Matthew Doidge, "Joined at the hip: Regionalism and Interregionalism," *Journal of European Integration*, 29, no. 2 (2007): 229-248, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/07036330701252474>.

- Rationalising is explained in relation to global multilateral organisations that are too overstretched to act on every international crisis around the globe or when global negotiations have stalled. There may be problems arising from lack of knowledge about social, historical and political values of a country that can lead to the failure of multilateral organisations. Interregional groups can serve as a ‘middle man’ or ‘clearing house’ taking care of the simpler issues or interests before the complex matters are presented to global multilateral platforms. The emerging middle powers are increasing their stake at the table to be included as active members rather than bystanders or entering into their own arrangements that are evolving as legitimate groups.
- Agenda-setting is closely tied to rationalising function and its importance should not be underestimated. Solutions to everyday conflict cannot always be provided by using military or belligerent tactics and in a sense these are becoming less effective tools undermined by new actors with their own influence and capabilities. Homogenous regions are sometimes better able to negotiate on agendas and draft policies that correspond to their situations and present these at global forums. In the long term it is conceivable that regions too will begin to shape international outcomes and ease the pressure off multilateral fora.
- Collective identity-building viewed from a constructivist perspective is perceived to contribute towards a sense of ‘identity’ among interregional dialogue forums through regular interactions and can contribute towards regional cohesion. Despite the similarities and differences of the Arab Middle East and South American regions this could be possible, since regions are commonly understood as constructed and imagined spaces. But, asymmetries of ASPA members as it relate to social norms, economic influence and political clout is a factor that may impede this function.

On the surface these functions are important with the majority present in the more established Triad relations and utilised for different reasons. But considering the diffuse type of interregional relations that the thesis identifies for the ASPA Summit, if all five functions are absent this will not exclude the regions pursuit of interregional relations. The thesis now bridges the final subheading by operationalising functions of interregionalism through the ASPA Summit pillars which are also tested across the three global-crossing optimal issues in chapters two -four.

2.2.3. The Summit of South American-Arab Countries: Making of Independent Foreign Policy?

A new era of international relations is unfolding, though EU and US foreign policy strategies still holds primacy in multilateral institutions with their normative behaviour of expanding and maintaining ‘rule of law’ is taken as universal.⁹⁸ Tocci, noting that all major international actors are likely to have normative foreign policies, since they are contributors to shaping of international affairs, but so would lesser actors specifically where there are keen interests.⁹⁹ Brazil’s pragmatic approach elevated through a foreign policy strategy of autonomy through diversification and motivated by its hemispheric and global projection of growing ‘soft power’¹⁰⁰ initiated a new paradigm. Essentially, soft power rests with the ability of a country to draw attraction by use of its economic and diplomatic resources to elicit positive response from others. This is done in efforts to gain what that country in particular wants, whether regional support or to gain more influence in the international system. Emphasis is not placed on military power and the ASPA Summit in this sense was an attractive economic-political agency

⁹⁸. See, Nathalie Tocci, “*Who is a Normative Foreign Policy Actor?: The European Union and its Global Partners,*” (Brussels: Centre for European Policy Studies, 2008), 1-5.

⁹⁹. *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁰⁰. Joseph S. Nye Jr., “Think Again: Soft Power,” *Foreign Policy*, February 23, 2006, accessed April 29, 2014, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2006/02/23/think-again-soft-power/>.

proffered by Brazil also aware of its constraints, but cognisant about the value of cooperative alliances.¹⁰¹ In return the Summit, regardless of marginalised members legitimated and added credibility to Brazil's global status.¹⁰² More importantly, it was hoped that the Summit would provide the regions a more cohesive platform for debate and action in global negotiations and dialogue on political and economic matters.¹⁰³

The ASPA Summit which combines two non-traditional partners, the Arab Middle East and South America represents a complex patchwork of diffuse interregional relations in a low institutionalised frame. The Summit was fully endorsed in the Brasilia declaration with objectives for policy coordination between countries from the two regions. These entailed mechanical cooperation in economic, socio-cultural, education, scientific and technical fields, pursuit of sustainable development and contribution to a peaceful world. Ever since the inaugural Summit, support from the Arab League and UNASUR has been present. On paper the pillars are eloquently outlined, affirmed and reaffirmed comprehensively in two other declarations: Doha 2009 and Lima 2012.

The second Summit in Doha 2009 coincided with the global financial crisis of the previous year calling for a restructuring of international finance. It was from this Summit that a pillar for political coordination¹⁰⁴ renamed or

¹⁰¹. Andrés Malamud, "A Leader Without Followers? The Growing Divergence Between the Regional and Global Performance of Brazilian Foreign Policy," (Presented at the *Colóquio Internacional Brasil-União Europeia- América do Sul, Anos 2010–2020*, University of Brasília, October 8–10, 2008; and at the 27th Latin American Studies Association Congress, Rio de Janeiro, June 11–14, 2009),

¹⁰². Nima Khorrami Assl, "Brazil: a new face in the Middle East", *The Guardian*, December 21, 2010, accessed April 10, 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2010/dec/21/brazil-israel-palestine-diplomacy>.

¹⁰³. Elodie Brun, "Brazil into the Mediterranean Strategic Outbreak on Socio-Historical Background," *Revista Conjuntura Austral* 2, no. 5, (2011).

¹⁰⁴. See, Doha Declaration (2009), pillar 2, <http://qatarconferences.org/south/english/doha1.pdf>.

replaced the second Brasilia pillars “Strengthening Bi-Regional Cooperation, Multilateral Relations, Peace and Security”.¹⁰⁵ However, Doha reaffirmed the support for the Middle East peace process and stability in Iraq and concerns over the US “Syrian Accountability Act.” The declaration also opposed foreign occupations whilst recognising the rights of people and States to resist such and condemned all forms of terrorism. Yet, the Summit was quick to state member’s willingness to cooperate with the UN. Doha also expressed on-going support for biregional relations, continued commitment and support for multilateralism and emphasis on respecting the UN Charter. A third Summit scheduled in 2011, was cancelled in an unexpected turn of social and political events in some Arab Middle East countries. But in 2012, a third Summit in Lima Peru resulted in the Final Declaration, which extended, affirmed and reaffirmed the pillars of the Doha political pillar and the pillars in general.¹⁰⁶ Across that time no major Summit has occurred, however the stakeholders were never inactive. Various track level meetings created a platform for participation from the influential business sector, women’s forum, health ministers and other non-governmental meetings. In line with ASPA frame, there was also a special ministerial meeting held on the side-lines of the UN meetings in New York (2014). It was last agreed that November 2015 will be the year for a fourth Summit.¹⁰⁷ Getting below the surface of these Summits is in preparation for the preceding research question, which correlates to functions of interregionalism. As previously explained by Rüländ the functions of interregionalism are not mandatory, but are useful identifiers for the thesis to contextualise ASPA’s ability to act, thus creating an external presence.

¹⁰⁵. See, Brasilia Declaration, (2005), affirmed in pillar 2, <http://unispal.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/0/FD271F3424180A91852570C70076EE4A>.

¹⁰⁶. See, Lima Declaration, <http://unispal.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/0/7E9B1F3B7225A4BF85257A9800553638>.

¹⁰⁷. See, Summit of South American-Arab Countries (ASPA), http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=9967:summit-of-south. Also the date was confirmed via email correspondent to Itamaraty on 29th September 2015 and the ASPA Summit is scheduled for November 10-11, 2015 in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia.

In terms of a unified action plan, the limited institutionalised structure of the Summit is not sufficient to undertake the all-important functions of balancing, but may succeed in ‘soft balancing.’ This is among the many arguments by scholars pertaining to Brazil’s foreign policy as a global projection to gain influence in the international system and the logical means is through formalised dialogue forums.¹⁰⁸ Some members of ASPA by and large are still ascribed as occupying a place between the periphery and centre of the international system, but the majorities are peripheral countries.

The low institutionalised frame of the ASPA Summit places constraints on institution-building. Although it was four years after the first Summit that steps were taken in 2009 to formalise a permanent structure. Certain action plans concentrated on trade and commercial exports did materialise and track level meetings were scheduled for strategic coordination with members on some points outlined in the pillars of the Summit declarations. The interests aroused almost instantaneously for the Summit as a possible game changer providing legitimate reordering of a multi-layered waned overtime. However, institutionalisation is not a panacea for interregional relations and by itself cannot rid the international system of systemic imbalances.

Rationalising and agenda setting are almost closely related and often presented together. These are two recognisable functions when balancing is not realistic and could be the areas where ASPA Summit has the most opportunity for success. When leading powers decide to pursue unilateral actions, this is where consensus on agenda-setting is warranted to curb those wanting to take “the go-it-alone” route. But, a weak actor cannot contain established actors, particularly if their influence runs high in global multilateral institutions with the ability to maximise their strength. The transformative international system and overburdened multilateral institutions can widen interregional dialogue forums chances for inclusive

¹⁰⁸. Lourdes Casanova and Julian Kassum, *The Political Economy of an Emerging Global Power: In Search of the Brazilian Dream*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 127-128.

interaction in larger dialogues, which grants members frequency to strategize. If functions of interregionalism can indeed be operationalized through ASPA, then agenda setting function could facilitate this if consensus by all members is reached.

Relations of the ASPA Summit members are a matter of Brazil capitalising on the large Diaspora community of Arabs. Rapprochement in the late 18th and 19th centuries led to the idea of South-South solidarity between people sharing similar history of marginalisation. These examples have all the markings for a constructed collective identity based on the geopolitical imaginations of both regions. The ASPA Summit is the basis of understanding how an Arab-Latino identity is internalised and projected to elevate Brazil role as a strong and credible actor. The correlation between actor and collective-identity building is established by Doidge. “Collective identification is, in other words, a process affected by actorness and power relations. In such a situation, the greatest effect will be felt by the partner least able to express power/ coherency...” The issue of Arab identity is very important whether persevered through language, food; music or family customs. In many ways the Arab Diaspora community have maintained dual elements of Arab roots mixed with historic Latin heritage. Actually, though forms of interregional relations generated as diffuse fits ASPA relations, it is not impossible for collective identity formation to insert an *imagined* identity on the premise of various principles. Once mutual compatible issues are established despite heterogeneity of the regions, patterns of collective identity formation may imaginable occur.

The approach taken by this chapter demonstrates that a diffuse ASPA is a strong case for interregional relations despite the asymmetries of members. It is legitimated mainly by intergovernmental actors, but with private individuals pushing for closer commercial-business interests and encouragements for inclusivity represented through the Women’s Forum. Whether the Summit is a projection of Brazil soft power, a new feature of a multi-layered system or what Forman and Segaar refers to as “Forum

Shopping”¹⁰⁹; this does not preclude analysis through the lens of interregionalism. By examining the three global-crossing optimal areas and pull factors that coincide with pillars of the Summit’s declarations, the thesis will prove which of the five stated functions are important for functional ASPA interregional relations.

¹⁰⁹. Shephard Forman and Derk Segaar, “New Coalition for Global Governance: the Changing Dynamics of Multilateralism,” *Global Governance* 12, no. 2 (2006): 213. “Forum shopping” is a tool that actors in the international system use to pick and choose among the type of interregional forums that best suit their political agendas.

CHAPTER III

HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL CATALYSTS

As the first of the three global-crossing optimal issues, the historical and social catalysts are fundamental to this chapter purpose, combined with three important subheadings. The first subheading reinforces historical affinities of the regions linked to early migrations of Arab people to South American countries and the remaining presence of a large Arab Diaspora. In fact the Summit states one of its objectives is “to promote a reciprocal re-discovery between two regions that have many historic affinities and a wide potential of achievements in the field of bilateral relations...”¹¹⁰ Such affinities the thesis acknowledges are also symbolic to the interests in interregional ties between the regions. Concretely, socio-historical modalities are integral to this chapter purpose of answering the second research question, what are the origins and value-based interactions of ASPA. There are already high expectations for interregional relations based on ‘South-South cooperation’ evinced by three ASPA Summit declarations and pillars affirmed and reaffirmed in point systems formulated through government channels.¹¹¹ Trying to contextualise current interregional relations is the second subheading and as anticipated relations are not done deals. But the thesis assumption is that interactions are works in progress clearly mindful of the hub and spokes steering regional and international relations. Relations are analysed from the multiple South-South agendas and ideas of ‘capacity-building’ written in the Summit declarations. Aside from the fact that ASPA Summit is a top-up process, several track level meetings

¹¹⁰. This was stated in “An Overview of the First Summit of Arab- South American Countries (Brasilia 2005)”: 32,
http://qatarconferences.org/south/english/info/first_summit.pdf.

¹¹¹. See, the First ASPA Summit Brasilia Declaration(May 11, 2005), pillar 8, point system 8.1. which, “Emphasize the importance of South-South cooperation, and recognize the need for both regions to benefit from the many cooperation opportunities available for Arab and South American countries...”
<http://unispal.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/0/FD271F3424180A91852570C70076EE4A>.

have materialised over the years involving a cross-section of individuals. The ASPA Ministers of Health Meeting, ASPA Women’s Forum, ASPA Ministers of Tourism, ASPA Ministers of Environment, and ASPA CEO Forum,¹¹² provided valuable opportunity for exchanges outside the main Summit. The track level meetings are important avenues for inclusivity and builds credibility to the complexities of regional identity-building, since developing interactions of ASPA members are highly government-centred.

In the third subheading, the thesis goes beyond mere cultural references of the ASPA declarations and in a more overt manner examines the social, economic and political ‘power’ or influence of the Arab Diaspora. This is a group that has not gone under the radar and any possibility of encouraging and promoting collective identity-building within ASPA can emerge here at later stages. The Brasilia Declaration (2005) pillar 3 on “Cultural Cooperation” and reaffirmed in the Doha Declaration (2009) acknowledges the roles of the Diaspora in “fostering relations between the two regions.”¹¹³ Already the shaping of interregional relations is being reinforced through vibrant socio-cultural activities, exchanges and the creation of a Library of South American-Arab Countries (BibliASPA). An institution which facilitates research and a cultural space featuring arts, literature, exhibitions, conferences, films, publications of books and translations from both regions.¹¹⁴ Similarly, a seminar titled, “The Arab influence on Ibero-

¹¹². See, the following for individual information on track level meetings:

First Meeting of ASPA Ministers of Health (April 14, 2014),

http://www.minsa.gob.pe/declaracion_lima.pdf.

International Forum of Women Leaders of ASPA,

<http://www.mimp.gob.pe/aspa/ingles/porqueunforoaspa.html>.

Second Summit of Arab-South American Countries, Doha-State of Qatar, March 31, 2009,

<http://qatarconferences.org/south/english/info/ensummit.pdf>.

¹¹³. See, Brasilia Declaration (2005), pillar 3 “Cultural Cooperation,”

<http://unispal.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/0/FD271F3424180A91852570C70076EE4A>.

The points systems are reaffirmed and extended in the Second ASPA Summit Doha

Declaration March 31, 2009, pillar 3 on “Cultural Cooperation,” with specific attention to

points system 27, <http://qatarconferences.org/south/english/doha1.pdf>.

¹¹⁴. For more detail on BibliASPA, See, Paulo Daniel Elias Farah, “The Summit of South American- Arab States: Historical Contexts of South-South Solidarity and Exchange,” in *The*

American Culture (2008),” was held in Rio de Janeiro.¹¹⁵ All these cultural discourses and connections extend to the origins of relations pulling the ASPA Summit members together.

Perhaps successful negotiations and actorness outcome can lead to cohesive identity-making in the future, if the Arab Diaspora is positively exploited.

3.1. Distant Relatives: Early Migration

Relations between the Arab Middle East and South American region appear an early twentieth century phenomenon. But literatures highlight interregional migratory flow of Christian and Muslim Arabs, Lebanese, Syrians, Palestinians and Turks in the nineteenth century 1880/1890s-1930’s to several South American countries.¹¹⁶ The main countries of destination for interregional migration in the 19th century were Colombia and Venezuela where communities of Syrian-Lebanese migrants settled.¹¹⁷ Immigrants from the Arab Middle East to South America arrived in different waves from the nineteenth century then mid-twentieth century due to multiple reasons, in the main were those avoiding mandatory conscription into the *dhimmi system* of military service passed under new Ottomans rules. Onwards there were also *push factors* involved a stark realisation of

Middle East and Brazil: Perspectives on the New Global South, ed. Paul Amar, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014), 40-42

¹¹⁵. See, Doha Declaration, <http://qatarconferences.org/south/english/doha1.pdf>.

¹¹⁶. Literature on Arab migration to South America is not widespread, but the references listed below are the most current to date:
For a collection of contemporary essays dealing with the politics of the Arab Diaspora, see, Evelyn A. Alsultany and Ella H. Shohat, *Between the Middle East and the Americas: The Cultural Politics of Diapora*, (University of Michigan, 2013).
Also see, Darcy A. Zabel, *Arabs in the Americas: Interdisciplinary Essays on the Arab Diaspora*, (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2006)
For historical examination on Arabs immigrants in Mexico, see, Theresa Alfaro Velcamp, *So Far from Allah, So Close to Mexico: Middle Eastern Immigrants in Modern Mexico*, (Austin. University of Texas Press, 2007).

¹¹⁷See, Philipp Bruckmayr, “Syro-Lebanese migration to Colombia, Venezuela and Curac o: From mainly Christian to predominantly Muslim phenomenon,” *European Journal of Economic and Political Studies* 3, (2010), <http://ejeps.fatih.edu.tr/docs/articles/69.pdf>.

the inevitable demise facing the Ottoman Empire and colonial partition of the region post World War One, leading up to the British and French mandates. Intermittently, outbreak of conflicts since the creation of Israel in 1948 and religious extremists continued to *push* many in the twentieth century for whom the instability of peace is a threat to daily living. A major *pull factor* feeding early migration to South American countries in the 20th century was attributed to the region's economic attractiveness and initial tolerance. Later in the 20th century, a sizeable number of Syrian, Lebanese and Palestinians settled in various countries of Latin (South) America as indicated by Levaggi in the reproduced table below:

Table 1 Number of Arabs in Latin America during the first third of the twentieth century (Akmir 2009, 20)¹¹⁸

Country	Year	Number
Mexico	1930	15.000
Brazil	1926	162.000
Venezuela	1926	3.282
Colombia	1926	3.767
Ecuador	1926	1.060
Chile	1930	6.703
Argentina	1914	64.369
Cuba	1930	9.000

Connections between the Arab Middle East region and the old Iberian world while not commonly documented is available and until three decades ago the Arab states more precisely held familiar bonds with Countries from South America. An Arab presence or “*El Turco*”¹¹⁹ a pejorative expression

¹¹⁸. The table is reproduced from, Ariel S. Gonzalez Levaggi, “The Palestinian Community in South America: The Diaspora that was not” in *Migration and New International Actors: An Old Phenomenon Seen With New Eyes*, ed. Maris Eugenia Cruset (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), 43-45.

¹¹⁹. This term is rather pejorative and was use as a general reference to all people who relocated from the ME region in Latin America. See, Scott Morrison, “ ‘Os Turcos’:The

of the Ottoman past is strongly represented in the South American region. Karam observes that a melting pot of Arab ethnicities combine to form an active community,¹²⁰ while arguments prevail that the number of persons of Arab descent in South America hover well into the millions. Unofficial data is not reliable, but the *Washington Times* estimated that about 10 million Arabs call Brazil their home, making it the largest Arab community outside the Middle East. In 2008, Chilean President Michelle Bachelet welcomed over 117 Palestinian refugees to Chile via her government “Palestinian Refugee Resettlement Programme.”¹²¹ Chile is home to the largest Palestinian community outside the Arab Middle East region, but their precise numbers are uncertain.¹²² Elsewhere across the region there are about 7 million persons of Arab descendants,¹²³ with a possible 3.5 million Syrian-Lebanese immigrants and their descendants living throughout Argentina.¹²⁴ Again there arise of course problems of consensus on the human count, because majority of Arabs and their descendants living in

Syrian-Lebanese community of São Paulo, Brazil,” (2006),
<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/13602000500408476>

¹²⁰. John Tofik Karam, *Another Arabesque: Syrian-Lebanese Ethnicity in Neo-Liberal Brazil*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2007)
See, Ignacio Kich and Jeffrey Lesser, *Arabs and Jewish Immigrants in Latin America: Images and Realities*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 1998). This is written over a decade contains socio-historical documentations of Arab communities across individual South American countries in the twentieth century.

¹²¹. Douglas Smith, “Story of Chile’s Palestinian Refugee Community, Past and Present,” *The Palestine Chronicle*, March 16, 2011,
http://www.palestinechronicle.com/old/view_article_details.php?id=16724.
It is noted that Palestinian refugees are also eligible to receive Chilean nationality, see, “Nationalisation ceremony for Palestinian refugees,” *Gobierno de Chile*, June 22, 2015,
<http://www.gob.cl/2015/06/22/nationalization>.

¹²². Palash Ghosh, “Arabs in the Andes:Chile, The Unlikely Long-Term Home Of A Large Palestinian Community,” *International Business Times*, October 31, 2013,
<http://www.ibtimes.com/arabs-andes-chile-unlikely-long-term-home-large-palestinian-community-1449718>.

¹²³. “Arab roots grow deep in Brazil’s rich melting pot,” *The Washington Times*, July 11, 2005, <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2005/jul/11/20050711-092503-1255r/?page=all>.

¹²⁴. Lina Soualem, “Argentina: An Exile Destination for Syrians Escaping the Conflict,” *The Argentina Independent*, February 14, 2013,
<http://www.argentinaindependent.com/socialissues/humanrights/argentina>.

South America are integrated into their respective countries. By contrast, Karam implies that when persons of Arab descents identify as Arab-Argentinean, Arab-Brazilian or Arab-Chilean it serves as an intrinsic acumen for business and commercial purposes.¹²⁵

Capitalising on major developments in the international system and cognisant of the importance placed on multilateralism as indicated in the Brasilia Declaration points system,¹²⁶ the regions are aiming to strengthen relations beyond commercial exchanges. The elaborate thirteen pillar layout of the ASPA Summit Brasilia Declaration, which was shortened to thirteen in the Doha Declaration and two in the final Lima Declaration, confirms coordination and cooperation between the regions on multiple policies.¹²⁷

As different dynamics and dimensions of interregional relations evolve between the regions, it is important to assess the myriad of recent engagements and frame these in a contemporary context.

3.2. Contextualising Current Relations: South-South Cooperation?

Changes in the international system have broadened the latitude for non-traditional partners to intensify their regional agendas and facilitate various promotions of connectivity on a global platform. Decades ago synergies between the Arab Middle East and South American regions was reserved for

¹²⁵. The term 'Arab' is also fluid for many persons who seamlessly navigate or move 'in and out' of society as it suits their needs, see, John Tofik Karam, *Another Arabesque: Syrian-Lebanese Ethnicity in Neo-Liberal Brazil*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2007), 11-12.

¹²⁶. The ASPA Summit Brasilia Declaration 2005, affirms in its 'Introduction' that "the cooperation between the two regions should be guided by a commitment to multilateralism..." See, <http://unispal.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/0/FD271F3424180A91852570C70076EE4A#sthash.y5KtUqeU.dpuf>.

¹²⁷. See, the Doha Declaration March 31, 2009, outlining the various pillars on political coordination, cultural cooperation, dialogue of civilisation, economic cooperation, environmental affairs among others, <http://qatarconferences.org/south/english/doha1.pdf>.

small bilateral agreements, with oil as the over-arching priority.¹²⁸ Present-day relations run full gamut with diplomatic-international relations, commercial trade in machinery and agricultural goods representing the bulk of import and exports between the regions though these are not fully exploited.¹²⁹ Unreservedly, contextualising current relations of ASPA is no easy task, with all the ASPA conciliatory talks and language of the Doha and Lima Declarations reaffirmed, affirmed and at times imprecisely worded in point systems. Here, I focus on the ASPA endorsed South- South Cooperation visibly referenced in the Summit Declarations.¹³⁰ The relevant area of South-South Cooperation activities are in reality South-South relations regardless of Summit language and popular usage. It is not enough; if ‘capacity building’ of which the Summit speaks is only symbolic gesture. In the 21st century capacity building has become increasingly significant, coinciding with the inability of countries and multilateral institution to solve problems, perform functions and achieve objectives at the human, institutional and societal levels. Capacity building therefore, ‘encompasses developing and strengthening a country’s human, scientific, technological, organizational, and institutional, and resource capabilities.’¹³¹ The regions are aiming then to maintain cooperation through a coordinated interregional

¹²⁸. See, The creation of Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) 1960 is the precursor to this type of engagement: Venezuela, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia are among the five founding members (Iran is the fifth) and Ecuador holds membership as the second South American country, http://www.opec.org/opec_web/en/about_us/25.htm.

¹²⁹. The SELA Report 2012, offers the most comprehensive report to-date on economic, political and social activities between countries from both included here are members of ASPA. See, “Relations between Latin America and the Caribbean and the Middle East: Status and areas of opportunity,” http://www.sela.org/media/265637/t023600005038-0-relations_between_latin_america_and_the_caribbean_and_the_middle_east.pdf.

¹³⁰. See, the ASPA three declarations Brasilia, Doha and Lima referenced throughout the thesis and the Final Declaration in the appendices.

¹³¹. Deborah Eade, *Capacity Building: An Approach to People- centred Development*, (UK: OXFAM, 2005).
See, “Adoption of a New United Nations General Assembly Resolution Highlighting Evaluation Capacity Building for the Achievement of Development Results at Country Level, December 19, 2014, [http://www.unicef.org/evaluation/files/Adoption_of_the_UN_Resolution_on_National_Evaluation_Capacity_Development\(2\).pdf](http://www.unicef.org/evaluation/files/Adoption_of_the_UN_Resolution_on_National_Evaluation_Capacity_Development(2).pdf).

dialogue forums, the ASPA Summit. It has not been successful on poverty reduction or able to mobilise some of its resource-rich members to perform significantly in the field of scientific innovation and technical cooperation. This is not to say the Summit is devoid of actions, it has been inclusive actually on discussions and shared methods to reduce poverty towards. Interestingly, the International Policy Centre for Inclusive Growth (IPC-IG), a partnership between the Poverty Practice of the United Nations Development Programme Bureau for Development Policy and the Government of Brazil was invited to participate in ASPA Summit.¹³² Yet, ASPA members also lack operational experiences in capacity building, as these are regions with developing countries faced with their own socio-economic and political problems. Some of the recurring issues include securitisation, unemployment climate change and health. However, the most valuable and important resource- the youth bulge of the Arab Middle East region should be added value to South America. In this region a young but ageing demographic,¹³³ receptive to exchanges in technical and cultural areas could promote and facilitate South-South cooperation.

As it stands, a *UN Expert Group Meeting on Adolescents, Youth and Development* report puts half the age of the Arab Middle East population at under twenty-five years with the second youngest population likely to soar around ninety-four million by 2030.¹³⁴ Parallel to those findings, the *Arab*

¹³². The efforts to reduce poverty are a larger part of the UN “Millennium Development Goals” project commissioned in 2002. See, “IPC-IG is attending the Summit of South American and Arab Countries (ASPA),” *United Nations Development Programme International Policy Centre for Inclusive Growth Poverty Practice, Bureau for Development Policy*, Brasilia, March 2, 2010, <http://www.ipc-undp.org/pressroom/pdf/IPCPressroom242.pdf>.

¹³³. The vibrant images associated with Latin (South) America is not quite so in reality, see, Richard Jackson et al., “Latin America’s Ageing Challenge,” *Global Aging Initiative Washington DC. Centre for Strategic and International Studies*, March 2009, http://csis.org/files/media/csis/pubs/090324_gai_english.pdf.

- Marcela Valente, “LATIN AMERICA: Fast Ageing Population Brings New Challenges,” *INTER Press Service News Agency*, February 14, 2011, <http://www.ipsnews.net/2011/02/latin-america-fast-ageing-population-brings-new-challenges/>.

Human Development Report (2009) stated that about sixty percent of the Arab population is under that age of twenty-five years. Thus, the Arab Middle East region has significantly one of the highest numbers of youths in the world, “with a median age of 22 years compared to a global average of 28”.¹³⁵ Estimates prepared by the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean with collaboration from the UN inter-agency Network on Youth Development (ECLAC/UNDESA 2011)¹³⁶ stated that more than twenty-eight percent of the region youths is between fifteen and twenty-nine. This represents one hundred and sixty million young people which translate to over a quarter of the region population. Youths of the regions continue to characterise a high proportion of total demography, unemployment, underemployment, political insecurity and inequitable economic and social development. Faced with similar issues of low-income jobs, disparity in political representation and challenges to access higher education, ASPA through symbiotic relations slowly gaining recognition can initiate programmes to create positive outcomes. The 2011, *Cartagena Conference on Building Latin America and Arab Relations*¹³⁷ also addressed the significant youth bulge in both regions. Stressing the need for greater partnerships and youth initiatives in the form of students exchange on a long-term basis and need for other cross- cultural activities.

¹³⁴. Farzaneh Roudi, “Youth population and employment in the Middle East and North Africa: Opportunity or challenge?” New York, July 22, 2011, http://www.un.org/esa/population/meetings/egm-adolescents/p06_roudi.pdf

¹³⁵. “The Environment, resource pressures and human security in the Arab countries. Population pressures and demographic trends,” *The Arab Human Development Report* (2009) : 36, <http://www.arab-hdr.org/publications/contents/2009/ch2-e.pdf>

¹³⁶. ECLAC/ UNDESA (2011). “Regional Overview Latin America and Caribbean,” <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/documents/youth/fact-sheets/youth-regional-eclac.pdf>

¹³⁷. “The International Forum Arab-Latin American: Building a Partnership for Development and Peace,” *The Cartagena Declaration*, Colombia (2011), <https://foroarabelatinoamericano.wordpress.com/declaracion-ingles/>

Already, BibliASPA has facilitated the largest South American Festival of Arab Culture,¹³⁸ the research and resource centre is dedicated to showcasing Arab and South American cultures. A bi-lateral agreement was also signed between UNESCO and BibliASPA, and between the National Library of Qatar and BibliASPA. Another first was the inaugural 2010, “Brazil-Libya Culture Festival” held in Tripoli and Ben Ghazi which showcased the diverse cultures between the countries.¹³⁹ Underway are talks of partnership between BibliASPA and Brazil’s largest public television station TV Cultura to broadcast regular programmes “on Arab and Islamic culture and Arabic Language.”¹⁴⁰ These developments are in line with BibliASPA’s mission of “strengthening consistent and lasting cultural exchanges, educational and economic relations between the regions through the continuous production and diffusion of academic knowledge.”¹⁴¹ The success of BibliASPA is a collaborative initiative by Ministers of Culture of the ASPA Summit and the centre also participates in meetings of the International Council of Museums. BibliASPA was lauded in the Lima Declaration:

For the offering of the Arabic Language and Culture Program...with the essential support of books in Portuguese, Spanish and Arabic... and Arabic Grammar for South American Students in partnership with Qatar Foundation International; encourage the expansion of this Program to other cities in South America.¹⁴²

¹³⁸. See, “South American Festival of Arab Culture (SACA),” <https://bibliaspeng.wordpress.com/saca-festival/>.

¹³⁹. See, “VII Meeting of the Council Of High Officials in the Foreign Ministries of Arab-South American Countries (LAS Headquarters/Cairo: 21-22/2010),” *Final Report*, “Cultural and Educational Cooperation,” pillar 5.5 and 5.5, https://wikileaks.org/syria-files/attach/276/276053_7th%20HOM.doc.

¹⁴⁰. See, “Cultural Cooperation and Cultural Institutions,” emanating from the *Riyad Communique*, “Third Meeting of Ministers of Culture in the Arab and South American Countries (ASPA),” held in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia April 28-30, 2014, <http://aaculture.org.sa/English/images/Riyadh%20Communique-Third>.

¹⁴¹. *Ibid.*, South American Festival of Arab Culture (SACA), “Introduction.”

Other proposals from the Lima Declaration included a regional ASPA “Academic Mobilisation” programmes which would promote exchange cooperation in education, cultural and professional training. ASPA member Algeria even proposed to establish a “Diplomatic Institutes of the South American and Arab State. While another member, Colombia “offered to exchange experiences through hosting of training sessions for young diplomats and to enhancing a better knowledge of the policies, languages and cultures of both regions.” The historical affinities of the regions are reciprocated and Saudi Arabia extended a special invitation to Brazil at the Riyadh book fair held in 2009. An interview conducted with Saudi Arabia’s Vice Minister of Culture Abdulaziz Alsebil, shared that his country was working in close cooperation with Brazil so that Saudi citizens could learn more about the South America country. Alsebil also openly encouraged ASPA countries business partners to support the Summit’s cultural projects.¹⁴³

But this thesis argues there are some drawbacks of the Summit and this is part of the diffuse character of ASPA spreading itself across all types of interregional relations. The Summit may run the risk of over-extending itself with too many article statements and proposals at a time when some ASPA members are experiencing economic and political uncertainty.

In 2014, ASPA track level meetings were held in Peru; a Ministers of Health Meeting¹⁴⁴ and the ASPA Women Forum. Integrating these different cohorts are an indication that the top-up process must include those in

¹⁴². See, Lima Declaration pillar 3, “Cultural and Educational Cooperation” point (4.5), <http://www.rree.gob.pe/politicaexterior/Documents/Lima%20Declaration%202-10-2012%20PDF.pdf>.

¹⁴³. See report from, Isaura Daniel, “Saudis want to learn about Brazilian culture,” *Brazil-Arab News Agency*, May 24, 2009, http://www2.anba.com.br/noticia_aspa.kmf?cod=8478413.

¹⁴⁴. The ASPA Ministers of Health Meeting (2014) is aimed at interregional cooperation and creation of a health network and meeting the UN Millenium Development Goals. See, “ASPA Health Ministers’ Meeting to deepen two blocs’ integration,” *AGENCIA PERUANA DE NOTICIAS* (Andina), April 4, 2014, <http://www.andina.com.pe/agencia/noticia-aspa-health-minsters-meeting-to-deepen-two-blocs-integration-500763.aspx>.

bottom and the middle and widening the scope of greater interactions across the regions. The tangible commercial, trade and investments benefits account in huge part to connectivity of the regions are priorities for ASPA. But track level meetings are bringing different sectors of society together. What captured much attention was that ASPA Summit prioritised a Women's Forum on the agenda in light of international opinion placing women in the Arab Middle East as a separate and marginalised group. The ASPA International Women Leaders Forum was organised by the LAS General Secretariat and the government of Peru Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Women's Affairs. At the end of the three days forum, a 20 points article known as the "Pachacamac Declaration (2014) One Voice for Women" was issued.¹⁴⁵ Thus, ASPA made a social and political move by keeping this Women of ASPA Forum and in this recognised the invaluable contribution of women and their global roles at all strata of society.

As functions of interregionalism evolve with time, frequency and deeper engagements, there is a chance that ASPA members may develop a greater sense of identity-building and may take root. Hanggi explains this as 'regionalism through interregionalism'. The final subheading addresses the non-state dimension of interregional relations. It examines unambiguously the large Arab Diaspora community socio-economic and political identity in shaping the regions and ASPA's effort to integrate their political concerns in the Summit frame. I also assess whether the Summit is doing enough to capitalise on the Arab Diaspora.

3.3. Non-state Actors: Capitalising on the Diaspora?

One lasting contribution of new interregionalism is the forms of interregional relations- transregionalism more appropriately involves non-state actors. In spite of the ASPA Summit intergovernmental features, pillar

¹⁴⁵. See, "International Forum of Women Leaders of ASPA", *The Pachacamac Declaration One Voice for Women*, April 9, 2014, <http://www.mimp.gob.pe/aspa/ingles/pachacamac-declaration.pdf>.

7 of the Lima Declaration, “Cooperation in Social and Development Affairs” saw it appropriate to:

Welcome the increased role in ASPA countries of civil society and nongovernmental organizations, indispensable partner along with the governments and private sector, in the development of societies. And Support the League of Arab States” efforts to encourage a vigorous participation of the Arab NGOs in the development of Arab societies. In accordance with the recommendations of the Civil Society Forum of the Arab Economic, Developmental and Social Summit held in Sharm El Sheikh in January 2011. Encourage ASPA countries to undertake cooperation activities civil society including through dialogue between the NGO”s of the two regions.¹⁴⁶

Yet, the outstanding pillars of the Summit declarations, specifically those promoting economic- trade activities interface with and rely on the business community and track level meetings to advance and enhance cooperation.

According to Cecilia Baeza, the notion of Diaspora is complicated since there is no such term in Arabic. Baeza formal study further illustrates that depending on the context, different words are used to refer to the Palestinian [Arab Middle East] people experience- *Shatat* (dispersal).¹⁴⁷ The term Diaspora can be quite problematic, as communities of people are not static, the ‘adopted’ country may at times have direct or different impact on the Diaspora interaction with their homeland. Shain and Barth accept the Diaspora as a geographical community external of the main State, but where a group of people share solidarity through attachment to kinship identity, nationality and homeland.¹⁴⁸ Characteristically, the Arab Diaspora is not

¹⁴⁶. See, Lima Declaration pillar7, “Cooperation in Social and Development Affairs,” point 7.13, <http://www.rree.gob.pe/politicaexterior/Documents/Lima%20Declaration%202-10-2012%20PDF.pdf>.

¹⁴⁷. [Arab Middle East] my insert, although Baeza article is on the Palestinian community in Chile, there is also an historical overview of the Palestinian community in Latin America, see, Cecilia Baeza, “Palestinians in Latin America: Between Assimilation and Long-Distance Nationalism,” Institute for Palestine Studies, *Journal of Palestinian Studies* 43, no. 2 (2013/2014): 59, <http://palestine-studies.org/jps/fulltext/162937>. The Interdisciplinary Research Network on Latin America and the Arab World (RIMMAL) is noted for its work on the MENA Diaspora, <http://rimaal.org/who-we-are/>.

¹⁴⁸. The “homeland” can be real or symbolic, see, Yossi Shain and Aharon Barth, “Diasporas and International Relations Theory,” *International Organization* 57, no. 3

homogeneous and there are differences as similarities. Taken here as an amalgamation, the Arab Diaspora has shaped South American countries which they call home through ‘cultural remittances’, through retentions of Arab food, religion, music and literature.¹⁴⁹ But economics, politics and the ASPA Summit are part of such mainstream polity. I will briefly expound on cross-regional cases of identity-making within the Arab Diaspora socio-political identity and economic affair, and ASPA’s proactive engagements with this community.

The Arab communities of Latin America despite their assimilation have maintained deep socio-cultural, political and economic identity linkages with their homeland. Culturally, the Arab Diaspora has contributed to South America as a rich melting pot of food, music, dance, literature and art. The Brasilia Declaration pillar 3 on “Cultural Cooperation,” in the first point (3.1) emphasised “the positive role of South American nationals of Arab descent in fostering relations between the two regions.”¹⁵⁰ Relatively speaking there is a large number of Arab descendants in South American countries, some with significant economic and political clout. Continuing with the Brasilia Declaration pillar 3, (3.2) “reaffirmed the importance of culture as a bridge amongst peoples and as an economic activity to promote development and mutual cooperation.”¹⁵¹ The political pull of the Arab Diaspora is publicized, one of the “most prominent” member of the

(2003): 449-479, Cambridge University Press, accessed July 31, 2015, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3594834?origin=JSTOR-pdf>.

¹⁴⁹. See, Christina Civantos, “Migration and Diaspora,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Arab Culture*, ed. Dwight F. Reynolds, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 294-300.

See also, “Arab Filmmakers Find New Audience in South America,” *The Doha Film Institute*, June 28, 2011, <http://www.dohafilminstitute.com/press/arab-filmmakers-find-new-audiences-in-south-america>.

On a new form of Arabic “Mahjar” literature in South America, see, Mizazur Rahman Talukdar, “Arabic Migration Literature of America,” *The Echo*, A journal of Humanities & Social Science 1, no. 3 (2013), Dept. of Bengali Karimganj College, Karimganj, Assam, India, <https://www.thecho.in/files/mizazur-rahman,-english.pdf>.

¹⁵⁰. See, ASPA Summit, Brasilia Declaration, pillar 3 “Cultural Cooperation,” point 3.1, <http://unispal.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/0/FD271F3424180A91852570C70076EE4A>.

¹⁵¹. Ibid., point 3.2

Diaspora, Arab-Argentinean Carlos Menem a former president, whose foreign policy was questionable and presidency controversial. Featured prominently also are Colombia's former president Julio Turbay Ayala, two presidents in Ecuador Abdalá Bucaramand and Jamil Mahuad,¹⁵² and Venezuela's former Interior Minister Tareck El Aissami who is the current Governor of Aragua. In Peru, the Palestinian Yehude Simon Munaro held the post of Prime Minister between 2008- 2009.

Mindful of economic activities, the economic prowess of the Arab Diaspora though not exceptional cannot be denied. Lebanese-Mexican Carlos Slim ranked one the world's richest man, José Said in Chile and in Paraguay the leading entrepreneur is said to be Lebanese-Born Faisal Hammoud.¹⁵³ Among these two are many other Arab immigrants in South America at the macro and micro-levels of business enterprise.¹⁵⁴ When speaking on economics at the macro-level the handling of remittance or monetary transfer is also a major factor. The high rate of unemployment and lack of Foreign Direct Investments, and frequent violent conflicts has eroded financial market structures in most Arab Middle East countries with the exception of the GCC. Such are among the obstacles to economic growth and development in the Arab Middle East and studies by the International Organisation for Migrations states, "in terms of trade and capital flows with the rest of the world, Arab countries are some of the least economically

¹⁵². See, "Did you know? Latin America has had 8 Presidents of Arab Origin," *New Generation Consulting*, March 22, 2013, <https://ngcco.wordpress.com/2013/03/22/>.

There are also interactions between the diasporas on business and knowledge-sharing, see also, Lucy Knight, "The Chile Connection: lessons for the Lebanese entrepreneurs," *Wamda*, July 28, 2015, <http://www.wamda.com/2015/07/chile-connection-lessons-lebanese-entrepreneurs>.

¹⁵³. See, Javier Santiso, *The Decade of the Multilatinas*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 27.

¹⁵⁴. See, Foz Do Iguacu, "Brazil's Arab Diaspora: Pillar of the Community," *The Economist*, November 1, 2001, <http://www.economist.com/node/842918>. For economic success of the Lebanese community in Brazil, see also, Joe Dyke, "How the Lebanese conquered Brazil," *Executive Magazine*, July 3, 2104, <http://www.executive-magazine.com/business-finance/society/lebanese-conquered-brazil>.

integrated regions in the world.” The further add that when intraregional labour is factored-in, the level of Arab countries integration is very high.¹⁵⁵ Generally speaking the extent to which remittances from the Arab Diaspora in ASPA member countries has benefitted the Arab Middle East is not fully established. There is though, noticeable research and conferences on the rich middle and upper class Lebanese Diaspora, in different regions of the world.¹⁵⁶ Ghobril citing the case of Lebanon, research shows that remittances are one of, if not a key source of foreign direct exchange earnings for the country.¹⁵⁷ ASPA can capitalise on all Arab Diaspora remittance as a means of fulfilling their mandate for poverty reduction and boosting the entrepreneurial spirit common among people of the regions.

It is known that the regions face social-economic, political and geographical barriers, but a technological-driven age has offered means of communication and engagements bringing together the Diaspora.

Particularly as it relates to the Arab Diaspora solving problems in the Arab Middle East the lack of coordinated and cooperative approach is necessary. This is because each Diaspora communities have their own ‘strategies’ for solving the Arab Middle East problems and advancing the region. However, one continuous bond that the Arab Diaspora in South American countries share is a strong rejection to Israel occupation of Palestine and expansion on Arab lands.

¹⁵⁵. “Arab Migration in a Globalised World,” *International Organization for Migration*, (2004): 14, http://publications.iom.int/bookstore/free/Arab_migration_globalized_world.pdf.

¹⁵⁶. See, The Lebanese American University, New York Academic Centre and the Lebanon Consulate General of New York in collaboration with the World Bank organised a roundtable discussion on “The Lebanese Diaspora Remittances, and Economic Development,” March 25, 2015, <http://www.arabamerica.com/events/the-lebanese-diaspora-remittances>.

See, “Remittances to Lebanon: Economic Impact and the Role of Banks,” <http://www.escwa.un.org/sites/SCUWRD/L1-1.pdf>.

¹⁵⁷. Paul Tabar, “Lebanon: A Country of Emigration and Immigration,” 15, <http://www.aucegypt.edu/GAPP/cmrs/reports/Documents/Tabar080711.pdf>.

Although the Arab Diaspora is not redrawing the map of the Arab Middle East and the thesis has yet to discover an “Arab Diaspora effect,” their numbers and political agendas for influence prevents them from being ignored. There is also the political spill-over effect from the Arab Middle East region that has managed to penetrate individual South American countries. Klich acknowledges that as early as 1941 the Syro-Lebanese community in Argentina was rallying for an independent Syria and Lebanon from the French Mandates.¹⁵⁸ Baeza records that as early as 1978; a Palestinian Information Office was opened in Chile.¹⁵⁹ A decade after the opening of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) Office in 1993¹⁶⁰ drew the ire of Jews across Latin America. There is also a very active and influential Temuco Arab Union for Palestine in Chile, the Comité Chileno de Solidaridad con Palestina and other groups that have constantly mounted pressure on the Chilean government to take-on a more active role in the Israeli-Arab conflict.¹⁶¹

Keeping Diaspora connection relevant and strong, in 2015 the new Secretary General of the PLO Saeb Erekat travelled to Chile and Argentina and Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas was in attendance for all three ASPA Summits.¹⁶² The Palestinian issue is so deep-rooted in the Diaspora

¹⁵⁸. See, Ignacio Klich, “Towards an Arab-Latin American bloc? The genesis of Argentine-Middle East relations,” *Middle Eastern Studies* 31, no. 3, (1995), 550-572.

¹⁵⁹. See, Nora Barrows-Friedman, “A new Palestinian consciousness: history of the diaspora in Latin America,” and listen Cecilia Baeza, ‘on Palestinian history and heritage in Latin America,’ available at The Electronic Intifada Podcast, *The Electronic Intifada*, December 5, 2013, <https://electronicintifada.net/blogs/nora-barrows-friedman>.

¹⁶⁰. “Jews Protest Opening of PLO Office in Chile,” *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, January 9, 1993, <http://www.jta.org/1993/01/09/archive/jews-protest-opening-of-plo-office-in-chile>.

¹⁶¹. Dima Khatib, “Palestine present more than ever in Latin American Politics,” *Al Jazeera News*, August 9, 2014, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2014/08/palestine-present-more-than-ever-20148784749547623.html>.

See, other approach by South American governments include cutting-off diplomatic ties, see, Fernando Llano, “Venezuela Expels Israeli Ambassador,” *CBS News*, January 6, 2009,

¹⁶². Cecilia Baeza, “Can Brazil mediate the Israeli-Palestinian conflict?: Assessing its strategy and capabilities (2003-2010)”, <http://web.isanet.org/Web/Conferences/FLACSO>.

community, that no section of the community is immune from this. In Chile support for Palestine is historically entrenched in the prominent football club bearing the name Palestino¹⁶³ which has resonated deeply with Palestinians at home. The football club received major international attention when in 2014, players inscribed the number one (1) shaped as the map of Palestine before the creation of Israel in 1947 on their jersey shirts.¹⁶⁴ They were banned by Chilean sports official as the Jewish community in Argentina found this offensive, but the shirts of the football team bears the colours of Palestine's flag.

Today, the crises have endured overtime; rallying greater support, form and force across the regions. Politically, the Arab Diaspora profile in Argentina was negatively portrayed in a series of violent events. The 1992 bombing of the Israeli Embassy in Argentina¹⁶⁵ and then the Asociación Mutua Israelita Argentina (AMIA) in 1994, which led to a death toll of 85 persons, were said to a direct assault on the Jewish community as a result of Arab-Israeli conflicts.¹⁶⁶ During the intense crisis, former President Carlos Menem

¹⁶³. The popular Club Deportivo Palestino, a professional football club was founded in 1920 by Palestinian immigrants in Chile. See, Christine Legrand, "Chile's Gaza sympathisers rally behind Palestinian Football colours," *The Guardian*, December 4, 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/dec/01/chile-palestine-palestino-football-santiago>.

¹⁶⁴. See, Kiran Moodley, "The Chilean football club that's huge in Palestine," *The Independent*, March 19, 2015, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/the-chilean-football-club-thats-huge-in-palestine-10119622.html>.

¹⁶⁵. The identity of individual attackers in each incidents is yet to be ascertained, but reports allude to Syrian, Lebanon and Iranian connections. See, Blanca Madani, "New reports link Syria to 1992 bombing of Israeli Embassy in Argentina," *Middle East Intelligence Bulletin*, March 2000, http://www.meforum.org/meib/articles/0003_s1.htm. See also, Nathaniel C. Nash, "Argentine Rally Condemns Bombing," *New York Times*, March 20, 1992, <http://www.nytimes.com/1992/03/20/world/argentine-rally-condemns-bombing.html>.

¹⁶⁶. The 1994 attacks were allegedly the works of either Iran or Hezbollah, a militia group with base in Lebanon, see, "Argentina to Compensate Victims of the 1994 Jewish Center Bombing," *Haaretz*, April 30, 2015, <http://www.haaretz.com/jewish-world/jewish-world-news/1.654357>. For more insight, see, "Hezbollah denies Argentina bomb," *BBC News*, November 11, 2005, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/4426970.stm>.

received partial blame the 1994 AMIA bombings because of his government retaining ties with Arabs regimes.¹⁶⁷ Ironically at this period there was also close association between said Argentinian government and Israel.¹⁶⁸ The extents of these accusations are not fully settled, but both regions are not immune from threats to security in this multifaceted conflict. In the reverse, the Arab Diaspora in South America solidarity for Palestine has been exhibited in more violent-free manner to take on protests or anti-Israeli pressure groups. Notably are the Diaspora communities in Brazil, Ecuador, Chile, Peru and Venezuela. During the years 1973, it is alleged that the high profile Lebanese- Venezuela's Jorge Dáger founder of the Fuerza Democrática Popular (FDP) in Venezuela received financial backings from certain Arab states. It was said that he appealed broadly to the Arab Diaspora in Venezuela through frequent speeches in Arabic.¹⁶⁹ Recently in 2014, influential Syrian-Venezuelan legislator Abdel El Zabayar who was part of Hugo Chavez inner circle in the National Assembly, retired from position leaving the country to fight in Syria.¹⁷⁰

Such social and political affiliations of the Arab-Israeli conflicts are recognised in the ASPA Summit pillars. Pillar 2 of the Brasilia Declaration

"Iran denies Argentina blast role," *BBC News*, March 9, 2003, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/2832169.stm>.

¹⁶⁷. Menem was known for his strong ties to Libya's Muammar Khadafi at a time before his pro-American shift and it is also said he made certain political promises to then Syrian President Hafez al Assad which he did not fulfill and Menem later aligned with the US and Israel was the cause for much tensions. For more analysis and informations see, Beatriz Gurevich, "After the AMIA Bombing," in *The Jewish Diaspora in Latin America and the Caribbean: Fragments of Memory*, ed. Kristin Ruggiero, (Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2010), 86-101.

¹⁶⁸. See, Ignacio Klich, "Arms for the Middle East and Argentina's Effort at a Balanced Approach to the Arab World and Israel," *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 7, no.3 (1996), <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09592299608406022?journalCode=fdps20#.VegA-fmqgko>.

¹⁶⁹. See, Edy Kaufman et al., *Israeli Latin American Relations*, (New Brunswick: Transaction Inc., 1979), 47.

¹⁷⁰. "En fotos: el diputado del Psuv que se fue a Siria ya porta su armamento," *Noticias 24 Venezuela*, September 3, 2014, <http://www.noticias24.com/venezuela/noticia/191101/en-fotos-el-diputado-del-psuv-que-se-fue-a-siria-ya-porta-su-armamento/>.

reads as, “Strengthening Bi-Regional Cooperation, Multilateral Relations, Peace and Security,” and the pillar 3 on “Cultural Cooperation.”¹⁷¹ In pillar 2, the Summit affirmed the legitimate right of the Palestinian people, called for non-interference in Iraq, and expressed concerns over Syria and the unilateral actions taken by the US. The members reaffirmed their refusal of foreign occupation and recognize the right of states and peoples to resist foreign occupation in accordance with the principles of international legality and in compliance with international humanitarian law.¹⁷²

The Final Declaration Lima, pillar 2 on “Political Coordination,” is dedicated explicitly to statements reaffirmed and affirmed on tense regional and international debates. On one of the most enduring regionally, but with global repercussions is the conflict between Israel and Palestine.¹⁷³ This Summit declaration is even more vocal in its social and political stance, for example; recognising the legitimate right of the Palestinian people. Two other points system captured in the Summit were members agreeing to support Peru and Qatar bid for non-permanent seats in the UNSC in 2006-2007,¹⁷⁴ and the urgency of the Summit’s members to recognise the State of Palestine.

The political and cultural mobilisation interconnected to the important Arab Diaspora cannot be discounted particularly since the 2011 Arab uprisings;

See also, Rafael Romo, “Venezuelan Lawmaker vows to fight for Syria’s Bashir al-Assad,” *CNN News*, September 6, 2013,

<http://edition.cnn.com/2013/09/06/world/americas/venezuela-lawmaker-syria/>.

See, “Five Latin American countries withdraw envoys from Israel,” *Middle East Monitor*, July 30, 2014, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/news/americas/>.

¹⁷¹. See, Brasilia Declaration 2005, pillar 2 and pillar 3, <http://unispal.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/0/FD271F3424180A91852570C70076EE4A>.

¹⁷². Ibid., Brasilia Declaration pillar 2 (2.8, 2.10, 2.11, 2.17 and 2.21), pillar 3 on “Cultural Cooperation” outlined in (3.9 and 3.10), <http://unispal.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/0/FD271F3424180A91852570C70076EE4A>.

¹⁷³. See, Appendices for Lima Declaration (2012), pillar 2, “Political Coordination” numbered in a lengthy 45 points system.

¹⁷⁴. Ibid., pillar 2.1- 2.5 is dedicated to the Palestinian issue and Summit members recognition of Palestinian State.

detailed in the third chapter. A deep sense of Arab Diaspora solidarity and identity persists even more as it relates to Syria. In Argentina, the Syrian Nationalist Social Party is closely affiliated to the Alawite community and the Argentine Islamic Association has an active presence. The situation is more the same in Venezuela with the Syrian-Venezuelan Union.¹⁷⁵ Prior to the Syrian crisis, the Syrian community in Brazil, Venezuela and Argentina held different stance on the Assad regime, but together all are against foreign military actions inside Syria. Al Jazeera News in 2012 reported that Brazilian-Syrians have remained divided over the Syrian civil war.¹⁷⁶ The ideological empathies flowing across the regions to be exact are added dimensions of the Arab Diaspora.

Much of the arguments raised on the Arab Diaspora interactions with events in the Arab Middle East stressed the Arab-Israeli conflict and other political dimensions. In order to avoid a binary view of the region this final section tries to generate more 'positive' attachments of the Arab Diaspora across the regions. Recognising the stakes of such large Diaspora and their potential influence was perhaps a reason for the ASPA "Conference of Arab Expatriates." Organized by LAS in Cairo, the Lima Declaration noted "the positive role of South American nationals of Arab descent fostering relations between the two regions. The Summit interests for engaging the Diaspora in a formalised manner must be applauded instead of approaching in a piecemeal manner. From all indications this conference aimed to maximise the experiences and role of the Arab Diaspora in both regions for several purposes. Starting with the acquisition of first-hand knowledge on the Arab Diaspora and their position in the host country, integration of the Diaspora, to encourage prominent and influential Arabs to network and support Arab development projects in the socio-economic and political

¹⁷⁵. See; "The Syrian-Lebanese Diasporas and the Syrian conflict (Venezuela, Brazil and Argentina)". Source: http://www.new-gen-consulting.com/resources/Syro-Lebanese_Diaspora_En.pdf

¹⁷⁶. See, "Brazil's Syrians divided on Bashar al- Assad, by Gabriel Elizondo , *Al Jazeera News*, November 18, 2012, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2012/11/20121118103753804372.html>

field.¹⁷⁷ The present Arab Diaspora in South America accumulation of relative monetary success and entrepreneurial talents in not unnoticed and is the next focal point.

The ASPA Summit intersects on varying levels with the Arab Diaspora in South America. It is inferred that the Diaspora economic mobility can contribute to the regions as their economic success is believed to be more than proportionate to their large numbers.¹⁷⁸ Since not all Arab countries are oil-producers there is need for ‘alternative’ ways to improve and strengthen the region. To remedy or lessen economic problems, coordinated efforts and policies are needed to stimulate a collective Arab Diaspora interest and developments in the home country before ASPA can act cohesively.

This goal of this chapter was to answer the second research question and locate the function of collective identity-building. The origins and value-based interactions of ASPA members are represented through historical affinities between the regions continued by the actively large presence of the Arab Diaspora. Interregional relations of the Summit members are of significant importance; the value-based interactions are not endorsed or determined by economic incentives alone. It is negotiated by cultural exchanges, dynamism of the regions to adapt in a changing international system, cooperation from governments and private sector capital. ASPA’s search for economic partnership, trade and strategic investments is commendable, though more research is needed on the activities and contributions of the Arab Diaspora elites. This group most likely represents strong economic and political agency in facilitating interregional economic linkages. However, they do function independently as part of a larger network highlighting the importance of Arab Diaspora growing ties in the

¹⁷⁷. In partnership with the LAS, see, “About the League of Arab States: Arab Expatriates,” <http://www.museumwnf.org/league-of-arab-states/?page=LAS-arab-expatriates.php>. See, “Brazilian National Day of the Arab Community,” *Arab Brazilian Chamber of Commerce*, <http://www.ccab.org.br/arabe-brasil/en/>.

¹⁷⁸. Robert T. Buckman, *Latin America: The World Today Series 2014-2015*, 48th ed. (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014), 37.

regions as strategic sources for expanding interregional relations.

Additionally, collective identity-building is impacted by the power-balance ratio of ASPA members. Certain members capacity to act independently out-weigh others ability to influence and therefore such issue must be resolved before any attempt at collective-identity building can evolve.

The third chapter will analyse the political dimension of the ASPA Summit and governmental response to the Arab uprisings, in the absence of an ASPA “exporting of ideological values.” Political coordination of the regions covers a wide frame and its *raison d'être* is stated in the Summit Declarations as compatible with multilateral institutions while adhering to principles of South-South relations.

CHAPTER IV

POLITICAL DIMENSIONS

This chapter lays the foundation for discussions on politics and relevance of interregional dialogue forums and independent foreign policy making to the changing realities of a largely diffused international system. These are otherwise motivated by the unilateral behaviour of Euro-America overarching connection to several events in the Arab Middle East with transboundary impacts.¹⁷⁹ Most notably the events of September 11, 2011 leading to a Global War on Terror and military action in Libya post- Arab uprisings which are the sub-headings of this chapter. As the second issue of the three global crossing-optimal areas, this chapter is very critical in setting the tone for answering this thesis final research question. The seemingly embedded behaviour of leading powers continued efforts to extend influence and monopolise international multilateral organisations have increased the rise of interregional dialogue forums. Thus, ASPA Summit a global platform through South-South relations linking the regions together with accompanying resolutions is examined to identify if it can perform ‘soft balancing.’ Such a function is critical to repudiate Euro-American dominance in the UN and its affiliates. Whatever internal political imaginations exist in the scheme of ASPA mechanism, the political serves to facilitate the regions push past observer-spectator side lines. Therefore it necessitates that the Summit advocate and attain greater visibility and

¹⁷⁹. The crisis in Libya and Syria, has crossed regional borders, evident in the number of refugees fleeing outside of the Arab Middle East into Europe and other parts of the world. For official numbers see, “Syria Regional Refugee Response,” *UNHCR*, <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/regional.php>. See, Michael Pearson, Holly Yan and Arwa Damon, “Migrant crisis: More troubles in Hungary as Austria, Germany near tipping point,” *CNN News*, September 7, 2015, <http://edition.cnn.com/2015/09/07/europe/europe-migrant-crisis/>.

See also, “Refugee crisis: UK will resettle 20,000 Syrian refugees over five years,” *The Guardian*, September 7, 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/live/2015/sep/07>.

inclusion not competition with regional and global counterparts. Optimally, it is a different world view of power- politics and reconstruction of identities, instead of a set world order built on hierarchy that this chapter promotes. The Doha Declaration introduced a political pillar to the ASPA Summit, with emphasis on Middle East peace with the Arab-Israeli conflicts as central.¹⁸⁰ However, coordination of members are enhanced, reaffirmed and encouraged in a more elaborate political pillar of the Lima Declarations. ASPA members are called-upon to strengthen regional cooperation and support on Palestinian ‘right to self-determination.’ The declaration imploringly called on Israel to adhere to relevant UN and international resolutions such as “withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied in June 1967... and the necessity of halting all Israeli settlement activities... that obstruct the peace process...and threaten the viability of the two-State solution.”¹⁸¹ Other diverse political issues includes condemning the September 2010 coup d’état in Ecuador, human rights violation in Syria and calls for democracy and political reform as demanded by the Syrian people. These rhetoric taken by ASPA the thesis propose, are directed towards international leverage, sustaining greater visibility and influence beyond regional activities. Change is a major theme in this thesis and the regions have witnessed convergences and divergences in international affairs. What cannot be underestimated is the Summit’s meaningful efforts to urge support promote and encourage its members to increase activities together on global issues. On the agenda are debates relating to the global environment, diversifying foreign policies post- 9/11, formulating responses in wake of the Arab uprisings and strong calls for reform to the UN. The Summit response to the Arab uprising is rather weak and the other affirmations filled with verbosity, but at least members recognise the need to acknowledge the impact of these.

¹⁸⁰. See, Doha Declarations, pillar 2, “Political Coordination,” outlined 17 points systems from Arab-Israeli crisis to non-intervention in Iraqi, unilateral sanctions against Syria, condemning and combating terrorism, and adherence to multilateralism, http://aspa.minsa.gob.pe/archivos/Doha_Declaration.pdf.

¹⁸¹. See, Apendices for Final ASPA Declaration of Lima, pillar 2, “Political Coordination.”

4.1. Axis of Friendship: International Relations

It is apparent that ASPA members share in a distant historical past and contours of relations are now prominent in new diplomatic linkages paralleling other areas of international relations. Since gaining independence, the regions not wanting to be left behind have endeavoured to maintain and establish diplomatic relations, embassies, consulates and honorary representatives on both sides. The regions occupy areas of growth and markets, and individual countries have struggled to gain reputation in the international system and multilateral organisations. An effective method of achieving this are pursuing autonomy and diversifying foreign policy strategies in ascending the global domain. Some ASPA members previously relegated to voiceless observers in international multilateral institutions are utilising diplomacy as an invaluable tool to the competitiveness directing the Summit's behaviour. Challenges do abound for ASPA to find space among the plethora of established regional and international multilateral institutions. No wonder states avail themselves the 'best' alternatives to promote and negotiate within the political. For this thesis, 'soft balancing' through multilateralism is not the repository of non-state actors, but government affiliated. This restates the thesis argument that the political has never left these regions and the reality is somehow politics always predominates in the end. Whether through democratically elected bodies, military junta and monarchical rule hence political elements are constant. Just by observing ASPA Summit structure (illustrated in the appendices), one can recognise centrality of governments in the Summit as supra-entities though not all states are equal even if advocating for similar positions. However, the Summit Declarations can be viewed as sequential steps in the direction of 'soft balancing' given the unfolding of hegemonic powers policy and actions in multilateral institutions.

The stepping up of active diplomatic relations between the regions occurred only after the 1990s when stability re-entered an international system freed from Cold War encumbrances. Before the many titled foreign policy

strategies; 'bold and active foreign policy, 'commercial diplomacy', 'resource diplomacy' and 'dialogue of civilisations,'¹⁸² ASPA countries were already on the verge of establishing diplomatic relations. On a country by country basis, ASPA members started matching their priorities with each other based on economic or political interests. As for their global profile, the regions interacted as participants in larger international bodies; the UNGA, United Nations Human Rights Council, Non-Aligned Movement and the UNSC as non-permanent electors. Preceding the 1990s, diplomatic formalities of the regions were amorphous as countries concentrated on meeting the twin obligations of sovereignty and economic development, adjusting their policies to then international atmosphere.¹⁸³ Since the 1970s some South American countries maintained interest sections within embassy protocols for the Arab Middle East. These extended to sub-diplomatic ties which led to full scale diplomatic relations, based on the number of embassies created. The Brazilian, Venezuelan and Mexican government heads the list from South America having the strongest diplomatic ties in the Arab Middle East with visits from their governments.¹⁸⁴ Brazil because of

¹⁸². These terminologies are the different types of foreign policy strategies pursued by Brazil in its quest for South-South relations. See, Celso Amorim, "Brazilian foreign policy under President Lula (2003-2010): an overview," *Revisita Brasileira de Política Internacional* 53 no. spe, Brasilia 2010, http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?pid=S0034-73292010000300013&script=sci_arttext.

For a complete guide to Brazil's principles of approach to foreign policy during Lula's government, see, Celso Amorim and Antonio de Aguiar Patriota, "Brazilian Foreign Policy Handbook: Positions Adopted by Brazil in 2008-2009," trans. Graham Howells (*Ministry of External Relations, Alexandre de Gusmão Foundation, Brasilia, 2010*): 15-26 and 143-153, <http://funag.gov.br/loja/download/726-Brazilian>.

¹⁸³. See, Abraham F. Lowenthal and Hannah M. Baron, "A Transformed Latin America in a Rapidly Changing World," in *Routledge Handbook of Latin America in the World*, ed. Jorge Dominguez and Ana Covarrubias (New York: Routledge, 2015), 25-39, <https://books.google.com.tr/books?id=-ILZBAAAQBAJ&pg=PA25&lpg=PA25&dq>.

Also see, Guy Burton, "Latin America and the Middle East: Contrasting Approaches," *The London School of Economics and Political Science IDEAS*, March 23, 2010, <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/ideas/2010/03/latin-america-and-the-middle-east-contrasting-approaches/>.

¹⁸⁴. See, SELA Report 2012: 15-16, shows the number of diplomatic missions already established in Latin America and Arab League member countries, <http://www.sela.org/media/265637/t023600005038-0>.

its rising status and pragmatism of successive governments has retained the most support for the region and open dialogue with Arab Middle East governments in this millennium.

Flying under the banner of South-South relations the Lula administration embarked on a flurry of travels, energised through its ramping up of solidarity diplomacy across the Arab Middle East region.¹⁸⁵ Conspicuously, this was an unprecedented process for a country located in the South; Brazil intensified its quest for support in both regions and secured the engagement of thirty-three countries. All this materialised towards the preliminary stages for the ASPA Summit. It did help that Brazil's economy ranked seventh largest in the world received positive economic reviews from leading analysts and media outlets on its surge in the international economy.¹⁸⁶

See also, Appendices for modified table illustrating ASPA members diplomatic missions established in both regions.

¹⁸⁵. This solidarity diplomacy, one of Lula Da Silva many strategies in dealing with countries from the South. Inferring from former External Minister and distinguished Brazilian diplomat Celso Amorim, address to the UNGA 65th Session (2010, September 23), solidarity diplomacy is one evoked with human sentiments and giving aid to other developing countries. Source:
<http://www.un.org/en/ga/65/meetings/generaldebate/View/SpeechView/tabid/85/smid/411/ArticleID>.

The popularity of this foreign policy strategy also attracted the attention of high level officials in the UN in 2012." International Solidarity: UN expert launches study mission on Brazil's 'Solidarity Diplomacy.'"
Source:
<http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=12267&LangID>

¹⁸⁶. "Brazil 2020: Economic & Political scenarios-update," *Deutsche Bank Research*, November 27, 2009, http://www.dbresearch.de/PROD/DBR_INTERNET_DE-PROD/PROD000000000250851.pdf.
See also, "Brazil's economy grow at twice the rate expected," *BBC News Business*, February 27, 2014, <http://www.bbc.com/news/business-26368704>.
During the same year there was also mixed economic review for Brazil, see, Jeffrey T. Lewis and Rogerio Jelmayer "Brazil's Economy Expanded Slightly in 2014," *The Wall Street Journal*, March 27, 2015, <http://www.wsj.com/articles/brazils-economy-expanded-slightly-in-2014-1427459887>.
In 2015 Brazil's economy has officially entered recession given the social unrest from mid 2014 and corruption allegations against current Dilma Rousseff party and government , see, "Brazil's economy enters recession," *BBC News Business*, August 28, 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/business-34088144>.

Brazil's gradual venture across the Arab Middle East region was one of warm reception and proved strong with an intertwining of 'commercial diplomacy' and 'solidarity diplomacy.' The thesis view these diplomatic inroads and links as ambitious, yet ironical for a country that had never considered the Arab Middle East its priority.¹⁸⁷ Fortunately, Brazil is not the only ASPA member seizing opportunities in the Arab Middle East region, Argentinean President Cristina Kirchner in early 2011 visited Kuwait and Qatar. This was part of her administration push to improve ties between the countries and also as a way of boosting trade and investments. Meanwhile from the Arab Middle East side official government visits have transpired. In April 2014, the foreign minister from the UAE Sheikh Abdullah Bin Zayed Al Nahyan intense ten days diplomatic visit to Peru, Paraguay and Uruguay coincided with the Vice President and Prime Minister Sheikh Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum, trip to Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Argentina and Chile. The intense pace of the foreign minister visit covered a wide agenda of diplomatic activities commencing with opening of embassies in both regions. Initial stimulus supporting renewable energy, cooperation on climate change, investments, technology and most importantly for Uruguay's candidacy on the seat of the UNSCC in 2016-2017 were major launch pads.

Expanding the boundaries of diplomacy are South American embassies located in Egypt, Libya, Qatar, Jordan, Morocco, Tunisia, Saudi Arabia, UAE, Palestine, Syria pre-civil war and Yemen. Guyana (since 1966) has for a long time supported the Arab and Palestinian cause for the right to self-determination and full membership status to the UN and other multilateral bodies. Guyana has been a party to the UN Committee on the

See also, Paul Kiernan, "Brazil Economy Plunges in Second Quarter," *The Wall Street Journal*, August 28, 2015, <http://www.wsj.com/articles/brazil-sinks-into-recession-on-second-quarter-output-contraction-1440765489>.

¹⁸⁷. See, Günther Maihold, "Too Big a World?: Lula, Brazil and the Middle East (ARI)," *Real Instituto de Elcano: Latin America*, May17, 2010, <file:///C:/Users/Marsha-TAMBU/Downloads/ARI62-2010>.

Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People.¹⁸⁸ That country was first to formally establish diplomatic relations (2012) with the Palestinian National Authority and first among many South American countries¹⁸⁹ to recognise the state of Palestine. Plainly noted, a drawback to this thesis are the innate diversities of the region and regional organisations, exhibited in the not so unified position of the South American region. Mindfully, it is a mix bag we are given to hold. Asymmetries of the ASPA members are evinced in their voting patterns on key international agendas, therefore iterating the diffuse type interregional forum dialogue that is the Summit. Examples show voting patterns of a few South American states seem allied with the United States based on several social and economic largesse accrued to these countries in the region.¹⁹⁰ Paraguay and Colombia abstention on the UN resolution giving formal recognition to Palestine new status as a non-member observer in the UNGA is noted.¹⁹¹ Colombia is said to be one of the fifth largest beneficiaries' of US largess in the world and was the only South American country that supported US military intervention in Iraq.¹⁹² These cases aside, one of ASPA's most vocal

¹⁸⁸. In 2012 both Guyana and Suriname received visit from Riad Al Malki, Palestine's foreign minister. Both countries have consistently showed their support for an independent Palestinian state, see, <http://www.caribbeannewsnow.com/topstory>.

¹⁸⁹. Ray Chickrie, "Guyana and Palestine establish diplomatic ties at ambassadorial level," *Caribbean News Now*, February 23, 2013, <http://www.caribbeannewsnow.com/topstory>.

¹⁹⁰. Paraguay relation with the US is often ignored, for political-historical overview, see, Frank O. Mara, "The Forgotten Relationship: United States- Paraguay Relations, 1937- 89," *Journal of Contemporary History* 33, no.3 (1998): 451-473, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/261125>.

For a brief up-to-date analysis see, COHA and Peter Tase, "US and Paraguay: An Uphill Relationship," *Eurasia Review*, August 28, 2012, <http://www.eurasiareview.com/28082012>.

For a chronological order of US and Colombia's relation, 1999-2009, see, "United States-Colombia Relations," <http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/us-colombia.htm>.

¹⁹¹. "Solid LatAM support for Palestine 'observer status' vote at the UN," *Mercopress*, November 30, 2012, <http://en.mercopress.com/2012/11/30/>.

¹⁹². See, Abraham F. Lowenthal and Hannah M. Baron, "A Transformed Latin America in a Rapidly Changing World," in *Routledge Handbook of Latin America in the World*, ed. Jorge Dominguez and Ana Covarrubias, (New York: Routledge, 2015), 25-26, <https://books.google.com.tr/books?id=-ILZBAAAQBAJ&pg>.

symbols of mobilisation is the Summit adamant support for Palestine and the Palestinian people. From all account the three declarations are expressive of recognising the legitimate right of the Palestinian people within the legal limits established by the UN and UNSC Resolution 1515 (2003). The Summit has not desist from calling on Israel to withdraw from all occupied Arab territories and release of all Arab-political prisoners and the too countless umbrages and violation of the UNGA and UNSC instruments. That and other inferences to UNSC resolutions by the Lima Declaration is one way of ‘giving teeth’ to the Summit’s commitment towards multilateralism. Regionally, ASPA conferred the LAS recognition for its role in adjudicating on “Action Group for Syria” Geneva (2012). Two other points system captured in the Summit were members agreeing to support Peru and Qatar bid for non-permanent seats in the UNSC in 2006-2007,¹⁹³ and the urgency of the Summit’s members to recognise the State of Palestine.

Discrepancies do exists and this thesis analyses of diplomatic affairs and international relations among ASPA members are quite complex. The resilience of the Arab Middle East region comparable to South America or fairly a few countries in the region is being acknowledged. This is done through a variety of methods; most commonly conducted through diplomacy outside the region and proactively participate within global multilateral institutions. Beyond this, ASPA members must prepare better for constitutive realignment in the international system whether by appeasement or collaboration. A follow-up to some of these diplomatic exchanges however, revealed that signatory agreements to finalise trade, economic and technical cooperation between the GCC and MERCUSOR, GCC and Peru are yet to materialise into legal frameworks. The dimensions of such economic policies are fragmented and vary from country to country

¹⁹³. See, the Doha Declaration pillar on “Political Coordination,” point system 5 which is otherwise lengthy, http://aspa.minsa.gob.pe/archivos/Doha_Declaration.pdf. See also, Appendices for Final Lima Declaration, pillar 2.1- 2.3 is dedicated to the Palestinian issue and Summit members recogniton of Palestinian State.

and more areas of joint interests and development needs identifying. If effective actions are taken, these could strengthen the international profile of countries and deepen the interregional processes as stepping-stones away from the stumbling block character that obstruct non-triadic relations.

4.2. Environmental Sustainability

Politics has exemplified that matters of environment are by no means constrained to geography as this subsection demonstrates. This century propelled issues of environmental sustainability with climate change and global warming evolving as an international agenda for many states. Old dominant military paradigm that threatened to polarise the world through nuclear procurement took a ‘backseat’ to a clear and present danger arising from nature.¹⁹⁴ As the world searched for solutions, it was determined that the leading industrialised countries were the highest emitters of greenhouse gases. Induced by abnormally high levels of greenhouse gas emissions and reports linking this to global warming, industrialised/ developed countries are forced to recognise that they must be held accountable. Since their per-capita emissions are higher than developing countries.¹⁹⁵ But developing countries suffer the most ecologically because rich powerful nations can afford to clean up their mess with the latest science and technology.

The current state of the international system presents numerous challenges and tackling environmental problems is an urgent one. Sixty years ago environmental issues were not prioritised atop global agendas, but, with time and obvious changes in climatic conditions everyone seems cognisant of the ripple effect that comes with ecological disasters. Simon Dalby states, that attempts to act on environmental concerns are often not helped by the

¹⁹⁴. The United States Pentagon as far back as 2010 warned of the dangers associated with climate change and even more as a threat to securitisation of its overseas military bases. See, *The Guardian*, January 13, 2010, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/jan/31/pentagon-ranks-global-warming-destabilising-force>

¹⁹⁵. Ibid., see, http://unfccc.int/kyoto_protocol/items/2830.php.

way the world is divided into territorial units called states.¹⁹⁶ Thus, the human-centric approach of commanding attention to the environment is addressed by geopolitics adherents showing how those in control appropriate issues such as climate change. In the past developed nations would not otherwise be accountable to international environmental agreements, but international pressure has changed this. The Kyoto Protocol is an international agreement which follows the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. It is a legally binding document Kyoto proposed in the late 1990s and later enforced on February 16, 2005 established to deal with issues of climate change.¹⁹⁷

The Kyoto Protocol offered a major step for ASPA to show commitment to international multilateralism agreements, since this is constantly invoked in the Summit declarations. While the regions are home to developing countries that are most vulnerable in times of climate change; overall they lack innovative technologies and financial resources to curb emissions. Currently, talks and actions on climate change underline the double standard of the international system. Meaning those developed countries responsible for nearly half of the carbon emissions are intent on placing the burden of emission costs on developing states. Although emission rates from ASPA regions are not increasingly higher as those of developed and emission rates per capita still remain low in comparison to developed countries.¹⁹⁸ Hence,

See, Coral Davenport, "Climate Change Deemed Growing Security Threat by Military Researchers," *The New York Times*, May 13, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/05/14/us>.

T.J. Raphael, "Is climate change a bigger threat to our national security than terrorism?" *Public Radio International*, May 8, 2014, <http://www.pri.org/stories/2014-05-08>.

¹⁹⁶. Simon Dalby, *Security and Environmental Change*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009), 59.

¹⁹⁷. The Kyoto Protocol was enforced as a legal frame of the UN in 2005, see, "Kyoto Protocol," *United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change*, http://unfccc.int/kyoto_protocol/items/2830.php.

¹⁹⁸. With the exception of Brazil the only ASPA member in the top 10 group of carbon emitter countries, see, Mengpin Ge et.al., "6 Graphs Explain the World's Top 10 Emitters," *World Resource Institute*, November 25, 2014, <http://www.wri.org/blog/2014/11/6-graphs-explain-world%E2%80%99s-top-10-emitters>.

an exponential need and reasons for global treaties, since developed countries have the most say on climate change schemes.

Hindered by time restraints and insufficient data for examining the full impact of the Kyoto Protocol and other international environment initiatives of ASPA members is a drawback to this thesis. Nevertheless, Summit members stressed biregional cooperation and global participation in international agendas on climate change in line with the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change.¹⁹⁹ ASPA also prepared a Memorandum of Understanding, elaborated and submitted proposals on technical, scientific and technological cooperation, and innovation tools to reduce the effects of climate change and combat desertification. These agreements and more are likely to establish parameters for further execution by Summit members.²⁰⁰ Yet, cooperation and signatory agreements may amount to more than nothing if combined actions are not taken by the Summit members. A disadvantage stems from availability of financial resources and limited investments in human capital which easily attributes to the regions vulnerability and inability to design strong projects targeting global warming. Several countries in the regions lack strong environmental institutions and are still trying to implement environmental sustainable measures to curtail or combat the negative effects of climate change.²⁰¹ The

See also, David Grey, "Developing countries to vastly outpace OECD in carbon emissions. EIA," *Reuters*, Green Business, June 25, 2013, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/07/25/us-usa-energy-carbon-idUSBRE96O0KN20130725>.

¹⁹⁹. See, Doha Declaration, pillar 6, "Cooperation and Environmental Affairs and Sustainable Development," <http://qatarconferences.org/south/english/doha1.pdf>.

²⁰⁰. See, the Final Declaration of Lima pillar 5, "Environmental Cooperation," which establishes a framework for cooperation to reduce not just effects of climate change, but combatting desertification and land degradation, http://qatarconferences.org/south/english/info/first_summit.pdf.

²⁰¹. Three years after the First ASPA Summit, a Declaration from ASPA Ministers of Foreign Affairs Summit (2008) in Buenos Aires, welcomed the "Joint Communiqué on Environmental Cooperation adopted at the First Meeting of Environment Ministers of Arab and South American countries, in Nairobi, on 6 February 2007, taking into account that cooperation between both regions for sustainable development is mutually beneficial

diversity of the regions and factors of history and geography should play a critical role in their interests for dialogue and strategic cooperation seeking to improve regional chances at sustainable development.

Measures directed towards exploring the potential for renewable energy sectors in Qatar, Jordan, Egypt, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, and South America is both desirable and feasible. For examples; the International Finance Corporation (IFC), the private sector branch of the World Bank secured a multi-million dollar investment project for the first private-owned wind farm in Jordan. Also in Lebanon, the IFC is also on the verge of establishing a concentrated solar power plant.²⁰² Additionally, Renewable Electricity Generation in South America (REGSA) which focus on ‘increasing renewable energy share of the electrical power generation’ in Bolivia, Brazil and Chile ²⁰³ is a positive step in transition to a low carbon economy. South America in general have an abundant pool of renewable energy in the form of solar, wind, bio and geothermal. Inclusively the remaining South American countries pursue their own small and medium scale energy renewable projects.²⁰⁴ Renewable energy offers a cleaner alternative to depletion of fossil resources needed for oil and to alleviate the harmful climate change impacts.

Whether faced with the realities of oil prices or clear vulnerability of the regions to climate change ASPA members have moved forward to cooperate and enter into their own agreements on renewable energy. The South

and will consolidate their friendly relations.” See, <http://unispal.un.org/pdfs/ASPAPR210208.pdf>.

²⁰². Mohammad Ghazal, “International Finance Cooperation to fund seven construction of seven solar power plants in Jordan,” *The Jordan Times*, October 16, 2014. <http://www.jordantimes.com/news/local/international-finance-corporation-fund>. Also see, “Fighting Climate Change in Lebanon,” *The IFC in Middle East and North Africa*, http://www.ifc.org/wps/wcm/connect/news_ext_content.

²⁰³. See, REGSA, “Promoting Renewable Electricity Generation in South America,” <http://regsa-project.eu/en/objectives.html>.

²⁰⁴. For individual South American country projects, both government and private sector funded, see, *Renewable Energy Latin America*, <http://latamrenewables.com/>.

American countries are endowed with arable fertile lands, vast wetlands, rich water basins, forestry and diversity of flora and fauna and glaciers. This is in contrast to the aridity and deserts of the Arab Middle East. It is well-known that Brazil's vast Amazon rainforest is a veritable ecosystem on its own. On points of convergence, at the third Summit in Lima, ASPA members revealed their shared concerns for mitigating the effects of global warming. The leaders agreed to establish a framework for scientific cooperation to lessen the effects of climate change and desertification. The politics embedded in environmental issues means that effective climate policy is continually facilitated by bureaucracy and even ideational factors. At the First ASPA Energy Ministerial Meeting (2013), energy ministers reaffirmed their commitment to enhance interregional energy links and presented various areas of opportunities. Renewable energy, oil and gas sector were areas of prioritisation and would be fuelled by cooperation through two agencies IRENA and the Latin American Energy Organisation (OLADE).²⁰⁵ Outside of this both regions can use their growing interactions as opportunities to capitalise on each other potential renewable energy markets through well-needed investments, energy financing, renewable technologies and skills sharing.

Rarely known is that ASPA countries are either members or signatories to agreements with the International Renewable Energy Agency.²⁰⁶

Unexpectedly troubling is that two of the most influential countries from both regions Brazil and Saudi Arabia are yet to come on board. Similarly, international action on climate negotiations is hampered by Saudi Arabia

²⁰⁵. See, "First Energy Ministerial of South American and Arab Countries (ASPA) Adopts Abu Dhabi Declaration," *International Institute For Sustainable Development*, January 16, 2013, <http://energy-l.iisd.org/news/first-energy-ministerial-of-south-american>.

²⁰⁶. According to IRENA website, it is an intergovernmental organisation that supports countries in their transition to a sustainable energy future, and serves as the principal platform for international cooperation, a centre of excellence, and a repository of policy, technology, resource and financial knowledge on renewable energy. Source: <http://www.irena.org/Menu/index.aspx?PriMenuID=13&mnu=Pri>
Interestingly, Brazil and Saudi Arabia are not listed as members of IRENA or signatories to any treaty; however, it was reported in 2010 that Saudi Arabia was contemplating signing on.

and Brazil (South America's second largest greenhouse gas emitter) stance, as both are still not committed to reducing fossil fuels and future binding emission targets for reducing carbon footprints. Qatar, Kuwait, the UAE and Bahrain are considered high carbon emitters even though it is only 2.4 percent of the global total. The recalcitrant stance taken by Saudi Arabia a member of OPEC affects the country's decision on reducing the use of fossil fuels to aid climate change. This correlates to a second pattern of environment and politics, the economic aspect coinciding with the political. Members of the GCC, UAE and other Arab countries listed as producers of energy are highly dependent on fossil fuels for economic growth which is inherently linked to their political stability. Less is made of the few petroleum exporting countries of South America. However, there have been calls for some type of compensation owing to and expected loss in oil revenues when the gas and petroleum producers diversify to renewable energy. The 'Climate Action Network' claims Saudi Arabia and Venezuela- two ASPA members- "have consistently blocked progress on ending fossil fuel subsidies."²⁰⁷ But ASPA recognises the common opportunities and challenges facing the regions and so far have communicated interests to promote environmental cooperation.

Finally, despite slow formulation of policies, ASPA has set forth its objectives and interests in coordinating activities to address environmental challenges facing the regions. The environmental point systems of the Summit Declarations are progressive with the importance given to sustainable development and multilateral institutions conventions taken to reduce long term effects of environmental degradation. One advantage is that countries have implemented specific policies in alignment with regional and international bodies and others are of the *ad hoc* kind yet to manifest. With this said, the thesis understands that climate change may not be high on the agenda for some countries of the regions at a time when economics

²⁰⁷. See, "Brazil Takes 1st Place Saudi Arabia, Venezuela, EU, Canada US, & More 2nd," *Climate Action Network International*, June 17, 2012, <http://www.climatenetwork.org/press-release/brazil-takes>.

and politics are accepted as more tenable principles for policy makers. This last statement is related in part to the immediate subheading and the global consequence and impact of September 11, 2001.

4.3. September 11, 2001 and the ‘Global War on Terror’

A decade has passed marking the fateful attack on US soil deemed the work of terrorist networks connected to the ME region. The shock that was September 11, 2001 popularly reduced to the numeric symbol 9/11 set in motions an international wave of new readings on the Arab Middle East with new ethos attached. Nowhere was this more evident than in the US print and visual media post- 9/11.²⁰⁸ The relaying of powerful images depicting the Arab Middle East embroiled in endless wars, lacking democracy and inhabited with overzealous Muslims was the trope. Ordinary citizens were fed this subtext from above and soon languages and terms were disseminating, shaped by powerful elites and social media. A new lexicon was developed and phrases bandied about in the media such as ‘*Weapons of Mass Destruction*’, ‘*axis of evil*’, repeated use of fighting a ‘*war on terror*’, ‘*Muslim extremist*’, ‘*al Qaeda*’ were all popular fear laden terms inciting animosity against the region.²⁰⁹ Only the bid to bring democracy and spread that fabled American values to an ‘oppressive’ Arab Middle East were interpreted as efforts to protect the ‘free’ world. For example, George W. Bush (2001) speech, “tonight we are a country awakened to danger and called to defend freedom... On September 11th enemies of freedom committed an act of war against our country.” Convincingly this was Bush dominant rationale, fronting justification to the world for his administration over-reaching military actions in Arab Middle

²⁰⁸. For in-depth analysis, see, Adam Hodges and Chad Nilep, Introduction: Discourse, War and Terrorism, in *Discourse, War and Terrorism*, ed. Adam Hodges and Chad Nilep, (Amsterdam: John Benjamin Publishing, 2009), 1-13, <https://books.google.com.tr/books?id=vIzPoZsW> .

²⁰⁹. See, Adam Hodges, *The “War on Terror Narrative: Discourse and Intertextuality in the Construction and Contestation of Sociopolitical Reality*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

East states. Without a doubt Bush's speech proved highly effective and did much to awaken patriotic fervour in America as national symbols- commonly seen in the American flag hung from every corner of the country. The text was laid clear, reality reproduced as American imaginings of the region would be linked within a discourse of terror and pre-emptive wars.

Strategically, the long haul to remake the Arab Middle East in America's image began and simultaneously ushered intense popular protest against a renewed American political grand strategy in the region. Politics engages with the events of 9/11 which created a global catalyst where none was expected before, as effects are recognised beyond American and Arab Middle East borders. From the standpoint of a reinvented Great Game, the thesis assumes that geography is not fixed and 'the enemy' cannot be easily pinned down to any specific geographical space. The Trans boundary movement of people networks, technology and ideologies are disposed of with more frequency across vast territories without need for governmental involvement.²¹⁰

Writing in *Language and Power* Norman Fairclough, acknowledges that discourse analysis is a theory of power politics and recognises such role as the instrument of politics. Thus the discourse about a 'war on terror' introduced a binary view of the Arab Middle East intended to homogenise a polarised region. In a return of once outmoded political ways of thinking and engagement in the struggle to maintain power. Agnew deemed the events as a "total reorganisation of world politics", in which one world hegemony was able to establish a unilateral pole in the international system through a geopolitical imagining of an entire region.²¹¹ Within this political setting the world map was redrawn to facilitate further foreign policy strategies of the US. The practitioners of American statecraft revived latent

²¹⁰. Rise of militant groups such as ISIL testifies to this statement, see Ekaterina Stepanova, "Transnational Islamist Terrorism: Network Fragmentation and Bottom-up Regionalisation," *Global Terrorism Index*, 2014, www.estepanova.net/StepanovaGTI2014.pdf.

²¹¹. John A. Agnew, *Geopolitics: Re-Visioning World Politics*, (London: Routledge, 2003),1.

geopolitical thinking reaffirmed by their political narratives on peripheral zones to legitimate US primacy. Examined from this angle, ASPA members share much in common as sites for spheres of influence and threats from various political doctrines fixated on containing and securing for the sake of US interests.

South America's geographical proximity to the US is one dimension of geographical and political disadvantages. Prolonging some countries experiences of intrusions, made by forcing the American universalistic principles of democracy and freedom supposedly accepted as part of normative foreign policy making.²¹² In this regard, the domino effect of 9/11 triggered and exacerbated a global war on terror played out in the media. It became a looming threat that posed genuine and serious risks to future military actions in the Arab Middle East. On the influential online media front, *Foreign Policy* ran a quizzical headline asking whether there was a threatening alliance forming between Latin America and the Middle East. Pro-American alarmist agency the *American Foreign Policy Council* also published reports dissecting Venezuela relations in the region, as a serious threat with significant effect on the US national security, which the government should urgently respond.

Decades ago US foreign policy of militarisation or neo-imperialism power was oriented towards South American governments. Wilfully ignoring sovereignty of states or human lives the US seized on domestic problems and created widespread chaos. Repeatedly, in what became a norm of invasions, support for coups and undermining of governments in Argentina, Chile, Brazil and Venezuela and many more, crafted the blueprint for future practice of political meddling and interventions in the Arab Middle East. A continued and complex role in US foreign policy of recent is currently fixated on Venezuela and is also a constant source of confrontation for that South American country. Consecutively in 2008 and 2009 various American

²¹². See, James Lee Ray, *American Foreign Policy and Political Ambition*, (California: CQ Press, 2014), 215-243.

administration have pressed Congress to designate Venezuela a threat to American national security claiming the country had violated human rights.²¹³ Yet, this is not new; under Chavez regime Washington also referenced that regime a threat against democracy in the region and accused the government of supporting the military group Hezbollah. The tenacity and bravado of Chavez in his lifetime against what he condemned as Western imperialism is widely known. Chavez had called for greater regional and international solidarity among developing countries of the South echoes similar sentiments by the late Libyan President Muammar Gadhafi.²¹⁴ Both men were outspoken not just against American neo-imperialist behaviour but the policies initiated by multilateral institutions that has misguided and destabilised economies of the Arab Middle East and South American countries for decades. Now the tables have turned and while the US has found it feasible to disengage Iran and Cuba, from its political imaginings, but Venezuela remains on the negative-end of US politicking.

Monitoring the regions, this thesis makes a generic link between the imposed conflation on the global war on terror and the ‘*war against drugs*’ or narco-terrorism fight in South America. The deliberate emphasis on the word ‘war’ in each scenario created a sense of fear towards South American countries producing debilitating effects on the region. Successive US government’s policy to eradicate the illicit drug trade in the 1970s in Bolivia, Colombia and Peru resulted in destabilising of communities while increasing drug sale to the US market.²¹⁵ The spending of trillions of dollars

²¹³. “The US Declares Venezuela a National Security Threat, Sanctions Top Official,” *Voice of America*, March 9, 2015, <http://www.voanews.com/content/us-places-sanctions-on-7-venezuelan-officials/2673340.html>.

²¹⁴. Both leaders are infamous for their fiery rhetoric towards Western governments, See, Frank Jack Daniel and Fabian Cambero, “Fiery talk, lofty ideas at Africa-South America Summit,” *Reuters*, September 27, 2009, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2009/09/27/us-latam-africa-idUSTRE58P1T720090927>.

²¹⁵. The US ‘war on drug’ campaign in South America is carried over into two decades and most of the drug trafficked is due to huge demand in the United States, see, Coleeta A.

in both regions, more in Iraq has led to the worsening of conditions in the country as continued violence plague that nation.

Times have changed or perhaps remained the same in the region as new allegations about sections of the Arab Diaspora in some South American countries come to the fore. The US has forcefully accused this Diaspora of financing Islamic terrorist networks through illicit drugs and money laundering from South America.²¹⁶ Concurrent to this are countless alarms about al Qaeda extending activities in the region and Hezbollah military training camps were other propaganda hatched in this macrocosm war on terror.²¹⁷ By making countless allusions to *war*, the fight against terrorism and anyone associated with terrorist, ‘rogue states’ or ‘axis of evil’ added dramatic flair and fear. An even bigger surprise was NATO entering into security alliance with Colombia, a move previously unheard of; the reason given was that transnational crime (though not mentioned terrorist watching) posed security threats to the region.²¹⁸ Concentrating on this political fear, the US used Colombia voluntarily as an ideal base to ‘keep an eye’ on the region. Just in case terror networks from the Arab Middle East decided to extend into ‘our backyard’ another evidence of an American global ‘war on terror’ expansionist strategic campaign at work. Of course this thesis does not deny a need for countering terrorist attacks but, NATO’s

Youngers and Eileen Rosin, *Drugs and Democracy in Latin America: The Impact of U.S. Policy*, (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2005).

²¹⁶. See the extensive report, *Terrorist and Organised Crime Groups in the Tri-Border Area (TBA) of South America*, (A Report Prepared by the Federal Research Division, *Library of Congress* under an Interagency Agreement with the Crime and Narcotics Centre Director of Central Intelligence, July 2003, revised December 2010), https://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/pdf-files/TerrOrgCrime_TBA.pdf.

²¹⁷. See, Matthew Levitt, “South of the Border, A Threat from Hezbollah,” *The Journal of International Security Affairs*, May 15, 2013, <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/.../Levitt20130515-JISA.pdf>

²¹⁸. W. Alex Sanchez, “Geopolitical Considerations of the NATO-Colombia Cooperation Agreement,” *International Relations and Security Network*, March 10, 2014, <http://isnblog.ethz.ch/security/geopolitical-considerations-of-the-nato-colombia-cooperation-agreement>.

debacles in Libya and Iraq serve as a constant and clear reminder of numerous violations sanctioned by the international community.

In closing, the constant reframing of political thoughts held overtime falls within a power- politics dialectic of the US quest to control and oil resources of the Arab Middle East. It is no wonder that the regions decided on forging an *entente* through ASPA without US involvement, singlehandedly conducting each summit with the regions interests. It can be explained that the ASPA Summit is an 'acid-test' in assessing the scope of the regions to consolidate on collective identity-building.

4.4. The Arab Uprisings 2011

If there was any truth to Arab Middle East apathy all this changed with the surprising upheavals dubbed the Arab Spring. The thesis prefers Arab revolutions (*thawrat*) in reference to the collective movement and actions linking peoples of the region together. An almost complete erasure of a docile and latent homogeneous region adopted by academia and media was no longer pliable. For one, Estrin and Shapiro shares the opinion that the narrative in Syria, unpredictable as it is, mirrors proxy war experiences of the Cold War period, with serious implications in a multipolar world. How so? The civil war while contained within Syria's border is a geopolitical anomaly given its evolution, unravelling, and the different actors involved.²¹⁹ In 2015, there seem no way forward as thousands of lives have been lost and millions of Syrians are either internally displaced or international refugees.

Likened to a revolution in continuum, the Arab revolts and numerous other names conferred to the unleashing of events across several countries in the Arab Middle East region caught the regional and international community off-guard. These revolts are a reminder that historically dominant Western

²¹⁹. Muriel Asseburg and Heiko Wimmen, "Civil War in Syria: External Actors and Interests as Drivers of Conflicts," *German Institute for International and Security Affairs*, 43 December 2012, http://www.swp-berlin.org/fileadmin/contents/products/comments/2012C43_ass_wmm.pdf.

linear paradigm of the region is at best archaic. Furthermore, the events of 2011 are described here as ahistorical, because Western scholars for years imagined the Arab Middle East in one trajectory. In reality scholars refrained from citing other cases of people power agitation at work in the region long before the movements took action. Interestingly, these palpable protests that erupted into widespread violence were not orchestrated by pro-Western forces synonymous with buttressing autocratic regimes in the Arab Middle East region in return for the entrenchment of transnational capital. Thus, the long seen hands of the West generally rocking the region into turmoil or subsidised peace was nowhere around this time to take credit for ‘awakening a slumbering’ Arab populace. The narrative was being written by the people of the region, just as quickly as the revolts erupted to what the West believed at the time to be nascent democracy made popular by their foreign policy norms.

Tying the regions together, the thesis stakes its analytical claim for examining interplay between the regions, acknowledging the similarities of traumatic military, economic and political experiences. Attuned to such analogy was how the attempted process of US-styled democratisation in South America evolved. Arguably, it was nominally a top down process where cadres of elite were groomed to support that which was familiar to the Arab Middle East.²²⁰ Distinct in political governance South America countries in the late 1970s to 1980s suffered same first-hand experiences of organised coups and violent civil unrest instigated internally and externally. The “*dirty wars*” played out in Argentina, Chile, Peru and Uruguay, directly led or induced by the US²²¹ in one way or another surely resonate with

²²⁰. See, Nader Hashemi, “The Arab Spring, U.S. Foreign Policy, and the Question of Democracy in the Middle East,” *Denver Journal International Law & Policy* 41, no. 1 (2012), 31-46.

http://djiip.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/Hashemi_FinaltoPrinter.pdf.

²²¹. Cyril Mychalejko, “Dirty Business, Dirty Wars: US-Latin America Relations in the 21st Century,” *New Politics* 2009, no. 22, <http://upsidedownworld.org/main/international-archives-60/1687-dirty-business-dirty-wars-us-latin-american-relations-in-the-21st-century->.

ASPA members. Guided by ample social, economic and political factors, Western policies at times inadequate and grossly unsubstantiated vacillated from one region to the next as a catalyst for preserving the status quo. The well documented transition from rule based governance in South America to democracy was seen as a successful project of the US with the region serving as a strategic space. Yet, however real the illusion of democracy and victory of the American century appeared to be in South America, for the Arab Middle East regions this was never fully imitated. It can be argued that unlike South America, some countries of the Arab Middle East were trapped too long in international spheres of influence. Any determination to remove one's country from Western grasp is considered a nefarious task exemplified by Iraq and Libya. The uprisings in Syria, Bahrain, Yemen and Egypt confirmed this, but domestic forces were able to suppress the masses. It was not because they were stronger, but aided by support from the international community through finance, military and diplomatic channels allowed Arab governments to avail themselves of these resources. In his 2011 visit to Cairo, President Obama revealed through a speech what was always known, that the US government response to the revolts would be in such a way that advanced American values and ensured strengthening of US security.²²² Failing to strike a balance, nothing substantial was said about how the US government would secure tangible support for the affected countries without undermining their struggles or compromising the legitimate needs of the people.

The Arab revolts fits within the strictures of contemporary politics for more than one reason. First, the protests and acts of defiance shifted regional and long established external balance of power. A second import is that spill-over from regional conflict do impact the international community. The on-going civil war in Syria is now considered a global humanitarian crisis. As displaced citizens numbering millions outside the country is a major socio-

²²². Remarks by the President on the Middle East and North Africa, *The White House Office of the Press Secretary*, 2011, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2011/05/19/remarks-president-middle-east-and-north-africa>

economic and psychological strain for neighbouring countries such as Turkey, Jordan and Lebanon. Meanwhile, the rise in illegal migration and human trafficking of Syrians is a serious concern for majority European states not willing at first to deal with any influx of refugees.²²³ More significant is the increase in movement of transnational terrorist networks since the Arab uprisings displaying their strong propensity for violence. Also the protracted instability in Egypt, Libya, Iraq, attenuated certainties in Bahrain, Yemen, Tunisia forced many to debate the roles of the UN and its member agencies in the international system.

So what was South America's response to the Arab revolts, since none of ASPA's three Declaration out-rightly addressed this critical issue. The Lima Declaration vague wordings on respect of democracy in Syria and support for transition government in Yemen are the only official mention to date. Traditionally South American governments' foreign policy is deeply entrenched in sovereignty of the state and principle of non-intervention.²²⁴ Likewise the Final Summit pillar on "Political Coordination," is expressive of peaceful resolutions to solving conflicts. South America in particular has not experienced any major conflict for decades and Kenkel describes the region's attitude as one entrusted to multilateralism and respect for international legal instruments. Therefore, guaranteeing protection against direct interferences is privileged. Individually, the countries of South America formulated cautionary foreign policy strategies or either chose silence on the crisis.

²²³. In 2015, the Syrian refugee crisis has superseded the Arab MiddleEast regions refugees now amke their way across Europe by any means necessary, forcing EU to implement new rules to deal effectively, so far Germany is the apparent preferred country of destination for the refugees. See, Laura Smith-Spark, "Refugees in Europe: Merkel urges quotas in EU," *CNN News*, September 8, 2015, <http://edition.cnn.com/2015/09/08/europe/europe-migrant-crisis/index.html>.

²²⁴. See, Alejandra Galindo et al. "Diversity Behind Unity: Latin America's Response to the Arab Spring, in *The International Politics of the Arab Spring: Popular Unrest and Foreign Policy*, ed. Robert Mason (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014), 125-145.

However, another example of asymmetry of ASPA members regards humanitarian aid to Syria and a dispute concerning UAE and Iran. The Lima Declaration, pillar on “Political Coordination”, acknowledged reservations by two Summit members; Venezuela and Brazil. In point system 2.12, Venezuela expressed reservation over statements pertaining to the international community delivery of humanitarian aid, “and all other necessary assistance to the affected members of the Syrian population especially within Syria, and also in neighbouring countries and other countries hosting Syrian refugees.” It is not easy to decipher the Venezuelan government motives, perhaps influenced by the Syrian community in Venezuela and the ‘friendship’ of late President Chavez who was a close ally of Bashir al-Assad, or its anti-American Leftist stance.²²⁵ The current President Maduro leadership although tested under severe economic crisis and marred by protests, announced in 2013 that he along with the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America (ALBA) would embark on aiding Syrian refugees hosted in Lebanon.²²⁶ The country has also staunchly stood by its refusal to support any military intervention in Syria. A pattern here is a diffuse relationship and asymmetry of ASPA members, regardless of the Summit coordinated partnering. Venezuela instead sought to provide its own assistance to Syria outside the Summit frame of biregional cooperation.

Twice in 2012, Brazil a non-permanent member of the UNSC decided to abstain from UNSC resolution casted against President Bashir al-Assad of Syria to step-down. The government reactionary mode also extended to the Brazilian government abstaining on the UNSC Resolution 1970 Responsibility to Protect (R2P) Libyan citizens and UNSC Resolution 1973 ‘No-Fly Zone over Libya.’²²⁷ Instead the government preference for peaceful

²²⁵. More detail, see, Juan Cristobal Nagel, “Syria-Venezuela Connection,” *Foreign Policy*, September 11, 2013, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2013/09/11/the-syria-venezuela-connection/>.

²²⁶. Ryan Mallett Outtrim, “Venezuela Condemns “Threats” to Syria Made by US and Allies,” *Venezuelan Analysis*, August 29, 2013, <http://venezuelanalysis.com/news/9983>.

²²⁷. For more readings on the full text, see, “Security Council Approves ‘No-Fly Zone’ over Libya, ‘Authorising All Necessary Measures’ to Protect Civilians by Vote of 10 in Favour

dialogue and multilateralism showed more interest in having the LAS and the UN mediate on the situation in Libya. The newly appointed administration of Dilma Rousseff in Brazil came under heavy criticism for abstaining on the UNSC Resolutions by US government officials. Rousseff concerns were in keeping with South America's support for non-intervention in a sovereign state and in her words argued that, "The Security Council must ensure the accountability of those to whom authority is granted to resort to force."²²⁸ Keeping to the ideology of South-South relations the Brazilian government continued its support for countries affected by the Arab uprisings. A visit by the Brazilian Foreign Minister Antonio Patriota in 2012 to Tunisia, the lead protagonist of the Arab revolts and also the first to restore government, resonated with Brazil's solidarity diplomacy foreign policy strategy.²²⁹ Not much was said on Egypt except for general comments regarding Brazil's respect for multilateralism, rule of law and successful transition to democratic.

At the 'end' of it all, most South American government are sympathetic to the ordinary citizens in the Arab Middle East affected by violence and has called for an end to all violence and peaceful transition to democracy. Yet, reactions from government officials in South America perhaps stem from two different logics. First, the rise of anti- American Leftists governments in these countries who oppose the US and traditionally support Palestine against Israel, or two, increased agitation from the Arab Diaspora on local governments. Questions do remain about the Arab uprisings and what has been accomplished by those involved four years after its making? Why

with 5 Abstentions," *UN Security Council*, March 11, 2011, <http://www.un.org/press/en/2011/sc10200.doc.htm>.

²²⁸. Matias Spektor, "The Arab Spring, Seen From Brazil," *The New York Times*, December 23, 2011, http://latitude.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/12/23/the-arab-spring-seen-from-brazil/?_r=0.

²²⁹. See, statement made in Tunisia, "We wish to convert Tunisian-Brazilian Friendship into a real partnership," (Antonio Patriota), *Republic of Tunisia Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, April 26, 2012, http://www.diplomatie.gov.tn/index.php?id=27&L=2&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=994&cHash=b520e07718016b88867d4be271a17f28.

countries involved are yet to receive what citizens marched in the streets for? How can South America regions look beyond these paradigms to continue positive engagements with the region? These unanswered questions prematurely close this subheading.

4.5. Reform of the UN and UNSC

For seventy years the UN has held a preeminent post as the sole legitimate multilateral institution representing the bastion of global governance. Fervent in its quest to promote and protect human rights, preservation of global peace and development the UN has failed to extend this zeal in accelerating internal reforms. Neither has the organisation accommodating reforms for other important affiliates. The UNSC²³⁰ is a prime eloquent example of an affiliate UN body that has maintained exclusivity in electing permanent members to its Council.

Vested with authority in the interest of one hundred and ninety three countries, the UN was proof of how far a fragmented world had come since World War Two. In principle and practice the UN was expected to find workable solutions to global crises and act universally without trying to set its own agenda or that of any other member states. Decidedly, in a string of controversial actions and indecision taken before and after the Arab revolts the credibility of the UN and affiliate branches have come under the microscope for criticism. In what was and still is equated to a US controlled UN.

This thesis must interject and expose how condescending attitudes displayed by the US and wealthy G8 members' stands as obstacles to further reforms of UN affiliates. This pattern was repeated during the IMF and global financial crisis. Disinclination was obvious at the UNGA Summit in June 2009 where no leaders from the wealthy Western nations attended. Their

²³⁰. The decision to take action in international affairs rests with the 193 member countries of the UN but, only the fifteen member states of the UNSC actions are legally binding. On the extreme side of international politics the UN secretary general is not conferred with independent power to duly control international predicaments.

outright display of indifference for the UN and lack of respect shown to UNGA president Miguel D'Escoto, a former foreign minister of Nicaragua threatened to delegitimise and derail the real purpose of the meetings. Proceeding from this incident was that solidarity emanated from South American governments who demanded and were adamant that the conference should proceed as planned despite absence of Western elites. Symptomatically, this behaviour of Western governments is the reality of their resistance to any changes or challenges to the status quo.

When drastic push for UN reforms held centre stage in the 1970s that also failed to take off. In 2010, another blow was dealt by the US congress blatant refusal to ratify economic package of reforms that would have aided UN members most impacted by the economic crisis. Yet, extended behaviour from US unilateralism continue to cast a major shadow over the UN, escalating into a major divide between some ASPA member countries and the international community. The unsustainable unilateral approach taken by the US military actions in Iraq (2003) without approval from the UNSC has taken a new form in a post-hegemonic era where the UN appears lethargic. Extenuating this worsening image of a weakening UN was the UNSC and UNGA handling of the crises that encapsulated most of the Arab societies. The diplomatic oratory emanating from Secretary General of the UN Ban Ki Moon during the upheavals in what he referred to as historic changes deserving sustained support from the UN, was never realised. Like past situations UN resolve was partially tempered in favour of what this thesis viewed as an American / NATO led alliance. The collaboration or alliance of forceful attacks on Libya were nowhere in accordance with the UN mandate and portrayed an outright defiance of the UNGA. On what was deemed “humanitarian grounds” and the UNSC resolution “Responsibility to Protect.”²³¹ Libya was invaded at the cost of civilian lives in the

²³¹. Responsibility to Protect (RtoP), under the UNSC Resolution 1674 (2006), the concept rest on three main pillars: the responsibility of states to protect their population from atrocities, responsibility of the international community to provide states with necessary tools and appropriate mechanisms to protect their population and finally where any state fails to protect its citizens the international community is responsibility to interfere as a

aftermath of NATO unleashing brute force on a sovereign state and aiding rebels on the ground. Geopolitics discourse shows how geographical imaginations have entered the domain of international law. Indiscriminate comments alluding to NATO's role in Libya as a "model intervention" confirmed why the US government concurred decisively without the UN or international community approval on this matter. Certainly this was not a first case of American offence; its 'model' is a well-known diversion in foreign policy with a widely recorded history of abetting coups and toppling legitimate regimes in South America.

Struggling against the counterproductive policies of the United States in regional affairs, the ASPA Summit reasons for opposition to any new projection of power or interferences is credible. The creation of ASPA has excluded Europe and US from socio-economic negotiations, unlike their formidable presence in other interregional dialogue forums. Current regional partnerships are not willing to extend much nexus between them and leading hegemony. Few would deny the UN international reach and legality, yet there are limits to the organisation actions. Which is why sanctioning an invasion in Libya by UN specialised agencies and invoking of resolutions never before used on a member state definitely continues to spark international debates. These actions were expressive of the UN violating its own charter in a conciliatory move towards the United States, thus, reinforcing a belief in their exceptional might and assumption that the Arab Middle East region is theirs to protect. Such exemplary acts of non-cooperation with the UNSC on Libya embraced the old method of American governments conducting business as usual directed through foreign policy strategies viewed as universally given. The US government demonstrated that it would work alone to secure its own domestic policies and strengthen international 'interest' by adhering to America's rules and so-called values. At worst the UNSC swift move to authorize military action, airstrikes and a precarious no-fly zone against Libya. Quite the contrast when in previous

coalition force. See: <http://www.responsibilitytoprotect.org/index.php/about-rtop/the-un-and-rtop> for full length document and examples.

years Euro-America was willingly content to continue support of longstanding regimes in the countries affected by the protests. It is recalled that Muamar al-Qadafi was an ally in Euro-America 'war against terror' campaign. The counter subterfuge of these actions in the Arab Middle East was of course a degenerate push for those elusive democratic ideals.

The judicious changes to the UN cannot be left to bureaucratic or partial fixtues and present-day recommendations must attend to overhauling the organisation complete structures. Along this course, institutional reforms must limit the impact of future crisis in hopes of regaining the trust of those designated justice, respect and human rights under the UN Charter. This is the political dialectic of reconceptualising the role and attitude of ASPA transformative world. Thus, part of the debates on reform to global multilateral institutions is continued in the next chapter from and economic angle.

CHAPTER V

ECONOMIC LINKAGES

A major force behind the ASPA Summit was the regions mutual concerns about the global financial crisis 2007 /2008. The Summit members shared similar opinion that the financial crisis had the capacity to affect developing economies already vulnerable due to their weak economies of scale. In an effort to safeguard their financial interest, the ASPA members according to the minutes for the Doha declaration, “emphasise the need to establish an international financial system which prevents financial speculation and takes into account adequate regulations.” In this context, the construction of a new international finance architecture must be congruent with socio-economic development. Therefore, the declaration called for the implementation of mechanisms for cooperation in the financial area. In so doing ASPA continues its commitment to multilateralism, through strengthening of institutions affiliated to the UN in the economic and social areas. Thus, the Summit’s statement to, “... promote a broad and ambitious international economic, social and development agenda.” The text further emphasises the importance of a continuous and stable flow of financial resources for the promotion of economic and social development. Illustrative of ASPA level of interests was call for reform of the international financial system, with stricter regulation and supervision and greater representation of emerging countries in multilateral organizations. Yet, what have the Summit members achieved among themselves in the economic capacity or the steps taken to develop strategic economic partnership? The Summit is yet to match the economic priorities of members, build on existing economic strength or integrate trade and investments opportunities for all on an equal footing.

5.1. The Global Financial Crisis 2007 /2008

The global financial crisis (2007/ 2008) officially displaced the unilateral economic hegemony of the US and its universal model of development. Thus, exposing the failures of the one size fits all package adopted under the *Washington Consensus*.²³² Riding on this wave of heightening multipolar space several economic models either re-worked or introduced as new are evolving in the international political economy. Stemming from multiple factors the global financial crisis was significant in that the repercussions of economic recessions are still experienced by some ASPA members. A global economic recession from the financial crisis extended into regions which despite having national macro and micro- economic policies outside of US financial centres, were closely linked to the US dollar market. The economic impact was exacerbated more for the ASPA members due to asymmetry of financial agreements enforced by IFIs, weakened local exchange rates and unfavourable financial flows away from their domestic reserves. It is theorised by some that the economic swing from the global financial crisis contributed somehow to the Arab uprisings, as rising cost of basic necessities was an impetus for regional protests in Tunisia and Egypt.²³³

Unquestionably, the US national and international economic policies projected for decades as ‘best for the rest’ showed it was not safe-proof. Through close attention the financial crisis ties perfectly to global economics practices of the *dollar hegemony*, which remains uncontested even with new emerging markets from South. The duality of the crisis is not overlooked; first it disrupted future and potential growth in the Arab Middle

²³². A well written argument on this debate, see, Nancy Birdsall and Francis Fukuyama, “The Post-Washington Consensus: Development after the Crisis,” *Foreign Affairs* 90, no. 2 (2011): 45-53, <http://iis-db.stanford.edu/pubs/23124/foreignaffairspostwashingtonconsensus.pdf>.

²³³. Tetsuji Kawamura, “The global financial crisis: the instability of U.S.-centred global capitalism,” in *Crisis of Global Economies and the Future of Capitalism: Reviving Marxian crisis theory*, ed. Kiichiro Yagi et al., (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), 26-49.

East and South America regions. Second, the financial crisis also revealed two inherent flaws of the international financial economy:

1. The unprecedented control and global dictates by Washington over international finances and financial institutions that never reflected the economic perspectives of those in the South. Nevertheless, it assumed position as the prescription for the international economy no matter how bitter the result.
2. Finally, the double standards uphold by multilateral institutions, that is, the IMF and World Bank key institutions aiding American control of international finance capital.²³⁴

It is through the IMF and World Bank that the US legitimates its power while both institutions continue to push for deregulation and imposition of fiscal instruments on South America and the Arab Middle East to curtail their economic growth. Deregulations in the past, forced privatisation of national resources and liberalisation of the regions markets followed by decline in productivity and high unemployment rates are indicative of this. The economic regulatory intervention strategies of IMF and World Bank approved as poverty reduction in developing countries actually turned out to be in favour of Western donors' interests. Rather than meeting real needs of international recipients, such as ASPA members, these financial institutions introduced drastic policies that forced governments to eliminate certain social programmes and services. Unsurprisingly, the US is never subjected to IMF Structural Adjustments Policies (SAPs). Since the US controls the majority of IMF votes and holds the only veto power in the World Bank, it continues with its hegemonic monetarist status having the dollar as the world's reserve currency.

<http://www.iiss.org/-/media/Images/Events/conferences%20from%20import/seminars/papers/64321.pdf>.

²³⁴. See; Edwin Truman, "The Global Financial Crisis: Lessons Learned and Challenges for Developing Countries." *Peterson Institute for International Economics*, 2009, <http://www.iie.com/publications/papers/paper.cfm?ResearchID=1240>

Gathering from these impositions of strict monetary policies and trade inequalities, Hugo Chavez was determined to champion a counterweight to the IMF and World Bank in the formation of the 'Bank of the South.'²³⁵ Taking such unparalleled and radical shift drew the attention of former World Bank chief economist Joseph Stiglitz. He was critical of the austerity measures and incompatible fiscal policies of IFIs ordered for developing countries. Stiglitz high profile support for reforms and open endorsement of Chavez plans for a regional banking system only validated what the regions knew so well but, failed to confront. During his lifetime Chavez denounced both multilateral institutions less than favourable fiscal policies and intervention. The monetary strategies of holding developing countries at ransom were treated marginally inconsequential by the powerful Western alliance. Chavez hindsight into the economic malaise that these countries suffered in spite of possessing natural wealth resonated across and beyond the region. The irony of these actions is that, Chavez withdrew Venezuela's foreign currency reserves only to place these in European financial institutions.²³⁶ Kozloff is of the belief that in an ideal world less dependent on US dollar reserves, Chavez would have placed the foreign currency in a Bank of the South.

This same global economic strategy was pursued successfully in different Arab Middle East countries to preserve US interests. While the global multilateral institutions endorsed fiscal instruments as both coercion and consensus. As these highly ominous economic policies and formulas went unsuccessful in the Arab Middle East and South America, the economies are downgraded using a variety of discourses. Bandied catchphrases and theories circulated in international relation, described the Arab Middle East as not compatible with capitalism or modernised enough based on global economic institutions standards. Various policies linked to a systematic dependency and stipulation of Structural Adjustment Programs under

²³⁵. Nikolas Kozloff, *Hugo Chavez: Oil, Politics and the Challenge to the US*, (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), 53- 75

²³⁶. *Ibid.*, 74.

Bretton Woods in the 1980s and early 1990s were part of the US economic package modelled in some ASPA member countries. In retrospect the US and global multilateral institutions ignored the social and economic realities of the regions, while private multilateral corporations enjoyed enormous benefits and control over natural resources.

The 2007/2008 financial crisis was a global occurrence and continues to show that US economic and monetary policies are liable to run serious global risks. Pointing to advantages, this thesis is of the opinion that the financial crisis provided opportunities for individual countries to design new financial templates and regulate their domestic markets and divest international economic portfolios. Starting with South America, the region has much experience with financial crises, and has weathered the economic storm quite frequently. Prior to this, South American countries had their own internal struggles with compliancy attached to *Pax Americana* neo-liberalism ideologies. The region's proximity to the core, that is the US, indicates some countries vulnerability and experience to the down-side effect of the crises with falling commodity prices of exports and debts tied-up in US dollars. Withdrawal of major financial capital investments in other cases to the main economies of the region was also a negative factor although a severe financial melt-down did not occur. Bilateral trade agreements that the regions had worked so hard to establish such as MERCOSUR was almost jeopardized with Argentina and Brazil trade disputes.

The complexity of the South American region presents diverse emerging market economies from country to country with each adopting different macro-economic policies. Termed centre-lefts or anti-American, the old vanguard represented by (Argentina, Bolivia, Ecuador, Uruguay, Paraguay and Venezuela) began discrediting the neoliberal policies of Washington after the economic turmoil of the 1990s. Jose Antonio Ocampo, member of the Commission of Experts of the UN General Assembly on Reforms of the International Monetary and Financial System reported on the extent to

which political and ideological policies have influenced their economic policies. The uneven economies in Bolivia, Argentina and Venezuela, countries already faced with economic constraint pre-global financial crisis were less viable during and after the crisis.

In some circles it is said that the financial crisis had limited effect on Argentina's economy, since the country had learnt a valuable lesson from its own massive economic crisis in 2001. But the local currency did suffer from devaluation and there were also falling wheat prices. The country is a well-known pariah in the international financial markets, having defaulted on large global debts for some years on. Argentina's case is very interesting and in 2010 the country recorded a high growth rate in Gross Domestic Product of 9.2%. The dynamism of Argentina and the progress two years after is not the same for Bolivia and Venezuela. Both countries were not insulated from the global economic recession. Lesser anti-neoliberals were Brazil, Chile and Peru, were adamant against US-hegemonic control of regional economics. Brazil and Chile both fared much better than other South American neighbours albeit small and limited as a result of earlier fiscal reforms and diversified trade.

While the conformists or those operating marketing driven economies (Colombia and Peru) both have deeper bilateral ties with the US. For example; Colombia's economy for several decades has remained subordinated to the neoliberal policies of the Washington Consensus. That country was able to receive assistance from the IMF to mitigate economic reforms according to World Bank reports. Against such economic backdrop countries from South America responded differently to the crisis and few proved resilient to the external macro-economic reform policies implemented by global multilateral financial institutions in the past.

Focusing attention to the Arab Middle East region, analyses of the global financial economic crisis on the region is mostly focused on the wealthy Gulf States. In 2007, oil prices for the oil exporting countries of the Arab Middle East were stable and comparatively high which benefitted the

financial capacity of Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Kuwait while staving off any negative economic imbalances.²³⁷ However, closer to the ending of 2008, the crisis came close to threatening oil price stability causing these countries to readjust their fiscal revenues and tighten reserves from oil profits in a volatile market.²³⁸ However, the lowering of interest rates, increased spending levels and injection of capital lessen the economic impacts. Variations could be seen in the oil exporting countries of Iran, Iraq, Algeria, Libya and Syria where having a larger population combined with weak fiscal policies over the years meant that their oil revenues derived less wealth per capita.

The non-oil producing countries were not as fortunate having already gone through years of experimenting with structural adjustment models and economic neoliberalism following advice and regulations from multilateral financial institutions such as the World Bank and IMF. To make matters worse these said countries had accumulated large debt for which they were incapable of servicing. Ensuing speculations post Arab uprisings, connects Anglo-American invasion of Iraq (2003) and Libya (2011) as part of maintaining the *dollar hegemony* and power balance in the Arab Middle East. In a multipolar world the volatile nature of the international system and the upsized risks to the regions is never far afield. Conspicuously, the financial crisis shattered but failed to destroy the infallible myth of old macroeconomic policies endorsed by the Group of 8. The eight leading countries led by the US whose economic model was repackaged and distributed for various financing and development initiatives in the regions. The dethroning of Euro-America global financial stranglehold is not an agenda accomplished by talks or in a spate of economic crisis.

²³⁷. For further analysis see, Nader Habibi, "The Impact of the Global Economic Crisis on Arab Countries: A Year End Assessment, *Middle East Brief*, no. 40 (2009), Brandeis University, <http://www.brandeis.edu/crown/publications/meb/MEB40.pdf>.

²³⁸. See, Mary Ann Tetreault, "Gulf Arab States' Investment of Oil Revenue," in *Shifting Geo-Economic Power of the Gulf: Oil, Finance and Institutions*, ed. Matteo Legrenzi and Bessma Momani, (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2011), 9-21.

An American economic recovery is already in motion since 2013 and the dollar remains the fail-safe and premium method of international financial transactions. Utopian as this thesis argument might sound, well before the financial turmoil tentative steps were being made by new poles of possible influence from the Arab Middle East and South America already recognising the importance of cementing ties on global economic matters. The ASPA Summit is an initiative that banded together with good trade and investments from South-South. This is a far cry from the free floating market under conventional geopolitics, marked by heavy external financial credit which deepened regional debt and privatisation of state resources encouraged by the U.S. and multilateral financial organisations.

The thesis will be quite specific at this point explaining that emerging market economies of Argentina and Brazil with a higher percentage of middle-class fared better than others. The financial market linkages and exports of consumer goods to other developing countries were already decreasing Brazil dependence on developed regions. On a point of clarification this is not implying that the regions were not affected. Particularly those states whose economies are highly integrated with and dependent on the US market and simultaneously were in the midst of negotiating new deals with the IMF and other monetary institutions given their high debt rates. Of course this is no strange news when in reality the financial crisis was largely beyond the grasp of the regions. Outside of the regions, the Arab Diaspora whose foreign remittances cannot be denied sending capacity took a plunge during and after the global economic crisis.²³⁹ International, regional and intraregional remittances to the Arab Middle East from the Diaspora communities are now recognised by the World Bank and other IFIs as very significant and important aid to the

²³⁹. The UNDP study shows that remittances for the GDP of Arab States as of 2009 is 3.1 percent of the region, see, "Remittances," *United Nations Development Programme*, http://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/Poverty%20Reduction/Inclusive%20development/Towards%20Human%20Resilience/Towards_SustainingMDGProgress_Ch4.pdf.

In Egypt remittances are the main source of foreign exchange, see, M.I.T El-Sakk, "Remittances of Egyptian Migrants: An Overview," *Middle East Institute*, April 18, 2010, <http://www.mei.edu/content/remittances-egyptian-migrants-overview>.

region. Monetary remittance has even surpassed official government financial initiatives and assistance. The regions hold robust positions of world regions where remittances are in billions of American dollars.²⁴⁰

Annual, report by the Multilateral Investment Fund, a member of the Inter-American Development Bank revealed stagnation and fluctuations in 2013 remittances to South American was US \$ 61.3 billion. But in light of the global economic meltdown shrank to about 15 percent, whereas in 2006 remittances stood at US\$ 68 billion. In 2014, there was positive economic review of South American countries²⁴¹ with remittances hitting a record high.

Integrated within the international political economy this trend is not lost on the Arab Middle East either, with remittances from the GCC likely to reach over \$50 billion by 2015. Egypt alone accounts for about 40 percent of foreign remittances \$20 billion in 2013 but, was disrupted along with Yemen with the huge deportation of migrant workers from Saudi Arabian government. Following Egypt high level remittances, the World Bank data puts Lebanon, Morocco, Jordan, Tunisia and Syria received \$1.6 billion pre-Arab uprisings. A fragile Syria where large percentage of its population is now displaced the information for remittance inflow is unreliable and now unaccounted for. The contradiction is that for Lebanon remittance inflow increased in 2014, the World Bank mainly “attributed the increase in

²⁴⁰. For a global comprehensive report, “Sending Money Home: “Worldwide Remittance Flows to Developing and Transition Countries,” *International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD)*, December 2007, <http://www.ifad.org/remittances/maps/brochure.pdf>.

²⁴¹. See, “Record-breaking amount of remittances received in Latin America and the Caribbean,” *Inter-American Development Bank*, New Release, March 12, 2015, <http://www.iadb.org/en/news/news-releases/2015-05-12/record-amount-of-remittances-to-region-in-2014,11158.html>.

remittances in part to those sent to Syrian refugees in Lebanon by their relatives abroad.”²⁴²

We should be wary all the same to think that remittances are a panacea for the regions socio-economic ills or permanent solutions against properly developed assistant programmes. Citing shared areas of convergence, a dependency on migrant labourers, immigrant workers and their foreign remittances between some countries of the both regions goes deeper with the global financial crisis and the Arab uprisings. In the Arab Middle East skilled and manual migrant labourers from GCC countries contribute tremendously to countries of the Gulf while South American migrant workers in the United States repatriate money to the region. However, as the Arab uprisings unfolded affected workers from other Arab Middle East countries in Libya and Iraq had to return home others were deported largely from Saudi Arabia and Qatar. The problem of illegal workers and migrants pose huge problems in the rich oil producing GCC states that are now embarking on ‘Saudization’ and ‘Qatarization’ process. South America is on different course even with different socio-political situations where severe brain drain followed by citizens illegally crossing borders into the United States.

Perhaps it is too early to speak of the ASPA Summit interregional relations in geo-economics term with the promising exception of the GCC. Observers have commented that countries of the gulf region are now engaging in geo-economics strategies using their petro dollar to ‘stabilise’ and destabilise the region. Qatar and Saudi Arabia both compete with each other for regional hegemon; an example was Qatar eight billion dollars loan to a Muslim Brotherhood controlled Egypt post-Arab revolts. The geo-economics and geopolitical agenda advanced even more after their ousting when Saudi Arabia and Kuwait offered up twelve billion dollars to the new Egyptian

²⁴². See, “Remittances to Lebanon increased to \$8.9 billion in 2014,” *Middle East Business News and Events*, April 28, 2015, <http://www.ifpinfo.com/Top-MiddleEast-NewsArticle-6328#.VfFOLBGqqko>.

regime. Better yet, the huge sums of petro dollars absorbed in Western economies, notably the United States is not just an investment strategy but secures Saudi Arabia an important place in the international political economy.

Summing up this subheading, it would be prudent for ASPA members to use present opportunities and coordinate on sustainable economic policies. This would ensure that long-term economic responses are developed to off-set or reduce the impact of future financial crisis. The Summit can be most effective if members are willing to formulate decisions in a concerted manner. ASPA Summit is a relatively small group and more cooperation is an added advantage for the Summit to pursue the function of agenda-setting on a global level Even if the liberal economic policies and free-floating markets continue to dominate the global markets, countries whether individually or under the banner of South-South relations must continue to pursue economic reforms. One main area where the regions could start is shifting from net capital importers to net capital exporters, this can help to reduce their vulnerabilities, attract external investors and lessen future problems. In the end the financial crisis is an important reminder for ASPA to encourage regional drive towards participation in economic multilateral fora. The available wealth from the GCC members of ASPA and large markets situated in both regions exemplifies a criss-crossing of strategic interests reinforcing favourable engagements.

5.2. Trade and Investments

Atop the ASPA Summit agenda, trade and investments opportunities form the backbone of interactions as economies of scale widen in emerging member countries with profitable markets. The rising South-South trade has boost trade relations between ASPA members focusing on strengthening economic partnership with business entrepreneurs. The Summit Declarations Pillar on “Economic and Financial Cooperation,” endorses there are mutual intent and willingness between the regions to capitalise on and benefit from intensified economic, commercial and investment

activities. Assumedly the diversifying of foreign policy interests and diplomatic relations are in parallel with economic trade and investments. After the almost successful outcome of a Free Trade Agreement between MERCOSUR and the GCC which was facilitated at ASPA's first Summit in 2005, trade has been conducted individually between ASPA members. An overlapping of ASPA diffuse interregional relations is that MERCOSUR members: Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Venezuela, and associate members are also part of ASPA.

Leading the way in trade among ASPA members is Brazil, whose trade with the Arab Middle East rose to \$20.2 billion in 2008 up from \$8 billion in 2004 and one of its major trading partners is the United Arab Emirates. The Abu Dhabi Investment Authority, a wealthy firm based in the Emirates gained the bid for construction of two towers in Brazil's second largest city Rio de Janeiro in 2009. Continuing these investment relations, Aabar Investments bought assets worth \$328 million in the initial public offering of Banco Santander of Brazil.²⁴³ Aabar Investments has also divested portfolio in Algeria. In partnership with the Algerian government, according to the *Wall Street Journal*, Aabar will produce all-terrain vehicles and trucks. Economic investment activity in other South American countries of Argentina and Chile is also increasing. The Dubai-based company DP World, operators of global marine terminals financial acquisition of Peru's largest port-Port Callao is said to have transformed the port facilities.²⁴⁴

The First ASPA Summit comprised a mixture of business and economic seminar parallel to the main Summit, featuring government official, businessmen and trade promotion agencies. The Summit featured different panels showcasing investments opportunities, the business culture in both regions, and overall legal frameworks of economic cooperation and trade

²⁴³. Javier Santiso, *The Decade of Multilatinas*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 27-30.

²⁴⁴. "Peru announces major investments to bridge port infrastructure gap," *Port Technology*, July 5, 2012 http://www.porttechnology.org/news/peru_announces_major_investment_to_bridge_port_infrastructure_ga.

agreements already in place by governments of the regions.²⁴⁵ At the onset to the 2005 Summit the issue of energy was placed on the discussions table which in 2013 led to ASPA Energy Ministerial Meeting in Abu Dhabi. The success of this meeting resulted in ASPA minister's adoption of the Abu Dhabi Declaration, prioritising energy (what was promoted early in the main Summit) as key to ASPA members' interregional relations.

Intensifying this approach was the Second ASPA Summit, resulting in the ASPA CEO forum that involved about 250 businessmen and representatives from the regions.²⁴⁶ By the time of the Third ASPA Summit in Lima, there was already enthusiasm from the previous year as this Summit was right 'on the heels' of the global financial crisis 2007/ 2008. Peru's General Manager of the Foreign Trade Society (ComexPeru) Patricia Teullet, stated, "We have discovered a new Arab world that we have to be connected with, and with which we have many similarities."²⁴⁷ This CEO Summit in 2102, under the theme, "Growth Equity and Sustainable Development: Challenges for ASPA," with an objective of boosting bilateral relations,²⁴⁸ attracted a contingent of over 400 businessmen. Unquestionably, such significant increase was proof of intergovernmental and private sector interests. Aligning this positive outcome was the creation of a Federation of Arab-South American Chamber of Commerce.

²⁴⁵. See, "An Overview of the First Summit of Arab-South American Countries (Brazilia 2005)": 34-35, http://qatarconferences.org/south/english/info/first_summit.pdf.

²⁴⁶. "Summit of South American-Arab Countries (ASPA)," *Brazil Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=9967:summit-of-south.

²⁴⁷. "ASPA CEO Summit to Take Place April 19-20," *ANDINA, Perú*, February 9, 2011. <http://www.sela.org/es/prensa/servicio-informativo/2011/02/20110209/aspa-ceo-summit-to-take-place-april>.

Note the Summit in 2011 was cancelled due to the 'Arab uprisings'

²⁴⁸. See also, Gaston Fulquet, "From North-South to South-South Power Relations: The Changing Dynamics of Interregional Cooperation and It's Effect on South America's Sustainable Development", in *Understanding the Dynamics of Global Inequality*, ed. Alexander Lenger and Florian Schumacher (Dordrecht: Springer, 2015), 193

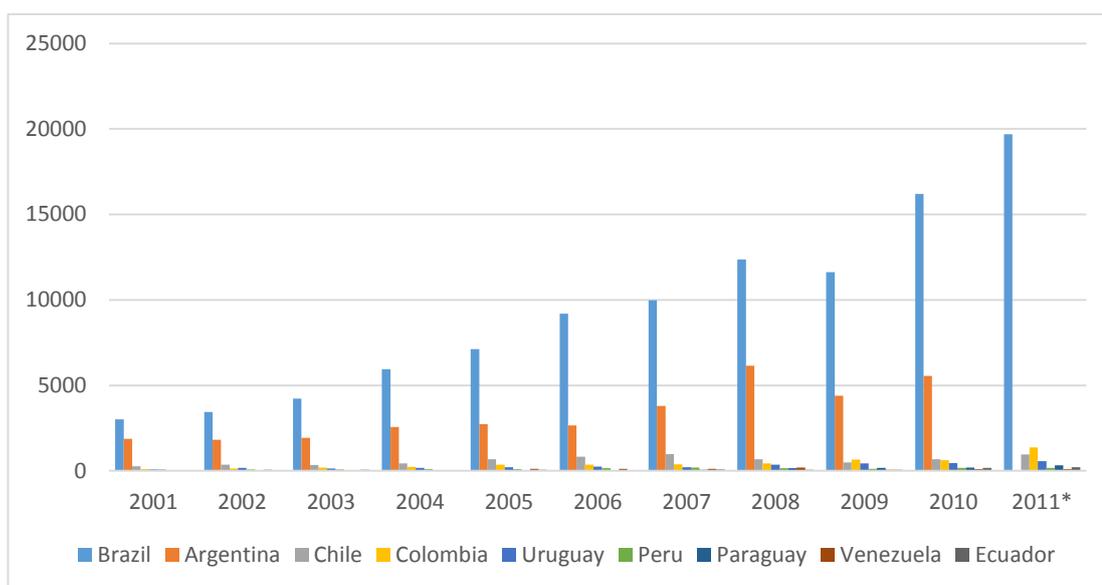


Figure 1 The export figures for Latin American countries to the Arab Middle East in US million \$

5.3. Opportunities and Challenges

Resources and skills remain untapped or under-utilised in a variety of sectors of the Arab Middle East and South American countries. There are also opportunities for establishing clear cut relations beyond oil economies, securitisation and issues of democratisation. The global economic crisis contributed to rising cost of staple food products posing problems for food security in the Arab Middle East and South America, where large section of the population livelihood is intertwined with agriculture for sustenance and employment. Actually, South America region possess a third of the world's fresh water system and fertile lands, a 2014 findings from the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) and panel of international experts suggests the region has extraordinary potential as the world's food basket.²⁴⁹ The IDB further stated that by 2050 countries of South America would have the capacity to feed about nine billion people, in view of it being the world's largest net food exporting region. ASPA Summit members did take

²⁴⁹. "Report Positions Latin America and the Caribbean as the next global breadbasket," *Inter-American Development Bank*, April 23, 2014, <http://www.iadb.org/en/news/news-releases/2014-04-23/agricultural-productivity-latin-america-and-caribbean,10806.html>

advantage at the final Summit to promote food security and share innovation in agriculture. These proposals and more on exchanging technical skills, transfer of technologies in agriculture and promote cooperation in the face of then rising food cost was supported by several delegations during the discussions in Lima. The existing agreements attracted recognition of Quinoa, a staple grain super food grown in Bolivia, very high and rich in nutrition. Creatively, the Bolivian government declared 2013 as the “Year of the Quinoa,” and ASPA members were encouraged to support and promote the cultivation of this food source. The burgeoning population of Arab Middle East region left government of poorer countries to contend with the high cost of importing basic food stuff. This venture of cultivating and exporting Quinoa could help to alleviate food problems in that region. It is reported that the GCC imports about 90 percent of their food source due to lack of arable lands. There is no time like the present for ASPA members to secure and absorb future markets for agricultural produce and access to raw material. Working out logistics and removing barriers to trade, increasing quality food subsidies for local farmers with the help of wealthy investors strengthening research and development would be an ideal place to start.

More than several ASPA countries enjoy and benefit from tourism, in fact the regions contain some of the most historical and famous cultural artefacts and heritage sites. The global economic crisis and the Arab revolts have been past disruptors of tourist arrivals to the Arab Middle East. ASPA is seeking to stimulate the tourism sector with new and direct air routes between member countries. Emirates Airlines is currently offering direct flights from Dubai to São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Buenos Aires and Qatar Airlines and Etihad Airways now offer nonstop service flight to São Paulo. Such developments are important for the regions residents to discover the cultures and have first-hand knowledge about the countries. More significantly these are examples of interregional relations and activities at work between ASPA members

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

In concluding, this thesis set out to establish interregional relations between two non-traditional partners the Arab Middle East and South America. Foreign policy perspectives are exemplified in the thematic discussion on changes in a transformative international system. The changes are identified from two important international agendas, first is the rise of interregional dialogue forums and the second is premised on the making of independent foreign policy. On the former, the ASPA Summit represents a case study of interregional dialogue forum providing the empirical frame and the latter based on the making of independent foreign policy was studied from a South-South discourse. Thus, forgoing the international norms assigned to leading hegemony profiled as normative foreign policy actors.

The research also sought to highlight the lacunae in theoretical literature on non-Triadic regions hence, the main objective was to analyse whether the theoretical approach of interregionalism is useful to explain interaction of the regions. Since interregionalism is not a new phenomenon, different dialogue forms are categorised: bi-regional or bilateral interregionalism, transregionalism and hybrid interregionalism. While features of each are thinly traded in the ASPA Summit, because of the low institutionalised frame these are not adopted by the thesis. Instead, the research reveals a diffuse pattern of interregional relations, mainly attributed to weak actorship of the Summit regional agencies, asymmetries of members and internal and external interferences.

Along with the forms of interregional relations, interregional dialogue forums are expected to perform five functions: balancing, institution-building, rationalising, agenda-setting and collective identity-building. However, these functions are not mandatory, but add legitimacy to the Summit frame and were examined across three global-crossing optimal

issues of politics, historical-social and economic conditions. It is noted that the three issues are contextualised as pillars of ASPA's frame and addressed in the Summit declarations. From this, three research questions were established:

1. Is ASPA a strong case for interregional relations, if so who are the actors pushing for this and what form is the relation taking?
2. What are the value-based interactions of the ASPA Summit members?
3. To what extent functions of interregionalism are embodied in the ASPA Summit?

Empirically, the answer to each questions are chapter specific and are also observed in interregional activities bounded in the pillars of the ASPA Summit.

The first chapter elaborated the theoretical analysis of interregionalism linking it within the temporal framework of regionalism. Here, the thesis alludes to the literature, scholars of interregionalism and the Triadic-centred approach which has left non-Triad regions relations under-researched. Cases of other non-Triadic interregional relations are stated, examples MERCOSUR and FEALAC to show why the ASPA Summit, is part of the novelty in interregional dialogue forums from the South. Although ASPA can be in its embryonic stage is also a mechanism for interregionalism despite the diffuse type.

The five potential functions, expected to be performed by interregional dialogue forums are outlined and are the basis for operationalising the three global-crossing optimal issues. Following this, the thesis outline arguments to answer the first research question of whether ASPA is a strong case for interregional relations, the actors involved and what form of interregional relation is emerging takes. Therefore, ASPA Summit and structure is assessed not only as the empirical frame, but as a foreign policy project of the Summit architect the former Brazilian President Lula Da Silva and

foreign policy of autonomy through diversification. Since no Triad members are involved in ASPA, there is weak actorship capacity given the asymmetries of members and marginalised regional agency- UNASUR and the LAS. The two are impeded by leading hegemonies in the international system and from critical-decision making process in global multilateral institutions.

In chapter two, the historical and social affinities of the regions are examined, drawing attention to early 19th century rapprochement of the Arab Middle East and South America. The cultural dynamics of the regions are buoyed by the strong presence of an Arab Diaspora in South America with economic influence and bordering on political clout. Characterised as non-state actors by the thesis, due to the intergovernmental arrangement of the ASPA Summit, this group has developed with time as a formidable force. The Arab Diasporas of South America is purported to be in the millions although numbers are exaggerated in certain cases, their presence is not to be ignored. As active participants on political issues, particularly the Israeli- Arab conflict, the Diaspora maintains strong agitation on their home government to act in their interest which translates to the interest of the Palestinian State. In answer to the second research question these historic-social ties are the origins and value-based interactions that allows for interregional relations of ASPA and encouraging consensus. However, for collective identity-building, the Arab Diaspora in the respective South American countries socio-political outlook are so diverse much like ASPA that it will take much work to convince the regions that a common 'ASPA identity' can be created. This would complement interregional relations and promote external actorship.

An international system impacted by global politics leads to chapter three of the thesis and how South-South relations is mobilised. Over the last decade so many global events have occurred from which member countries in ASPA are not immune. ASPA members have been seriously impacted perhaps because of their foreign policy strategies, political stance, economic

policies or government failure to ‘fall-in-line’ with Western modes of governance. Closely examined, are what the thesis termed global crossing-optimal issues that disrupted the social and political fabric of some Arab Middle East countries with continuities that have extended beyond regional borders. Stimulating the sub-heading are pull factors for closer interregional engagements between ASPA members. These are the events of September 9, 2001 leading to a Global War on Terror, the Arab revolts 2011 which the US consolidating military actions in the region. As a result, the ASPA members call for reforms to the UN and other affiliated institutions is expressed in the Summit declarations. Lastly, but equally important is the impact of climate change and developing countries remain the most vulnerable. The ASPA Summit position on this critical issue is yet to lead to any real-time solutions, but produce much rhetoric. Heightened political risks in the Arab Middle East did not end with 9/ 11 and the uncertainty of the gains made post-Arab revolt is evident with instability in Iraq and Libya, the destruction of Syria tied to an appalling refugee crisis. Amidst these disruptions are the increased movement of transnational terror networks such as ISIL and the violence in some countries which is a serious impediment to strengthening ASPA’s core. The ASPA Summit members’ asymmetries are presented in the thesis as lacking in concerted and practical actions though points in the declarations show awareness to this situation.

The fourth and final chapter prioritises economic linkages between the regions and are facilitated so far under ASPA and individually. Economics seems a major point of exchange and interest beyond the political landscape. Three Summits later and it is clear to date that economic partnering, commerce and trade have yielded the most advantages for ASPA members. In wake of the global financial melt-down, developing countries have been in search for alternative markets and diversifying not just foreign policies but economies. Of course not all opportunities are exhausted there are still numerous untapped areas and underutilised resources that ASPA must capitalise on. For examples, the regions could provide more technical exchange for knowledge sharing in the area of food security and skills-

training for the youthful demography coming from the Arab Middle East regions.

After chapters two to four were analysed the functions most likely to be performed by ASPA is that of 'soft-balancing,' this is not to say that the remaining functions are not possible. But bearing in mind that ASPA is at the lower spectrum of the international system and even regionally there are more visible interregional dialogue forums engaged in robust activities at the intermediary level. Soft-balancing is a way of preventing leading hegemony from being constant rule-makers in multilateral organisations and ASPA Summit in return have better chances to integrate into the international and global structures. But, a weak actor cannot contain powerful entities, particularly when leading hegemony influence runs high in global multilateral institutions with the ability to maximise leverage. Internally ASPA experience constraints among member countries of which few are seen as emerging market economies, endowed with natural resources and more international presence than others. There are also external interferences pointing to ASPA's limited roles at the multilateral level.

The thesis made a clear distinction on forms of interregional relation with examples from other non-Triadic relations; research indicates that ASPA is a mechanism of interregionalism, but a diffuse type. It is easily noticed that economic bilateral relations between ASPA members on an individual basis is dominant, instead of cohesive group level arrangements. Therefore, there is an absence of formal economic interregional agreements which is a big disadvantage to the Summit, as this would certainly increase ASPA's standing in global economic multilateral institutions. This is a concern for the thesis and it reveals the weakness of ASPA as a key figure in the interregional process. But also expresses the reality of the international system that is, a global capital intensive environment where trade, investments and economic are high priorities. Politically, there is no ASPA 'model' or exporting of any ideology among Summit members. The ASPA

Summit while not calling for a New World Order has noted the failure of global capitalism, but since the regions are so politically diverse one can hardly expect that ASPA would disseminate any political agenda.

It is proper to reiterate that interregionalism theory though presenting several limitations is relatively new and this trait is complementary to the ASPA Summit. Notwithstanding, interregionalism theory has failed to consider non-Triadic regions relations, and thus needs to be more innovative. But since a conclusive theory on interregionalism is outstanding and the theory is evolving, one could say it is complementary to the regions which are by no means static. Hence, there is chance for ASPA to formulate adequate measures overtime to improve not just the institutional frame, but to strengthen the Summit's role on a global level. More visibility and inclusivity is need, for instance ASPA must find ways of incorporating the non-Arabic speaking countries of Turkey and Iran with whom Brazil share a tripartite relation. What of the Caribbean region that historically and now economically are establishing closer relations with South America? Should ASPA be keener on addressing the Caribbean island of Cuba, particularly as diplomatic relations is established between that island and the US in 2015?

The formation of ASPA is one of many foreign policy strategies that emerging states incorporate to augment interregional relations, safeguard economic interests and most of all achieve global recognition. Thus, ASPA is well-placed among the proliferation of interregional dialogue forums from the South, but it will take more than over-saturated rhetoric to confront and consolidate Summit members' engagements in a changing world. There must be long-term solutions created so that ASPA members can increase linkages among themselves to foster social and economic growth.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Türkçe Özet

GİRİŞ

Bu master tezi Arap Orta Doğusu ile Güney Amerika bölgelerinin “yeni etkileşim ağlarını” anlamak üzere, dış politika perspektifleri kullanılarak yapılan özgün bir araştırmadır. Bu araştırma, Güney Amerika ve Arap Ülkeleri Zirvesi'nin – ASPA²⁵⁰ - deneysel çerçevesi ve kuramsal bölgeler-arasıcılık yaklaşımı²⁵¹ ile gerçekleştirilmektedir. Tez, dönüşen bir uluslararası sistem içerisinde iki önemli değişimin bariz olduğu çok kutuplu bir dünyaya işaret etmektedir:

1. Bölgelerarası diyalog forumlarının yükselişi ve
2. Bağımsız dış politikanın oluşturulması.

Bu iki mesele kuramsal bölgeler-arasıcılık yaklaşımı kullanılarak analiz edilmektedir. Üç araştırma sorusu üç ayrı bölümde ele alınacaktır. ASPA Zirvesi'ne ait yapıların içindeki bölgelerarası ilişkileri saptamak amacıyla, bölgelerarasıcılık kuramının önde gelen yazarları tarafından önerilen üç bölgelerarası diyalog durumuna ilişkin analiz ve tartışmalardan yöntemsel ve kapsamlı bir biçimde söz edilmektedir.

Kullanılan araştırma yöntemleri arasında ana kaynaklar, ikincil kaynaklar, sayısal veriler ve yapısal çözümleme bulunmaktadır. Sırasıyla, Zirve'nin oluşumuna ilişkin açıklamalar, Brezilya'nın özerk dış politika stratejisinin önemi – “dış politikada çeşitlilik üzerinden

²⁵⁰ ASPA, benzer küresel sorunlarla karşı karşıya olan iki bölge arasında yapılan, Güney-Güney ilişkilerini güçlendirmeyi amaçlayan iki bölgesel organizasyon, Güney Amerika Ulusları Topluluğu (UNASUR) ile Arap Ülkeleri Birliği (LAS) vasıtasıyla koordine edilen bir bölgelerarası forumdur. Zirve, daha yakın bir işbirliği sürdürmeyi ve ekonomik, politik, sosyal ve bilimsel alanlardaki bağları güçlendirmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Zirve organizasyonu ekonomik, politik ve sosyal işbirliğine odaklanmaktadır. ASPA üyeleri toplam 34 ülkeden – 22 Arap Orta Doğusu ve 12 Latin (Güney) Amerika - oluşmaktadır.

²⁵¹ Heiner Hanggi, “çok yönlü bir olgu olarak bölgeler-arasıcılık: Tipoloji peşinde,” *Bölgeler-arasıcılık ve Uluslararası İlişkiler: Küresel Yönetişim İçin Bir Sıçrama Tahtası Mı?*, ed. Heiner Hanggi ve diğerleri, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006), 1. Hanggi kuramları, bölgesel organizasyonlar ve iki ya da daha fazla bölgeden gelen devlet grupları arasındaki kurumsallaşmış ilişkileri kapsayan bölgeler-arasıcılık.

özerklik” – ve bölgeler-arasıcılık teorisine katkıda bulunan ve bölgeler üzerine kuram geliştiren kişilerin başlattıkları tartışmalar ortaya konmaktadır. Buna, Arap Orta Doğusu ve Güney Amerika bölgelerini tanımlama çabası da dâhildir. Bir sonraki adım vaka çalışması, ana kaynaklar, yapısal çözümleme ve nicel araştırma gibi çeşitli yöntemler kullanılarak, tezin, bölgelerarası diyalog forumlarının yükselişine dair ana argümanlarını gerekçelendirmektir.

Sonuçlandırılacak olursak, araştırma, ilgili bölümlerdeki her araştırma sorusunun sonucunu değerlendirmektedir. Bölümlerin sonunda, bir sonuç özetlenmektedir. Son olarak araştırma, Zirve üyeleri tarafından hangi türden bölgelerarası düzenlemelere öncelik verildiğini ve tezin bölgeler-arasıcılık üzerine olan çalışmalara ne katkıda bulunduğunu belirtmektedir.

Bu çalışmada karşılaşılan başlıca sorunlardan biri, Üçlü bölge dışındaki ilişkilere, yani Arap Orta Doğusu ve Güney Amerika gibi gelişmekte olan bölgelere yönelik bölgeler-arasıcılık kuramı çalışmalarının sınırlı ya da eksik olmasıdır. Çünkü bölgeler-arasıcılık genellikle Kuzey Amerika, Batı Avrupa (AB) ve Japonya’dan oluşan gelişmiş Üçlü bölgeler arasındaki ilişkilerin çalışılmasında kullanılan analitik bir araçtır, dolayısıyla da bu köklü ekonomik bölgeler üzerinde literatür mevcuttur. Bu yüzden tez, gelişmekte olan bölgeleri ele alan bu araştırma konusunun çalışma yapmak için gerekli ve uygun olduğu bir alan olduğu sonucuna varmıştır.

Tezin ana hedefi, bölgeler-arasıcılığı, ASPA Zirvesi içerisindeki ve Zirve üyeleri arasındaki bölgelerarası bağlantıları açıklayacak (ad-hoc ve tamamlanmamış bir biçimde de olsa) faydalı bir kuramsal yaklaşım olarak analiz etmektir. Buna bağlı olarak, oluşturulan ilk araştırma sorusu, ASPA’nın bölgelerarası ilişkiler açısından sağlam bir zemini olup olmadığı; sağlam bir zemine sahipse de, bunu sağlayan aktörlerin kimler olduğu ve ilişkinin hangi biçimi aldığı şeklinde formüle edilmiştir. Araştırma, ASPA’nın üst düzey bir süreç olduğunu, bu

yüzden devlet başkanları ve dış işleri bakanları dâhil olmak üzere en yüksek düzeyden hükümet katılımının olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Ayrıca her iki bölge teşkilatı, yani Arap Ülkeleri Birliği (LAS) ve Güney Amerika Ulusları Topluluğu (UNASUR), ASPA Zirvesi'nin koordinasyonunda önemli ölçüde yer almaktadır.

İki bölgeden gelen pozitif yanıtların peşinden giden araştırma bizi, ASPA Zirvesi'nin “yeni” etkileşim ağlarını anlamak için daha yapısal bir yaklaşıma götürmüştür. Sosyo-dilbilimsel kültürlerin, ekonomik ve politik pratiklerin asimetrilerine ve içkin heterojenliğine rağmen bu durum, bu bölgelerdeki bölgelerarası ilişkilere ilişkin araştırmalara ciddi anlamda gerek duyulduğunu göstermemektedir. Bu noktada bahsedilmesi gereken bir nokta da, uluslararası bölgelerarası diyalog forumlarıyla kıyaslandığında, örneğin AB üyesi devletlerin aynı politik ve sosyo-ekonomik eğilimleri paylaşmadığıdır. Söderbaum ve Stalgren, “bir bölgenin birleşik olmaması, onu bir aktör olarak göz ardı etmemiz anlamına gelmez” derken bu durumu en iyi şekilde ortaya koymuşlardır.

Bu sonuç bizi, ASPA Zirvesi üyelerinin değer tabanlı etkileşimlerine ilişkin ikinci araştırma sorusuna götürür. Buradan sonra araştırma, Arap Orta Doğusu ile Güney Amerika bölgeleri arasındaki uzlaşmanın yeni bir şey olmadığını göstermek üzere sosyal ve tarihsel bağların altını çizmektedir. Tez, Arap Orta Doğusu göçmenlerinin izini, büyük bir Diaspora'nın sosyal, ekonomik ve politik yönden aktif olduğu Güney Amerika ülkelerine kadar takip eder. Tez; (Zabel 2006), (Bruckmayr 2010), (Levaggi 2012), (Khatib 2014), (Baeza 2014) ve Lübnan Kutsal Ruh Üniversitesi'ndeki Latin Amerika Çalışmaları ve Kültür Merkezi'nden faydalanmıştır. Bu referanslar, Arap Diasporası, çeşitli toplulukların harekete geçirilmesi ve bunların farklı Güney Amerika ülkelerindeki aktif katılımları hakkında değerli bilgiler sunmuştur.

Araştırmanın ilgili bağlamı göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, ASPA Zirvesi'nin bölgeler-arasıcılığını incelemek için, ayrıca Zirve Bildirgesi'nin derinlikli bir şekilde incelenmesini ve bölgeselcilik

üzerine çalışan akademisyenlerin çalışmalarını ele almak gerekmiştir. Bölgeler-arasıcılığın işlevsel bir kuram olduğu belirtilmektedir ve bu noktada üçüncü ve son araştırma sorusu, bölgeler-arasıcılığın işlevlerinin ASPA Zirvesi'nde ne dereceye kadar yer aldığına odaklanmıştır.

Tüm bilgileri işleyen tez altı bölüm olarak yapılandırılmıştır ve üç araştırma sorusu, üçüncü, dördüncü ve beşinci bölümlerde ele alınmıştır.

Son olarak, bu master tezinin araştırma soruları şunlardır:

- ASPA bölgelerarası ilişkiler için güçlü bir zemin oluşturmaktadır mıdır, öyleyse bunu sağlayan aktörler kimlerdir ve ilişki hangi biçimi almaktadır?
- ASPA Zirvesi üyelerinin değer tabanlı etkileşimleri nelerdir?
- Bölgeler-arasıcılığın işlevleri ASPA Zirvesi'nde ne dereceye kadar yer almaktadır?

AMPİRİK ÇERÇEVE

Eski İber dünyası yoluyla tarihsel olarak birbirine bağlanan Arap Orta Doğusu ve Güney Amerika bölgeleri arasındaki yirminci yüzyılın büyük bölümü sırasında yaşanan ilişkiler, sınırlı katılımı birlikte ad hoc nitelikte olmuştur. Bununla birlikte, dönüşen bir uluslararası sistemde gerçekleşen düşmanca sosyal, politik ve ekonomik değişiklikler ve çok taraflılığın yükselişi, uluslararası diyalog forumları vasıtasıyla “yeni” aktif katılım örüntüleri getirmiştir. Bu diyalog forumlarına örnek olarak Avrupa Birliği ve Mercado Común del Sur (AB-MERCOSUR),²⁵² Doğu Asya-Latin Amerika İşbirliği Forumu (FEALAC)²⁵³ ve Hindistan,

²⁵² Matthew Doidge, “Avrupa-Asya İlişkilerinin Ötesinde Bölgeler-Arasıcılık,” *Avrupa Birliği ve Bölgeler Arasıcılık: Katılım Örüntüleri*, (Surrey: Ashgate Yayıncılık, 2011), 145-170.

²⁵³ Linda Low, “Doğu Asya-Latin Amerika İşbirliği Forumu (FEALAC): Embriyo Aşamasında Bölgeler-Arasıcılık,” *Bölgeler-Arasıcılık ve Uluslararası İlişkiler*, ed. Heiner Hanggi ve diğerleri (Londra: Routledge, 2006), 85-93.

Brezilya ve Güney Afrika (IBSA)²⁵⁴ verilebilir ve artık Güney Amerika ve Arap Ülkeleri (ASPA) Zirvesi de bu küresel etkileşimlerin bir parçasıdır. Dolayısıyla bu araştırmanın amacı ilk olarak, ASPA Zirvesi'nin, Arap Orta Doğusu ve Güney Amerika bölgelerinin geleneksel olmayan “ortaklığını” tamamlayan Güney-Güney ilişkilerinin karmaşık kurumsal yapısının bir parçası olduğunu göstermektir. İkinci değişken, Zirve iki bölgeyi ekonomik ve sosyal işbirliğinin çeşitli düzeylerinde bir araya getirirken politik işbirliğinin ancak söylem düzeyinde kalmasıdır. Üçüncü olarak ASPA Zirvesi, çok taraflılıkla uyumlu, yeni gelişen büyüme merkezlerinden ve pazarlarından doğan bağımsız dış politika stratejilerinin ve dinamiklerin geliştirilmesinde bariz bir niteliktedir.

Bu araştırmanın önemini netleştirmek için, Küresel Güney'de yeni ortaya çıkan bölgelerarası diyalog forumlarının, bizim ele aldığımız örnekte ASPA, uluslararası alanda yeni ilişkiler kurmaya kararlı oldukları söylenebilir. Güney-Güney ilişkileri, tezin ampirik çerçevesinin, yani bölgelerarası diyalog forumu ASPA'nın oluşumunu gerektirir. ASPA Zirvesi uluslararası sorunlara karşı etkili yanıtlar üretebilmek potansiyeliyle bölgeler için yeni bir paradigmayı temsil eder.

Bu araştırma, Zirve'nin, eski Brezilya Başkanı Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva yönetiminin (2003-2011) politik bir projesi olarak yorumlanmasını önermektedir. Lula hükümetinin “çeşitlendirme yoluyla özerklik” şeklindeki dış politika stratejisinin teşvik ettiği ASPA Zirvesi, her iki bölgenin çıkarlarını, normatif, Batı hegemonyasına uygun söylemlerin ötesinde şekillendirme yönündeki cesur bir çabadır.

Göze çarpan iki nokta açığa kavuşturulmalı. Birincisi, bu tezde ilgili ülkeler teker teker çalışılmamaktadır fakat bazı ülkeler, bölgesel ve uluslararası düzeydeki önemlerinden ötürü daha fazla irdelenmiştir.

²⁵⁴ Jürgen Rüländ ve Karsten Bechle, “Bölgeleri içermeyen bölgeler-aracılık: sığ çok yanlılığın bir biçimi olarak IBSA,” *Asya ve Latin America: Politik, ekonomik ve çok yanlı ilişkiler*, ed. Jörn Dosch ve Olaf Jacob, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), 157-178.

Brezilya'nın dış politika stratejileri ve dahası, Güney Amerika'daki İspanyolca konuşmayan tek ülke olarak rolü ve petrol yönünden zengin Körfez Devletlerinin rolü analiz edilmeye çalışılmaktadır. Benzer bir şekilde, Brezilya'nın dış politika stratejilerini ve daha da önemlisi, diğer Güney Amerika ülkelerinden bütünüyle ayıramayacak olan rolünü analiz etmek için de çaba gösterilmektedir. Gelişen Arap Orta Doğu bölgesi ve Güney Amerika'nın uluslararası sistemdeki tutarsızlıklarıyla karşı karşıya olan ASPA Zirvesi, hâkim hegemonyanın küresel bağlamda işbirliği içine sokulması ve “yumuşak dengeleme” yapılması yönündeki güçlü bir gayreti ifade etmektedir.

Bu araştırmayı etkileyen şeyler arasında, tez tarafından uluslararası koşullarda yansıtılan küresel düzeyde etkili meseleler olarak alınan güncel sosyal, politik ve ekonomik konular vardır. Burada bunlar, ASPA üyelerinin işbirliği içinde aralarındaki bağları işlevsel bir şekilde geliştirdikleri uzlaşım noktalarıdır. Bu meseleler şunlardır,

1. Çevresel sürdürülebilirlik,
2. 2007/2008 küresel mali krizi,
3. “Terörle Küresel Savaş'ı” tetikleyen 11 Eylül 2011 saldırısı,
4. Arap Ayaklanmaları ve
5. Birleşmiş Milletlere (BM) yönelik reform çağrıları.

Bunlar, işbirliğinin dayanakları ve üç Zirve Bildirisi'ndeki geleceğe yönelik işbirliğinin teminatı olarak ele alınmaktadır. Buna rağmen, Zirve'deki tedbirler çoğunlukla retorik düzeyde kalmış, ASPA üyelerinin ulusal çıkarlarıyla sınırlanmış ve bazıları da iç ve dış devletlerin ve devlet dışı aktörlerin sınırlamalarına maruz kalmıştır. Dolayısıyla normatif küresel gündemi tutarlı bir şekilde etkileme çabaları çok yavaş bir şekilde gerçekleşmektedir.

KURAMSAL YAKLAŞIM

Bu araştırma, bölgesel örgütler ve iki ya da daha fazla bölgedeki devlet grupları arasındaki farklı biçimlerdeki kurumsallaşmış ilişkileri kapsayan

geniş ve işlevsel bir işlem olan bölgeler-arasıcılığın kuramsal yaklaşımından yararlanmaktadır. Genellikle Kuzey Amerika, Batı Avrupa ve Japonya'dan oluşan Çalışmalar genellikle Üçlü bölge olarak adlandırılan, Kuzey Amerika, Doğu Avrupa ve Japonya arasında ilişkilere yönelik olduğundan, ASPA üyelerinin karakterize edildiği Üçlü bölge dışı ilişkilere dair çalışmalara dair literatür eksiktir. Yine de bölgeler-arasıcılık geliştirmekte olan bir kuramdır ve dolayısıyla, 2005 yılındaki ilk zirveden bu yana benzer bir şekilde daha resmi bir yapıya doğru gelişen ASPA Zirvesi'ni ele almak için uygun bir kuramdır. ASPA Zirvesi içindeki bölgelerarası ilişkilerin biçimi kolay bir şekilde ayırt edilemediğinden bu ilişkiler araştırma tarafından “dağımk” şeklinde etiketlenmektedir. Tartışmaya açık olan bu tanımlama, ASPA üyelerinin asimetrilerine, ASPA'nın sınırlamalarına ve bölgesel ve dış etkilerin eksikliğine atfedilmektedir. İki bölgesel teşkilatın, Güney Amerika Ulusları Topluluğu (UNASUR) ve Arap Ülkeleri Birliği'nin (LAS) varlığına rağmen, Zirve bildirimlerinden çıkan hâkim bir politik, ideolojik pratik yoktur. Bir diğer önemli faktör de, ekonomik ve ticari anlaşmaların öne çıkması ve ülkeden ülkeye farklılık göstermesidir. Bazı ASPA üyelerinin diğerlerine kıyasla daha gelişmiş pazarlara ve daha fazla ekonomik ve doğal kaynağa sahip olduğu belirtilmektedir. Brezilya, Arjantin gibi ülkeler ve Körfez Devletleri yalnızca daha hızlı bir şekilde gelişmekle kalmamakta, aynı zamanda uluslararası sistemde “kurallara-uyan”dan ziyade “kural-koyan” durumuna geçmektedir.

Bu tez açısından çok önemli olan bir husus da tanımlardan ve geçici sınırlamalardan bağımsız olarak bölgeler-arasıcılığın ve bölgelerarası ilişkilerin belirli unsurları gerektirmesidir. Biçimden işleve geçiş yapan araştırma, bölgelerarası grupların ana yapısı olarak görülen dengeleme, kurum geliştirme, rasyonelleştirme, gündem belirleme ve kimlik oluşturma olarak tanımlanmış bölgeler-arasıcılık işlevlerini tespit etmektedir. Bunlar, standart tipolojilere ve bölgelerarası gruplaşma kategorizasyonuna uymayan ASPA Zirvesi'nin içine kolay bir şekilde eklenememektedir. Dahası, bölgeler-arasıcılığın işlevleri ampirik olarak

düşünülmemiştir ve kuramsal mantıklar üzerinden belirlenirler. Tezin, bu işlevlerin neden ASPA açısından tam olarak uygulanabilir olmadığını ve bu sonuca hangi faktörlerin katkıda bulunduğunu sağlam bir mantık yürütme ile göstermesi umulmaktadır. Tek tek üyelerinde belirli bir düzeyde nüfuzlarıyla uluslararası sistemi yönlendirmeye çalışmasına rağmen, Zirve'nin kendisinin zayıf aktörlük kapasitesine vurgu yapılmaktadır.

Bölgelerin, küresel aktör sıfatını üstlenme konusundaki öngörülen rollerine ilişkin olarak, Hettne, Söderbaum ve Stalgren tarafından sunulan açıklamalar oldukça önemlidir. Bu yazarlar da şunu belirtir; “iki bölgenin işe yarayan bir bölgelerarası ilişki oluşturması için, iki bölgenin de belirli bir düzeyde aktörlük geliştirmesi, yani iç tutarlılık, dış politikada mevcudiyet ve örgütlü aktörlük geliştirmesi gerekmektedir.” Yazarların bu analizinin AB'ye özel olmadığını, daha ziyade “herhangi bir bölgenin objeden özneye, dış ilişkilerde belirli bir aktörlük kapasitesiyle dönüşümünü çalışırken kullanılacak analitik bir sistem olarak işlev gördüğü” akıldan çıkarılmamalıdır.

SONUÇ

ASPA'nın oluşumu ve Zirve üyelerinin etkileşimi, resmi bir kurum üzerinden katılım gösterme isteğine işaret eder. Ayrıca çok kutuplu dönem, öncü dünya güçlerinin Küresel Güney'den gelen fikirleri dikkate almayarak, önemli küresel kararlar üzerinde tekel oluşturamayacağını açık bir şekilde göstermiştir. Bu arada bölgeler, devletlerden ve devlet dışı aktörlerden gelen iç ve dış sorunlarla karşı karşıyadır. Tez, ASPA Zirvesi içindeki bölgelerarası ilişkilerin dağınık bir formda var olduğunu, fakat bölgeler-arasıcılık kuramının, Zirve çerçevesi açısından tamamlayıcı olmakla birlikte, tespit edilen tüm işlevlerin uygulanabilirliği açısından çeşitli sınırlamalar ortaya koyduğu sonucuna varmaktadır. İleride gerçekleştirilecek araştırmalar için öneriler de sunulmaktadır.

İlk bölüm, bölgeler-arasıcılığın kuramsal analizi üzerinde durmuş, bunu bölgeselciliğin zamansal çerçevesiyle ilişkilendirmiştir. Burada tez bölgeler-arasıcılık literatürü ele almaktadır. Üçlü olmayan diğer bölgelerarası ilişkilere ilişkin vakalardan bahsedilmekte, MERCOSUR VE FEALAC örnekleri, ASPA Zirvesi'nin neden Güney'deki bölgelerarası diyalog forumlarındaki özgünlüğün bir parçası olduğunu göstermek üzere kullanılmaktadır.

Bölgelerarası diyalog forumlarının gerçekleştirilmesi beklenen beş potansiyel işlev ana hatlarıyla belirtilmektedir. Bunun ardından tez, ASPA'nın bölgelerarası ilişkiler açısından güçlü bir zemin oluşturup oluşturmadığı, işin içinde yer alan aktörlerin kimler olduğu ve ne türden bir bölgelerarası ilişkinin ortaya çıkmakta olduğu şeklindeki ilk araştırma sorusunu yanıtlamak üzere argümanları ana hatlarıyla belirtmektedir. Dolayısıyla ASPA Zirvesi ve yapısı, yalnızca ampirik bir vaka olarak değil, aynı zamanda Zirve'nin mimarı olan eski Brezilya Başkanı Lula Da Silva'nın dış politika projesi olarak değerlendirilir. ASPA'da Üçlü gruba dâhil olmayan üyeler yer aldığından, üyelerin asimetrisi ve marjinalleşmiş bölge teşkilatları – UNASUR ve LAS – göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, ASPA'nın zayıf bir aktörlük kapasitesi olduğunu iddia edebiliriz. Bu iki teşkilatı, uluslararası sistemdeki öncü hegemon güçler engellemekte ve bu teşkilatlar küresel çok taraflı kurumlardaki önemli karar verme süreçlerinin dışında tutulmaktadır.

İkinci bölümde, bölgelerin tarihsel ve sosyal yakınlıkları incelenmekte, Arap Orta Doğu ile Güney Amerika'nın 19. Yüzyılın başındaki uzlaşmasına dikkat çekilmektedir. Bölgeler arasındaki kültürel dinamikler, Arap Diasporası'nın Güney Amerika'daki güçlü varlığı ile desteklenmektedir. ASPA Zirvesi'nin hükümetlerarası düzenlemesine bağlı olarak tez tarafından devlet dışı aktörler olarak nitelendirilen bu grup, zamanla önemli bir güç olarak gelişmiştir. Güney Amerika'nın Arap Diasporaları, belirli durumlarda rakamlar abartılsa da milyonlara ulaşıyor gibi görünmektedir ve varlıkları göz ardı edilemeyecek bir durumdadır. Politik meselelerde, özellikle İsrail-Arap çatışmasında aktif

bir katılımcı olarak Diaspora, kendi çıkarları doğrultusunda (Filistin Devleti'nin çıkarlarına uygun bir doğrultuda) hareket etmek üzere kendi ülkelerindeki hükümet üzerinde güçlü bir etkiye sahiptir. İkinci araştırma sorusuna yanıt olarak, bu tarihsel-sosyal bağlar, ASPA'nın bölgelerarası ilişkilerine ve fikir birliğinin teşvik edilmesine izin veren değer tabanlı etkileşimler olarak görülmektedir. Bununla birlikte, ortak kimlik oluşturmak amacıyla, ilgili Güney Amerika ülkelerindeki Arap Diasporası, sosyo-politik görünümü ASPA'ya çok benzer bir şekilde o kadar çeşitlilik sahibidir ki bölgeleri, ortak bir "ASPA kimliği"nin oluşturulabileceğine ikna etmek oldukça çaba gerektirecektir. Bu da bölgelerarası ilişkileri tamamlayacak ve dış politikada aktörlüğü teşvik edecektir.

Küresel politikalar ve onları çerçeveleyen uluslararası sistem bizi tezin üçüncü bölümüne ve Güney-Güney ilişkilerinin nasıl harekete geçirildiğine götürmektedir. Son on yıl boyunca, ASPA üyesi ülkeleri de etkileyen birçok küresel olay gerçekleşti. ASPA üyeleri, belki de dış politika stratejilerinden, politik duruşlarından, ekonomik politikalarından veya hükümetin Batı yönetim biçimleriyle "aynı çizgiye gelememelerinden" dolayı bunlardan önemli ölçüde etkilendiler. Bölge sınırlarının ötesine uzanan sürekliliklerle Arap Orta Doğusu ülkelerinin sosyal ve politik dokusunu bozan küresel önemde meseleler tezin yakından incelediği konulardır. Alt-başlığı, ASPA üyeleri arasındaki daha yakın bölgelerarası etkileşimleri etkileyen faktörler oluşturmaktadır. Bunlar, Terörle Küresel Savaş'a yol açan 11 Eylül 2001 saldırıları ve ABD'nin bölgedeki askeri gücü pekiştirdiği 2011 Arap ayaklanmalarıdır. Bir diğer konu uluslararası örgütlerde reformdur. ASPA üyelerinin BM'ye ve benzer diğer örgütlere yönelik reform çağrıları, Zirve bildirimlerinde ifade edilmektedir. Eşit derecede önemli olan bir diğer konu da iklim değişikliğinin etkileri ve gelişmekte olan ülkelerin bu konuda en zayıf konumda olmalarıdır. ASPA Zirvesi'nin bu önemli meseledeki konumu, henüz gerçek zamanlı bir çözüm sunma aşamasında değil, daha ziyade söylem düzeyindedir. Arap Orta

Doğusundaki yüksek politik riskler 9/11 ile sona ermedi ama Arap ayaklanmasından sonra edinilen kazanımların belirsizliği, Irak ve Libya'daki istikrarsızlıkta ve Suriye'deki savaşta ve mülteci krizinde bariz olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bu parçalanmaların arasındaysa, IŞİD gibi uluslararası terör şebekeleri daha fazla ivme kazanmış ve bazı ülkelerde, ASPA'nın güçlenmesi önünde ciddi bir engel teşkil eden bir şiddet baş göstermiştir. Bildirgelerde geçen bazı noktalar, bu duruma yönelik farkındalığı gösterse de ASPA Zirvesi'nin üyelerinin arasında ciddi asimetriler olduğu ve pratiğe dönük eyleme geçme becerilerinin çokça olmadığı tezde gösterilmektedir.

Dördüncü ve son bölüm, bölgeler arasındaki ekonomik bağlantıları ön planda tutmaktadır. Ekonomi, siyasi durumun ötesindeki önemli bir görüşme ve ilgi noktası gibi görünmektedir. Gerçekleştirilen üç zirvenin ardından, ekonomik partnerliğin, ticaret ve alım satımın en büyük avantajı ASPA üyeleri için sağladığı bugüne kadar açık bir şekilde görülmüştür. Küresel mali iflasın ardından gelişmekte olan ülkeler alternatif pazar arayışında olmuşlar ve yalnızca dış politikalarını değil ekonomilerini de çeşitlendirmişlerdir. Tabii ki tüm fırsatlar tükenmiş değildir, hala ASPA üyelerinin faydalanması gereken çok sayıda kullanılmayan alan ve az kullanılan kaynak vardır. Örneğin bölgeler, Arap Orta Doğu bölgelerinden gelen genç nüfus için gıda güvenliği ve beceri geliştirme eğitimi alanında bilgi paylaşımı karşılığında daha fazla teknik bilgi sunabilir.

İkinci, üçüncü ve dördüncü bölümlerin analizinden ortaya çıkan, ASPA tarafından gerçekleştirilmesi en olası işlevin “yumuşak dengeleme” işlevi olduğudur fakat bu diğer işlevleri gerçekleştirmenin mümkün olmadığı anlamına gelmemektedir. Yumuşak dengeleme, önde gelen hâkim güçlerin çok taraflı organizasyonlar içinde sürekli olarak yasa koyan durumunda olmasını engellemenin bir yoludur ve ASPA Zirvesi buna karşılık olarak uluslararası ve küresel yapılara entegre olma konusunda daha fazla fırsat edinebilir. Fakat bilhassa kendi çıkarlarını korumada etkin olan hâkim güçlerin küresel çok taraflı kurumlarda çok

etkili olmaları dolayısıyla, zayıf bir aktörün güçlü bir varlığı olamaz. Ayrıca, ASPA'nın çok taraflı düzeydeki sınırlı rolüne işaret eden dış müdahaleler vardır.

Tez, Üçlü ilişkilerin dışında kalan diğer ülkelerden verdiği örneklerle, bölgelerarası ilişki biçimleri arasında açık bir ayırım yapmaktadır; araştırma sonuçlarına göre ASPA bir bölgeler-arasıcılık mekanizmasıdır fakat dağınık bir türdedir. ASPA üyeleri arasında, grup düzeyinde kolektif etkileşimlerden ziyade, ikili ekonomik ilişkilerin hâkim olduğu tespit edilmiştir. Dolayısıyla bölgelerarası resmi ekonomik anlaşmalar yoktur. Bu durum Zirve için büyük bir dezavantajdır çünkü bu durum, ASPA'nın küresel çok taraflı ekonomik kurumlardaki duruşunu geliştirecektir. Bu da ASPA'nın bölgelerarası süreçteki kilit bir aktör olarak zayıflığını ortaya çıkarmaktadır. Fakat aynı zamanda ticaretin, yatırımların ve ekonominin yüksek önceliklere sahip olduğu küresel bir sermaye yoğunluklu çevre olan uluslararası sistemin gerçekliğini yansıtmaktadır. Politik yönden bir ASPA “modeli” yoktur ve Zirve üyeleri arasında ideoloji ihracatı gerçekleşmemektedir. ASPA Zirvesi bir Yeni Dünya Düzeni çağrısında bulunmamakla birlikte, küresel kapitalizmin çöküşüne işaret etmiştir fakat bölgeler politik açıdan çeşitlilik gösterdiğinden, ASPA'nın herhangi bir siyasi gündemi yaymaya çalışması pek beklenemez.

Çeşitli sınırlamalar sunsa da bölgeler-arasıcılık kuramının görece yeni olduğunu ve bu özelliğin ASPA Zirvesi açısından tamamlayıcı olduğunu yinelemek uygun düşecektir. Yine de bölgeler-arasıcılık kuramı, Üçlü bölge dışındaki ilişkileri hesaba katmada başarısız olmuştur ve dolayısıyla daha yenilikçi olmak durumundadır. Ayrıca ASPA'nın yalnızca kurumsal çerçeveyi geliştirmekle kalmayan, aynı zamanda Zirve'nin küresel düzeydeki rolünü güçlendiren yeterli tedbirleri zaman içerisinde formüle etmesi için bir fırsat vardır. Daha fazla görünürlüğe ve kapsayıcılığa ihtiyaç duyulmaktadır ve örneğin ASPA'nın, Brezilya'nın üç taraflı bir ilişki yürüttüğü Türkiye ve İran gibi Arapça konuşmayan ülkeleri de bünyesinde toplamanın yollarını bulması gerekmektedir.

Ayrıca Güney Amerika'yla tarihsel ve ekonomik yönden daha yakın ilişkiler kurmakta olan Karayip Bölgesi ve bilhassa 2015 yılında ABD'yle tekrar diplomatik ilişkiler kuran Küba adası da kurumun değerlendirmesi gereken bölgelerdir.

ASPA, bölgelerarası ilişkileri artırmak, ekonomik çıkarlarını korumak ve en önemlisi de küresel olarak tanınmak amacıyla birçok gelişmekte olan ülkenin sahip olduğu çok sayıda dış politika stratejisinden biridir.

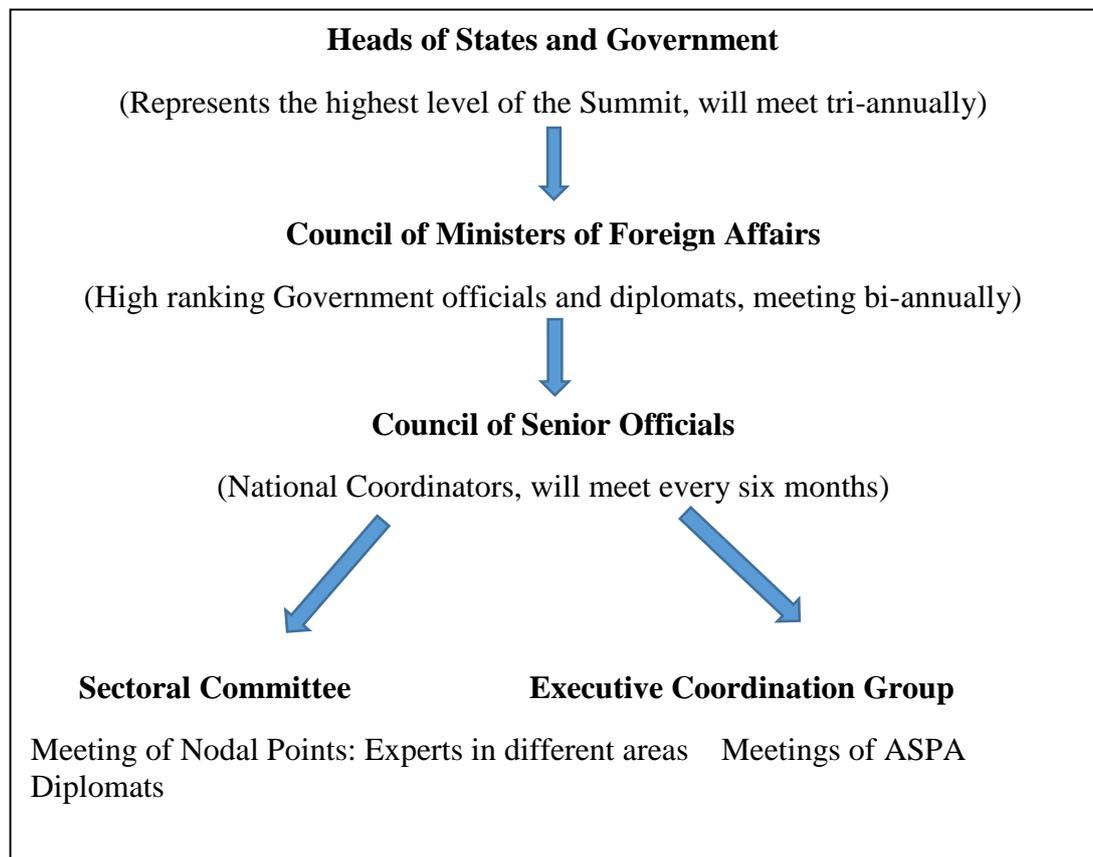
Dolayısıyla ASPA, Güney'de çoğalan bölgelerarası diyalog forumlarının arasında iyi bir yere sahiptir fakat Zirve üyelerinin değişen bir dünyadaki rolünü sağlamlaştırmak için söylemden daha fazlasına ihtiyaç duyulmaktadır. ASPA üyelerinin kendi aralarında sosyal ve ekonomik büyümeyi teşvik edecek bağlantıları artırabilmeleri için uzun vadeli çözümlerin oluşturulması gerekmektedir.

Appendix B: Structure of the ASPA Summit

The illustration below is a telling sign that an institutionalised ASPA is far from achieved at the very best this structure represents the lowest level and a slow process.

- 1st ASPA Summit 2005: Brasilia Declarations outlined the pillars of the Summit
 - 2nd ASPA Summit 2009: Doha Declaration (reaffirmed the pillars of Brasilia document, introduced a political pillar, established tri-yearly meetings and outlined the foundation for formalised process)
 - 3rd ASPA Summit 2012: Lima Declaration (Post- Arab revolts, reaffirmed the pillars of Doha and Brasilia declarations and approved the Summit structure)

Diagram1. Low-level institutionalised ASPA Summit:²⁵⁵



²⁵⁵. See, Summit of South American-Arab Countries,

Both Sectoral Committees and Executive Coordination Group are jointly formed and governed by the General Secretariat of LAS and Presidency of UNASUR, the two meet bi-annually.

Table 1: Represents the ASPA Summit and the Members

Year of inception	Interregional Summit	Member States link and support	Component regional organisations
2005	Summit of South American-Arab Countries (34).	12 Latin (South) American States 22 Arab States members	UNASUR League of Arab States

This table is prepared by the author in a modified form taken from Heiner Hanggi “Biregional and transregional arrangements.”²⁵⁶

The ASPA Summit could perhaps fit into transregional arrangements or diffuse type interregional relations. Here the regions meet and negotiate not as region to region or representing an entire region (i.e. the Middle East and Latin America and Caribbean) but arrangements are done on a country by country basis. Each member countries work out their own negotiations and agreements seeking ties that are beneficial and favourable to their individual interests.

²⁵⁶. See, Heiner Hanggi, “Interregionalism: empirical and theoretical Perspectives,” (paper prepared for the workshop, “Dollars, Democracy and Trade: External Influence on Economic Integration in the Americas” Los Angeles, CA, May 18, 2000):7, <http://www.cap.lmu.de/transatlantic/download/Haenggi.PDF>.

Table 2 Forms of Interregionalism

Forms of Interregionalism	Europe	Latin America
Relations between regional groupings	EU- Association of South East Asia	EU-MERCUSOR
Biregional and transregional arrangements	EU- Latin American Summit	East Asia- Latin America Cooperation ASPA Summit
Hybrids such as relations between regional groupings and a single power	EU-Russia EU-China	EU- Mexico EU- Chile

Table 3 Diplomatic Missions of the Arab Middle East Countries / LAS Members in South American / UNASUR Member Countries. These Countries are also ASPA members

Arab Middle East / LAS members	Diplomatic missions in South American / UNASUR members	Official Government websites of countries Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Algeria		www.mae.gov.dz/default_en.aspx . Webpage listed no countries from South America
Bahrain	None	http://www.mofa.gov.bh/
Comoros	None	NA
Djibouti	None	NA
Egypt	Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela	www.mfa.gov.eg
Iraq	Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Venezuela	http://www.mofa.gov.iq/en/
Jordan	Brazil, Chile	http://www.mfa.gov.jo/
Kuwait	Argentina, Brazil Venezuela	http://www.mofa.gov.kw/
Lebanon	Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil:(Brasilia, Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo, Curitiba and Porto	http://www.emigrants.gov.lb/embassiesabroad.aspx

	Alegre), Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Suriname, Uruguay, Venezuela	
Libya	*	
Mauritania	Brazil	http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/
Morocco	Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Peru	https://www.diplomatie.ma/LeMinist%C3%A8re.aspx
Oman	None	
Palestine	Argentina, Brazil: (Special Delegation), Chile (Embassy of Representation), Colombia: (Palestine Special Mission), Peru. Note: A number of South American countries have recognised Palestine within the 1967 UN border	http://embassy.goabroad.com/embassies-of/palestine
Qatar	Brazil, Venezuela	http://www.mofa.gov.qa/
Saudi Arabia	Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela	www.mofa.gov.sa.
Somalia	None	NA

Sudan	Brazil, Venezuela	http://www.sudanmfa.com/
Syria	Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Venezuela	http://www.mofa.gov.sy/
Tunisia	Argentina, Brazil	http://www.diplomatie.gov.tn/
United Arab Emirates	Argentina, Brazil, Chile (each represented as Overseas Mission)	http://www.mofa.gov.ae/EN/
Yemen	None	NA

(* No information found.

Table 4 Diplomatic Missions of South American /UNASUR Member Countries in Arab Middle East Countries / LAS Members. These Countries are also ASPA Members.

South American / UNASUR members	Arab Middle East / LAS members	Official Government websites of countries Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Argentina	Algeria, Bahrain, Comoros, Djibouti, Egypt, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Palestine, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Yemen	https://www.mrecic.gov.ar/representaciones
Bolivia	Egypt	http://www.mfa.gov.eg/
Brazil	Algeria, Egypt, Lebanon, Libya, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Qatar, Morocco, Oman, Palestine, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates	http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/index.php?lang=en
Chile	Algeria, Egypt, Lebanon, Libya, Kuwait, Morocco, Palestine, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates	http://chileabroad.gov.cl/embaejas/
Colombia	Egypt, Lebanon	http://www.cancilleria.gov.co/
Ecuador	Egypt, Lebanon, Morocco, Oman Syria (Honorary Consuls)	http://www.mmrree.gob.ec/representacion

Guyana	Jordan Kuwait, Lebanon (Honorary Consuls)	http://www.minfor.gov.gy/
Paraguay	Egypt, Kuwait, Lebanon, Morocco, Oman, Palestine, Qatar, United Arab Emirates,	http://www.mre.gov.py/v2
Peru	Algeria, Egypt Morocco	http://www.rree.gob.pe/
Suriname	None	NA
Uruguay	Egypt, Lebanon, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria	http://www.mrree.gub.uy/frontend
Venezuela	Algeria, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Qatar, Syria, Saudi Arabia	http://www.mppre.gob.ve/

**Appendix C: The Summit of South American and Arab Countries
Final Declaration Lima October 2, 2012**

Lima Declaration

The Heads of State and Government of the South American and Arab Countries, gathered for the III ASPA Summit on October 2nd, 2012, in Lima, Peru, took note with satisfaction of the activities and achievements that have taken place since the II ASPA Summit in Doha, Qatar, and reaffirmed their commitment about the need to further develop bi-regional relations and consolidate ASPA. For this purpose, and in order to develop the future activities of ASPA, they agreed to:

1. GENERAL GUIDELINES:

1.1 Enhance the political dialogue and multidimensional cooperation in the context of ASPA and reaffirm the importance of bi-regional coordination in international fora and their conviction in South-South and triangular cooperation as a means of effectively promoting development and poverty reduction, through capacity building, innovation, and technical and cultural exchange.

1.2. Expand the current political dialogue, which is aimed at coordinating and reaffirming common positions in all relevant fora, with a view to safeguarding the interests of both regions and respect for the principles of International Law, the role of the United Nations in conflict resolution, the maintenance and consolidation of international peace and security, and the promotion of sustainable development, for the benefit of all mankind. Reiterate their commitment to the promotion and respect for human rights, fundamental freedoms and international humanitarian law bearing in mind the significance of national and regional particularities and various historical, cultural and religious backgrounds.

1.3 Reaffirm the principle of inviolability of diplomatic and consular premises and the obligation of the receiving States to comply with the

Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of 1961 and the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations of 1963

1.4 Applaud the broadening of diplomatic relations between Arab and South American countries, in accordance with the objectives and principles set by ASPA, and call upon ASPA countries to further enhance this process.

1.5 Reaffirm the importance of ASPA as a mechanism for bi-regional cooperation and inter-cultural dialogue. Recall, in this sense, the relevant actions developed to enhance mutual knowledge of both regions“ cultures, in full accordance with UN principles and objectives laid out in the III and IV sessions of the Forum of the Alliance of Civilizations held in Rio de Janeiro, May 2010 and in Doha, December 2011 respectively, and other related fora.

1.6 Call for the establishment of nuclear weapons-free zones everywhere, especially in the areas located near nuclear arsenals, without prejudice to peaceful uses of nuclear energy. In the same way, promote a combination of measures such as transparency, confidence building, arms control, and to renew their engagement to reject the threat to use force or resorting to it in their international relations. Express their satisfaction for the commemoration of the 45th anniversary of the treaty of Tlatelolco, which created a nuclear weapon free zone in Latin America and the Caribbean, the first in a highly populated territory in the world.

1.7 Set, in accordance to the high priority assigned to their respective domestic policies in the fields of health, education, reduction of poverty and unemployment, specific goals for the bi-regional cooperation in those areas, in furtherance of the Millennium Development Goals; and to establish mechanisms and projects that will effectively contribute to the achievement of those objectives.

1.8 Reaffirm that energy should become one of the axes of the bi-regional relationship in the coming years, especially around the subjects of energy production and consumption efficiency improvement, the development of renewable energies as well as other strategies in addressing climate change bearing in mind the importance of energy for the sustainable development of ASPA members.

1.9 Strengthen scientific coordination and cooperation, particularly in the fields of information society, adaptation and mitigation of the effects of climate change, combating desertification and management of water resources.

1.10 Recognize that investment is one of the pillars for economic and social development as well as a key to reduce poverty and inequality. Support public and private efforts to promote investments in diverse areas at 3 national and regional levels to facilitate job creation, increase scientific knowledge and education, and promote sustainable development.

1.11 Adopt measures to facilitate and intensify technology transfer, trade and investment flows, especially in the fields of food and agro-industries, energy, infrastructure, tourism, and information technology.

1.12 Strengthen political and technical dialogue, cooperation and joint actions, where possible, by the ASPA Member States to address the world drug problem, using an integrated approach adhering to the principles of common and shared responsibility and respect for international law.

1.13 Support the ongoing global coordination efforts on food security, including the Committee on World Food Security, which will coordinate food security issues at a multilateral level. Moreover, reaffirm their commitment in relation to the conclusions agreed in the World Summit on Food Security held in Rome, in November 2009.

2. POLITICAL COORDINATION:

2.1. Reaffirm the resolutions of the 2009 "Doha Declaration" particularly related to the cause of Palestine and the Arab-Israeli conflict which reaffirmed the need to reach a just, durable and comprehensive peace in the Middle East on the basis of the principle of land for peace and relevant resolutions of the Security Council and of the General Assembly of the United Nations, in particular Security Council Resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), as well as the Madrid Framework and the "Arab Peace Initiative" adopted at the Beirut Summit (2002) and the following Arab Summits, to ensure the realization of peace and security for all countries in the region. Also highlight the necessity of the full implementation of the Quartets "Road Map" for Peace and stress the need for the Quartet to keep the Security Council and international community updated on its efforts. Reaffirm the need for the realization of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, including to self-determination and return, and for the implementation of relevant United Nations Resolutions, including Security Council Resolution 1515 (2003), and the achievement of the independence of the State of Palestine, based on the 1967 lines, with East Jerusalem as its capital living side by side with the State of Israel in peace within secure and recognized borders.

Call upon Israel, the occupying power, to immediately withdraw from all Arab territories occupied in June 1967 including the occupied Syrian Golan and what remained from the Lebanese territories and to dismantle all settlements including those in occupied East Jerusalem. Reaffirm the necessity of halting all Israeli settlement activities, which are illegal and illegitimate, and obstruct the peace process and are contradictory to relevant international resolutions and treaties and threaten the viability of the two-State solution. Reaffirm further that all unilateral measures taken by Israel in East Jerusalem are invalid. Duly take into account the advisory opinion rendered on 9 July 2004 by the International Court of Justice concerning the "Legal Consequences of the Construction of a

Wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory", and call upon all parties concerned to comply with the said advisory opinion, with regard to legal obligations.

2.2 Reaffirm the need for the immediate release of all Arab and Palestinian political prisoners and detainees in the Israeli occupation prisons, and support the Arab efforts aiming at addressing this critical issue in the United Nations General Assembly and other relevant organs of the United Nations System.

2.3 The Arab countries highly appreciate the position of those South American countries that have recognized the State of Palestine on the basis of the pre-1967 borders with East Jerusalem as its capital and call upon other countries to follow suit. Welcome the support expressed by those South American countries that were in agreement with the request by Palestine, submitted by H.E. President Mahmoud Abbas on 23 September 2011 to the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Ban Ki-moon, for the admission of Palestine as a State Member of the United Nations on the basis of the 4 June 1967 borders, with East Jerusalem as its capital,, a step which will contribute towards the realization of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and independence and to making peace a reality in the Middle East.

2.4 Regret the lack of meaningful progress in the efforts carried out by the Quartet in the recent period, and considers that the support of other actors could contribute to the resumption of negotiations as a matter of urgency. Recall that the Palestine Question is one of the main challenges on today's international peace and security agenda and, therefore, efforts to resolve it should be regularly reported to and should involve the UN Security Council.

2.5 Welcome the admission of Palestine as a State Member of the UNESCO and thank those South American countries that voted in favor of full membership of the State of Palestine. And commend the decision of the Executive Board of UNESCO at its 187th session on the adoption

of the Jordanian design for the restoration and preservation of the Mughrabi ascent which was submitted to the World Heritage Centre on 27/5/2011, confirming the importance of the vital role of UNESCO in the protection of world heritage. Call for support of its initiatives in Occupied East Jerusalem, taking into account the city's humanitarian, cultural, and spiritual status for followers of monotheistic religions, and for support of the collective Arab efforts on the establishment of a permanent office of UNESCO in Occupied East Jerusalem. Welcome the inscription of the property 'Birthplace of Jesus: Church of the Nativity, the Pilgrimage Route Bethlehem on the World Heritage List.

2.6. Call upon UNESCO to continue to uphold the legal reference that it relied upon to issue its previous resolutions regarding the inclusion of the Old City of Jerusalem and its Walls on the World Heritage List in 1981 at the request of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan with Arab and Islamic comprehensive support according to the resolution of the Executive Board of the organization in September 1981 session, and the resolution issued in 1982, which included Jerusalem on the list of the endangered World Heritage, given that the legal status of Jerusalem as an occupied territory is still standing.

2.7 Condemn the Israeli military attack against the maritime vessels carrying humanitarian aid to Gaza ("Freedom Flotilla"), which caused civilian casualties in violation of International Law provisions that protect navigation in international waters, as well as international agreements, principles and humanitarian law, and consider that such violations hinder the prospect of peaceful solution to the conflicts in the Middle East. Welcome the report issued by the independent fact finding mission of the Human Rights Council to investigate violations of International Law, including international humanitarian and Human Rights Law, resulting from the Israeli attack on the "Freedom Flotilla".

2.8. Call for the full implementation of Security Council resolutions 1850 and 1860 and reaffirm the provisions of the Security Council

Presidential Statement on 1/6/2010 regarding the critical situation in Gaza created by the Israeli blockade and deeming this situation as unjust and unsustainable. Call upon Israel, the occupying power, to lift the blockade and allow for the sustained and regular movement of persons, delivery of medical aid, food, and required building materials for reconstruction, unimpeded provision and distribution of humanitarian aid, and commercial flows.

2.9. Reaffirm that no measures, unilateral or otherwise, should be taken which will affect the authenticity and the integrity of the cultural, historical and religious heritage of the City of Jerusalem and of Christian and Muslim Sites therein, in accordance with the Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage of 1972 and the relevant provisions on the protection of cultural heritage of the Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict of 1954. In this regard, welcome and call for the implementation of the relevant resolutions on East Jerusalem and the Occupied Palestinian Territory which were adopted by the Executive Board of UNESCO at its 185th session.

2.10. Welcome the proposal issued by His Highness Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa al-Thani, the Emir of Qatar during the International Conference for the Defense of Jerusalem, which was held on 26/2/2012 to request the Security Council to adopt a resolution on the setting up of an international commission to investigate all the actions taken by Israel since the occupation in 1967 in East Jerusalem with a purpose of erasing its Islamic and Arab identity, and also welcome His Highness' call for the preparation of a comprehensive and extensive strategy for the various sectors and projects needed in Jerusalem, as well as the willingness of the State of Qatar to contribute in all possible ways to the realization and the implementation of said strategy.

2.11 Welcome the realization in Brasilia on July 10, 2012, of the seminar "Side by Side – building peace in the Middle East: the role of the

diasporas” on the role of the Jewish and Arab diasporas to further the Middle East peace. 2.12 Reaffirm their commitment to Syria’s sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity and their commitment towards a peaceful solution of the conflict in Syria. Repudiate the acts of violence perpetrated by all parties against unarmed civilians; condemn human rights violations in Syria and, in this context, recall the primary responsibility of the Syrian Government. Stress the need to end all violence and reject foreign intervention and the need to fulfil the demands of the Syrian people for freedom, democracy and political reform.

Praise the efforts of LAS to resolve the Syrian crisis and urge the implementation of the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council’s resolutions related to the Syrian crisis. They welcomed the final communiqué issued by the Action Group for Syria after its meeting in Geneva on 30/6/2012, which demands an immediate end to violence in all its forms and lays principles and guidelines for a political transition led by Syrians. They urged the Syrian government to fulfil the commitments it has already made, including an immediate and full implementation of the six-point peace plan in a timely manner. Welcome the appointment of Ambassador Lakhdar Brahimi as UN-LAS Joint Special representative and support his endeavours, and commended Kofi Annan for his efforts.

Furthermore, emphasize the importance for the international community to continue their efforts in delivering urgent humanitarian aid such as food and medical supplies, and all other necessary assistance to the affected members of the Syrian population especially within Syria, and also in neighbouring countries and other countries hosting Syrian refugees.*²⁵⁷

2.13 Commit to the sovereignty, independence, national unity and territorial integrity of Lebanon and call upon Israel to immediately

²⁵⁷. * **Reservation from Venezuela.**

implement resolution 1701 (2006) in its entirety and unconditionally and to withdraw from all Lebanese territory and to put an end to its continued violations of the said resolution, and other acts against Lebanon contrary to international law, and demand that it compensates Lebanon for the damage inflicted as a result of its aggression on it. Support Lebanon's request based on this resolution, to move from the cessation of hostilities to a permanent cease-fire, in conformity with the truce agreement of 1949, and as provided for in the Taef agreement (1989). Call on both parties to cooperate fully with UNIFIL. Reaffirm Lebanon's right to defend itself in the face of any aggression, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and to exercise its right to its natural resources through all legitimate means in accordance with international law.

Welcome the resumption of national dialogue sessions under the auspices of His Excellency the President of the Republic of Lebanon General Michel Sleiman and the adoption of the Baabda declaration on June 11, 2012 reaffirming the pillars of stability and the maintenance of civil peace and to prevent resorting to violence and sliding of the country into sedition. Support the efforts of the Lebanese government to save Lebanon from all threats to its security, and express understanding of the policy adopted by the government vis a vis the developments in the Arab region.

2.14 Call upon the Islamic Republic of Iran for a positive response to the United Arab Emirates initiative to reach a peaceful settlement in the issue involving the three UAE islands (Tunb Al-Kubra, Tunb Alsughra and Abou Moussa) through dialogue and direct negotiations, in accordance with the United Nations Charter and international law.^{*258}

2.15 Welcome the initiative led by the League of Arab States, the African Union and the United Nations to resolve the Darfur Crisis and express support for the efforts of the Arab and African Ministerial

²⁵⁸. *Reservation from Bolivia, Ecuador, Uruguay and Venezuela.

Committee chaired by State of Qatar and call upon the Sudanese factions who have not signed the Doha Document for Peace in Darfur to initiate negotiations with a view to building peace in the region. Welcome with appreciation the initiative of His Highness Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al-Thani Emir of the State of Qatar to establish Darfur Development Bank, which commits the amount of two billion dollars with the purpose of reconstruction and stress the priority of Peace building through negotiations. Applaud the formal inauguration of the Darfur Regional Authority, an important step towards the full implementation of the Doha Document for Peace in Darfur. 2.16 Welcome the signing of the agreements between the governments of Sudan and South Sudan on 27/9/2012 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, express their expectation that it will contribute to achieving security and stability between the two neighbouring countries and in the entire region, as well as increasing the opportunities of economic and commercial cooperation between the two countries.

2.17 Deeply regret the imposition of unilateral sanctions, which are inconsistent with applicable international law and that jeopardize the achievement of sustainable development, peace and regional stability, and may impact negatively on people's lives. In this regard, express deep concern at the unilateral sanctions imposed on Sudan which have negative impact on achieving peace in Sudan and call for their immediate lifting.

2.18 Congratulate Yemen for the Nobel Prize in Peace 2011 awarded to Mrs. Tawakkol Kerman.

2.19 Reaffirm the need to preserve the unity of Yemen and respect its sovereignty and independence. Also reaffirm the importance of international support to Yemen so that it can achieve security and stability throughout the nation, consolidate the democratic process, nurture freedom and achieve social justice.

Express their support for the efforts undertaken by President Abed Rabbo Mansour Hadi, the President of the Republic of Yemen throughout the transitional period, pursuant to the terms set forth in the Gulf Initiative. Emphasize the importance of a commitment to the implementation of the remaining items and the provision of appropriate mechanisms to ensure the political transition plan, including national dialogue, constitutional reform and preparations for the upcoming elections in 2014.

Reaffirm the need to provide necessary backing to the Yemeni government, supporting it to complete the transitional phase and the reconstruction process. Provide necessary technical expertise to train the Yemeni skills in various fields. Appreciate the positive results of Donor Countries Conference on Yemen, held in Riyadh and New York.

2.20 Welcome the election of His Excellency Mr. Hassan Sheikh Mohamed President of the Republic of Somalia, thus concluding the transitional period with the election of the President and the Parliament and reaffirm the unity sovereignty territorial integrity and stability of Somalia; support the Somali National reconciliation process held in Djibouti under the auspices of the United Nations, the League of Arab States and African Union. Condemn all attempts hindering the national reconciliation process and urge all parties to renounce violence and to contribute to domestic security, stability and respect for human rights. Call upon the international community to support the Somali government's effort to achieve national reconciliation without excluding any party. Express support for the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM).

2.21 Call on the Argentine Republic and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to resume negotiations in order to find, as soon as possible, a peaceful and definitive solution to the sovereignty dispute referred to as "Question of the Malvinas Islands", in accordance with the relevant UN Resolutions. Reiterate that the pretense to consider

the Malvinas, South Georgias and South Sandwich Islands as countries and territories to which the Fourth Part of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, and the European Union Decisions on Overseas Association may be applied is not in accordance with the fact that a sovereignty dispute over such islands exists. Further state that the unilateral nonrenewable natural resources exploration activities carried out currently in the Argentine continental shelf around the Malvinas Islands are incompatible with the provisions of Res 31/49 of the UNGA. Call on the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to refrain from carrying out military exercises on territories subject to a sovereignty dispute recognized by the United Nations.

2.22. Strongly condemn the intent of coup d'état in Ecuador in September 30, 2010 and reaffirm their commitment with the preservation of democratic institutionalism, the rule of law, constitutional order, social peace and unrestricted respect for human rights, which are essential conditions of the economic and social development of all States.

2.23 Welcome with satisfaction the creation of the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (Comunidad de Estados Latino Americanos y Caribeños, CELAC), a regional forum encompassing all Latin American and Caribbean States and aimed at channelling the hopes of unity of Latin American and Caribbean peoples, at the Summit in Caracas on December 2nd, 2011, In this sense, also express their support to the Republic of Chile in its capacity as first President pro tempore of the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States, and hope that the first summit, to be held in Santiago in January 2013, will be successful.

2.24 Welcome the entering into force of the UNASUR Constitutive Treaty on 11 March 2011, which brings together all nations of South America around the objectives of building integration and union among its peoples in the cultural, social, economic and political fields,

prioritizing political dialogue, social policies, education, energy, infrastructure, finance and the environment, among other.

2.25 Call upon the Nuclear Weapons States to fulfil their obligations concerning nuclear disarmament, as laid out in article VI of the NPT, while reiterating the legitimate interest of non-nuclear weapon states in receiving unequivocal and legally binding security assurances from nuclear weapon states in this regard, and note that non-proliferation, nuclear disarmament and peaceful uses of nuclear energy are the three mutually reinforcing pillars of the NPT, and reaffirm, in this regard, the importance of cooperation between Arab States and South American States in international forums on issues related to nuclear disarmament.

2.26. Stress the importance of achieving the universality of the NPT, and call on all states not party to the treaty to accede to it as non-nuclear weapons states promptly and without any conditions, and to commit to achieving the complete elimination of all nuclear weapons.

2.27 Reiterate that regional security and stability in the Middle East require that the whole region be free of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. In this context, support the outcome of the 8th NPT review Conference (New York May 2010) which recalled the reaffirmation by the 2000 Review conference of the importance of Israel's accession to the Treaty and the placement of all its nuclear facilities under comprehensive IAEA safeguards.

2.28 Reaffirm their commitment to the full implementation of the 1995 Resolution on the Middle East, and call for the speedy implementation of the process agreed upon by the 8th NPT Review Conference (New York May 2010) and the practical steps adopted including mandating the Secretary General of the UN and the co-sponsors of the 1995 Resolution on the Middle East to convene a conference in 2012 on the establishment of the Middle East Zone Free of Nuclear Weapons and all other weapons of mass destruction.

2.29 Reaffirm that the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes is an inalienable right of the states parties to the NPT, and applying this right in a discriminatory or selective way, especially to the states parties, will affect the credibility of the treaty.

2.30 Condemn terrorism in all its forms and manifestations and reject any linkage between terrorism and a specific people or religion, ethnicity or culture. Emphasize the importance of combating terrorism through active and efficient international cooperation, within the United Nations and the concerned regional organizations, based on respect for the objectives and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and in accordance with International Law, international Humanitarian Law, International Refugee Law, norms, conventions, and other instruments on Human Rights. Also reaffirm the importance of enhanced cooperation and coordination in the exchange of information and expertise and in the development of competent organs specialized in combating terrorism. Call for holding an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations to study this phenomenon and to define the crime of terrorism. Discourage ransom paying to terrorist whether people, or groups or organizations And welcoming the signing of the agreement establishing the International Centre for Combating Terrorism under the umbrella of the United Nations in response to the proposal of the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques, King Abdullah Ibn Abdelaziz Al Saud, King of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia presented at the International Conference on Combating Terrorism - Riyadh 2005, which was signed at the United Nations Headquarters in New York on September 19, 2011 with the target to support international cooperation to combat this phenomena in order to eliminate it, and calling on the Summit to cooperate with the center.

2.31 Promote dialogue within our regions and with other regions through the combination of measures such as disarmament negotiations, where applicable, confidence building measures as a means to renew their

commitment to the peaceful settlement of disputes in their international relations.

2.32. Welcome the successful conclusion of the II Review Conference of the Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in all its Aspects (UNPOA) (New York, 27th August to 7th September 2012), with the adoption, by consensus, of a final report. In this context, reiterate the support and commitment to implement all the provisions of the Programme of Action and the International Tracing Instrument (ITI), to end the human suffering caused by the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons.

2.33 Highlight the importance of continued efforts to advance bilateral, subregional, regional and bi-regional cooperation aimed at security and the implementation of conventions, declarations and understandings that have been adopted over the years on issues of international peace, and security.

2.34 Reiterate the importance of regional and international cooperation to strengthen the prevention and fight against the world drugs problem and the fight against transnational organized crime in its various manifestations including human traffic, illicit trade in small arms, and light weapons in all its aspects, the smuggling of migrants, money laundering, kidnapping, corruption, and cybercrimes. In the sense, continue to promote the signing, ratification, accession and implementation as appropriate of the United Nation Convention against Transnational organized Crime.

2.35 Express their commitment to structure preventive policies and effective responses in the context of their national criminal justice systems to counter transnational organized crime. To this end, express their willingness to develop strategies to identify areas where bi-regional cooperation should be encouraged in the fight against transnational organized crime, with due respect for national priorities and realities.

2.36 Express their commitment to foster international cooperation to advance and strengthen measures to prevent and combat the smuggling of migrants and trafficking in persons, especially women and children, and ensure full protection and assistance to victims.

2.37 Express their commitment to the strengthening of multilateralism, the integral reform of the United Nations and democratization of international decision-making instances. Highlight the importance of deepening intergovernmental efforts to promote the necessary reform of the Security Council in order to turn it into a more legitimate, effective, democratic, representative and transparent organ. Likewise, considered it fundamental the revitalization of the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council.

2.38 Appreciate the results of the mediation by the State of Qatar aimed at ending the dispute between the Republic of Djibouti and the State of Eritrea with regard to the Ras Doumeira and Doumeira Island and 14 encourage both parties to restore the status quo ante and to resolve their border dispute peacefully and in accordance with international law.

2.39 Reaffirm, based on the common objective of combating hunger and malnutrition, the importance of regional and inter-regional cooperation for implementing public policies to ensure food and nutritional security in a sustainable manner. Such policies should encompass strategies to favor access of vulnerable populations to food, while promoting the agriculture production of small family farms.

2.40 Support the reform of the World Food Security Committee, in order to transform it into the main multilateral space for food and nutritional security governance. The reformed Committee represents a transparent, democratic, consensus-based and inclusive forum, in which governments, UN agencies, civil society organizations and the private sector can debate and build consensus in a horizontal manner.

2.41 Recognize that Climate Change is an issue that requires urgent attention from an approach based on common but differentiated responsibilities, bearing in mind historical responsibilities of developed countries. Call upon developed countries to meet the challenges posed by Climate Change, to provide new, additional predictable and adequate technological and financial resources to enable developing countries to mitigate and adapt to the adverse effects of climate change to support strongly the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and its Kyoto Protocol, and to commit themselves to stronger emission reduction targets to advance the negotiations on the second commitment period of the Kyoto Protocol.

2.42 Reaffirm their rejection of foreign occupation and recognize the right of states and peoples to resist it, in accordance with the principles of international law.

2.43 Express their strong commitment to the resolution of conflicts through peaceful means, and stress the importance of efforts of preventive diplomacy and mediation. Share the view that the international community must be rigorous in its efforts to value, pursue and exhaust all peaceful and diplomatic means available in the protection of civilians under threat of violence, in line with the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations. Call for enhanced Security Council procedures in order to monitor and assess the manner in which resolutions are interpreted and implemented, with the ultimate goal to ensure responsibility while protecting. In this vein, fully support the concept of Responsibility while Protecting (RwP) and stress the need for its discussion at the United Nations and in the League of Arab States and UNASUR member countries.

2.44 welcome the suggestion by Morocco that parliaments of ASPA be encouraged to consider ways to carry out cooperation activities and develop contacts among them.

2.45 Take note of the Lebanese suggestion to transform the “Executive Coordinating Group”, into a General Secretariat and also note the offer by Lebanon to host its headquarters

COOPERATION AGENDA

3. ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL COOPERATION

3.1 Note with satisfaction the holding of two joint Meetings of Ministers Responsible for Economic Affairs in Arab and South American Countries, in Quito (25-26/4/2006) and Rabat (23-24/5/2007), from which resulted the “Rabat Plan of Action”, a bi-regional road map for greater integration and cooperation. Express satisfaction for what has been implemented of the Rabat Plan and call for its completion, specifically in the areas of energy, mining, tourism, transportation, finance and capital markets.

3.2. Reaffirm the mutual intention and willingness to continue, develop and increase rising relations among Arab and South American countries, and intensify them in all aspects, specifically in the economic, commercial and investment areas for both regions’ benefit, strengthening the businessmen role in this pursuit.

3.3 Welcome the signing of the Free Trade Agreement between Egypt and MERCOSUR and the recent signing of the Free Trade Agreement between the State of Palestine and MERCOSUR, recalling that MERCOSUR also maintains Framework Agreements with the Kingdom of Jordan, the Gulf Cooperation Council, the Kingdom of Morocco and the Syrian Arab Republic. Reaffirm their interest in strengthening trade relations and economic cooperation among ASPA member States.

3.4 Express our support to the participation of the ASPA Member States in the World Trade Organization (WTO) as members and/or observers, as well as to their processes of accession to this Organization, especially least developed countries.

3.5 Reiterate the need to achieve a fair, ambitious, balanced and comprehensive, development-oriented result in the Doha Round, through inclusive negotiations, in accordance with the Doha Ministerial Declaration (2001) and the Hong Kong Ministerial Declaration (2005). The conclusion of these negotiations will contribute to a world economic upturn and will expand the benefits of a trade multilateral system. In consequence, we reaffirm the importance of having, in this scenario, a significant market access, in particular for those products and services of interest for developing countries, eliminating the internal aids for agriculture, which distort international trade, and meeting the commitment of eliminating subsidies for exports, as well as any tariff and non-tariff barrier inconsistent with the commitments provided in multilateral agreements, in order to contribute to the strengthening of WTO rules.

3.6 Welcome the recent conclusion of the III Round of Negotiations of the Global System Trade Preferences (GSTP) as an important tool to strengthen South-South trade.

3.7 Support development policies of trade and partnership between the two regions through the strengthening of the aforementioned system of trade preferences among developing countries and through the increase of the number of signatories of the Sao Paulo round.

3.8 Urge the inclusion of Sudan in the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative (HIPCS), and the resumption of development aid like other states emerging from internal conflicts. Furthermore, we call for the substantial debt relief of Sudan to realize sustainable development in Sudan.

3.9 Emphasize the importance of promoting reforms to the international financial system structure to continue redesigning the international priorities agenda, in order to make it more inclusive, to ensure an equal participation of developing countries and to consider their efforts for attaining economic growth with social equality.

3.10 Recognize the special needs and challenges faced by landlocked developing countries, caused by their lack of access to the sea, and reaffirm the commitment to arrive at concrete measures that could be taken with a view to mitigating the adverse impact of landlockness in order to achieve the effective integration of their economies into a multilateral trading system.

3.11 Reaffirm the significance and importance of energy as an essential resource in sustainable development, as well as the sovereign right of each country to set the conditions for the development of their energy related resources; accordingly, renew our commitment to continue with the cooperation and integration process among our countries based on solidarity and complementary work, as a continuous effort to achieve equitable and sustainable economic growth of their peoples. Recognize, in this sense, the valuable energy-related cooperation and integration initiatives being implemented in the South American Region.

3.12 Encourage joint research and studies in all energy sectors, including renewable energy and energy efficiency and promote cooperation and information exchange in the field of development of renewable energy for its optimal use. In this sense, welcome the establishment of the International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA) in Abu Dhabi and its role, as the primary platform for partnership, in promoting the use and production of all types of renewable energy worldwide. Invite all ASPA countries willing to do so to consider ratifying or acceding to the membership of IRENA.

3.13 Encourage rationalization of energy through appropriate tools like awareness campaigns.

3.14 Welcome the initiative by United Arab Emirates to host a First Joint Ministerial Meeting on Energy and Mining, be held in January 2013, during the Abu Dhabi Sustainability Week .

3.15 Consider the mining activity as essential for social and economic development in accordance with the results of the 2002 World Sustainable Development Summit, and welcome the mining sector development, which create employment and opportunities for social inclusion and economic growth. To promote awareness of investment opportunities in mining sector to encourage private sector, develop research and information of mining and sustainable mineral processing technologies.

3.16 Welcome the initiative of Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz Al Saud of Saudi Arabia, for Agricultural Investment abroad, in line with the orientations of specialized international organizations and agencies, aiming at assisting developing countries in internal investment, developing their infrastructure, providing incentives for sustainable use of soil resources and water expanding areas of agricultural markets and economic development in host countries and achieving food security for their people, taking into account national and international legislations and regulations

3.17 Reaffirm the need for promoting the creation of cooperation mechanisms regarding the mining sector, including the exchange of know-how, technology transfer and human capital development which take into consideration the need to achieve sustainable development, social development, economic growth, environment protection and environmental precautionary measures, furthermore promote significance of the mining sector database for improving mining investment.

3.18 Promote the importance of mining training and exchanging experts visits especially in the following fields: research and information in the fields of mining and mineral processing technologies, with particular reference to copper mining and processing in Chile, iron ore mining and beneficiation in Brazil, Gold mining in Peru, and gemstone mining and processing in Colombia and Uruguay.

3.19 Encourage cooperation, trade and investment in the agricultural sector between the two regions, taking into account national and international legislations and regulations.

3.20 Reaffirm the need to adopt specific policies that expedite and intensify the world food trade as a tool to contribute to the achievement of the first of the Millennium Development Goals by strengthening cooperation between the two regions, in terms of science and agriculture and livestock breeding technology, in order to increase production and productivity, as well as poverty reduction through promotion of family farming.

3.21 Encourage the re-use of agricultural wastes in industry and the sustainable use of natural resources.

3.22 Welcome the adoption by consensus of the Resolution A/RES/66/221, of 22 December 2011, declaring “2013 as the International Year of Quinoa”, an initiative of the Plurinational State of Bolivia, and invite Countries to support its implementation. Express their commitment to promote the cultivation of quinoa to fight hunger, in light of its nutritional properties. Also emphasize the importance of disseminating information on the qualities of this nutrient, and support research and development programs.

Also welcome the decision of the Director General of the Food and Agriculture Organization

of the United Nations (FAO), to appoint H.E. Mr. Juan Evo Morales Ayma, President of the Plurinational State of Bolivia, and Mrs. Nadine Heredia, First Lady of Peru, as Special Ambassadors to FAO for the International Year of Quinoa, to be observed by the United Nations in 2013, recognizing his leadership and commitment in the fight against hunger and malnutrition. Support the organization of the International Committee for the Coordination of the International Year of Quinoa, which will promote programs and activities to ensure the success of the Initiative.

3.23 Take note of the international commitments in the field of food security and agricultural development, including FAO Summit's recommendations and the recommendations of the Riyadh Declaration to promote the Arab cooperation to face International food crisis Encourage efforts undertaken by all concerned organizations, such as FAO, IFAD and WFP to follow the transfer of technology in the fields of agriculture and food security, and rural development.

3.24 Reaffirm their commitment with the progress of the negotiations on international instruments in the Standing Committee of Copyright and Related Rights of WIPO regarding copyright limitations and exceptions, in the benefit of persons with reading disabilities, educational and research institutions and archives and libraries among others.

3.25 Reaffirm their belief in a new conception of international economic relations as the foundation of the South-South Exchange, under the principles of complementarity, reciprocity, cooperation and solidarity in order to favor mutual benefits in the commercial exchange with the support of regional financial institutions within their mandates, aimed at strengthening the integral development of peoples through the best use of the potentialities existing in their national territories.

3.26 Urge both Arab and South American countries to spare no efforts to foster international cooperation with all parties concerned – with particular emphasis on south-south cooperation, – and to share the best practices in seed selection and adaptation, innovation of irrigation techniques, as well as matching supply and demand of food products in developing countries with the objective of reaching sustainable solutions in developing agriculture and resolving food shortage.

3.27 Declare the shared purpose of furthering common strategies for the consolidation of agro-industrial development, including small farmers, in order to guarantee food security to people. Accordingly, and to start action in this regard, agree to establish an ASPA ad-hoc sub-committee with the purpose of discussing agricultural cooperation and transfer of

technologies for the sustainable production of food that contributes to sustainable development. To this effect, instruct regional focal points in order to set the venue and date for calling on the first sub-committee meeting.

3.28 Welcome the offer of Jordan to host an ASPA Joint Ministerial Meeting on Tourism in June 2013 in Petra- Jordan.

3.29 Welcome the progress made on the study of “Air and Maritime Connectivity among Arab and South American Regions”, by LAS.

3.30 Promote cooperation in the field of maritime transportation and ports, through the establishment of a data base and information about the equipment and services available at the ports, with the aim of increasing the efficiency and safety of the transportation of goods, also the establishment of regular maritime lines between the main ports in the Arab and South American countries

3.31 Agree to promote cooperation in the air transportation sector, including the facilitation of direct routes between both regions, in particular, through the negotiation of air services agreements

3.32 Appreciate the launching of direct flights from U.A.E and State of Qatar and Arab Republic of Egypt to some South American countries, and urge other ASPA states to follow suit. 3.33 Welcome the creation of the South American Federation of Arab Chambers of Commerce to include the chambers recognized by LAS and the General Union of Chambers of Commerce, Industry & Agriculture for 21 Arab Countries; and encourage the creation of new chambers of commerce in countries interested in doing so, with a view to their integration to the said “South American Federation of Arab chambers of Commerce”.

3.34 Welcome the significant increase of global trade and investment between both regions since the holding of the First and Second ASPA Summits, stressing that there are still unexplored possibilities, which

would allow for increased growth and diversification of bi-regional trade and investment.

3.35 Note with satisfaction the positive outcome of the Third Arab and South American Businessmen Forum - Partnerships and Opportunities, held in Lima, on the margin of the third ASPA summit for the purpose of enhancing trade and investment between both regions.

3.36 Welcome the offer made by the Plurinational State of Bolivia to host the III ASPA Meeting of Ministers of Economy and Finance in 2013.

3.37 Promote efforts to coordinate positions where possible in international fora in issues of common concern in the field of intellectual property and explore the possibility to establish a common data base on information related to patent and managerial expertise, legislation and the regular exchange between national institutions responsible for intellectual property in Arab countries and the countries of South America, in this sense, welcome the outcome of the joint meeting held in Beirut (October, 14th -15th 2009)

3.38 Welcome the activation of the initiative of His Highness Sheikh Sabah Al-Ahmed Al-Jaber Al-Sabah, Emir of the State of Kuwait concerning providing needed financial resources to support and finance Private Sector Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) in the Arab countries, approved by Arab Ministers of Finance in a meeting on 18/10/2010 in the State of Kuwait.

3.39 Welcome the outcome of the Second Arab Economic, Development and Social Summit which was held in Egypt in 19/1/2011, which promotes cooperation between both regions, which mentioned the agreement on the necessity of fostering the Arab common action and lifting it to the stage of building new partnerships with different countries and regional and 22 international blocks, including the

commitment to continue promoting cooperation with South American countries.

3.40 Welcome the efforts to increase the share of developing countries of the seats of the Executive Bureau of the International Monetary Fund and for giving them a greater role in shaping global economic policy. Reiterate the need for further redistribution of votes in favor of developing countries in line with their increased participation in the world economy.

3.41 Encourage investments in promising sectors at international and regional levels, and encourage Arab and South American countries to promote mutual investments, cooperation activities as well as exchange of information and experiences regarding investment promotion policies and legal frameworks and elimination of fiscal distortions with the aim of enhancing bilateral and regional investments ties.

3.42 Welcome the signing of the Charter of the International Energy Forum. The kingdom of Saudi Arabia hosts its General Secretariat in Riyadh. The charter was adopted during the Special Ministerial Meeting held in Riyadh in 22/2/2011.

3.43 Reaffirm the importance of cooperation in the field of peaceful uses of nuclear energy and support economic and technical research, and Encourage the exchange of experts between the research centers in the Arab and South American countries.

3.44 Welcome the announcement of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia for allocating 500 million dollars presented as soft loans to fund energy projects in developing countries, and donating 300 million dollars during the OPEC Summit which was held in Riyadh to establish a special fund for research in energy, environment and climate change.

3.45 Welcome the outcome of UNCTAD XIII, which was held in Doha during the period 21-26 April 2012, which addressed the theme of globalization based on development towards comprehensive and

sustained growth and development, and highlighted the status quo of the global economic system. 3.46 take note of the Lebanese suggestion to establish an investment bank and request the ASPA Ministers of Economy and Finance to analyze this suggestion in their upcoming meeting in Bolivia in 2013.

4. CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL COOPERATION

4.1 Welcome the results of the I Meeting of ASPA Ministers of Education held in Kuwait during the period 28-29/11/2011, and consider the means of fostering the educational activities under the “Kuwait Action Plan” in the field of cooperation in education between Arab and South American Countries issued in the final statement of the meeting. Welcome the convening of the Second Meeting of ASPA Ministers of Education in Lima, Peru 2013.

4.2 Consider the means of fostering cultural activities under the “Rio Plan of Action for Cultural Cooperation” Issued by the Second Meeting of Ministers of Culture (Rio de Janeiro: 2009).

4.3 Welcome the invitation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to host the Third Meeting of Ministers of Culture in Arab and South American countries during the 3rd week of November 2012. 4.4 Congratulate Peru for the awarding of the Nobel Prize in Literature 2010 to Mr. Mario Vargas Llosa.

4.5 Congratulate the Arab and South American Library and Research Center (BibliASPA) for the opening of its new premises in Sao Paulo and for the important work it has been developing in the promotion of the cultural and academic production of both regions, exhorting ASPA member-states to send publications, exhibitions and teachers to BibliASPA. Note with great satisfaction, in particular, the realization of the First South American Festival of Arab Culture (Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Curitiba, Salvador, Buenos Aires, 18-31/3/2010); the co-organization of the exhibition “Islam: Art and Civilization”, with 350

works of art (200 of which kindly offered by Syria), in the largest thematic exhibition in the world in 2010; the publishing of several books translated from Arabic into Portuguese and Spanish and vice-versa, as well as of the magazine Fikr Review of Arab, African and South American Studies; the Arab and South American Movie Festivals with debates organized by BibliASPA and its new website, with special sections dedicated to Education and Culture in Arabic, Spanish, Portuguese and English.

Also congratulate BibliASPA for the offering of the Arabic Language and Culture Program in the premises of BibliASPA in Sao Paulo, and 24 also in Curitiba, Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires, with the essential support of books in Portuguese, Spanish and Arabic especially developed for students of Arabic, such as Writing in Arabic: literacy, spelling and calligraphy and Arabic Grammar for South American Students, as part of a partnership with Qatar Foundation International; encourage the expansion of this Program to other cities in South America and recall the importance of teaching Portuguese, Spanish and Arabic, as mentioned in the Final Statement of the I Meeting of ASPA Ministers of Education, that lists, among its objectives, “to promote the learning of Arabic, Spanish and Portuguese for non-native speakers in the two regions” and “recognizes the importance of supporting the work developed by BibliASPA, which highlights the promotion of the Arab language and culture in South America, and call upon the ASPA member states to support its future initiatives”

4.6 Recall, furthermore, the signing of Memoranda of Understanding between BibliASPA and UNESCO, the National Library of Qatar, and the Qatar Foundation and the National Council for culture, Arts and Letters of Kuwait. Exhort other countries to follow suit and sign similar agreements which could allow for the expansion of BibliASPA’s bibliographic assets, language, culture and art courses, book and multimedia content translation, exhibitions and cultural events. Welcome, in special, the participation of ASPA member States in the

Second and Third South American Festival of Arab Culture, which took place in March-2011 and 2012, and support the upcoming Fourth South American Festival of Arab Culture and celebrating 10 Years of BibliASPA in 2013.

4.7 Entrust the Officials responsible for Culture to organize a workshop involving Library directors and officials from both groups, taking into consideration the participation of main libraries from both sides such as Bibliotheca Alexandrina, the National Library in Algeria and King Fahd National Library in KSA. In this regard, welcome the LAS invitation to organize the workshop for Library directors and officials in cooperation with Bibliotheca Alexandrina

4.8 Welcome the initiative of establishing ASPA Library in Algeria and the procedures taken to carry out the groundwork study, and validation of the sketch of the ASPA Library project. Also welcome that the avant project is underway. Thank Algeria for bearing the costs incurred in the realization of the Library Project.

4.9 Welcome the procedures taken by Morocco to execute the South American Research Institute in Tangier/Morocco and thank the Moroccan Government for bearing part of the financial expenses incurred by the realization of the Institute Project.

4.10 Welcome the convening of the 1st meeting of ASPA-UNESCO Contact Group and the approval of its statutes and the organizing an ASPA cultural forum in UNESCO 2013.

4.11 Exchange models, policies and strategies to encourage an economy of culture, cultural industries and business in order to develop regional mechanisms for the dissemination of works of art, cultural goods and services.

4.12. Promote the universalization of quality education as an essential and inalienable human right. This should be understood by our States as a great priority since it represents a key factor for social changes,

sustainable development of our peoples, poverty eradication, defense and compliance with our essential rights and responsibilities, based on principles of equity, equality, inclusion, participation, cooperation and respect, which guarantee an integrate and qualitative development of citizens.

4.13. Foster an exchange of international researchers and experts among universities from both regions, and entrust the Officials responsible for culture to prepare and organize investigation projects, seminars, conferences and workshops in specific areas of development.

4.14 Implement programs and projects in both regions, as well as organize workshops, seminars, conferences for the interchange of experiences on the implementation of programs for educational and cultural inclusion of disabled people.

4.15 Exchange experiences in assistance of victims of conflict with special needs, and implement programs for an integrated assistance and rehabilitation.

4.16 Foster programs of Academic Mobilization from and to ASPA member countries signatories of the Lima Declaration, Promote cooperation between experts, technical personnel and specialists in education in countries of the two regions, through the exchange of experiences which bring together the educational systems and professional training. And 26 encourage cooperation for teaching and dissemination of the languages of the two regions, through the exchange of language assistants of virtual learning and other activities.

4.17 Express their support to the right of countries in restitution of all its stolen and looted antiquities and cultural heritage illegally transferred, and invite the international community to cooperate on this matter in accordance with UN resolutions and international conventions.

4.18 Work to promote the mainstreaming of the human rights culture in our educational systems and are committed to the wide distribution of

human rights guidance in our regions such as the Arab Action Plan for the Education in Human Rights adopted at the Arab Summit in Damascus in 2008 and the Arab Plan for promoting a culture of Human Rights adopted at the Arab Summit in Sirte in 2010

4.19 Promote the friendship between cities from ASPA member countries, by fostering the setting up of twin towns as a means to boost the establishment of understandings in order to increase cultural, technical and commercial cooperation and ties between the cities.

4.20 Take note of the proposal of Tunisia to establish bi-lingual universities in both regions, and refer the suggestion to the upcoming ministerial meeting of ASPA Ministers of Education in Peru

4.21 Welcome the proposal presented by Algeria to set up a network of the Diplomatic Institutes of the South American and Arab States, and welcome the offer by Iraq host a meeting for the directors of the diplomatic institutes of ASPA countries in Baghdad in the second half of 2013, also welcome Colombia's offer to host a similar meeting with a view to exchanging experiences, training sessions for young diplomats and to enhancing a better knowledge of the policies, languages and cultures of both regions. Welcome Brazil's suggestion that short term courses for young diplomats be organized alternating between South America and Arab countries.

Cultural diversity

4.22 Recognize that cultural and traditional knowledge diversity is among the most required strengths to preserve and respect regional identities within the globalization processes being undergone by our peoples. Furthermore, we consider it necessary to commit to draw on processes aiming at building comprehensive, culturally diverse and environmentally responsible societies in order to eradicate human exploitation, thus creating conditions for a dialogue between peers, and a

true know-how and regional vision exchange based on regional mechanisms for artists, goods and cultural activities exchange.

4.23 Encourage holding cultural weeks that include book exhibitions, cultural and intellectual seminars, exhibitions of fine arts, children books, traditional costumes exhibitions and theatrical and musical shows.

4.24 Reaffirm the respect for the freedom of cultural and ancestral practices of indigenous peoples in the scope of respect for the Human Rights and Fundamental Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Welcome the adoption of General Assembly resolution 66\296, on the organization of the High Level Plenary Meeting of the 69th session of the General Assembly, “World Conference on Indigenous Peoples”, to be held from 22 to 23 September 2014 in New York. Welcome the organization and celebration of the High Level event, held on 17 May 2012, commemorating the 5th Anniversary of the adoption of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

4.25 Recognize that the traditional use of coca leaf chewing (akulliku) is an ancient cultural manifestation of the Bolivian and Peruvian peoples.

4.26 Taking into account the richness of our history and the fundamental value of our patrimony for the identity and culture of our peoples, take steps to prohibit the illicit transfer and trade of cultural properties of each other and agree to take specific measures to cooperate and promote the protection of their cultural patrimony, via bilateral and multilateral agreements, training for the prevention of illegal trade, joint action in third parties and establishing funds for the protection of archaeological sites and museums, amongst other.

4.27 Welcome the initiative launched by his majesty King Abdullah II of Jordan during the 65th session of the General Assembly and the following adoption of the General Assembly resolution proclaiming the first week of February of every year the World Interfaith Harmony Week between all religions, faiths and beliefs.

4.28 Express the need to respect the diversity of cultures, religions and civilizations, which is part of the common human heritage; and stress that freedom of worship is one of the basic rights that should be respected and should not be subject to discrimination of any kind.

4.29 Express concern over the rise in instances of deliberate negative stereotyping of religions, their holy figures and followers, and call upon all members of the international community to fulfill their respective obligations under international human rights law, in particular concerning incitements to religious hatred, with a view to protect the right of everyone to freedom of thought, opinion, conscience, and religion without discrimination of any kind; and emphasize that respect for all religions is an essential pillar in creating an environment conducive to the full realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

4.30 Affirm the importance of supporting all the initiatives that aim to establish dialogue between civilizations, cultures, religions and peoples in general, and support cooperation with the United Nation's "Alliance of Civilizations" initiative, to create bridges of constructive contact, reciprocal knowledge and deeper understanding throughout the world. In this context, the ASPA Member States extend their best wishes to the II World Forum of the Alliance of Civilizations, held in the period of 6-7/4/2009, in Istanbul, and welcome the outcomes of the III Forum held in the first half of 2010, in Brazil. Welcome the efforts made by the League of Arab States in the Fourth International Forum of the Alliance of Civilizations, which was held in Doha during the period of 11-13/12/2011, and the call to implement the proposal of Qatar to create an observatory of the Alliance of Civilizations through which it can monitor and develop indicators in countries on the ground to ensure the extent of their financial and ethical commitment to the principles of the Alliance and its objectives

4.31 Express appreciation for the initiative of the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques, King Abdullah Ibn Abdelaziz Al-Saud, King of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, to promote dialogue between world religions, faiths and 29 cultures. In this regard, recall important initiatives, including the Mecca Appeal for Interfaith Dialogue (06/06/2008), the Madrid Declaration for Interfaith Dialogue (16-18/7/2008), and the Dialogue between the Believers of Religions, Faiths and Cultures, that took place during the high level meeting of UN General Assembly (12-13/11/2008), which resulted in the signing of the agreement establishing King Abdullah Ibn Abdelaziz Al-Saud Global Center for Dialogue among Believers of Religions and Cultures in Vienna on October 13, 2011 in the presence of foreign ministers of the founding countries; Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Austria, Spain, and calls for the summit to cooperate with the center.

5. ENVIRONMENTAL COOPERATION

5.1 Note with satisfaction the progress made in bi-regional environmental cooperation, particularly in the areas of combating desertification and mitigating the effects of droughts. In this sense, praise the outcome of the Meeting of the Committee on Environmental Cooperation of ASPA at the side-lines of the COP/UNCCD (Buenos Aires, 26/9/2009), which allowed for the national Focal Points of UNCCD to discuss an in-depth cooperation agenda for ASPA. This initiative was followed by the Seminar on Climate Change (Damascus, 4-5/5/2010) and the Meeting of the Environmental Cooperation Committee at the side-lines of the “II International Conference: Climate, Sustainability and Development in Semi-Arid Regions” (ICID 2010), held in Fortaleza (19/8/2010). From this process resulted the

“Cooperation Framework on Desertification and Climate Change”. Consider these South-South cooperation initiatives of fundamental importance to address the grave consequences of the desertification process. Welcome the results of the workshop on the techniques of life in arid and semi-arid regions held from 25-27/5/2011 in Campina Grande, Brazil, and the results of the meeting of the Committee on Combating Desertification, which was held on the sidelines of the Conference of the Parties to the Tenth United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification, held in Changwon / South Korea on 13/10/2011. In this regard, take note of the initiative of the Conference on cooperation in the field of Economics of land degradation (ELD) and innovative financial mechanisms and to emphasize the importance of coordination and cooperation between countries of both regions in both fields, as well as international cooperation in terms of technology transfer and financial resources for both regions.

5.2 Note with satisfaction the progress in the implementation of the decisions of the I Meeting of Ministers of Environmental Affairs (Nairobi, 6/2/2007) and of the I Meeting of Ministers Responsible for Water Resources and Combating Desertification (Riyadh, 16-17/11/2008) and call upon all member states to take additional measures to complete the cooperation agendas contained in the “Doha Declaration” and the documents adopted in the above mentioned meetings. Welcome the hosting of Ecuador to the 2nd Meeting of ASPA Ministers of Environment in 2013.

5.3 Reaffirm their commitment to strengthen the bi-regional capacity to address the negative effects of desertification, as well as to benefit from the means and methods of combating this phenomenon. Encourage as appropriate the enactment of relevant national legislation and policies concerning, in particular, the production, import and use of products to increase agricultural productivity and expand the use of treated waste water for irrigation, in order to save ground water reserves. Support, in this sense, the role of the United Nations concerning such matters.

5.4 Welcome the signing of the framework for cooperation in the field of scientific and technical cooperation and technology between ACSAD and INSA to address the impacts, vulnerability and adaptation, and to reduce the risk of climate change, land degradation and desertification.

5.5 Praise the willingness of Brazil, Egypt and Morocco to cooperate in order to provide space data from Brazilian satellites through receiving stations in Egypt and Morocco for Arab States and to develop studies and research related to climate change and its environmental impacts.

5.6 Reaffirm support to the implementation of the Land Degradation Monitoring and Assessment in the Arab Region and South America (LAMAARSA) project, which brings closer the visions of countries of both regions on the scientific methodology applied to monitor and assess land degradation, and offers elements to develop policies to combat desertification.

5.7 Recognize that there are serious challenges from climate change which require an enhanced international response through the full 31 implementation of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and the establishment of the second commitment period of the Kyoto Protocol, based on the principles enshrined therein, especially the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities.

5.8 Encourage the study of the degradation of the Iraqi wetlands and its environmental impact at the regional and international levels.

5.9 Appreciate the efforts made by Saudi Arabia with regard to climate change scenarios. These efforts have culminated by considering Jeddah Centre for Meteorology, as decided by the World Meteorological Organization, a regional center of the drought for the Arab States, the first of its kind to use a regional model in the Arab region. Agree on the need to develop coordination in studies of climate change scenarios by making use of information and models that can be provided by the Center in combating drought and desertification.

5.10 Welcome the adoption by the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development – Rio+20 – of the ambitious outcome document “The Future We Want” and underscore the crucial results of the Conference for the achievement of sustainable development. Stress the key contribution of South American and Arab States for the success of the Conference and reiterate the commitment of both regions to the reinforcement of multilateralism. Emphasize the importance of further strengthening coordination and cooperation between the two regions in the processes launched at Rio+20, in particular in the landmark establishment of Sustainable Development Goals. Welcome the decision to consider the creation of an effective sustainable development financing strategy and a facilitation mechanism for technology transfer. Reaffirm, in this regard, the need for strong and broad participation of developing countries in these processes.

5.11 Continue fostering cooperation in energy in order that the joint work in this area becomes the backbone of bi-regional cooperation. In this context, the Parties will encourage cooperation in the field of energy and sub-regional electrical interconnection, development of policies and technologies aimed at improving an efficient use of energy and development, and the use of sources of clean energy.

5.12 Promote cooperation and coordination between countries of both regions in the international trade of chemicals and disposal of hazardous wastes ³² in order to protect human health and the environment, according to the international environmental agreements in this regard.

5.13 Recognize that biodiversity loss poses serious risks and challenges to countries, especially the developing ones, reaffirm the need to establish policies and promote cooperation in order to guarantee the conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity, with fair and equitable sharing of the benefits arising out of the utilization of genetic resources.

5.14 Welcome the results of CBD/COP-10, particularly those regarding biodiversity of dry and sub-humid lands and inland waters, and stress the

importance of South-South and triangular cooperation to halt the loss of biodiversity and accomplish the objectives of the Strategic Plan for Biodiversity 2011-2020. In this regard, agree to promote joint actions between the natural and social science communities of both regions, thus increasing knowledge about biodiversity conservation, sustainable land management and ecological restoration to underpin disaster reduction and risk management policies.

5.15 Recognize that ecotourism activities that engage tourists and local and indigenous communities in the preservation of natural and cultural heritages can create significant opportunities for environmental education and the protection and sustainable use of biodiversity. In this context, stress the importance of promoting environmentally-friendly tourism – which causes no harm to natural ecosystems, biological diversity and associated traditional knowledge – and foster the exchange of experience and bi-regional cooperation with regard to ecotourism in dry and subhumid lands.

5.16 Welcome the Yasuní ITT initiative of the Republic of Ecuador, which seeks to prevent the emission of CO₂ through the non-exploitation of oil in the Yasuní National Park to protect diversity, indigenous peoples living in voluntary isolation, as well as to promote a sustainable development model.

5.17 Welcome resolution A/RES/64/292 - "The human right to water and sanitation", which recognized the right to safe and clean drinking water and sanitation as a human right essential for the full enjoyment of life in all human rights. Recognize the importance of water as a natural resource of States that is an essential element for life, with socio-economic and 33 environmental functions. Promote the right of our citizens to have access to clean and safe water and sanitation within our respective jurisdictions.

5.18 Welcome the decision by the Conference of the Parties (COP) at its 17th session in Durban, November 2011 – December 2011, that the State

of Qatar host in 2012 the 18th Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate change (Cop 18) and the 8th Conference of the Parties serving as the meeting of the Parties to the Kyoto Protocol (CMP8)

5.19 In line with the principle of the Rio declaration on environment and development on 1992 and agenda 21, encourage cooperation in the field of transboundary waters, in accordance with international law and its principles ruling shared water resources, and in conformity with existing agreements, taking into account the interests of all riparian states concerned, to foster mutual benefits and stability

6. COOPERATION IN SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

6.1 Agree to foster cooperation on Information and Communication Technologies, with a view to reducing the digital gap, as a tool for integral development and the institution of an inclusive educational system.

6.2 Agree to foster bi-regional cooperation in the field of scientific research, technological development, innovation and higher education in areas of mutual interest to both regions with the aim of promoting sustainable development, regional competitiveness and social inclusion.

6.3 Welcome, as well, the development of initiatives in the field of technologies such as nanotechnology, new materials, biotechnology, ICTs and the field of new technologies for energy efficiency and renewable energy. Consider it important to encourage the use, development and research of these technologies, adapted to the needs and realities of South American and Arab countries, in order to strengthen their technological capacities and ensure security, sovereignty and independence to the countries of both regions.

6.4 Promote initiatives and basic research projects applied to the technology development innovation and promotion in the scope of the

renewable energies, energetic efficiency, management of water resources, aquatic ecosystem, dynamic and natural changes and impacts in the intervention of water resources.

6.5 Welcome the holding in Buenos Aires, on August 30 and 31, 2012, of the Seminar on E-Government and Free software, which made it possible to enhance bilateral cooperation on information and communication technologies.

6.6 Welcome the proposal of the League of Arab states to hold an expanded meeting of the experts of Communications and Information Technology to include all stakeholders of the Arab and South American countries in the first quarter of 2013, in order to identify issues of common interest, and discuss ways of cooperation.

6.7 Praise the traditional cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy developed during decades by Argentina with its Arab partners, including Algeria, Egypt, Libya and Saudi Arabia, through the construction of research nuclear reactors, and the provision of equipment and related technologies, that represents a successful case in high tech areas within South-South Cooperation.

7. COOPERATION IN SOCIAL AND DEVELOPMENT AFFAIRS

7.1 Promote horizontal cooperation, transfer of technologies, knowledge and strengthening institutional communication between both regions on the basis of the perspective of rights, the necessary comprehensiveness of actions, respect for territorial, social, cultural and economic peculiarities, taking into account the importance of empowering the person in his or her family and community environment.

7.2 Hold an ASPA Forum with the participation of women in prominent Government positions, including members of Parliaments, in order to foster mutual understanding through the exchange of experiences with a view to strengthen women's roles in political, social and economic

spheres, and welcome the invitation by Peru to host this event in the first half of 2013.

7.3 Welcome the results of the II Meeting for the Ministers in Charge of Social Affairs and Development (Brasília, 1-2/Mar/2010), and to the positive steps which was taken by the meeting to create “the Brasilia Plan of Action for Social Cooperation”. In this sense, hail the decision of the II Meeting of the Ministers of Social Affairs and Development (Brasilia, 1- 2/3/2010) to create the Observatory for Human Social Development and Inclusion of UNASUR and the League of Arab States, which shall be an important platform for the promotion of technical discussions and biregional interchange of data and studies on social policies. Reaffirm the importance of implementing all the decisions contained in the “Brasilia Plan of Action for Social Cooperation” and of coordinating positions in international fora to promote the principles and initiatives agreed upon, as well as the identification of sources of financial support for their implementation.

7.4 Welcome the invitation of the Lebanese Republic to host III Meeting for the Ministers in Charge of Social Affairs and Development to be held in Beirut in 2012. Welcome the results of the first meeting of focal points for social Affairs, which was held in Brasilia on 13/1/2012, and what has been agreed upon as procedures to implement Brasilia Action Plan for social cooperation (March 2010), and preparations for the 3rd Joint Ministerial Meeting. Encourage holding experts and high officials meetings to enhance cooperation in the Social and Development issues, especially exchange of expertise in poverty reduction, social policies and policies combating unemployment. Decide to begin cooperation on the implementation of the results of RIO +20 conference (Rio de Janeiro – July 2012), especially preparation of the sustainable development goals SDGs.

7.5 Decide to begin Sport Cooperation within ASPA and with this purpose to organize sports tournaments for juniors in a number of

collective sports games (Soccer, Futsal, Handball, Basketball and Volleyball, among others) involving Youth Athletes from Arab and South American countries.

7.6 Congratulate Qatar for hosting the FIFA World Cup 2022, and welcome the decision of the State of Qatar to consider Tuesday of the second week of February of each year, a sports day in the state and to be an official holiday.

7.7 Emphasize on the necessity to define common guidelines for social development policies, so as to make decisions that are in line with the priorities established in the ASPA Plan of Action for social cooperation, which contemplates policies aimed at strengthening the family with special emphasis on girls, boys and adolescents, young people, women, elderly people, persons with disabilities and indigenous peoples.

7.8 Promote all the efforts aiming at finding jobs for women and youth to help in achieving gender equality, and to provide wider opportunities for marginalized groups in societies in the process of making social decisions, as well as the importance of expediting the reduction of child mortality, maternal mortality and malnutrition.

7.9 Welcome the convening of the High Level Plenary meeting on the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) held at the United Nation Headquarters in New York from 20 to 22 September 2010 that adopted the outcome document entitled “Keeping the promise – United to achieve the Millennium Development Goals”. While also welcoming the progress made in some areas since 2005 they expressed their deep concern that such progress falls far short of what is needed, and urged developed countries to allocate new and additional resources to support the efforts of developing and least developed countries in meeting the MDGs as well as to urgently fulfill their commitments, in particular under MDG 8. Demand that developed countries fulfill their obligations towards developing countries. Reaffirm our major commitment with the Millennium Development Goals, promoting solidarity and cooperation

among the ASPA countries to back up the national efforts devoted to foster individual and group welfare under equitable and sustainable patterns. All this, underscoring the significance of fostering inclusive development that will consolidate benefits for vulnerable groups, like those who live in poverty, suffer hunger, and are disabled people by developing education and creating decent job opportunities for them.

7.10 Decide to convene Meeting of Ministers of Health, and welcome the initiative of the government of Peru to host that meeting in 2013. The work of the ministers should aim to, inter alia,

a) Promote cooperation and exchange of expertise in the field of primary/specialized health care, medical research, and health quality systems. Organize training courses in English language in the field of nursing, midwifery and primary health care and the quality health institutions. 37

B) Exchange information and expertise on current and future plans for infectious diseases, and confront the challenges related to crisis management resulting from it. In this respect take note of the Arab Unified Plan to combat epidemics that was issued during the eruption of A (H1N1).

c) Cooperate with the World Health Organization and the Pan American Health Organization in order to benefit from the anti-viral treatments produced against Pandemic Influenza, Tuberculosis, Malaria and Dengue.

d) Promote cooperation and exchange in culture cultivation technology of active constituents for medicine.

e) Develop joint work to promote higher access to efficiently tested as well as other essential HIV/AIDS drugs in the ASPA countries, paying special attention to more vulnerable and marginalized groups.

7.11 Take note of the outcome of the 1st Conference of Arab Expatriates under the theme "A bridge for communication", organized by LAS, that was held on 4-6/12/2010 at LAS Headquarter in Cairo. Value the Arab experiences in hosting such conferences annually with special regard to the Lebanese experience in this regard appreciate the positive role of South American nationals of Arab descent fostering relations between the two regions.

7.12 Reaffirm the importance of respect for the rule of law and of vigorous efforts to fight transnational organized crime and corruption, which constitute a great threat to economic reform and prosperity.

7.13 Welcome the increased role in ASPA countries of civil society and nongovernmental organizations, indispensable partner along with the governments and private sector, in the development of societies. And Support the League of Arab States" efforts to encourage a vigorous participation of the Arab NGO"s in the development of Arab societies. In accordance with the recommendations of the Civil Society Forum of the Arab Economic, Developmental and Social Summit held in Sharm El Sheikh in January 2011. Encourage ASPA countries to undertake cooperation activities civil society including through dialogue between the NGO's of the two regions.

7.14 Welcome the positive outcome of the high- level Forum on Empowerment of Women in the Development Process, which was held in Doha on 23 April 2012.

8. INSTITUTIONAL ISSUES

8.1 Reaffirm their deepest grief for the passing of Dr. Nestor Kirchner, first Secretary General of the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR), and emphasize his fundamental role for the South American integration as President of the Argentine Nation and as Secretary General of UNASUR.

8.2 Welcome the offer of Bahrain to host the next meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of ASPA countries in 2014 8.3 The Heads of State and Government welcome the offer of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to host the IV ASPA Summit which will take place in

8.3 The Heads of State and Government welcome the offer of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to host the IV ASPA Summit which will take place in Riyadh in 2015.

They also expressed their appreciation for the hospitality of the people and the Government of Peru

Appendix D: Tez Fotokopisi İzin Formu

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sosyal Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Enformatik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>

YAZARIN

Soyadı: HALL
Ad: MARSHA MARIE
Bölümü: ORTADOĞU ARAŞTIRMALARI

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce):

TEZİN TÜRÜ: Yüksek Lisans Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
3. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfaları ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
4. Tezimden bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: