

The New Trade Routes

LATIN AMERICA

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Interactive map

Trade flows between Latin America and the rest of the world
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China is now region's biggest partner

The commodities boom is driving development, writes **John Paul Rathbone**

In 2006, when Eike Batista opened Rio de Janeiro's finest Chinese restaurant, his fortune barely made the Forbes rich list. Now, the Brazilian oil and mining magnate is the world's eighth richest man.

Mr Batista's estimated \$30bn fortune has grown alongside Brazil's rising trade links with China. It is also a testament to Mr Batista's business nous that his Rio de Janeiro eatery has become a handy place to entertain his Chinese business partners.

Latin America, like Rio de Janeiro's dining scene, has changed – and it is largely thanks to China.

A region once known for instability has sailed through the global financial crisis. Poverty is falling, the middle classes booming, and asset markets bubbling.

This is due to a spectacular expansion of commodity-based trade. Over the past decade, fast-growing emerging countries, be they in Asia, India or Africa, have shown a near insatiable demand for the commodities that Latin America has in such abundance, whether Argentine soya, Brazilian iron ore, Chilean copper or Peruvian gold.

The change has been rapid: in 1999, trade between Latin America and China was a mere \$8bn. By 2009, according to UN figures, it had grown 16 times to \$130bn. By comparison, bilateral trade with the US rose by just a half over the same period.

Less well appreciated is how intra-Latin American trade has grown over the same period. During the colonial years, neighbouring countries were more likely to trade with Europe than each other. Now, growing business and infrastructure links are bridging Latin America's huge geographical obstacles – its vast forests and giant mountain ranges – knitting the region's economies together.

If anything, the pace of change has increased since the global financial crisis. Developed markets remain mired in sluggish growth and high debt. Meanwhile, emerging economies are surging ahead; they now account for three-quarters of global economic growth, according to the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB).

The rising middle classes of the emerging world are behind this shift. They aspire to own the same homes and cars, and eat the same foods, as their peers in the developed world. As a result, their economies have a higher propensity to consume the commodities that Latin America produces.

The effects of this shift are illustrated by the emblematic cases of Brazil and Mexico. In 2006, before the financial crisis erupted, 9 per cent of Brazil's exports went to the other Brics countries – Russia, India and China. By 2009 that had almost doubled to 17 per cent. As a result, the Brazilian economy boomed.

Mexico has had a very different experience because its economy has closer ties to the industrialised world, especially the US. Indeed, Brics exports still account for only 3 per cent of its total. Furthermore, manufactured goods rather than commodities play a larger role in the Mexican economy.

China, therefore, is more of an economic competitor than a complement. As a result, suggests an IADB study "One Region; Two Speeds?", Mexico's economy has grown at half Brazil's pace.

China's increasing role in a region that the US has long viewed as its backyard, is a geopolitical worry for Washington. That China is now the largest trading



Brics partners: Dilma Rousseff, Brazil's president, and Hu Jintao, her Chinese counterpart

Reuters

partner of both Brazil and Chile has added to a sense of US relative decline.

"China is a very good counterweight to the US," says a senior Brazilian diplomat. "It doesn't take the moral high ground. More importantly, it is far away." This has prompted a US charm offensive in a region it can no longer afford to ignore. Yet it would be wrong to overstate China's growing role.

Bilateral US trade with the region was \$486bn in 2009, almost four times China's total. Apart from energy, the two countries also still largely seek different goods. China imports commodities such as Chilean copper to make things. The US economy, by contrast, is more dedicated to services. There is the potential for a healthy north-south balance.

Nor has the south eclipsed the north as a source of capital. When Bra-

zilian investment bank BTG Pactual raised \$1.8bn last year, chief executive André Esteves looked to the sovereign wealth funds of Asia and the Middle East for funding. However, some 90 per cent of the foreign direct investment flowing into Mexico and Brazil, the region's two biggest economies, still comes from industrialised countries, according to the IADB.

Many in the region also believe that China's growing presence comes with a cost, as cheap Chinese imports harm local industry. More Mexican sombreros and Brazilian bikinis, for example, are now made in China than in either Mexico or Brazil.

Although government criticism of China remains muted in public, diplomatic tensions over China's undervalued currency are growing.

Indeed, such concerns point to a central question for Latin America. Can it turn the past decade's commodity-fed boom in "south-to-south" trade into sustained growth?

The history of the continent, after all, is littered with spectacular commodity booms and busts – as displayed so eloquently in the decayed grandeur and wasted opulence of Guatemala's faded cochineal haciendas, or Brazilian rubber farms.

The first requirement is for countries to save more by squirrelling away some of their commodity windfalls into offshore funds such as Chile's sovereign wealth fund. Encouragingly, Brazil, Colombia and Peru are setting up similar schemes.

There is also an urgent need to increase productivity, so that Latin American economies can move up the value chain and beyond the production of raw goods. Among many things, that means better education to create a more skilled workforce. Finally, although rising fast, intra-regional trade still needs to grow. At the moment, it accounts for a fifth of total Latin American trade; in Asia it accounts for half.

The hardware of regional integration – bridges, railways and roads – is developing apace. But the software of regional trade agreements remains bugged by tariff disagreements, in spite of the often high political rhetoric that accompanies them.

A case in point is the Mercosur trade bloc, which groups Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay and – unlikely pending addition – Venezuela. In the past decade, trade within Mercosur has grown less than among countries outside it, or even between individual Mercosur members and other Latin American countries.

A proposed "deep integration" pact between the fast-growing and market-led economies of Chile, Peru, Colombia – and perhaps Mexico – shows more promise. With a combined gross domestic product of \$1,600bn, it would also be a regional counterweight to Brazil.

The boom in "south-south" trade has altered the region's geopolitical landscape. It has also helped lift millions out of poverty. But

'China is a very good counterweight to the US – it doesn't take the moral high ground'

rising prosperity has its downside.

Building roads through the Amazonian interior can open new markets. But it also razes pristine forests and brings wildcat mining.

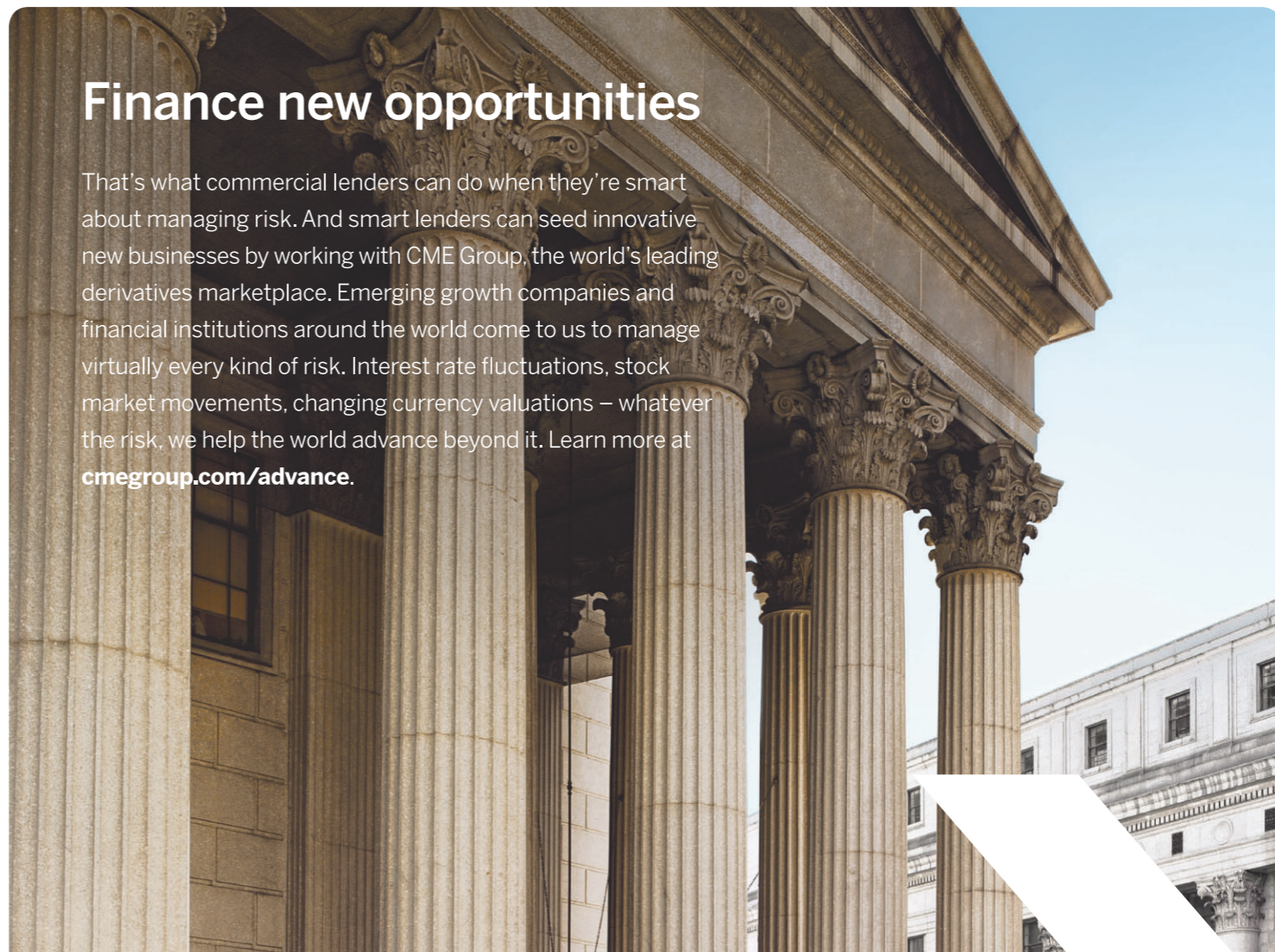
Illegal mining has turned the Madre de Dios region

into Peru's second largest gold producing province, but it has also tripled mercury levels in Amazonian waterways.

Then there is drug trafficking. While cocaine use in the developed world has been falling since 2004, Latin American consump-

tion has increased and now accounts for a fifth of the \$88bn a year market.

The rise of the south has seen the emerging world adopt many of the habits of the north – with a large number of good, but also some unwelcome, consequences.



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Fall in demand brings cocaine back home

Drugs

Central America is feeling the effects, as the trade moves to the region, says Peter Barber

In the mountains of Honduras last month, police uncovered a bold new venture by one of the world's most innovative businesses. The cocaine processing lab on a remote coffee farm was evidence that Mexican drug cartels were no longer simply using Central America to smuggle the drug to the US: they were refining it there as well. The discovery spoke to a truth about the "war on drugs": the cartels have survived by staying a step ahead of changes in the marketplace.

"In the drugs trade, like any other business, it's about competitive advantage. The rules change and you adapt," says Daniel Linsker, a Latin America analyst from Control Risks, the business consultancy.

While Afghanistan has a monopoly on the world's heroin supply, cocaine is a Latin American curse. Despite 30 years of efforts to stamp it out, coca production has remained remarkably constant, at about 200,000 hectares in Colombia, Peru and Bolivia, says Vanda Felbab-Brown, a Brookings Institution scholar and author of *Shooting Up: Counterinsurgency and the War on Drugs*.

One reason for this resili-

'In London, people buy fair trade coffee, care about the rainforests – then they go and do cocaine'

ence is the "balloon effect" – applying pressure in one place has led only to expansion somewhere else. In the decade to 2008, US-backed efforts by the Colombian government shut down as much as 60 per cent of coca production there, according to the UN Office on Drugs and Crime. At the same time, production rose by a third in Peru and more than doubled in Bolivia.

Peru is on course to replace Colombia as the world's largest cocaine producer, the UNODC says. Alongside Bolivia, it is refining cocaine for the first time.

The story of cocaine in the 21st century is of fierce competition. The retail value of the market has virtually halved in real terms in 13 years to \$88bn in 2008, the UNODC estimates.

While coke captured the US economic buzz in the late 1980s and 1990s, consumers in the drug's main market have lost their taste for it. US demand is worth just a quarter of what it was 20 years ago.

At the same time, the cartels face pressure from military-style campaigns in Colombia and Mexico. The gangs have responded by battling over shrinking spoils. More than 28,000 people have been killed in Mexico alone since President Felipe Calderón brought in the army and declared war on the cartels in 2006.

"But one of the things about drugs is that the profit margins are extraordinary and the abil-

ity of drug trafficking organisations to absorb increased costs is phenomenal," says Ms Felbab-Brown. "Hence the difficulties in trying to use supply-side measures to drive them out of business."

Mexican cartels have responded to the crackdown at home by forging new routes to the US with the youth gangs of Honduras, El Salvador and Guatemala. Some 90 per cent of cocaine shipments to the US last year came through Central America, according to the US government.

The social impact has been catastrophic. A World Bank report notes that there were 14,257 murders in Central America in 2006, compared with 336 in Spain, despite both having a similar population of about 40m.

The homicide rate in Mexico last year was about 18 murders per 100,000, but the comparable rate in Honduras has climbed to 77, according to the US state department, making it the worst in the region.

Mr Linsker notes that, despite corruption and inefficiency, the Mexican state is strong enough to withstand the drug cartels. But in Central America, traffickers exploit weak institutions, corruption and poverty. The World Bank estimates that violence in Central America costs it 8 per cent a year in lost gross domestic product growth.

It is easy to see the allure when one considers the economics: a kilo of cocaine is worth roughly \$1,000 when it leaves the Caribbean coast of Colombia. As it passes through Central America, the price soars to about \$100,000 a kilo.

The cartels exploit weaknesses in global anti-narcotic efforts. More than half of cocaine shipments to Europe – the second most important market – come through Venezuela, the UN believes. Seizures in that country fell from 152 tons in 2005 to 60.2 tons in 2009 after President Hugo Chávez ended counter-narcotics co-operation with the US five years ago, according to Control Risks.

There is evidence that Europe has peaked as a market for cocaine and with North American in decline, the cartels have looked closer to home. The use of cocaine by Mexicans doubled in the six years to 2008, according to the UNODC, though it is still lower than in the US. But cocaine use per capita in Argentina now rivals the US.

"I think one aspect of the increase in drug consumption in Latin America is the growth of the middle class – the improvement of material conditions for many people," says Ms Felbab-Brown. But there are different markets for cocaine and for crack, its low-rent cousin. There is the young middle and upper class recreational user. And then there is Latin America's underclass, including the foot soldiers for the cartels, who are often paid in kind. "So you have this combination of rising affluence and the growth of the middle class that generates one type of demand, with continuing poverty and violence and marginalisation driving another," she says.

Increasing Latin American demand appears also to be linked to rising production in Bolivia and Peru, which supply the region and Europe.

So, the cocaine story has a bleak message about Latin America's growth: it

is still unequal. As Peru takes its place as the regional narcotics powerhouse, more than a third of its population live in poverty in spite of its 7 per cent GDP growth. Mr Linsker says Peru will be cursed by cocaine so long as development fails to reach the rural areas where coca is grown and cultivated.

And in spite of their own predilection for the drug, Latin Americans still suffer from violence and corruption because of the western taste for cocaine.

"It's a matter of conscience," says Mr Linsker. "In London, you have people who buy fair trade coffee, care about the rainforests, always support charities – and then they go and do cocaine."



Storing up trouble: police in Colombia inspect cocaine, marijuana and guns captured in the rural area of Palmira

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Local links improve neighbourly relations

Regional growth

Internal deals help unite nations, says Naomi Mapstone

Trade barriers in Latin America are often political or structural – but they can also be physical. The crazy zig-zag road from Pasto to Mocoa in southern Colombia – built during a 1934 war with Peru over sugar tariffs – is a perfect example.

Trucks sometimes need three attempts to turn a corner. “Where the mules went, the engineers followed, with dynamite,” says José Hernando Gomez, head of Colombia’s National Planning Department.

The road, currently being rebuilt with the benefits of 21st-century technology, is the missing link in a potentially lucrative route connecting Colombia’s Pacific coast with the mighty Amazonian rivers that run from Peru to Brazil.

It is part of an ambitious push to boost connectivity and enhance trade both within Latin America and beyond.

While China’s soaring levels of investment in Latin America are prompting debates about Asia’s rising political influence in “America’s back yard”, intra-regional trade is also booming. According to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (Unctad), trade flows within Latin America grew at 8.9 per cent a year from 2000 to 2009, from \$134bn to \$290bn.

Brazil, Argentina, Mexico, Chile and Colombia are the region’s heavyweights, with the highest volumes in the same period, but Panama, Ecuador, Paraguay, Bolivia and Peru experienced the fastest growth in their share of regional trade.

Panama’s regional flow of trade rose by a factor of 6.2 in the decade to 2010, in spite of infrastructure gaps, political schisms and the global economic



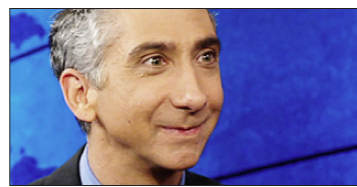
Line in the sand: the interoceanic highway being constructed through the Amazon jungle Reuters

crisis, perhaps doing more for the cause of regional integration than political initiatives such as Mercosur, Alba (the Bolivarian alliance for the People of America) and the Union of South American Nations. Michael Shifter, president of the Washington based Inter-American Dialogue, says: “It’s not a politically unified region; there are tremendous differences and high levels of mistrust among governments.”

“What’s striking is there’s been so much progress despite these differences.”

“The original idea in the 1990s was for governments to come together in a free-trade agreement. Instead, we’ve had a proliferation of bilateral agreements and trade driven by the private sector. At this level, integration is stronger than ever.”

José García Belaúnde, foreign minister of Peru, one of the world’s fastest growing economies and an avid proponent of free-trade agreements, said



“It’s no longer just primary products or the same crappy refrigerators and appliances”

Chris Sabatini, Director of policy, Council of the Americas

bilateral deals have done some of the work of diplomacy in recent years, helping to improve relations between ideologically polarised nations.

But Chris Sabatini, senior director of policy at the New York-based Council of the Americas, warns against a “warm and fuzzy rhetoric of solidarity”, saying that while economic integration has undeniably smoothed over differences, many countries remain on markedly different economic trajectories.

US “squeamishness” about its commitment to free trade has acted as a spur for Latin America’s deepening and diversifying trade, he says, adding: “There’s a real differentiation now in these markets in terms of what they produce and what they buy.”

“It’s no longer just primary products or the same crappy refrigerators and appliances. There are truly globally competitive products that are diversified.”

According to Unctad, this is one of the key benefits of increasing trade within Latin America.

“Intra-regional trade between developing countries features a much higher proportion of industrial goods, and especially of high- and medium-skill and technology-intensive manufactures,” it noted in a 2007 report.

The top-10 traded products in Latin America in 2009 included medium- or high-tech goods such as passenger vehicles, tractors, medicines and telecommunications equipment.

The region’s big corporations, many near-monopolies in their home markets, have been quick to seize the opportunity presented by growing consumer markets on their doorstep.

Among them are Carlos Slim’s Telmex, Colombia’s energy-utilities group EPM and Avianca airline, Brazil’s Banco Itaú, miner Vale and oil company Petrobras, Chile’s Cencosud retailer and LAN airline.

“If you take exports from the

region to the world, some of those more sophisticated goods are still present, but mineral products become more important,” says professor Antonio Carlos Macedo e Silva, of Unctad’s economic co-operation and integration among developing countries unit. “If you consider exports to China, or even, for that matter, to the European Union, raw materials take pride of place.”

For Brazil and Peru, which expect a further boost to bilateral trade from the completion of the inter-Oceanic highway this year, the benefits are obvious.

The first paved road to cross Latin America east to west will give Brazil access to a Pacific port for the first time, enhancing its exposure to lucrative Asian markets.

It will also give the Brazilians greater capacity to sell soya, construction and mining equipment, electrical goods and vehicles to Peru, and the Peruvians a chance to sell to Brazil.

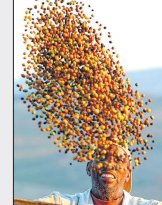
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Latin Links

Using data from the UN Conference on Trade and Development, this graphic examines trade flows for three sectors – agriculture, energy and mining for the seven largest regional economies:

Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Peru and Venezuela since 1995

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Southern neighbours are becoming more attractive

Mexico

Adam Thomson says businesses are starting to consider Latin America as a viable market

On the factory floor of Industrias H24 in Naucalpan, a satellite of Mexico City, workers dressed in blue overalls pack cardboard boxes with household products – bleach, washing powder, surface cleaners and bug spray.

A few years ago, the products would all have had one destination: Mexico. Today, more and more of them are heading south – to other Latin American countries.

Mark McGuinness, the company’s owner and president, says that sales to his new export destinations are growing at about 15 per cent a year, compared with just 1 per cent for domestic sales. He says he expects the trend to continue.

“We have a sophisticated and volume-driven industry base [in Mexico], and that volume helps you go into smaller markets that are less efficient,” he explains.

All over Mexico, producers are starting to look south in search of fresh markets. According to the country’s economy ministry, exports to South America last year were 50.4 per cent higher than in 2009, while overall exports were 29.8 per cent higher.

That growth has helped the region assume far greater importance for Mexico, with Latin America now accounting for about 7 per cent of total exports compared with roughly half that figure five years ago.

As a sign of the thriving new trade, the Mexican government announced at the end of last year that South America had overtaken the European Union as a destination for Mexican exports for the first time in more than a decade.

In an effort to diversify exports and develop stronger ties with the rest of the region, Mexico this

month announced a deepening of its existing trade agreement with Colombia as well as the signing of a trade pact with Peru.

But perhaps the biggest sign of Mexico’s intention to develop trade links with Latin America came in November last year, when the government formally began negotiations with Brazil, the region’s largest economy.

Experts say that such a deal could be huge.

The two countries are the largest economies in Latin America, together making up 74 per cent of the region’s gross domestic product. They are also by far the most populous countries in Latin America with a joint population of about 300m – almost the size of the US.

Yet Mexican exports to Brazil account for just 1 per cent of the total, while Brazilian exports to Mexico represent 1.8 per cent of that country’s total exports.

Experts say that a deal with Mexico could lift that figure but also provide important access for Brazilian products to the US and Canadian markets through the North American Free Trade Agreement (Nafta),

which binds the US, Canada and Mexico.

Maria Cristina Capelo, an investigator at Mexico City’s Centre of Research for Development (Cidac), says that multinational companies operating in both countries could be the main beneficiaries of an eventual accord because they could integrate operations more closely.

“Brazil and Mexico produce many similar products, but if you look at sectors such as automobile

Labour costs are now only 13.6 per cent more expensive than those of China

parts and aerospace, there is potential because a lot of the commerce is between companies,” she says.

She also sees an upside in petrochemicals, where Brazilian companies setting up in Mexico could purchase primary materials from Pemex to manufacture derivatives.

One reason for the deepening trade ties between

Mexico and Latin America has to do with economic health.

Luz María de la Mora, a visiting professor at Mexico City’s Centre for Economic Research (Cide), says the region has emerged from the global economic crisis of 2008 and 2009 much more strongly than industrialised countries.

In contrast to previous crises, for example, macroeconomic fundamentals remain solid; inflation is, by and large, under control and the countries’ banking sectors remain well capitalised.

All of that has not only created stronger markets in which to sell products, it has eliminated a lot of the once-endemic risks associated with doing business in Latin America.

“Latin American countries see themselves as places we can do business safely,” she says. “They have the conditions that allow business to happen.”

At the same time, Mexico has become more competitive as an export market. Sergio Martín, chief Latin America economist at HSBC in Mexico City, says that labour costs are now only 13.6 per cent more expensive than those of China.

Five years ago, the difference was 260 per cent.

Of course, some of the competitive gains are the product of forex markets, with the Mexican peso remaining undervalued against the US dollar, compared with other currencies such as the Brazilian real or the Colombian peso – a fact that could shift over time.

In addition, it is important to remember that 80 per cent of Mexican exports still go to the US, and that country’s importance for Mexico as an export destination is unlikely to change in the near future.

For now, the growth in trade between Mexico and Latin America is one of the most dynamic areas.

As Ms de la Mora of Cide puts it: “Latin America is becoming an attractive partner.”



South facing: Mexican workers at a car factory Bloomberg

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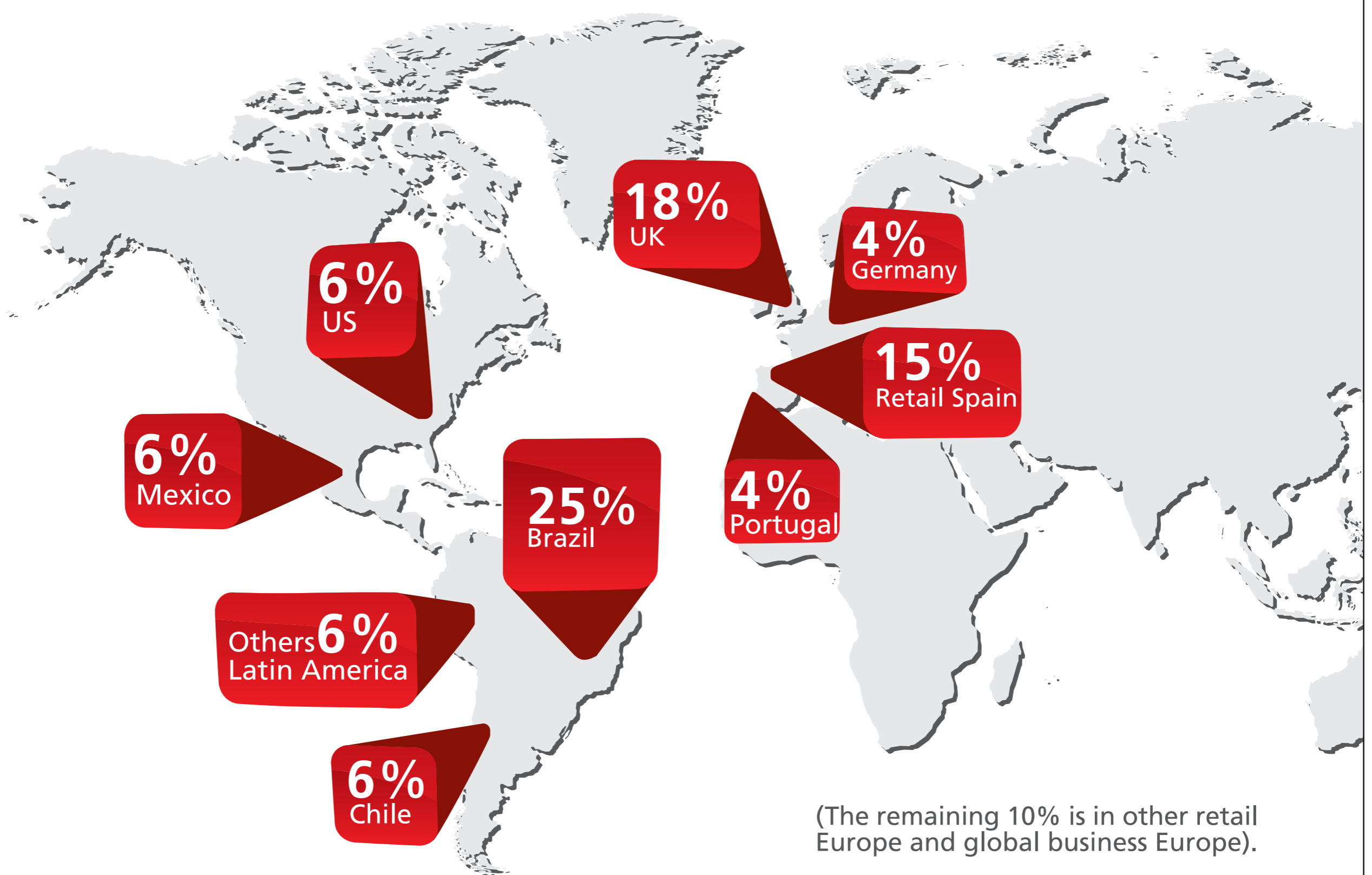
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