

The United States and Latin American Oil

A Case Study in Normative International Economic Policy

by **Pierre Noël**

Research Fellow, Ifri (Paris)

Associate Fellow, LEPPI-EPE (University of Grenoble)

noel.cfe@ifri.org

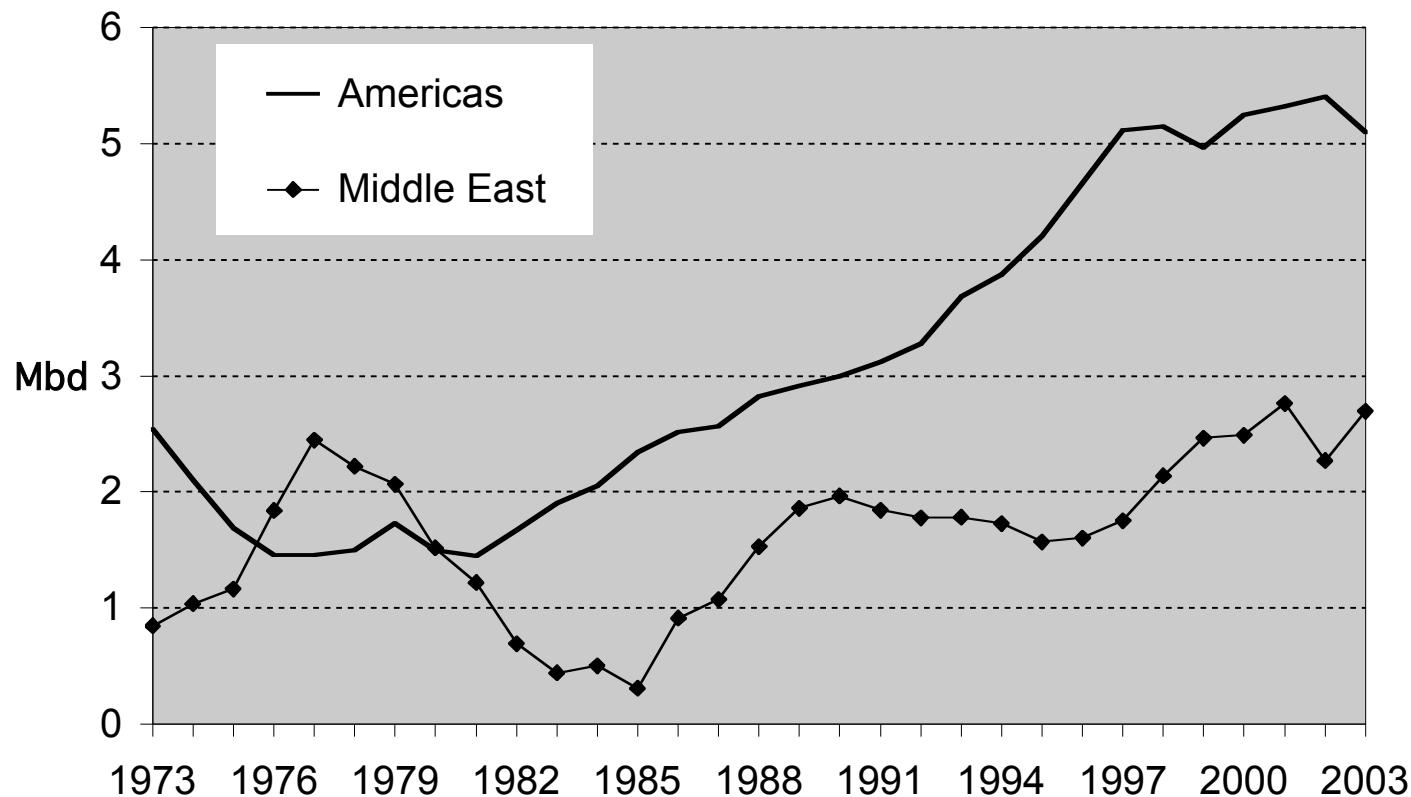
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Contents

- What is at stake for the United States?
- The US international energy policy: principles
- The US normative policy and Latin America in the 1990s
- The uncertain future of a policy in crisis

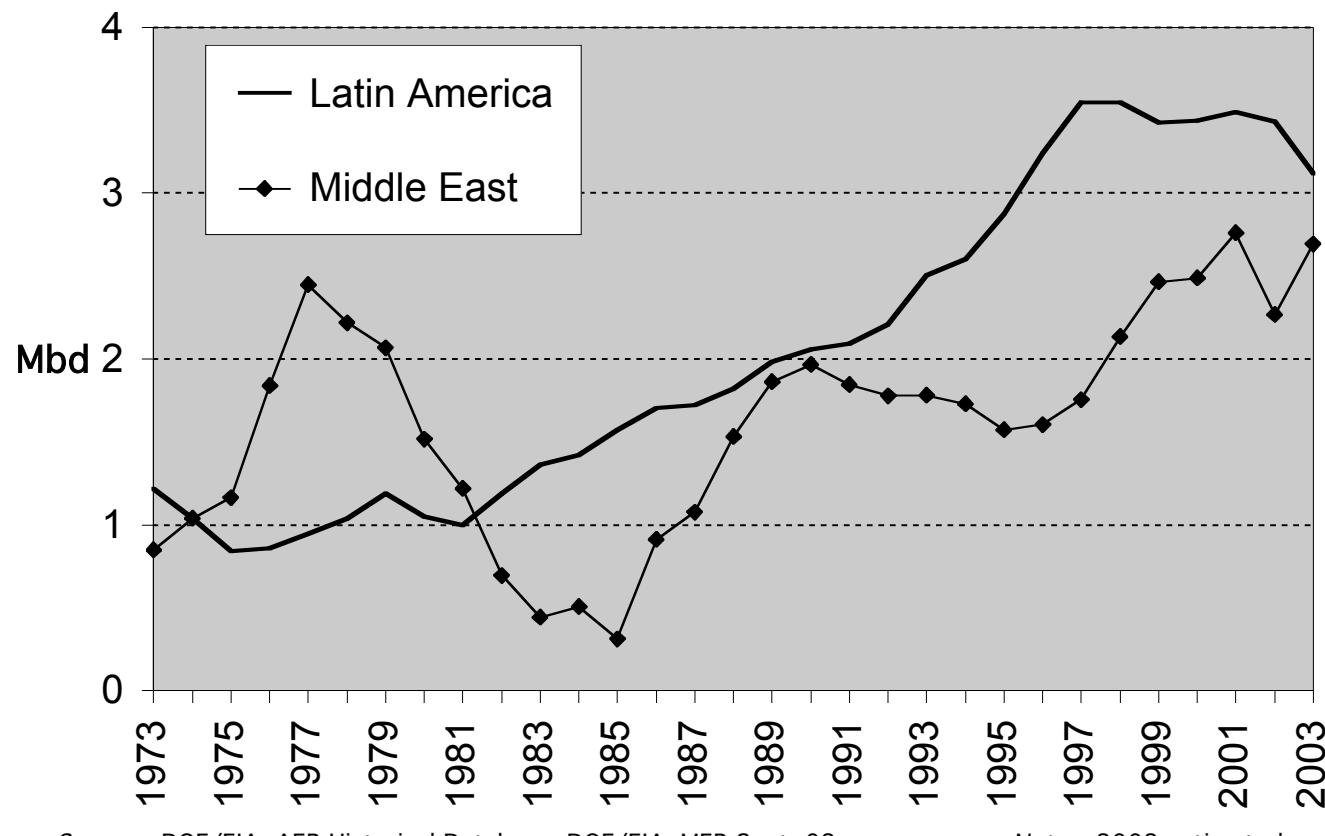
The US imports twice as more oil from the “Western Hemisphere” than from the Middle East



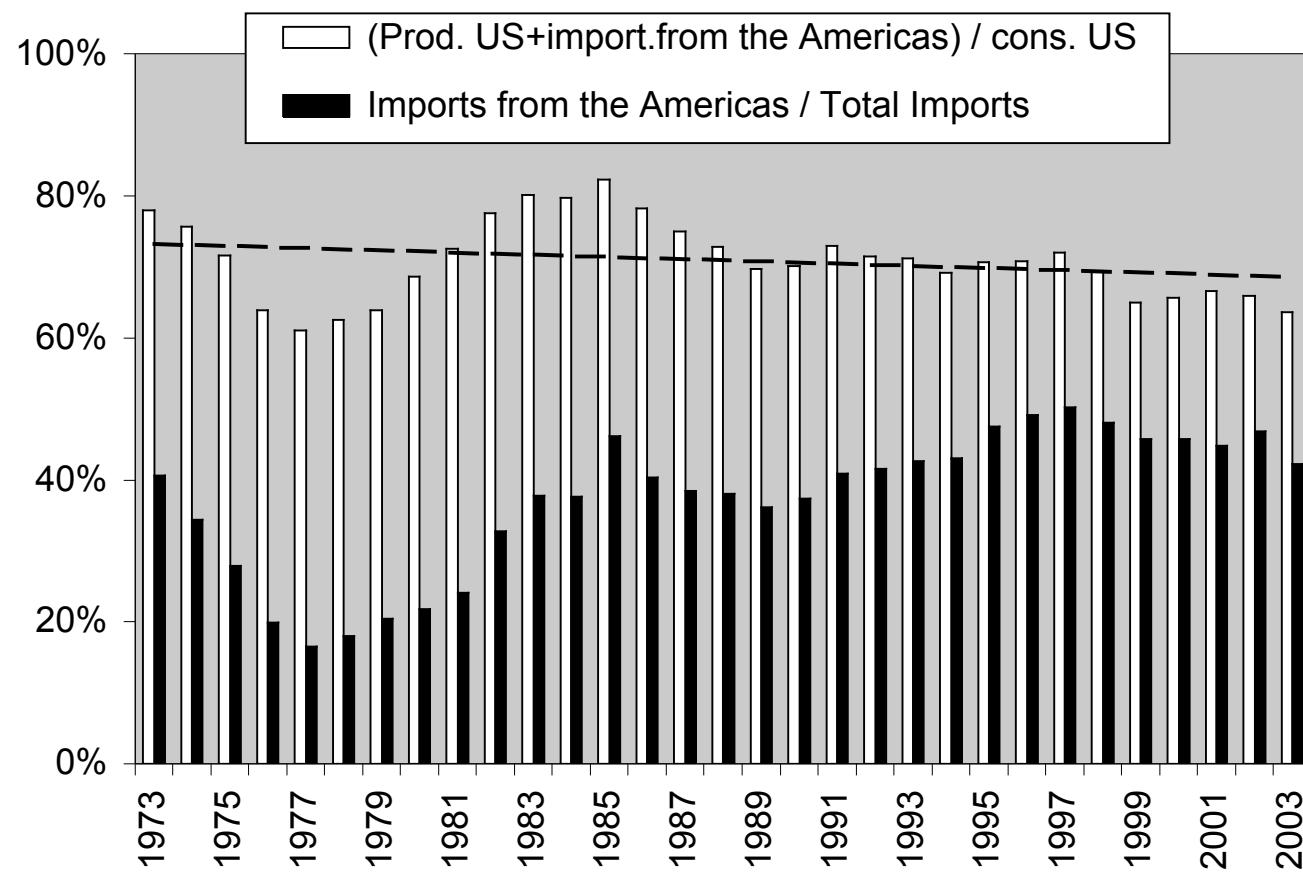
Source: DOE/EIA, AER Historical Database; DOE/EIA, MER Sept. 03

Note: 2003 data estimated

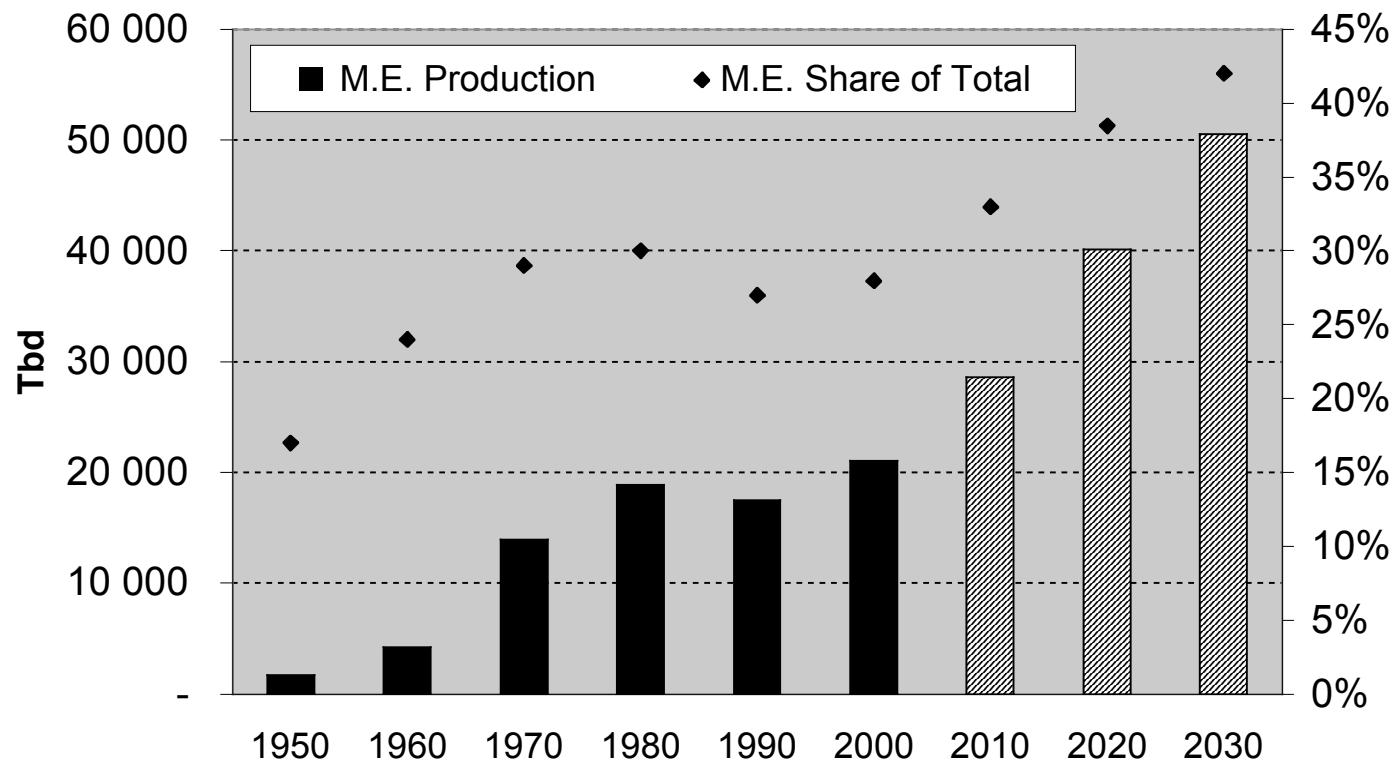
The Competition between Latin America and the Middle East for the US Oil Market



Despite declining US production, “regionalization” of the US oil supply is more or less maintained

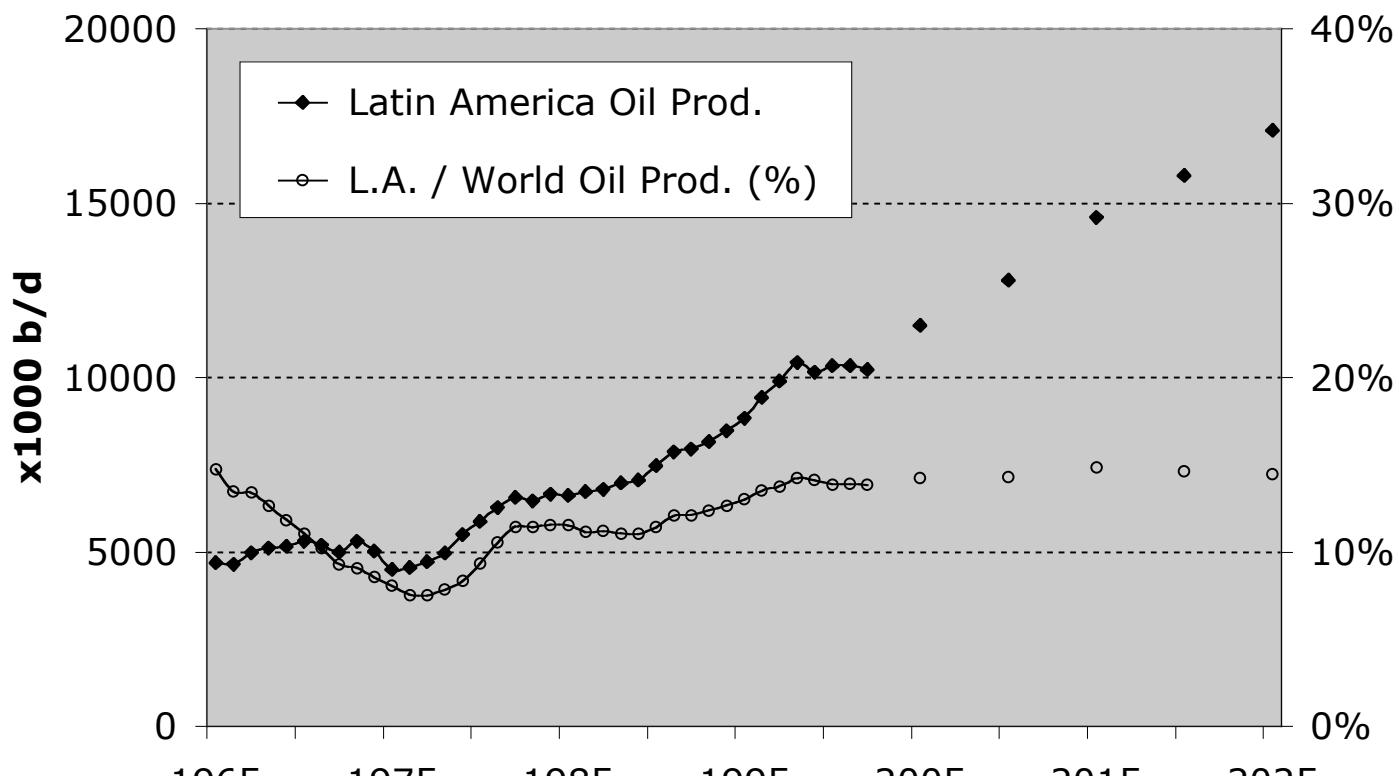


The “containment” of the Middle East would not be sustainable; World oil supply concentration would rise



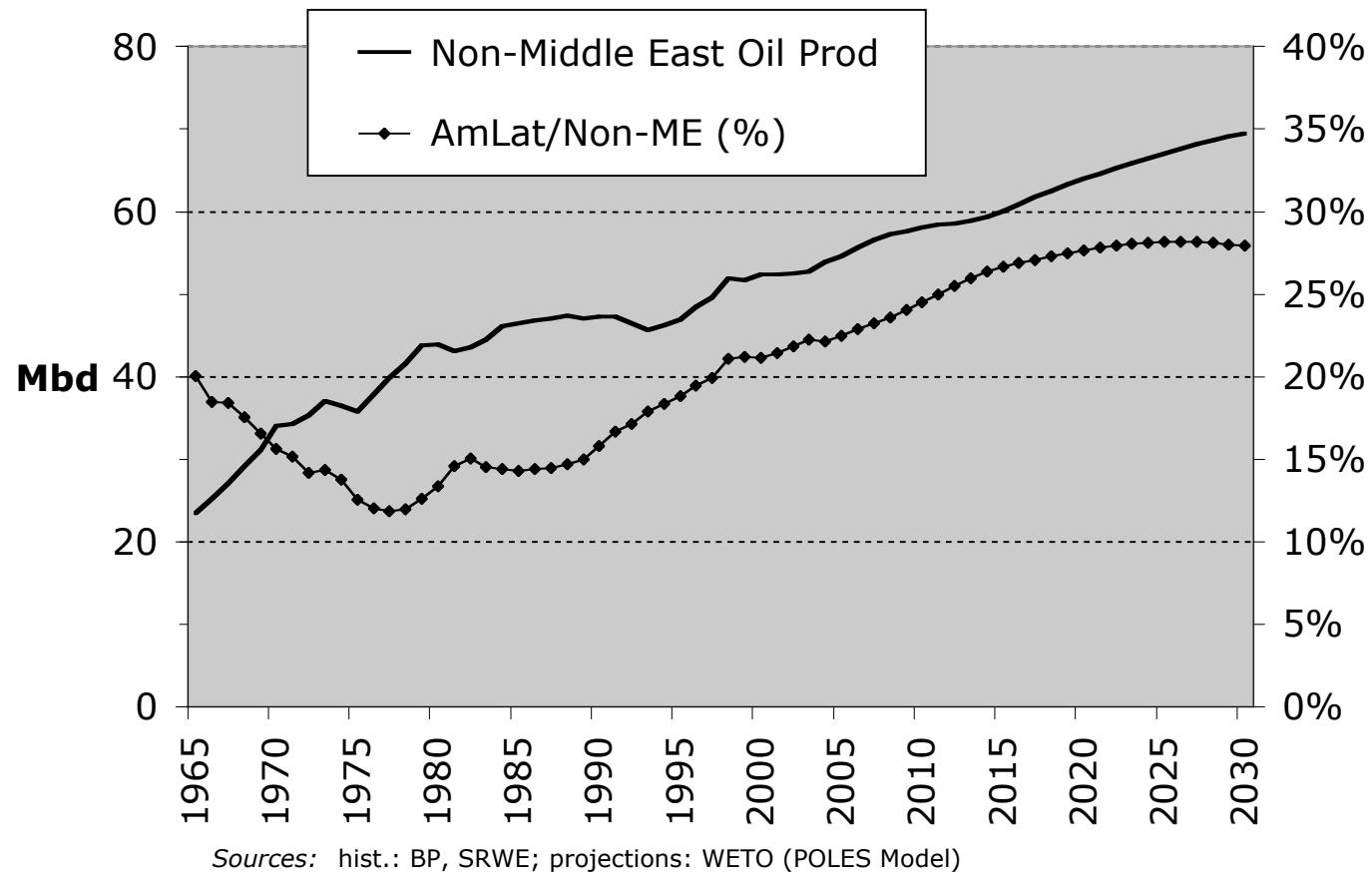
Sources: history: API, BP; projections: WETO (POLES Model)

Latin American oil production would reach 17 Mbd by 2025, keeping a 15% market share



Sources: history: BP SRWE 2003; projection: EIA IEO 2003 (reference case)

Latin America has been a key contributor to the growth in non-Middle East oil supply—and should remain so



The US International Energy Policy

- Securing world energy markets: SPR; military forces in the Middle East; relationship with Saudi Arabia
- Building and extending world energy markets, or:
“Making the world safe for energy investment”.
Normative aspect
- No special status for Latin America on principles, but...

The 1990s: “*Making Latin America Safe for Energy Investment*”

- NAFTA Chapter 11
- Bilateral investment treaties with the US:
Argentina, Bolivia, Equator
- Dozens of BITs between LA countries and
“capital exporting” countries
- Numerous BITs between LA countries
- Mercosur investment protocols

International investment treaties signed by LA countries in the 1990s

| <i>States</i> | ICSID Convention | BITs signed since 1990 | Colonia & Buenos Aires Protocols |
|---------------|---------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Argentina | 1994 | 47 | 1994 |
| Bolivia | 1995 | 19 | - |
| Brazil | - | 11 | 1994 |
| Chile | 1991 | 36 | - |
| Colombia | 1997 | 4 | - |
| Equator | 1986 | 17 | - |
| Peru | 1993 | 25 | - |
| Venezuela | 1995 | 21 | - |

Sources: ICSID (World Bank); UNCTAD; OAS; US Dpt of State

A dense network of modern bilateral investment treaties relevant for energy investment

| Argentina | Bolivia | Brazil | Chile | Colombia | Equator | Peru | Venezuela |
|------------|------------|-----------|------------|----------|------------|-----------|-----------|
| Allemagne | Allemagne | Allemagne | Allemagne | Espagne | Allemagne | Allemagne | Allemagne |
| Australie | Argentine | Finlande | Australie | Roy.-Uni | Argentine | Argentine | Argentine |
| Belg./Lux. | Chine | France | Belg./Lux. | | Canada | Australie | Brésil |
| Canada | Espagne | Italie | Brésil | | Chine | Chine | Canada |
| Chine | États-Unis | Roy.-Uni | Chine | | Espagne | Espagne | Espagne |
| Espagne | France | Venezuela | Espagne | | États-Unis | Finlande | Italie |
| États-Unis | Italie | | Finlande | | France | France | Pays-Bas |
| Finlande | Pays-Bas | | France | | Roy.-Uni | Italie | Roy.-Uni |
| France | Roy.-Uni | | Italie | | Russie | Norvège | |
| Indonésie | | | Norvège | | Venezuela | Pays-Bas | |
| Italie | | | Roy.-Uni | | | Roy.-Uni | |
| Pays-Bas | | | Venezuela | | | Venezuela | |
| Roy.-Uni | | | | | | | |
| Venezuela | | | | | | | |

How Effective Really is the Normative Policy?

- Powerful normative impact on the treatment of foreign investment (*Sovereignty at Bay?*)
- But no treaty is in itself a driver of policy change
- Even the most demanding treaties cannot fix political/governance issues (ex. of *Bolivia*)

A Policy in Crisis?

- No change in Washington’s “vision”, clearly reaffirmed by the NEP 2001 and numerous speeches by administration’s officials
- But a clear change in foreign policy priorities after 9/11/2001
- International economic policy and Latin America are victims of the “war on terrorism”

The other face of the crisis

- A certain Mr. Chavez...
- Political troubles in Colombia, Bolivia,
uncertainty in Equator
- Lack of consensus re: energy reforms in most
countries of the region
- Still macroeconomic uncertainties

*Most of these problems are beyond
Washington's reach*